

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
DEMOCRATIC REGIONAL CONFERENCE

DALLAS, TEXAS

FEBRUARY 9, 1968

↳ Most of you will recall the late Bob Thornton, four
times Mayor of Dallas.

In his later years, he chose carefully between those
meetings he would attend and those he would pass up.

↳ He used to say: "If it's a do meetin', I'm goin'.
If it's a don't meetin', I'm staying home."

↳ This is going to be a "do" meeting, and it is going
to be a "do" year for Democrats.

We have some important assets in 1968 -- not least, our opposition, the Grumbling Old Party itself.

They have already renewed their familiar refrain:

"Me too."

"Enough for now."

"Time for a pause."

They are for all the right things.

↳ They are for health -- but they voted 93 per cent against Medicare in the House of Representatives.

↳ Education? Oh, yes. But three quarters of their Representatives voted against the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965.

↳ Cities? They want to improve them -- but 88 per cent voted against Model Cities in the House of Representatives.

They have some window-dressing progressives.

But you know -- and the people know -- what's for sale inside.

Remnants, and a few bottles of Geritol for the faithful.

But we have more important assets than our opposition. We have a record we can take to the people.

We have the Medicare program -- something we've been working for since Harry Truman's day. Today decent medical care is the right of almost 20 million older Americans. Seven and a half senior Americans received care under it in the last fiscal year alone.

How long did we fight for federal aid to Elementary and Secondary Education? We passed it in 1965, and 9 million needy American children got substantial help last year because of it.

Social Security: We passed it in the first place over desperate opposition. And we brought another million Americans out of poverty a few weeks ago by expanding its benefits.

└ There is aid to higher education -- and a million
and a quarter needy students in college on public grants
and loans because of it.

The minimum wage was ours too -- twenty-five cents
at first, and now a dollar sixty.

└ A Peace Corps... a Teacher Corps... Head Start for
disadvantaged pre-schoolers... a nationwide Youth Opportunity
Program.

└ What does it all mean?

-- A grandmother living out her days in dignity and
security, not pauperized by medical costs;

-- A Mexican-American child who gets special help
in language instruction;

-- A chance for a Negro mother to keep her family
together;

-- A poor teenager who can look ahead to college
rather than the street corner.

It all means dignity and opportunity -- the right of
free choice -- for more and more individual Americans.

And how is it all done? Not for people, but
with people...not by the federal government alone,
but by helping revitalize state and local government.

Partnership

It is done through and by the free enterprise
system that has made this country what it is today.

It is done through private organizations.

Did you know, for example, that over 90 per cent of
the Community Action Agencies using federal War on
Poverty funds are churches, civic groups, inner-city
community groups, and not government agencies at all?

This new spirit of partnership and cooperation is
part of our record.

And so is prosperity.

Everybody knows about our 83 months of unbroken economic expansion...and that unemployment is now at its lowest point in 15 years.

But do they know that real personal incomes have grown more in every single year since 1961 than they grew in the five years from 1956 to 1961 together?

I'm proud of that record.

And I don't mind reminding you that it is prosperity we are trying to protect today with the President's program to fight inflation. (A major part of that program, by the way, is the President's request for a temporary tax surcharge. It needs your help).

Yes, we have a record to stand on and to put before the people:

└-- This Administration has invested twice as much
in help for education since 1963 as was invested in the
previous century.

-- This nation is now investing over twice what it was
in 1964 to help poor Americans lift themselves out of
poverty. And ten million Americans have crossed that
threshold since 1961 as a result.

-- Our investment in health is now three times
what it was in 1964.

└ Not enough? Maybe not. ~~There are of course~~
~~limitations to what can be undertaken at any one time.~~

└ But we are doing so much more today than anybody
did during the stagnant 1950's... so much more than any
of us thought possible a few short years ago, that I find it
hard to feel discouraged.

↳ You don't get that kind of progress by accident.
You get it with leadership that is ready to invest in a
better, stronger, healthier America.

