

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

REGIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE

DES MOINES, IOWA

JANUARY 27, 1968

This is a time of testing for America:

--A time when the security of mankind demands restraint in the face of provocation;

--A time when the "doomsday fantasies," so lightly dismissed by our Republican opponents in a recent television performance, are all too real;

--A time when social and economic progress in America is threatened by a Coalition of Retreat.

It is a time when, as the President said in his State of the Union Message, "Our will is being tried, and not our strength; our sense of purpose and not our ability to achieve a better America."

I think the Democratic Party and the Johnson-Humphrey Administration have proven their sense of purpose--their will to build a better America and a safer world.

And we have done it despite foot-dragging, backward-looking, progress-fearing opposition.

Our purpose is health.

After twenty years, the struggle begun by Harry Truman for Medicare has been won. Twelve million Americans received medical care under that program in the first half of 1967 alone. Ninety-three per cent of the House Republicans voted

against it.

Our purpose is education.

The federal government has spent twice as much on education since 1963 as it spent in the previous century.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965--opposed by three-quarters of the House Republications--provided desperately needed educational opportunity to 9 million children last year.

A million and a quarter low-income students are in college today because of our Democratic grant and loan programs.

Our purpose is to wipe out poverty.

This country was spending 9 billion dollars to help the poor back in 1960. That figure is now 20 billion dollars. And the number of American families living below the poverty line has dropped from 21 per cent to 15 per cent since 1961.

Yes, 10 million people rescued from poverty just since 1964...and a million of them just a few weeks ago by increased social security benefits.

From civil rights to food stamps...from Model Cities to rural libraries...from Safe Streets to clean meats...we have a sense of purpose -- and we have acted.

We have a sense of purpose when it comes to prosperity, too: Plan for it, produce it, protect it.

The national income grew three times as fast between 1961 and 1967 as it grew in the preceding five years. Real personal incomes grew more during any one of those years than in the five years from 1956 to 1961 together.

Unemployment is roughly half of what it was in 1961.

Paychecks are up -- in real dollars.

Profits are up -- in real dollars.

Farm income is up -- in real dollars. Not enough, to be sure. Not enough to assure true parity for the farmer... not enough to build the rural environment we all want for

his family...but farm income is up, and we are committed to raising it higher.

As Secretary Freeman assured the Midwest farmer last night, we are working for stronger bargaining power for producers of all agricultural commodities. And we are seeking ideas from the farmers and farm leaders themselves toward this goal.

We are committed to a program of development of rural America, to help absorb our growing population, to provide good jobs, excellent education, modern medical and hospital care and wholesome communities.

Rural America deserves first-class treatment if America is to remain a first-class nation.

And taxes are down. Even with the tax increase President Johnson requested last fall -- and the one we must pass this spring -- federal taxes will still be below what they would have been at 1961 rates.

You can't double your expenditures on education, or triple your expenditures on health, if you can't pay the bill.

You can't have progress without prosperity.

We've had both.

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

But we are attacking them -- not ignoring them. That is a sense of purpose.

President Johnson charted our continuing attack in his State of the Union message:

- a manpower program to wipe out hard-core unemployment;
- a sixfold increase in the rate of low and middle income housing construction over the next decade;
- a child health program;

- increased consumer protection;
- drug control, to "stop the sale of slavery to the young;"
- enhanced bargaining power for the farmer;
- security commodity reserve to protect both producer and consumer;
- a study of the auto insurance system that is largely responsible for the torrent of litigation that delays justice in America.

Dramatic programs? They are to those who need them. To many they are just new steps in that humdrum Democratic progress-as-usual -- steps designed to fill the opportunity gaps and that still exist in this democracy of ours.

Some say we should have done more. I say that we have done more than anyone dreamed possible back in 1960 or even 1964.

And some say that Vietnam is now preventing Congress from appropriating as much as we need to invest here at home.

Let me tell you what happened to Congress in 1967 -- and it was not the costs of Vietnam. What happened was that we lost 47 seats in 1966. We lost our working majority.

And those people whose purpose is The Pause... who trust their fears and not their hopes...who are content to stand idle in the uncompleted edifice of American democracy...that old Republican-Dixiecrat Coalition of Retreat was able to go into action 50 times.. They succeeded 37 times.

Let's not kid ourselves about what we can and cannot afford.

In 1967 our GNP grew about 43 billion dollars.

In 1968 it will grow over 50 billion dollars.

But we cannot afford and need not afford that children be hungry or sick...we cannot afford inadequate schools...families poorly housed...opportunity denied. In Adlai Stevenson's words, "We cannot afford to be penny wise and people foolish."

And we cannot afford the Coalition of Retreat.

Fellow Democrats, the issue of progress versus retreat

will be decided as it has always been decided

...not so much by economic possibilities as by 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...the champion of purpose...in American society. And our duty is clear in 1968:

Re-elect Lyndon B. Johnson.

Give him a workable majority in Congress.

Keep on building Democracy's House.

Now let me turn briefly to America's place in this troubled world.

What is our purpose? What do we seek?

Self-determination -- for all men.

National development -- in all nations.

Coöperation.

National Security.

Peace.

Our quest is slow and painful. But it is honorable. And it is necessary in this nuclear age... on this shrinking planet.

That is what Harry Truman thought. Here are his words to Congress in March of 1947.

"I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures...

"If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world -- and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.

"Great responsibilities have been placed upon us..."

That is also what Dwight Eisenhower and John Kennedy thought.

That is what Lyndon Johnson thinks.

And we have not faltered. From Greece and Turkey to the Straits of Formosa and Korea...from Berlin to the Congo...from Cuba to Geneva...in Lebanon and Cyprus...throughout the free world...we have tried to live up to those great responsibilities.

We have used our power with restraint, our wealth with compassion.

We have had setbacks and learned hard lessons.

We have had great successes -- not least of which is that we are alive today.

Our present engagement in Southeast Asia is one more painful step -- and perhaps not the last -- on the path toward security and development in the world.

President Kennedy, three short months after assuming office was faced with Pathet Lao pressure in Laos. At that time he said:

"...The security of all Southeast Asia will be endangered if Laos loses its neutral independence.

Its own safety runs with the safety of us all...

In July 1963 President Kennedy said of Vietnam:

"We are not going to withdraw from that effort. In my opinion, for us to withdraw from that effort would mean a collapse not only of South Vietnam, but of Southeast Asia. So we are going to stay there."

And last week President Johnson said:

"America will persevere, and our patience and our perseverance will match our power. Aggression will never prevail. But our goal is peace -- and peace at the earliest possible moment."

Yes, peace -- at the earliest possible moment:

Peace with honor on all sides;

Peace that does not reward aggression;

Peace that preserves the integrity of America's solemn commitment around the world.

Peace that minimizes the chances of a wider war.

Peace that will last.

How do we achieve that peace? Part of the answer must come from the enemy. We have tried to do our part and will continue to try.

Let me make it clear that I firmly believe that those who disagree with our established policy in Vietnam, or disagree with our tactics in the search for peace, 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.

And there is plenty of room to exercise that right within the Democratic Party.

But neither this country nor this Party can afford to allow dissent to become dissention.

We cannot allow debate to become vacillation.

We cannot shrug and turn away from our hard-fought objective of a stable and lasting peace in this nuclear age.

We cannot mortgage the hopes of the future to the doubts of the present -- at home or abroad.

Nor will we.

To quote the President's State of the Union Message once again:

"If ever there were a time to know the pride and excitement and the hope of being an American, it is this time."

✓ No Best
✓ Volume

Run - 10 seconds
Point 70 yds
Pass 52 yds
av. Play - 10 yds

Handled
Gus Hughes
Ch Bailey

8 to 7

Flagg REMARKS

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restraint in the face of provocation;

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Our Purpose:

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Better America

Our Purpose

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Are there Dramatic programs? They are to those who need them. To many they are just new steps in that ~~h~~ drum Democratic progress-as-usual -- steps designed to fill the opportunity gaps that still exist in this democracy of ours.

Now I want to say a few words about first class treatment for rural America.

Farmers are going to have to bargain for that position in our society. ~~They deserve to bargain.~~ They ~~need to bargain.~~ And this administration intends to see that they can bargain. have the tools + strength to bargain for fair treatment + fair prices in the market.

⚡ Talk is cheap and the Republicans have been doing
a lot of talking! But let's look at the record! In 1965, four
Democratic Congressmen from Iowa, Minnesota, and North
Dakota served on the House Livestock and Feed Grains Subcommittee
and played a key role in drafting a four year feed grains bill.

(These Democratic Congressmen were -- Bert Bandstra,
Iowa; Stanley Greigg, Iowa; Alec Olson, Minnesota; and Roland
Redland, North Dakota.)

⚡ In 1967, they were replaced by three newly elected
Republican Congressman. All voted against the commodity reserve
bill when it came before the Livestock and Feed Grain Subcommittee.
⚡ If just one of them had voted to report out the bill and enact it into
law, the government could have taken a large surplus off the
market and this would have improved the price of corn and soybeans
by fifteen or twenty cents.

(Republican subcommittee members are Thomas Kleppe,
North Dakota; John Zwack, Minnesota; Wiley Mayne, Iowa.)

Failure to get a commodity reserve bill cost Iowa
farmers alone more than a hundred million dollars last year. It
may be all right to make a mistake once. But there is no reason
for Midwest farmers to make the same mistake twice.

The Feed Grain Program and other commodity programs all add to the farmers bargaining power.

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↳ It was with that need in mind that we made a fundamental change in support loan policy, for instance, to enable more farmers to maintain control of their grain until they choose to sell it. The increase farm bargaining power.

↳ But we need more! ~~And~~ President Johnson pledged in this State of the Union message, he ~~intends~~ ^{will} to recommend a security commodity reserve to protect the market from price-depressing ^{surplus} stocks that would undercut bargaining power. He is also pledged ~~in his words,~~ to recommend ^{new} programs to help farmers bargain more effectively for fair prices."

↳ Those programs are going to need your support. Your present program need your support.

↳ And let me emphasize that this is not a question of farm prices alone.

It goes to the heart of economic and social development in rural America.

In the next 30 yrs America will grow by over 100,000,000 people - where shall these new Americans live?

shall the be crowded into our already overcrowded
cities - or shall what is now known as Rural
America be the home of New Towns - New Communities
new opportunity - ^{7b} ~~the name rural America~~
It has to do with schools that provide an up-to-date

education . . . homes that offer all the modern conveniences

~~that America so abundantly produces . . . jobs~~ new industries that provide good jobs

yes, a rural environment that is a satisfactory alternative for
every American who does not choose to live in the city.

~~#~~
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that we have done more than anyone dreamed possible back
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the Congo...from Cuba to Geneva...in Lebanon and
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"...The security of all Southeast Asia will be endangered if Laos loses its neutral independence. Its own safety runs with the safety of us all....

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and our perseverance will match our power.

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is peace -- and peace at the earliest possible moment."

✓ Yes, peace -- at the earliest possible moment:

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solemn commitments around the world;

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must come from the enemy. We have tried to do our part
and will continue to try.

Let me make it clear that I firmly believe that those who disagree with our established policy in Vietnam, or disagree with our tactics in the search for peace, have *every* a right to express their views. They have no right to break the law, but they have every right to criticize and oppose policy.

↳ And there is plenty ^{of} room to exercise that right within the Democratic Party.

But neither this country nor this Party can afford to allow dissent to become dissention.

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↳ We cannot shrug and turn away from our hard-fought objective of a stable and lasting peace in this nuclear age.

2 We cannot mortgage the hopes of the future
to the doubts of the present -- at home or abroad.

Nor will we.

To quote the President's State of the Union Message
once again:

"If ever there was a nation that was capable
of solving its problems, it is this nation.

"If ever there were a time to know the
pride and excitement and the hope of being an
American, it is this time."

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"VICTORY '68" REGIONAL CONFERENCE

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Hotel Kirkwood - Des Moines, Iowa

Saturday, January 27, 1968

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REMARKS OF HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Washington, D. C.

WARD & PAUL

OFFICIAL REPORTERS

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"VICTORY '68" REGIONAL CONFERENCE

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Hotel Kirkwood - Des Moines, Iowa

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REMARKS OF HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Washington, D. C.

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1 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much. Thank
2 you very, very much. Thank you. Thank you.

3 Thank you, Governor Hughes. I think we can give you
4 special dispensation now, you can go ahead and eat.

5 (Laughter.)

6 Any man that has sacrificed two very necessary meals
7 in the cause of democracy I think is worthy of our everlasting
8 respect, esteem and affection, and even sympathy.

9 (Laughter, applause.)

10 Congressman Smith, officers of the Democratic Party
11 here in Iowa, the host State, the Mayor of Des Moines was
12 there at the airport to meet us today, all the officers and
13 some of the distinguished office holders, I want to express my
14 thanks for your courtesy and for your patience. I knew just as
15 well as I knew my name was Hubert Humphrey that that schedule,
16 which my office sent out here, I never could keep, they keep
17 forgetting that I occasionally have something to do around
18 Washington, and this has been a rather trying week for all of
19 us. It has been a very, very trying week for our President,
20 and this morning the President and the Vice President needed
21 to get together, just alone, and do a little talking about our
22 country and about some of the programs that we have laid, that
23 we have been putting before the Congress and that we expect
24 action upon and, indeed, about some of the concerns which you
25 have about our country and its relationship to other countries

1 in the world.

2 I had indicated to the White House that I hoped to
3 be out here around 10:00 o'clock and it looked like that would
4 be just fine. But then, as I said to you, there was some need
5 for changing that and I hope you will forgive me because it
6 was my loss in not being able to be here with you. But you
7 didn't elect me to be Vice President of the United States in
8 order to see whether or not I could just come to Des Moines
9 in the morning, even though it is nice to come to Des Moines
10 any time.

11 And while I am a partisan and while I am very proud
12 to be a Democrat, and while I love to participate in these
13 regional conferences and will try to do so as much as time
14 and circumstances permit, my first duty is to fulfill the
15 duties of my office and to be there when the President wants
16 me and to try to help shoulder a little of the burden which is
17 a burden far more than any one man ought to ever shoulder, the
18 burden that our President carries.

19 So we spent a couple of hours today in things you
20 would be vitally interested. I hope we were helpful.

21 Well, the very first line that I put down in this
22 speech is a very sober one, and before I get to it I just want
23 to at least let you know that I am about to make a full-
24 fledged Democratic speech.

25 (Laughter, applause.)

1 I say this because I was up in the Twin Cities a
2 couple of -- about a week ago, and on Friday night I spoke to
3 our Labor Movement up there and I gave them both barrels.
4 They were brought in for a political purpose and I figured
5 they needed a little doctrine and a little messianic preaching
6 and I gave it to them.

7 And the next day I spoke at a very nonpartisan
8 gathering of some very fine men and their ladies, the National
9 Jaycees, who are honoring the ten outstanding young Americans
10 of their selection. I, for several years, was a member of the
11 Jaycees, when I was a young enough man to be a member. And I
12 hold that organization in high esteem and work very closely
13 with its officer in our programs, particularly on Youth
14 Opportunity and national programs related toward mental re-
15 tardation and mental health, and I thought it was a rare honor
16 to be invited. So I gave them a talk about their responsibil-
17 ities in the cities of America, all through America, for the
18 youth of our Nation, for those that have been the victims of
19 exploitation, those that have been the victims of poverty,
20 racial discrimination, and I had a wonderful reception.

21 Now, the reason I mention this is because when I
22 read about it, why, I read where it said "Humphrey did not
23 discuss the coalition of retreat," and I read where "He did
24 not discuss the Vietnamese war," and "He did not discuss the
25 balance of payments," and a few other things. So I thought

1 I just ought to clear the -- it is sort of like a preacher.
2 When you go to church on Sunday he doesn't discuss everything
3 with you. He has a sermon. If you meet him on Wednesday at
4 the Kiwanis Club he may be talking about something else.

5 So I want you to know what I am going to talk about
6 now, and I want the reporters to know. I want everybody to
7 know what I am going to talk about. I am going to be talking
8 about the health and the welfare, the prosperity and the
9 victory of the Democratic Party.

10 (Applause.)

11 And I do get wound up on that subject. They were
12 telling me about a coach over here at the University of Iowa,
13 he found a young chap that was just a remarkable specimen.
14 The university has been recruiting, according to the informa-
15 tion that I get from Minnesota.

16 (Laughter.)

17 I won't say any more, Harold.

18 And this chap was just wonderful. He was one of
19 these fine Iowa farm boys and just strong and healthy, a
20 remarkable fellow, and he had been off attending a smaller
21 college and he had, apparently, a very good record for the
22 first year. The coach was interviewing him. He said, "All
23 right," he said, "John," he said, "I hear you have a fine
24 record." He said, "They tell me that you were on the team
25 that was unbeaten."

1 He said, "That's right. That's right."

2 "What have you got to say about it? What recommends
3 you to us? We have some athletic scholarships, maybe we could
4 find some interest in your -- what do you have to recommend
5 you?"

6 The young fellow said, "Well, I tell you coach," he
7 said. "I run 100 yards in about 9.8 seconds."

8 He said, "You run 100 yards in 9.8 seconds? How
9 much do you weigh?"

10 He said, "225 pounds."

11 "You run it in 9.8, huh?" He says, "That's pretty
12 good."

13 "Well," he said, "that isn't all, Coach." He said,
14 "I'll tell you," he said, "my average punt is 70 yards."

15 He said, "70 yards average punt?" He says, "That
16 does recommend you."

17 "But," he said, "that isn't all, Coach." He said,
18 "I had average passing when I" -- he said, "I'm quite a
19 passer. My average pass is 52 yards."

20 The coach looked at him and said, "Listen, my
21 friend." He said, "You are just about I think what Iowa
22 needs. Just one other thing," he said. "On your runs, now
23 you're a back, you're an offensive back." He said, "What is
24 your average gain on each play?"

25 He said, "Well, it runs between 15 and 20 yards."

1 "15 and 20 yards on each play?"

2 He said, "That's right."

3 "Well," he said, "young man, you're what we've been
4 looking for here for years. We haven't seen anything like you
5 I don't suppose in the history of our university." He said,
6 "Now, there must be something wrong, just some little limita-
7 tion," he said, "because -- but," he said, "let me ask you
8 one other thing. How about your grades?"

9 "Oh," he said, "don't worry about that, Coach," He
10 said, "I had a solid A average all the way through high school
11 and even last year when I was playing football."

12 The coach said, "This is just too good." He said,
13 "What is -- do you have any limitation at all? Is there any
14 little limitation on your record?"

15 He said, "Well, Coach," he said, "I do exaggerate a
16 bit."

17 (Laughter, applause.)

18 Now, it is entirely possible that I may exaggerate
19 just a little bit, but not much. In fact, I am going to
20 under-play it because it has become the way that most people
21 talk about us these days, not remember the victories that are
22 won, not to remember the great crises which have been solved,
23 not to remember the programs that have been passed; but all
24 too often you forget those things, and we keep our minds upon,
25 so frequently, the things that are left undone or the challenges

1 that we have not been able to completely fulfill.

2 So I think it is fair to say that, in light of what
3 we read and what we know, in the times in which we live, that
4 the most accurate phrase for a description of America is that
5 this is a time of testing for America. And, remember that we
6 are being tested. Remember that every word we say, every
7 action we take, every deed that we fulfill, every mistake we
8 make is being watched. We are the most observed people in
9 the world.

10 And remember also, my fellow Americans, and my
11 fellow Democrats, that you are members of the majority party
12 in this country. You are not just partisans, you are a part
13 of the government of the United States. You are in a role
14 of leadership. And because you are in that governing role
15 and because you are in the role of leadership, you must act
16 that way, talk that way, be that way.

17 When you're on the outside looking in or when you
18 are a little minority that can only have as its objective
19 some obstruction or possibly just being a busybody, you do not
20 have all the responsibilities of leadership. And as we
21 often say or as the youngsters say, I guess, then, you can
22 just sort of goof off. That is what the kids say nowadays.

23 But when you are in power -- and that is where you
24 are -- in this State and at the national level, you have to
25 measure your words, your deeds, your actions, your decisions.

1 You not only have then the privilege of debate, discussion and
2 dissent, which are precious privileges, and rights, but you
3 have the obligation of decision. And when you make decisions,
4 no matter what they are, you will have some critics.