↳ You don't get that kind of progress from timid
guardians of the status quo and economies of stagnation.
And Americans know it.



So much for the record. There's a lot more,
and I urge you to learn it and use it.

But you know and I know that the American people
don't vote for yesterday... especially at a time when
this nation faces serious challenges both at home and
abroad.

↳ 1968 is going to be a year of serious debate about
the future -- not the past -- of America.

Do we mean to pursue policy of security and development at home and abroad? Or are we going to draw back from our commitment to a better life in a safer world?

Do we, as the richest, strongest nation in the world mean to lead in mankind's struggle for freedom from want, freedom from ignorance, freedom from fear?

↳ Or are we ready to turn selfishly inward...to forget others...and leave this country and the world divided between rich and poor...healthy and sick...hopeful and despairing...peaceful and seething...threatening and threatened?

↳ These are the challenges of 1968.

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration does not seek to evade those challenges.

↳ We shall meet them.

For, as Harry Truman said in another time of trial: "If we falter in our leadership we may endanger the peace of the world, and we shall surely endanger the welfare of the nation."

President Lyndon Johnson has a program to meet those challenges here in America and in the world. You have seen some of it in his messages to Congress, and

there is more to come.

~ *Manpower, Crime, Cities, Consumers*

There is a manpower program designed to wipe out most of the hard-core unemployment in this country by 1971.

That is no costly stop-gap, make-work, public-sponsored palliative. It is based on a partnership between government and industry -- industry to do the training and provide the jobs, government to pay the extra costs of training.

It is not too much to say that this new manpower program will test the vitality of our free enterprise system.

Can it make room for half a million workers who have never before had the dignity and opportunity that goes with a productive, steady job? I think so.

In education:

-- An Educational Opportunity Act to assure "that in America there will be no economic or racial barrier to higher education; that every qualified young person will have all the education he wants and can absorb."

-- More funds for Head Start...full funding for bi-lingual education programs...support to states for vocational training...a stay-in-school program...and much more.

Civil Rights: There are a lot of people in this country today who are mad at President Johnson and the rest of us Democrats because they think we've moved too far, too fast on civil rights.

One of the Republican Presidential candidates, reincarnated and true to his party's historic position, says: "Enough for now, time to consolidate our past gains."

And there is a third party candidate who says Republicans and Democrats alike have wrecked a comfortable and genteel way of life, and that he's going to restore it.

Well, I want to be perfectly frank with you.

When you declare that all Americans are equal before the law and at the polls...when you make your commitment to the Emancipation Proclamation not as a promise but as a reality, you do raise expectations and you do encourage change.

When you ask Negro-Americans and Spanish-Americans, among others, to risk and give their lives for their buddies and their country, they will not -- and should not -- be expected to move to the back of the opportunity bus when they come home.

Change is coming. It is good for the health of this free country of ours. And we are for it.

The challenge -- and the responsibility of every American -- is to make that change peaceful and constructive, to the benefit of all.

So this year's Civil Rights Message asks Congress to help "complete the task it has begun,"...to prohibit violent interference with civil rights...a strong Equal Employment Opportunity Commission...non-discrimination in jury selection...equal opportunity in housing.

Crime: The President declared just two days ago that 1968 is the year when "the forces of law and order must capture the initiative in the battle against crime."

He called on the 90th Congress to give the American people "the security that they demand and the justice that they deserve."

The President's Message on Crime will contain a 22-point program for action now -- gun control... the Safe Streets and Crime Control Bill...and much else drastically to improve the law enforcement capabilities of the state and local authorities responsible for public safety in this country.

Meanwhile, all federal law enforcement agencies have been unified under the Attorney General. The President has asked Congress for a powerful Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs to prevent, in his words, "the sale of slavery to the young."

~~Were you waiting for dramatic new programs?~~ Those are dramatic programs, and there are more messages yet to come.

They are dramatic.

They are Democratic.

They are the building blocks of a better, stronger, freer, safer America.