5 We cannot afford the luxury of being either ridicu-
6 lous or irresponsible. Leadership carries with it responsi-
7 bility and responsibility imposes a heavy burden upon every
8 one in a responsible position.

9 So, possibly, if we keep this in mind, we will under-
10 stand why it is so important that we not add to the confusion
11 that others seek to make but, rather, we try to clarify, to
12 simplify and to make understandable to the American people
13 what we seek to do.

14 Now, you and I know that no political instrument man-
15 made is perfect. You and I know that no political party is
16 without its limitations. Everything is a matter of comparison,
17 including men and women, including political parties and
18 political machinery. And, surely, when I have said to you
19 that it is a time for testing for America, I think it is a
20 time that we can say where -- when the security of mankind
21 requires and demand restraint in the face of unprecedented
22 provocation, that is what your President faces this morning.
23 With unlimited power at his command -- how to restrain the use
24 of that power, because anybody can get this country into a
25 major war, a major world war, a nuclear conflagration. It

1 does not take intelligence or statesmanship to precipitate
2 this world into total disaster, but it does take great moral
3 power, great statesmanship and great ability to restrain the
4 use of power, power which accumulates every year by science
5 and technology, by the growth of our economy.

6 This is a time of testing, when the so-called dooms
7 day fantasies so lightly discussed of recent date by our
8 Republican opponents in a television performance are all too
9 real. I think I know, as a member of the Government
10 Security Council, what our power is and what our resources
11 are.

12 And it is a time, too, when social and economic
13 progress here in America is threatened, can be threatened by
14 what I have termed from every platform a coalition of retreat.
15 And it is a time, too, when, as President Johnson said in his
16 State of the Union Message -- and I think this is the theme
17 of our thinking and of what we as Democrats and citizens
18 ought to have in mind -- our will is being tried, not our
19 strength, our sense of purpose and not our ability to
20 achieve a better America.

21 We have the capacity, we have the ability, we have
22 the resources, my fellow Americans, to do anything that this
23 Nation determines itself to do. The only question is do we
24 have the will and do we have the purpose. And when you come
25 to that matter of will and purpose, that is when you make the

1 decisions. That is when you have to harness the energies.

2 Now, I think the Democratic Party -- and I will put
3 it quite frankly to you -- the Johnson-Humphrey administration
4 has proven their sense of purpose.

5 (Applause.)

6 We have even done it at the expense of popularity
7 and we have done it sometimes at the expense of political
8 friends who wanted us to do otherwise. I believe this admin-
9 istration has proven its purpose and its will to build a better
10 America and a safer world, both of which are great require-
11 ments. And we have done it, despite some foot-dragging and
12 some backward-looking and progress-fearing opposition.

13 Now, what is our purpose? Well, I said it was to
14 build a better America and a safer world, and they are one and
15 inseparable. America's foreign policy is but an extension of
16 its domestic policy. Or, to put it another way, you can't
17 export something you don't have.

18 And when we seek to expand the frontiers of freedom
19 here at home for more and more Americans, then our credibility
20 abroad is clearly understood.

21 When we say that we can wage war on poverty here,
22 then a poverty-ridden world may listen to us.

23 When we stay strong here, united, building our
24 economy, educating our children, healing our seek, bringing
25 more and more Americans into participation of our national

1 life -- when we build that kind of strength, then we have
2 strength in whatever we seek to do abroad. They are one and
3 inseparable.

4 I have often called it the inseparability of national
5 security and national development. There isn't any national
6 security without national development, economic and human
7 resource development, and there surely isn't any chance for
8 developing your human resources, developing your economic
9 resources, if you have no security. And if you think not,
10 just see what is happening in the Middle East today, where
11 poverty is the common denominator for 90 per cent of the
12 people, where there is no security, and where there is little
13 or no development.

14 And think of what the South Koreans face this morn-
15 ing as they seek to build that economy and they have been
16 building that economy. It is one of the great economic
17 miracles of Asia. But their security is threatened and now
18 they have to give concentration upon their security and
19 mobilize forces in order to have development.

20 I have that we have learned some lessons these re-
21 cent days. I hope that we have learned that we still live
22 in a very unsafe world. And the only margin of safety in
23 this world is the commitment of the United States to the weak,
24 to the free and those who aspire to be free, and the only
25 hope that our own weak and poor and distressed have here in

1 the United States is the commitment of the government of the
2 United States, that they get an equal break, that they get an
3 equal chance.

4 This President and this administration has taken a
5 stand against one of the oldest diseases of this continent,
6 prejudice and discrimination. And do you think it has been
7 easy?

8 A week ago this Sunday I was there for the rededica-
9 tion of the Ford's Theater in Washington, D. C., where Abraham
10 Lincoln was struck down by a would-be assassin's bullet.
11 Everybody said they loved Lincoln. They loved him so much at
12 that time that they had a dozen or more bands of assassins
13 that set out to kill him and all of his Cabinet. Lincoln was
14 not a popular man, as President, but Lincoln was a great man,
15 a noble man, an honored man in death, an honored man in
16 history. And yet his nation was rent and torn apart. He
17 never even received a majority vote. He never had a good
18 popularity poll. But he took the stand.

19 And Lyndon Johnson, from Texas, from the southland,
20 was the President of the United States, who said that America
21 was going to have only one kind of citizenship. It was going
22 to have first-class citizenship for every American, rich or
23 poor, black or white, whatever their race, creed or nationality,
24 and, he said, as long as I am President of the United States,
25 we are going to respect Americans as Americans, not white ones,

1 not black ones, not rich ones, not poor ones, but as Americans.
2 That is a noble stand, ladies and gentlemen, and it made him
3 some enemies.

4 (Applause.)

5 And these are the big things, all these little de-
6 tails, the trivia that we argue about that is in the morning
7 newspaper, on-the-spot news. These are the details of
8 history which fade into insignificance. It is the great de-
9 cisions that count, the great decisions. And this is why
10 history has so few great men.

11 You can't remember the names of five of Lincoln's
12 critics -- and he had a thousand of them a day, and they got
13 the headlines. But Lincoln stands there immortal.

14 You can't remember the name of ten of Jefferson's
15 critics, or even the name of a publication that criticized
16 him -- yet today he stands eternal and immortal.

17 And you can hardly remember even the critics of
18 Woodrow Wilson in this century. And now you wouldn't even
19 think there ever was a critic of John Kennedy. And yet I
20 would refer you to the Life Magazine of November 1963, the
21 week before he died. Read it. And what do you see? That
22 he had lost favor on the campuses, that the intellectual
23 community had turned sour on him, that it was doubtful as to
24 whether or not he could be reelected. Why? Because he had
25 courage, because he took a stand, because he said let's get

1 America moving again, because he said he wanted friends and
2 foe alike to know that we take our stand.

3 Great men always have momentary troubles. Only
4 little men seem to do well on all the little details of life.
5 Great men do well in the big things.

6 (Applause.)

7 You don't have to remember every statistic. If you
8 want to remember statistics, buy yourself a World Almanac,
9 they accumulate them.

10 (Laughter.)

11 You don't have to remember the name of every law.
12 You can get that -- you can go right to the Library of Congress
13 or go to your Congressman, he will give you the whole listing.

14 What you need to remember ~~of the~~ sweep of history
15 -- what do we remember about Franklin Roosevelt? He lifted
16 us out of a depression. I will tell you what I remember
17 about him. He gave my mother and father hope. I remember
18 that he said this government was here to serve us. I remember
19 he said it wasn't the duty of government to see that those who
20 already have too much got more, but those who had too little
21 received enough.

22 I remember he talked about a rendezvous with destiny.
23 I remember the big things. I remember when he said we must
24 quarantine the aggressor. And I remember when the country
25 turned against him in the elections of 1938. Have you

1 forgotten? A man that won the greatest victory that any
2 President had had since James Monroe and George Washington;
3 carried every state but two in 1936 -- that same President had
4 the most colossal congressional defeat of any President in the
5 20th Century two years later.

6 Do you know why? Because he said America, wake up.
7 There is danger in the world. And he stood there in Chicago
8 in the summer of 1938 and he said that aggressor must be
9 quarantined, we must stop him before it is too late. And we
10 had voices then, as now, that said it is really not our busi-
11 ness. Let's stay away from this sort of thing.

12 And now the world is much smaller than it was then.
13 Great men do great things and they are remembered for the
14 great things, not for the little nit-picking criticisms, not
15 even for their little mistakes and human errors, because we
16 all make them.

17 Well, we had a purpose, as I said, to build this
18 better America, and we have been building it in 101 different
19 ways, in ways, my dear friends, that you never dreamed
20 possible even four years ago.

21 I noted down here one of our purposes is better
22 health for the American people. I am not going through every
23 program. I will just simply say this, that more has been
24 done in the field of health for the American people in the
25 last four years than in the preceding one-hundred. That is a

1 statement of fact.

2 When you have 23 to 24 million of your senior
3 citizens that for the first time instead of having to plead
4 pauperism to be able to have modern medical care and hospital
5 care under which are noble and decent and dignified in the
6 hospital of their choice, with the doctor of their choice, and
7 to have their bills paid by an insurance system, I tell you
8 that is an achievement. If we have done nothing else we
9 should be remember for that. And you ought to talk about it.

10 (Applause.)

11 I know a little about this fight. I introduced the
12 very first bill on Medicare May 17, 1949. And I have some-
13 times -- you know, once in a while people come up to me and
14 say, "Well, Mr. Vice President, what ever happened to that
15 liberal program you were for?"

16 (Laughter.)

17 And then I just ruin their whole day. I say we
18 passed it.

19 (Laughter.)

20 It is now the law of the land. Some people are
21 never so happy as when they are unhappy.

22 (Laughter.)

23 Some people are never quite so satisfied as when
24 they are unsatisfied.

25 Harry Truman made the first recommendations in 1947.

1 Hubert Humphrey came into the 81st Congress in 1949, put in
2 the first bill. And Lyndon Johnson signed the bill in 1965
3 at Independence, Missouri, in the presence of Harry Truman.
4 That is Medicare.

5 Now, ladies and gentlemen, as fellow Democrats, I
6 can tell you that the opposition is going to find out all the
7 things that they think are wrong and they are going to be an
8 exaggerator, too, plenty. You don't need to contribute to it.
9 You do not need to add your little nickel's worth or dime's
10 worth to what is wrong with what we have done. Why don't you
11 leave it to the people that really want to point out what is
12 wrong?

13 (Laughter, applause.)

14 Now, let's take a look at something else -- education.
15 Thomas Jefferson once said you can't be both free and ignorant,
16 you have to make a choice.

17 (Laughter, applause.)

18 And others have said that, as Toynbee put it, that
19 civilization is a race between catastrophe and education.

20 Now, this administration has done more for education
21 than any administration in the history of the United States,
22 with possibly one exception, and that is the administration of
23 Abraham Lincoln, with the Land Grant Act and the Moral College
24 Act that set up our Land-Grant Colleges.

25 I started -- the very first bill I ever voted on in

1 Washington, when I was a young Senator, the first bill was
2 federal aid to education. We passed it in the Senate. They
3 killed it in the House. It was sort of a ping-pong game, a
4 net ball every other time. And then they would pass it in
5 the House, as Neal knows, and we would kill it in the Senate.
6 You could be sure that somewhere somehow that little thing
7 called federal aid to education, that helpless little soul
8 would be knocked down somewhere between the House and the
9 Senate. And it was always defeated either on the issue of
10 religion or race or, once in a while, somebody injected in
11 economy or violation of states rights or the terrible spectre
12 of federal control. Nobody ever got down to, at least not a
13 majority ever would settle on what is good for the child.

14 Then you got a President that was a little country
15 school teacher down in Southwest Texas. That was his first
16 job. He didn't graduate from one of the Ivy League colleges.
17 He graduated from a little teachers college in Texas. And
18 his first task, his first job he got \$60 a month. He was
19 the school teacher in a little school in Southwest Texas for
20 Mexican-American children. He took his first checks to buy
21 playground equipment and books.

22 And that President, that man who was then a school
23 teacher, resolved that if he ever got in public life he was
24 going to do something about better education. His first
25 federal position was with the National Youth Administration,

1 back in the depression years, NYA. And, again, he was working
2 with young people and he saw the necessity of uplifting the
3 quality of life.

4 And when he became President of the United States we
5 got a federal aid to education bill. And, ladies and gentle-
6 men, this last year, the total investment of the federal
7 government in all forms of federal aid to education, higher
8 education, science and research education, grants to univer-
9 sities, elementary and secondary education, the National
10 Defense Education Act, vocational education -- the total amount
11 of money put in this year was \$12 billion to the school
12 children of America, to the young Americans, including 1.5
13 million young men and women in college on scholarships. Seven
14 million young men and women in American higher education this
15 year, more than all of the rest of the world put together.

16 This administration is known as the Education
17 Administration. Our purpose -- to see to it that every American
18 child receives the best education that modern educational
19 methods are capable of giving. That is what our purpose is.

20 People say, well, you should have done more. That
21 may be true. I think I should be better to my family. I am
22 sure that is true. Some of you might even go on to admit
23 that if you were up here. I am sure I should do some other
24 things.

25 But the important thing is are we doing better now

1 than we did? And four years ago, ladies and gentlemen, in
2 1963, we spent less than \$2 billion, less than \$3 billion on
3 all forms of research to education, all sorts of aid. We
4 have gone up 400 per cent.

5 Now the conservatives think it is too much. And
6 some people who just enjoy being unhappy about things think
7 it is too little. You know what I think? I think it is a
8 lot more than you ever expected or ever dreamed possible.

9 (Applause.)

10 To give you another figure, the federal government
11 has spent twice as much on education since 1963 as it spent
12 in the previous century. That is a pretty good record. Now
13 maybe someone has got a better one, but it hasn't been in
14 this country.

15 Now, what is another one of our purposes? Well, I
16 hear people talk about morality a great deal in government,
17 in this particular year. There are a number of moral special-
18 ists.

19 (Laughter.)

20 I am not sure that any of us are really capable of
21 discussing morality with a complete sense of personal morality.
22 But we aspire to it. What do we mean by morality? Well, one
23 thing I think we mean is that when you -- if you are rich,
24 if you are blessed, if you are blessed by God Almighty with
25 health and with wealth and with strength -- if I have been

1 taught anything and everything in my religious experience
2 and moral experience, it is that you ought to share. In the
3 Old Testament or the New there is a constant refrain --
4 minister unto the poor, minister unto the needy, help the
5 least of these. That is what our religious, spiritual ethic
6 is all about.

7 And here is a nation that has a gross national pro-
8 duct of \$800 billion -- tremendous wealth. We consumed and
9 produced -- we produced 40 per cent of everything that was
10 produced in the world last year. We're pretty important
11 people, and rather rich.

12 And yet in our midst there were the poor. Now,
13 ladies and gentlemen, those poor have been with us a long,
14 long time. There were more poor people in the 1950's than
15 there were in the 1960's. But this administration is the
16 first administration in the history of this country that says
17 that it declared war on poverty. Other administrations have
18 said we will try to relieve some of the suffering. We will
19 give a Band-Aid here and we will offer a little anesthetic
20 here and we will give a little pain relief there. But this
21 administration said we will experiment, we will try to find
22 an answer.

23 And most of our critics are the ones who show what
24 mistakes we made. Well, now, let me tell you, Dr. Barnard
25 made a mistake, too, in a heart transplant. Dr. Shumway

1 didn't save his patient, either. By the way, all these great
2 heart doctors have been trained at the University of Minnesota.
3 I thought I would just say that.

4 (Laughter, applause.)

5 That great heart hospital at the University of
6 Minnesota is one of the two great heart institutions in the
7 world. There are others, but this is one of the greatest.
8 They have undoubtedly made some experiments that did not suc-
9 ceed. But I think it is important to know that you do not
10 condemn the doctor because he didn't succeed. You literally
11 get down on your knees and -- if you have heart trouble in
12 your family, and say I hope and pray to God that he can find
13 the answer next time.

14 And we pour in resources for experimentation. We
15 did it for years on polio. We have been doing it on measles,
16 and we honored the doctor here only recently that was the man
17 that developed the measles vaccine that will save so much
18 tragedy.

19 What about poverty? It is a sickness just exactly as
20 anything else. It is a sickness as bad as cancer. And yet we
21 continue to pour in hundreds of millions of dollars into
22 cancer treatment -- and I am surely for it. Two of my family
23 have been afflicted. I think I know whereof I speak. And I
24 don't complain about a single doctor that had an experiment
25 that went wrong. I just simply say I hope he can find the

1 answer next time.

2 Well, what about the victims of poverty that have
3 been tied down in the prisons of poverty for generations? The
4 answer to poverty is not a check or a handout or a basket of
5 groceries. That is compassion, to be sure. But it doesn't
6 get at the root causes.

7 This administration says we're going to experiment,
8 we're going to look, we're going to try, we're going to try
9 to see if we can bring motivation to those that are -- that
10 no longer have motivation; self respect to those that have
11 lost it; self-help to those that have forgotten it; jobs to
12 the hard-core unemployed. That is what I was working on this
13 morning.

14 We're trying to find, with the top business leaders
15 of America, how we can train -- first how we can prepare and
16 then train people who have never had a job in their lives,
17 and get them into private industry on a payroll so they can
18 be self-sustaining citizens.

19 And I can see the news stories now and I can see
20 the comment -- program fails in such and such a town; forty-
21 five people hired and trained under hard-core unemployed
22 program; twenty-two flunk out. Oh, I know. I am the author
23 of the job centers, the job corps centers. And I have heard
24 them talk about these job corps centers and I know they have
25 had a lot of trouble with them. I know that. They took

1 back 140,000--some General Motors cars, too. They had a little
2 trouble with them, but General Motors is a going proposition.

3 (Laughter, applause.)

4 And I want to go on record, it didn't just happen
5 to GM, it happened to Ford and Chrysler and American and all
6 of them.

7 (Laughter.)

8 And I think they are all great. I just wish I could
9 do half as well. It isn't to be critical.

10 But I will tell you this about the job corps centers.
11 We've got about 100,000 young men and women in those centers,
12 that have come out of those centers already. Every one of
13 them was a drop-out before they went in. Every one of them
14 was a self-confessed failure. The average rate of pay for
15 any that ever had a job was 70 cents an hour and only five
16 per cent of them ever had a job.

17 When they left the job corps the rate of pay was
18 \$1.90 an hour. 70,000 out of the 100,000 got jobs in private
19 industry. 20,000 went back to school to complete their
20 education. 10,000 joined the armed services.

21 Now I know that they had a drop-out rate of around
22 30 per cent. But I will tell you something, more than that
23 drop out of Harvard. They do.

24 (Laughter, applause.)

25 I would have said Iowa but I didn't want to get in

1 any trouble around here.

2 (Laughter.)

3 I know ~~that~~ it happens in Minnesota.

4 (Laughter.)

5 And remember that every one of these were drop-outs.

6 What is morality? I think the real test of morality
7 is when you are blessed with so much, do you care about ~~these~~
8 who have so little? That is the real test. Are you willing
9 to take a stand for the weak not only to put your hand out
10 and to help them through momentarily but to get them to stand
11 straight and tall? Are you willing to spend time and re-
12 sources and faith in helping someone else?

13 Now you say individually yes. Oh, my goodness,
14 there are people in this room by the dozens that could look
15 back over their lives and remember people that you have
16 literally helped stand strong. And some of you got help like
17 I did.

18 Now if it's good enough for an individual in a
19 democracy to do this for another individual, then what about
20 a government of the people, by the people and for the people
21 doing exactly the same thing?

22 (Applause.)

23 Well, we have been doing a little better. We have
24 got a lot of work to do. Tonight, I just looked down here,
25 we have -- we had back in 1960 21 per cent of the American

1 living below what we called the poverty line -- 15 per cent
2 now. That isn't enough, enough progress, but it is 6 per
3 cent -- 6 per cent. That is a pretty good record. And if we
4 stick with it we will get some results. That is what we mean
5 by perseverance.

6 Everything that you need to do today requires the
7 best that you have. Listen, the ordinary problems anybody
8 can solve. The ordinary little international crisis in the
9 world takes care of itself. The ones we get are the ones
10 that are ready to blow the world to bits. The ordinary little
11 problems in America take care of themselves. The ones that we
12 get are the festering sores of generations and centuries, the
13 explosive ones. And it is your party and your President that
14 has had to come to grips with these problems at home and
15 abroad. And I suggest that you quit putting any poison in
16 the well from whence you are going to have to drink. In
17 other words, take care of what you have, protect your own,
18 speak up when you have people that condemn us, just call them
19 right then and there and say I disagree with that and start
20 citing the record. That is the way you win, when you have
21 confidence based on fact, when you have confidence based on
22 program, confidence based on achievement, and particularly
23 when you are arguing with a Republican because he just doesn't
24 have that much to offer.

25 (Laughter, applause.)

1 Well, from civil rights to food stamps, from model
2 cities to rural libraries, to safe streets, to clean meats --
3 we've had a sense of purpose. And every one of these measures
4 has been tough to get and we've had a sense of purpose when
5 it came to prosperity, too.

6 The national income grew three times as fast between
7 1961 and '67 as it grew in the preceding five years. Now, you
8 didn't remember that. Let me repeat it. It grew three times
9 as fast as between 1961 -- between 1961 and '67 as compared
10 to the previous five years. And in the preceding eight years
11 before '61, our Republican friends being in charge, they had
12 three recessions. You haven't -- you can spell recession
13 since we've been in. It hasn't happened.

14 (Laughter, applause.)

15 Personal incomes grew more during any one of these
16 years, from '61 to '67 than in all of the five years from
17 1956 to '61. But, you know what? You've gotten accustomed
18 to it. That's a fact. It is sort of reminds me -- it is just
19 like some of these things on the world scene. When a fellow
20 is just making trouble for you all the time and threatening
21 you with destruction and harassing you and making your life
22 miserable -- when he stops just one of his little evil acts
23 you say, isn't it wonderful, it looks like he's changing for
24 the good.

25 (Laughter.)

1 Or put it another way, in your own personal relation-
2 ships. I will tell you, fellows, your wife will love you
3 every day of her life and she will be loyal and faithful to
4 you, and be good to you, and if you just make one little
5 mistake, you just race on shorted cane -- or vice versa, I
6 want to twist it around, so it can happen either way.

7 (Laughter.)

8 The truth is that we have had a remarkable record.
9 I know individuals on some cases -- I know it didn't apply to
10 me -- but the facts speak for themselves. Paychecks are up,
11 real income is up, not inflated income, in real dollars. And
12 for the business community, profits are up, in real dollars.
13 The market is up, in real dollars. And taxes at the federal
14 level are down, in any kind of dollar. And even if President
15 Johnson's surcharge tax that he is asking for goes into
16 effect, we will still be paying the whole lot less taxes than
17 we've paid when President Johnson became President of the
18 United States.

19 You can't double your expenditures in four years on
20 education or triple your expenditures in health if you can't
21 pay the bill. And you can't have progress without prosperity.
22 And the fact is that we have had both. Of course we have
23 slums and we have rural poverty. We have some haphazard
24 urbanization. We have too much waste of natural resources.
25 And we have hard-core unemployment, discrimination and

1 inequality and inequity, I should say, for the American farmer.
2 These are problems and more of them that are still with us.

3 But the important thing here is we have begun to
4 attack them. We didn't put them under the rug, hide them
5 back in the closet. We've put them right out here. In fact,
6 we talk about them so much that some people think that is the
7 whole thing.

8 We're not ignoring them. This is our sense of pur-
9 pose. Now, President Johnson chartered our continuing attack
10 on these problems in his State of the Union Address -- a
11 manpower program to wipe out our hard-core unemployed. This
12 morning we meet with the top industrialists of America, Mr.
13 Henry Ford heading our whole program, turning over some of
14 the top business executives of the Ford Company, free of
15 charge to your government to meet the problem of hard-core
16 unemployed.

17 This Monday, this week -- this coming week, I have
18 three days of conferences on our Youth Opportunity Program in
19 Washington, with the mayors of the top cities, with the
20 leading business, financial, labor, voluntary agency repre-
21 sentatives -- 500 of them for three days, to work on these
22 problems.

23 We've had a six-fold -- he outlined a six-fold in-
24 crease in the rate of low and middle-income housing construc-
25 tion over the next decade, a child health program, increased

1 consumer protection, drug control to stop the sale of slavery
2 to the young. And every mother and father ought to be inter-
3 ested in that. And the study of insurance, that is the auto
4 insurance system that is largely responsible for the torrent
5 of litigation that all too often gluts the courts of America.

6 Are these dramatic programs? Well, some people say
7 they're not. I read the columns. Some of them don't find
8 them very dramatic. They're dramatic, however, to the people
9 that need them. Every one of them are steps designed to fill
10 the opportunity gaps that still exist in this democracy of
11 ours.

(2) 12 Now let me, therefore, just put it straight to you.
13 We're not trying to make a welfare state. Believe me, I know.
14 I travel around this world. I have been in four continents,
15 thirty-five or more countries, and I have been in over 500
16 American cities and forty-eight states of this Union. I have
17 been with the rich and the poor, with the white and the black,
18 with foreigners and with home citizens, and I will tell you,
19 dear friends, when you start griping just let me remind you
20 of one thing, you have never been in a place that is as
21 wonderful as the United States of America. Believe me, it is
22 true.

23 (Applause.)

24 Now let me say a word about the matter that is so
25 close to us in the midwest. It hasn't been easy this year,

1 these years on our farm front. Secretary Freeman spoke to you
2 about it brilliantly last night, and I know your Governor here
3 this morning gave one of the most brilliant and exciting and
4 moving speeches that has been made to any conference.

5 We tried. And agriculture is going through a great
6 economic and social revolution. Secretary Freeman outlined
7 for you in more precise and more knowledgeable terms than I
8 ever will be able to, what we have tried to do and what we're
9 going to do.

10 I put it simply: We seek first-class treatment for
11 rural America. We're a first-class country. You just ought
12 to think that way. Excellence. That song, you know, The Man
13 from Lamancha, The Impossible Dream, Dreaming the Impossible
14 Dream -- we dare to dream it because it is not impossible.
15 Everything that other people said was impossible is what has
16 made this country great.

17 They said it was impossible to have government by
18 the consent of the governed. We proved it was possible. They
19 said it was impossible to span this continent in less than a
20 half a century. We proved that it was possible. They said it
21 was impossible to put strips of steel to build a railroad
22 across this continent and we did it in less than a quarter of
23 a century.

24 They said it was impossible to hold this Union to-
25 gether, it would be divided. And even though it was a terribly

1 painful experience, we proved that it was possible. We proved
2 time after time that we can do what some people think is im-
3 possible. You see, that is why I am an optimist. There aren't
4 many left in Washington, but I am one of them.

5 (Laughter.)

6 And sometimes I guess the way that you get to be
7 well-known is to become the best pessimist. That seems to
8 demonstrate that you have great knowledge. Well, I will tell
9 you what I think demonstrates great knowledge. The history of
10 America. And the history of America is not replete with its
11 failures. The history of America and the progress of America
12 is not the sum total of our inadequacies. The history of
13 this country and what America is today is the result of people
14 who said we can do it, who were can-do people, who had pur-
15 pose and will and perseverance.

16 And the little people who were the critics and the
17 grippers and the criers and the complainers, they've been for-
18 gotten. They are lost in the sands of time and the giants
19 move out front. And those are the ones your children read
20 about and know about.

21 Well, now, we want to have rural America, which is
22 the heritage of our country, first-class, too. And, as we
23 have said from other platforms, farmers have got to have the
24 same bargaining rights, the same economic rights that the
25 rest of the economy has. Everybody else in the economy says

1 I will charge you so much for my labor. If you want to buy my
2 car the charge is this. But the farmer, they say to him, you
3 will get so much. We will give you so much.

4 Well, when a man is in the position of being the
5 recipient of giving he is in trouble. So, Mr. Farmer today
6 says, look, we want the programs that we have and we want to
7 build on them. We fought hard to get them. Those programs
8 are part of the bargaining kit, the tools that we have to
9 give the American farmers economic justice. And farmers are
10 going to be given new tools.

11 The feed grain program and the commodity programs all
12 add to the farmer's bargaining power. I wonder if people out
13 in this part of America really thought what would have hap-
14 pened if we had none of these programs. And I want to remind
15 you that it took a lot of doing to get them. Talk is cheap.

16 My friend, Neal Smith, sent me over a little note
17 here and he said I think when you're out there in Des Moines
18 you might just mention a little bit about some of our experi-
19 ences in the Congress. The Republicans have been doing a lot
20 of talking, too. "You know, they are just out here telling
21 you what a bad farm program we've got. Well, I just want to
22 remind you, boy, they ought to know what a bad program this
23 is. They designed a half dozen of them.

24 (Laughter, applause.)

25 You knock out the programs we have today on our basic

1 commodities and your farm income will drop one-third. And we
2 had to fight even with a huge Democratic majority, we had to
3 fight hard to get the programs we have.

4 Look at the record. In '65 four Democratic
5 Congressmen from Iowa, Minnesota and North Dakota served on
6 the House Livestock and Feedgrain Subcommittee and they played
7 the key role in drafting a four-year feed grains bill. In 1967
8 those four were replaced by newly-elected Republican Congress-
9 men. Somebody said to me what is wrong with this Congress.
10 I say I will tell you what is wrong with it. We lost forty-
11 seven good Congressmen, four of them right out of Iowa, good
12 Democratic Congressmen.

13 Well, all of these new Republicans that went on that
14 farm committee, they all voted against the commodity reserve
15 bill, which would have given some price protection to Mr.
16 Farmer. If just one of them -- you know, you can't expect
17 many of them to do anything for you -- but if just one of them
18 had given us one vote, we would have had another farm --
19 another tool in the kit, a bargaining power for the American
20 farmer.

21 I submit to you that failure to get a commodity
22 reserve bill, a set-aside bill of our reserve surplus stocks
23 cost Iowa farmers alone more than \$100 million last year.
24 That is what it cost you to elect those fellows that took the
25 place of some of your good Democrats that you had down there,

1 when you lost Schmidhauser and Greigg and Hansen and Bandstra.
2 You just charged yourself \$100 million, that's all.

3 Now, we didn't help you much up in Minnesota because
4 we lost Alic Olson. But we didn't have quite so bad a record.
5 But the man that we lost and the man that replaced him, he
6 was one of those who voted against Mr. Farmer.

7 Well, this is why the President of the United States
8 again outlined some more suggestions and said we've got to do
9 something more. Look what we did. We changed the whole sup-
10 port loan policy to enable more farmers to maintain control of
11 their grain right on their own land so they could bargain. And
12 this security commodity reserve again would be protection
13 against price depressing surplus stocks.

14 And then the President went on to say that he is
15 going to recommend new programs to help farmers bargain more
16 effectively for fair prices. But I want to be honest with
17 you. There is -- it is one thing to recommend them; it is
18 another thing to pass them. And you pass them in the Congress.

19 And, ladies and gentlemen, we're not just electing
20 a President and a Vice President in 1968, we've got a Congress
21 to elect. And I submit to you that if we lose another forty-
22 seven seats or another twenty-five seats, you can kiss these
23 farm programs good-bye because the Republicans have never
24 helped you. Now that is a statement based on fact and not on
25 prejudice.

1 Well, now let me just add on just a few more words,
2 I've kept you a long time, about the scene as I see it on the
3 international front, because that is where people are really
4 concerned.

5 What about America's place in this troubled world?
6 I will put it this way: I looked out over this audience to
7 see mothers and fathers, and I will just put it this way.
8 No matter what may happen in the midwest in the coming year,
9 it cannot possibly so seriously affect your life as the
10 disaster that happens in the mideast, or even in Southeast
11 Asia, or in the northeast Japanese sea, up and around Korea.

12 Foreign policy, national security, life and death --
13 that is what we are talking about. So what is our purpose?
14 What do we seek? Well, we seek abroad what we seek at home.
15 We seek self-determination for all men. We seek national de-
16 velopment in all nations. We seek international cooperation.
17 As John Kennedy put it, we seek a world safe for diversity.

18 We don't want a world that is all alike. We do not
19 seek to put a label on every country that says "Made in the
20 United States of America." What we seek, if you please,
21 abroad as at home, is the right of a people to live their
22 individual lives unmolested. You want safe streets, don't
23 you? You abhor violence in your cities. We abhor crime on
24 the streets and the cry comes up in America, put down this
25 terrorism. Put down this violence.

1 Ladies and gentlemen, if you believe that you ought
2 to have a safe country here and that the aggressor and the
3 criminal and the terrorist and the subversive ought to be held
4 in check, if you believe that is the way American ought to be,
5 then you surely ought to believe that is the way the world
6 ought to be, because this is a mighty small world. It is a
7 world that technology, communication have brought together
8 like a little marble as compared to a basketball a few years
9 back.

10 I remember leaving Tunisia not long ago in the morn-
11 ing and being in Washington at 6:30 at night, left there at
12 11:30. I traveled 27,000 miles, visited nine countries in
13 thirteen days. This is a very small world. And what happens
14 to any part of this world affects your life, therefore, the
15 President of the United States, to serve you, to provide for
16 the common defense and to promote the general welfare, must
17 be every bit as concerned and even more concerned about what
18 happens in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America, as
19 he is what happens in the United States.

20 And if you want a peaceful America you have to pay
21 the price, in development and security; if you want a peaceful
22 world you have to pay the price.

23 You know, I am so interested in the reasoning of
24 some people. Some of our American people say we need to have
25 more police in our cities and they have to see to it that

1 people obey the law. They say we need to train the National
2 Guard for riot duty for our cities and we need to see that the
3 city streets are safe.

4 Ladies and gentlemen, what about the world's streets?
5 Who is it that can keep the peace if we can't? Who is that
6 can stop the aggressor if we are not willing to make at least
7 an effort?

8 We do not seek to be the world's policeman but we
9 seek to have a world in which the conditions for a just and an
10 enduring peace are there. And if we have learned anything out
11 of the last generation it should be that you cannot appease
12 an aggressor.

13 Now, I can see where my youngest boy might not have
14 learned it because he was born after the war. I can see where
15 a boy or a girl 16 or 17 or 18 on our college campus or in
16 high school may not understand it because they have never had
17 to live through it. But for older generations, have you for-
18 gotten? Have we forgotten when we ignored Japanese militar-
19 ism? Have we forgotten when we pretended that Hitler wouldn't
20 be on a world rampage? Have we forgotten even the exploits
21 of a Mussolini? Haven't we learned the lesson that aggression
22 unleashed is aggression unchecked? Haven't we learned that
23 there is no appeasement? Haven't we learned that there is
24 no way to satisfy the appetite of an aggressor?

25 It is just exactly like local law officials thinking

1 that they can buy off the mob or that you can make peace with
2 the criminal element. You cannot. And all over the world,
3 wherever I have been, I have seen these forces at work, under-
4 mining, playing on the people's misery, stirring up revolt,
5 revolution, in country after country.

6 And your country has said, look, we want to help
7 build a better world, and let me say for the record, no country
8 has been as generous as this country. No nation has ever
9 given so much over such a continuous period of time to the
10 cause of peace as the United States, and the cause of world
11 security.

12 We have stood guard in Europe. All of our European
13 friends today, many of them are very critical of us in South-
14 east Asia. But, ladies and gentlemen, I was there in April
15 and when we mentioned in Europe that we were going to take one
16 division of American troops out of Europe, they had a panic.

17 They say, oh, you can't do that, you will leave us
18 unprotected. But, you see, Europe today is very European.
19 They want Americans there. What do you think would happen
20 today, my dear friends, if America were to remove its guard
21 from Berlin? What do you think would happen? I don't have to
22 spell it out for you, because this country three times in the
23 last ten years has had to go to the rescue of Berlin. The
24 very first act of John Kennedy, when he became President, was
25 to mobilize not a few thousand reserves, 250,000 reserves, and

1 to send 50,000 American troops to France and hence to Germany
2 to strengthen Berlin. Three times this has happened.

3 It is the commitment of American power, it is the
4 commitment of America's integrity to her treaties and her
5 obligations that keeps what little peace there is in this
6 world today. The day that the United States of America de-
7 faults, on that day the tidal wave of aggression sweeps the
8 world.

9 Oh, I could go down the line and just describe it for
10 you. Harry Truman is my kind of an American. He is an authen-
11 tic American, a real one. And I want to tell you something,
12 ladies and gentlemen, I was in Iowa when he was about as
13 unpopular as smallpox.

14 (Laughter.)

15 But I will tell you this, that he has lived to see
16 his name amongst the immortals. And why? Because Harry Truman
17 knew that when you were President you had only one thing left
18 to do, to do what was right, as God gave you to see the right.
19 And Harry Truman put the strength of this Nation on the line.
20 Harry Truman even had to bring one war to a conclusion. He
21 had to save Europe and he went to the defense of Korea to
22 save Asia. And yet there isn't a person in this room that
23 wouldn't stand up and cheer him. You love him.

24 You walk out here on the streets of Des Moines and
25 you ask the people, name me five great Presidents, and I would

1 be willing to wager anything that I have that one of the five
2 will be Mr. Truman, even from the staunchest Republican in
3 town. And do you know why? Because he had character, because
4 he knew what the stakes were, because he was like Abraham
5 Lincoln who said and spoke with malice toward none and with
6 charity for all but with firmness in the right as God gives
7 me to see the right. He made decisions. And when he made
8 them he had about a 26 per cent popularity.

9 Here is what he said in March 1947:

10 "I believe that it must be the policy of the
11 United States to support free people who are re-
12 sisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities
13 or by outside pressures. If we falter in our
14 leadership we may endanger the peace of the world
15 and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our
16 own Nation. Great responsibilities have been
17 placed upon us."

18 That is the policy of this country. That is Harry
19 Truman's policy. That was Dwight Eisenhower's policy. That
20 was John Kennedy's policy. And that is Lyndon Johnson's
21 policy.

22 President Johnson hasn't signed one new treaty of
23 commitment save to prevent weapons of mass destruction and
24 outer space. The only commitments this Nation has signed under
25 our leadership, under the Johnson-Humphrey administration are

1 commitments to enduring peace. But we're keeping our con-
2 tracts. We're keeping our historic commitments.

3 This is what Dwight Eisenhower and John Kennedy
4 thought, and this is what Lyndon Johnson thinks. And we
5 haven't faltered and I am proud of it. Why do you think
6 America stands today as the giant of the earth? Well, from
7 Greece and Turkey, to the straits of Formosa and Korea, from
8 Berlin to the Congo, from Cuba to Geneva, from Lebanon to
9 Cyprus, throughout the free world we have tried to live up to
10 these great responsibilities.

11 Now, when I see people out parading and demonstrat-
12 ing, surely it is their right, I wish that on the other side
13 of the signs, because they only paint one side, that they
14 might put something else, that -- they are in there condemn-
15 ing us for Vietnam, condemning us for that, but why hasn't
16 somebody reminded them or reminded you that only less than a
17 month ago the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson,
18 saved the peace in the Mediterranean when he sent his own
19 personal representative and personally conducted the diplomacy
20 that stopped a war between Greece and Turkey, when the ships
21 were loaded and the planes were ready to fly?

22 I didn't hear a single mass meeting in America say
23 thank you, Mr. President, thank you for saving the peace. But
24 I can scarcely go to a meeting but what we are harassed, if
25 not by noise by obscenity, in the name of peace. We have

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1 used our power with restraint and we have used our wealth with
2 compassion. And I think that it is about time that Americans
3 are proud of that record. I don't think we ought to deceive
4 the enemy, and we're doing it. And in deceiving the enemy we
5 may very well be threatening our own lives because when the
6 enemy thinks that we're divided they may try to take advantage
7 of that division.

8 I wouldn't be a bit surprised but what some people in
9 North Korea thought we were more divided than we are, more
10 divided and their attack upon the Pueblo, the U.S.S. Pueblo,
11 didn't divide America. It united it.

12 One of the reasons that we've signed treaties of
13 alliance is to serve notice on would-be aggressors that they
14 ought to know what we will do because we came out of World War
15 I saying that maybe if Hitler had known that we were going to
16 be there, had we joined and had we signed the treaty of
17 Versailles, had we been a member of the League of Nations,
18 maybe Hitler would not have marched, at least that was what
19 I was taught. That was the belief of my generation.

20 So we translated that belief into the treaties of
21 commitment, NATO and SEATO and the Treaty of Rio and other
22 treaties that we have, and we said let the world know that if
23 aggression becomes a method of international conduct, we will
24 resist it. Let the world know -- and, ladies and gentlemen,
25 the world does know and as long as the Soviet Union and

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1 Communist China and other great powers know that we mean it,
2 there will be no world war number three. But the day that
3 they think that we don't mean it there could be miscalcula-
4 tion.

5 Oh, I know we've had some setbacks and we've had
6 to learn some hard lessons. But let me tell you we've had
7 some successes, too. And our present engagement in Southeast
8 Asia is one more of these painful steps on the path towards
9 security and development in the world. And every great
10 President that we have had has known it.

11 President Kennedy knew it. Here is what he said:

12 "We are not going to withdraw from that effort" --
13 speaking about Vietnam "in my opinion for us to withdraw from
14 that effort would mean the collapse not only of South Vietnam
15 but of Southeast Asia. So we're going to stay there." And we
16 were there and we were there before Kennedy.

17 And last week President Johnson said America will
18 persevere and our patience and our perseverance will match
19 our power. Aggression will never prevail. But our goal is
20 peace and peace at the earliest possible moment. And peace
21 with honor on all sides. Peace that does not reward aggres-
22 sion. Peace that deserves the integrity of America's solemn
23 commitments around the world. That is our goal and that is
24 the only kind of a peace that is worthwhile. Not the peace
25 of appeasement, not the peace of the moment, but the kind of

1 peace that means constructive good, peace that minimizes the
2 chance of a wider war. We do not want "armor getting" on the
3 installment plan, and we can get it.

4 I am sometimes puzzled by the thoughts of some
5 people. I read a column not long ago which said what we really
6 ought to do is have our defense line in Australia. Well, now,
7 dear friends, that is even further away than Vietnam. Does
8 that mean that we will fight only for white people? Is that
9 what that means? Anglo Saxon culture? If that is what it
10 means then we have chosen to be on the side of the smallest
11 minority in the world.

12 We have taken a highly moral position, to stand by
13 those who are little and weak and of different ethnic back-
14 ground and culture than our own. And, make no mistake about
15 it, it is in our national interests. We are not in Southeast
16 Asia just because we want to help the Vietnamese for their
17 independence, we are there for ours, too. We learned a long
18 time ago the nibbling process of the aggressor.

19 And how are we going to achieve this peace? Well,
20 part of the answer must come from the enemy. And, ladies
21 and gentlemen, let me lay it on the table. The roadblock to
22 peace is not at the White House. I was there this morning.
23 The roadblock to peace is not in the State Department because
24 if anybody here or any place else can produce us one person
25 to talk to that can speak with responsibility for North

1 Vietnam and is willing to sit down and have prompt and pro-
2 ductive discussions and will not take advantage of those
3 discussions to maximize their own position, we will have
4 somebody there in twenty-four hours. We are prepared as of
5 this hour, as I speak to you, to have an immediate cease-fire.
6 We're prepared to have an immediate stand-down. We're pre-
7 pared to accept the offices, the good offices of His Holiness
8 the Pope. We're prepared to accept the good offices of the
9 co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference, the British and the
10 Soviet Union.

11 We have had 29 separate proposals for peace that
12 have come to us from outside sources and accepted every one.
13 And the Communists have said no to every one. No. And yet
14 we have Americans that go around trying to figure out how
15 wrong President Johnson is. We have people in this country
16 who would have you believe that this President, your President,
17 the American President does not want peace.

18 What do we have to gain out of bloodshed? Why,
19 ladies and gentlemen, if there were peace in Vietnam next
20 week we wouldn't need any regional Democratic meetings at
21 all, and you know it. If you want to put it on the crudest
22 basis of just political advantage, if the President of the
23 United States could have peace in Vietnam, he would turn to
24 a thousand things in this country that we need to do and
25 want to do.

1 Your President has had to suffer the humiliation
2 time after time of the derogatory statements of his own fellow
3 Americans. I think it is about time that somebody asked the
4 question who is it that stands in the way of peace. Who is
5 it? Who is it that is attacking South Vietnam long before
6 we ever came there.

7 We are not the aggressors. Our ship was in inter-
8 national waters. And yet there are those in the world today
9 that think that they can get by with acting like brutes. The
10 law of the jungle cannot prevail if you are going to have law
11 and order in this world. We have tried to do our part for a
12 peaceful world. No nation has done so much, committed so
13 many.

14 So let me make it clear, I firmly believe that those
15 who disagree with our established policy in Vietnam or disagree
16 with our tactics in the search for peace have every right to
17 express their views, but they have every obligation to express
18 an alternative, too. What would you do? Pick up and run?
19 Withdraw? Stand there and take it?

20 I hear people say time after time, stop the bombing.
21 Listen, ladies and gentlemen, there are mothers in this room
22 that have a son in Vietnam. Are you going to tell that
23 mother that that son is to have no protection? One of the
24 reasons that we bomb in certain areas of the North -- and
25 we haven't bombed promiscuously, we have not bombed the great

1 cities promiscuously, we have not bombed the dikes to flood
2 the countryside -- we place severe restraints upon our pilots,
3 some that they don't like. But when we see the flow of men
4 and material coming across the frontier and your Marines and
5 your infantrymen are on the other side, we haven't invaded
6 North Vietnam even though many have recommended it. Oh, your
7 men are in a defensive position in a country to which we have
8 a commitment by treaty, in South Vietnam. And your Commander-
9 in-Chief says I think that I owe it to those Marines up there
10 in the Demilitarized Zone, which is supposed to be demilitar-
11 ized, which demilitarization was violated by the North
12 Vietnamese -- I think I owe it to those Marines up there to
13 see to it that those mortars and those guns and those extra
14 forces don't get down there to kill them. So he sends an
15 American bomber fleet in to try to slow it down.

16 Nobody has ever said that this would win the war.
17 No one has ever said this would stop all the infiltration, any
18 more than if you add 100 more police in Des Moines, you will
19 stop all crime. But you will sure help. It will slow it
20 down. And that is exactly what we are doing. But, ladies
21 and gentlemen, we are prepared to stop all bombardment if it
22 will lead to prompt and productive discussions. What does
23 the enemy say to you? No. What did they say to the Pope?
24 No. What did he say to the President? No.

25 And yet, my fellow Americans, we have people up and

1 down this country today that would have you believe that it is
2 Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States, that stands in
3 the way of peace. I say shame on them, they know a lot better.

4 (Applause.)

5 Now, I am not unmindful that these are all very
6 troublesome questions. But I think you ought to be mindful of
7 the fact that the best minds that this country has has been
8 put to these questions. I think you also ought to be mindful
9 of the fact that -- as I said in the beginning -- that if we
10 are unable to help build a better world, who can? If we are
11 unwilling to take our stand in defense of freedom, who will?
12 If we are unable to build an America, a truly just society,
13 who can do it any place else?

14 If we are unable to help the weak, who will? If we
15 are unwilling to take a stand against aggression in this
16 century, out of our painful experience, who do you expect ever
17 will from here on out?

18 This is the time for testing. Do you know what I
19 think? I think the Americans are better when they are tested,
20 when they know the stakes are high, when they know they're
21 being called upon to give their best. And we're being called
22 upon now. I speak to you as citizens now, not just as
23 Democrats. I speak to you as members of the majority party,
24 the government of the United States. I ask you to speak
25 responsibly. I ask you to help bind up the wounds in this

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1 country. I ask you to help us in our cities with the under-
2 privileged and the disadvantaged. I ask you to help us in
3 rural America for those who have been denied a fair chance
4 there, too. And, above all, I ask for your understanding,
5 and I ask for your support for the President of the United
6 States, and I ask you to get on out between now and November
7 and make sure that this forward progress that we made at home
8 and the stand that we've taken for decency and for peace in
9 this world, that that progress and that stand are not for-
10 saken.

11 And if you will give us your help, give me your
12 hearts, your hands and your willing mind, give me of yourself
13 and give of yourself to this common cause. There isn't any
14 force in America that can stop our victory. We will have it
15 come November 1968.

16 Thank you very much.

17 (Applause.)

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REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

DNC REGIONAL CONFERENCE

DES MOINES, IOWA

JANUARY 27, 1968

That great Democrat, the happy warrior, the late Governor

Alb Smith used to say, "Let's look at the record." For victory in 1968

"Let's look at the record" should be our battle cry. We Democrats have

compiled a record of truly remarkable achievements - in legislative

program
~~accomplishment~~, in full employment, in unparalleled prosperity, in the

shoring up and reassertion of rights, in new horizons of opportunity

for the disadvantaged and deprived. The accomplishments of this

Democratic Administration *(comprise the G.O.)* ~~gambit~~ record on which every Democrat

running for public office this year can proudly stand. I know that ~~is that~~

as that is
record ~~must~~ placed before the American people over the months ahead

(so shall we obtain victory at the polls)
~~we can be certain of victory.~~ It is a record that speaks of the dedication

of Democrats to keeping this country moving and of the determination of

this party to bring the fulfillment of the American dream to all of our

people in all sections of ~~the~~ country. It is a record eloquently expressing

our vision of a better America and a happier and more secure world.

It is a record establishing that we, as Democrats, choose to trust our

hopes rather than our fears. That we choose to work, ~~hesitant~~ to think,

to dream, to build because in so doing we believe that America is

Now Let's Look at the Record.

In 1965, the 20 year battle for Medicare ~~begun~~ begun by President Truman in ~~1945~~ 1945 was won. Medicare provides a basic health insurance plan for virtual all Americans 65 years and older. Yet the coalition of retreat fought successfully for 20 years to stop this necessary legislation.

In 1965 when this legislation came up for ^a ~~an~~ key vote in the House of Representatives, [^] 93 per cent of the Republican members of the House voted against Medicare.

This legislation provides medical coverage for close to 20 million Americans. During the first six months of 1967 alone, some 12 million senior Americans received physician's or other medical services covered by Medicare. That's the record.

Today 70 per cent of ~~us~~ our people live in urban centers. In 50 years we will be a nation of 400 million people ^{at that time} ~~and~~ 320 million of us will live [^] in urban areas. In 1965, President Johnson proposed and Congress ~~enacted~~ passed the most far reaching housing and urban development legislation since the landmark Housing Act of 1949. 80 percent of the Republicans in the House of Representatives voted to kill this legislation. In the Senate, 73 of the Republicans voted against the future of our cities. ^{And} that's the record.

In 1966, President Johnson proposed and Congress passed ~~The Model~~ Cities program. This legislation is designed to ^{help} plan, develop and carry out comprehensive demonstration programs to improve our cities. 88 per cent of the House Republicans voted to defeat this legislation. And that's the record.

Nine million disadvantaged children ~~were helped~~ were helped in 1967 under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act on 1965.

Under this legislation ~~95 per cent of the nation's counties are~~ 95 per cent of the nation's counties are eligible to receive funds for local public school districts. But none

of that stopped 73 per cent of the House Republicans ~~from voting~~ ^{from voting} against passage of this legislation. While we have our sights drawn ~~on~~ on

this Administration's record in education, let's remember that we have had an Office of Education for approximately 100 years. From 1867, when that office was established, through 1963, \$ 5.8 billion was appropriated for expenditure by the Office of Education. From 1964 through 1968 we will ^{have spent} ~~will spend~~ close to ~~22.5~~ \$ 11.5 billion in support of education.

In other words, in the past five years, President Johnson has more than doubled the support for education than [†] had been given over the previous 96 years.

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the battle for
Time does not permit a full discussion of ~~each of the~~ Democratic proposals
for Minimum Wage, power development, Poverty programs, Food for Freedom,
Civil Rights, Food Stamp Program, Teacher Corps, Crime Control, ~~and~~ *and*
Public Broadcasting- ~~this is~~ *this is* but a partial list of the
~~Democratic~~ Democratic proposals the coalition of retreat has opposed. In a few
cases they were successful - in temporarily stopping need *ad* legislation *S*
~~either~~ blocking its passage, ~~or~~ severely limiting its scope, or so reducing
available funds as to make the program ineffective. ~~But~~ *That* too is the record,
and it is equally important to let the people know not only what we have been
able to accomplish despite overwhelming Republican opposition but, also,
what we have not been able to get done *because of the* ~~when confronted by the~~
coalition of retreat.

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The coalition of retreat says we cannot afford these programs.

Remember that in ¹⁹³⁵~~1931 and 1935~~ they said we couldn't afford the Social Security program - and in 1938 ~~they~~ they said we couldn't afford minimum wage legislation. They are just as wrong today as they were then.

Of course we can afford them.

What we cannot afford is to deny the promise of the American dream.

We cannot afford hungry children.

We cannot afford old people ~~without~~ denied proper medical care.

We cannot afford inadequate schools spawning ignorance.

We cannot afford poorly housed families.

We cannot afford the denial of opportunity.

What we cannot afford is the coalition of retreat - and we know what to do about that - don't we?

The raw awesome power of our industry - the riches of our land and the fertility of our soil - and above all the men and women behind the lathes and the tractors - in the fields and in the factories - these put the lie to the slander that we cannot afford progress.

All of our history has proven that America prospers as all Americans grow and prosper. Problems have risen not where we have acted to eliminate

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poverty and to create opportunity, but where we have failed to act.

Rural poverty and the urban crisis are not symptomatic of poor programs, but of the lack of sufficient funds ¹⁶ or effective programs.

We Democrats [✓] are not going to mortgage the future of America to the despair of the present. If we do not continue to act today, as we have done ~~it~~ in the 89th and 90th Congresses, to meet these great problems, then our children and our grandchildren will have to pay ~~that debt~~ that debt - the interest ~~in~~ on that debt is already too high in terms of frustration, bitterness, increased divisiveness, ~~the~~ and the waste of human resources left on the slag heap of lost hope.

This great land was not built by men who said, "We cannot afford it." or "It's too risky." Rivers and mountains and great plains were crossed, and America was built by men who dared to dream. ^{at} Perhaps ~~sometimes~~ our reach does exceed our grasp, but then we Democrats [✓] ~~are~~ are not done building yet.

America is not a museum to be governed by curators who seek only to preserve the status quo. America is a growing country - on the move and in full stride - and we Democrats are builders. When we keep this nation's books, we add people to the balance sheet. We judge our success or failure in ~~it~~ ^e terms of ~~whether~~ or not people are ~~being~~ ^e helped, ~~whether~~ they're living better.

Encl

... saying more. When we see new houses and highways, and new schools and factories being built we know that in terms of social accounting - the needs of the people - our books are in balance.

... That has been the record in the conduct of our domestic affairs. Now let's look at the record in foreign affairs. Since discussions of foreign affairs tend to be foreshadowed by the war in Vietnam, we must maintain an appropriate perspective of those events as well as of the larger context.

In March 1947, President Truman addressed a joint session of Congress to offer his recommendations on this country's policy for Greece and Turkey.

In announcing the Truman Doctrine, the President stated:

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

In his concluding remarks in that message, President Truman said:

The free people of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world - and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events.

(profound and)
That was a ~~great~~ prophetic statement by a great President.

It still bears the ring of truth. We continue to subscribe to that declaration of principles. The course that President Truman chose for the nation to

follow has not been an easy one.

Our resolve and our patience have been tested. As the years have gone by we have met these tests in Lebanon and Korea, in Berlin and in the Congo - and now in Vietnam.

There are those who suggest that others would have done it differently. Certainly not President Truman who acted to defend freedom in Korea or President Eisenhower^{or} who sent American troops to Lebanon. Both Presidents Truman and Eisenhower have stated their support of President Johnson's efforts to preserve the option of freedom for the Vietnamese people.

In March of 1961, three short months after assuming office President Kennedy spoke out clearly on the attempted subjugation of the Laotian people by the Communist Pathet Lao. He noted that Soviet planes had been involved in air lift operations and that North Vietnam had been supplying combat specialist. He then went on to state:

It is this new dimension of externally supported warfare that creates the present grave problem. ~~The position of this administration has been carefully considered and we have sought to make it just as clear as we know how to the governments concerned.~~

First, we strongly and unreservedly support the goal of a neutral and independent Laos, tied to no outside power or group of powers, threatening no one, and free from any domination. ~~Our support for the present duly constituted government is aimed entirely and exclusively at that result.~~

Secondly, if there is to be a peaceful solution, there must be a cessation of the present armed attacks by externally supported Communists. If these attacks do not stop, those who support a truly neutral Laos will have to consider their response. The shape of this necessary response will, of course, be carefully considered, not only here in Washington, but in the SEATO conference with our allies.

Thirdly, we are earnestly in favor of constructive negotiation among the nations concerned and among the leaders of Laos which can help Laos back to the pathway of independence and genuine neutrality. . . .

. . . The security of all Southeast Asia will be endangered if Laos loses its neutral independence. Its own safety runs with the safety of us all . . .

* * *

Our response will be made in close cooperation with our allies and the wishes of the Laotian Government. We will not be provoked, trapped, or drawn into this or any other situation; but I know that every American will want his country to honor its obligations to the point that freedom and security of the free world and ourselves may be achieved.

That's what President Kennedy said about Laos in 1961, in July of 1963

he said of Vietnam that :

We are not going to withdraw from that effort. In my opinion, for us to withdraw from that effort would mean a collapse not only of South Vietnam, but Southeast Asia. So we are going to stay there.

Our view today has not changed. There are 250 million people in Southeast

Asia, obviously the stakes in Vietnam extend far beyond the 15 million

Our presence in Southeast Asia is supported by the leaders of the area. beleaguered people in the South. Our position is as expressed it

President Johnson in the State of the Union message earlier this month:

Our position is as expressed it

America will persevere, and our patience and our perseverance will match our power. Aggression will never prevail. But our goal is peace - and peace at the earliest possible moment.

Peace cannot be achieved by yielding to aggression. Peace will be won

foreign policy
by sustaining the position that we have maintained for over two decades.

Peace will be won by re-electing President Johnson next November, *thereby*
reaffirming our commitment to these goals.

Indeed our presence and efforts throughout the world have widened the
options for freedom for the newly emerged and developing countries.

In Africa, 30 independent states have emerged in the past decade.

Intensive Communist efforts of subversion of their newly won independence has

failed. I have recently returned from an extensive mission to nine African

where
countries, *where* we were universally ~~greeted~~ met by great warmth and

hospitality by the people and the leaders in each country we visited.

They seek, as we do, a world free of coercion, tyranny and want. ~~Wanted~~

~~pledged to support the United States in its efforts to maintain the peace and to~~

In Latin America, we are joined with our neighbors in the
Alliance for Progress. Through our contributions to the InterAmerican
Development Bank - ~~is~~ currently ~~being~~ matched at a ratio of three dollars

of Latin American contribution for every dollar ~~we~~ *we* contribute - as well
as through our bilateral aid effort. *(in this partnership)* ~~We~~ *we* have achieved great progress in

economic and social development. ~~We have stood by our commitments to~~

~~the countries of Latin America.~~ In April of last year President Johnson

met with the President's of the Americas at Punta del Este, Uruguay to

to renew that commitment.

We are keeping our commitments in Latin America.

We are keeping our commitments in Africa.

We are keeping our commitments in the Middle East.

And we are keeping our commitments in Asia.

Above all we are keeping our commitments to the American people.

And I ~~xx~~ submit that is the record.

But that record is not closed because we Democrats are still dedicated to building a better America in a better world. In the State of the Union message President Johnson ~~proposed~~ announced a vigorous and meaningful legislative program.

He proposed -

A manpower development program for the hardcore unemployed.

Full appropriations for the Model Cities program.

A 10 year, 6 million unit low and middle income housing program.

A child health program.

A program of increased consumer protection

Programs for Safe Streets and Gun Control.

A Drug Control Act to "stop the sale of slavery for the young."

Farm programs to establishing a security commodity reserve
in the
and to enhance ~~farm~~/bargaining power for ~~farmers~~ farmers.

New air safety measures.

Measures to stem ~~the~~ rising ~~costs~~ medical costs.

Programs to strengthen and finance our antipollution efforts.

An Educational Opportunities Act to establish that ability
not privilege shall determine who gets to college.

Enactment of pending civil rights legislation.

Programs to strengthen the dollar in international monetary
markets and to strengthen the international monetary system.

An income tax increase amounting to about one cent out of ~~of~~ *of*
~~ex~~ each individual income dollar.

That is the record we have established. That is the record of what we
are striving to achieve and that is the record that will carry us to
victory next November.

If we are united behind the platform of the Democratic party. If we
are united behind the creative and determined leadership of President Johnson.

And if we carry the message of this Administration's record to the American

people. The people will reaffirm their faith in the President and our party.

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We know what must be done. We know how it must be done. Now let's
go out and do the job.



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