I for one mean to fight for them from this day until next November and beyond, and I hope you will be with me.

* * *

What about the challenges we face abroad?

Those are the ones that concern Americans most today.

The masterplans for world peace -- and even for local peace -- are plentiful. But they don't always fit the realities that confront us.

What is the answer?

...To withdraw and let the fate of a nuclear-armed world be decided without us?

...Or to take the more difficult road of active engagement in pursuit of the fundamental human aspirations we have always stood for.

- Freedom from want.
- Freedom from fear.
- Self-determination.
- Social justice.
- Security.
- Stable and lasting peace.

America has chosen the latter path, as indeed it must, knowing full-well that, in the words of John F. Kennedy, "Peace and freedom do not come cheap, and we are destined -- all of us here today -- to live out most if not all of our lives in uncertainty and challenge and peril.

We have believed that challenge accepted is safer than challenge ignored...that perils recognized are safer than perils denied...that peace and freedom are worth the sacrifice we may sometimes be called on to make.

Such a commitment requires a leader. This country has it in President Lyndon Johnson.

He has the courage to meet our national responsibilities when others may waver.

He is unafraid to make lonely decisions when others can afford the luxury of the second-guess.

And I believe that when the American people, this November, measure President Lyndon Johnson against any of the alternative choices, they will decide that his leadership is needed -- both at home and in the world -- for another four years.

The Presidency of the United States is no place for any image-maker's make-believe creation. Nor is it a place for men whose basic philosophy is out of tune with the times and with the needs of the next century.

It is a big job. It calls for a big man with a mind and heart big enough to do that job when the going gets tough.

We have our candidate. He is President Lyndon Johnson. With your support, he will lead our party to victory this November. And we will get on with the unfinished business of building a stronger, freer, safer country -- and a more peaceful world -- for the Americans of the years to come.

#

Have this, and we have failed to foster alternative avenues of career and educational development throughout our society. It is not true that any youngster with a high IQ who doesn't go to college represents a loss of talent to our society. Universities aren't the only place where people can learn things. A college education isn't the only avenue to a personally meaningful and socially productive life.

During the 1965 hearings on the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act I learned that approximately 20 percent of the students in accredited business schools have enrolled after having one or more semesters of study in 4-year colleges or universities. This, of course, is only one possible constructive alternative for those who find college not to be the answer. There should be access, free of financial pressures, to the trade and technical schools of this country and to the terminal occupational programs conducted by our community and junior colleges.

The past president of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, Dr. Kenneth B. Hoyt, noted the important role of the guidance counselor in helping students. In the February 1967 issue of the Delta Pi Epsilon Journal he said:

A counselor's proper function is to supply students with an understanding of opportunities and then to help the student arrive at his own decision. A good high school counselor should not feel a special commitment to a business school, a junior college, a public vocational school, or any other type of post high school educational opportunity.

Like Dr. Hoyt, I have no special commitment to any particular type of institution that is providing educational opportunity. But I feel strongly that this bill can open up new opportunities for the nearly 50 percent of our high school graduates who do not go to college and the 40 percent of college entrants who do not graduate.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to study this measure carefully and join me in expanding the student opportunities for postsecondary vocational education.

The material referred to above follows:

HIGHLIGHTS OF POSTSECONDARY VOCATIONAL EDUCATION SCHOLARSHIP AMENDMENTS OF 1968

1. Provides for a program of 2-year scholarships for postsecondary vocational education students, administered by State boards of vocational education under approved State plans, but with selection of recipients for scholarship awards to be made by a State selection committee. Selectees could attend any eligible institution (defined as in the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act) of their choice that admits them.

2. Appropriations authorized would be \$100 million for each of 5 years, beginning with FY 1970, to pay initial-year stipends to scholarship holders, plus necessary appropriations for their second academic year. Financing would be 100% Federal, including cost of State plan administration. (For FY 1969, appropriations to finance State plans would be authorized.) Of the sums appropriated, up to 2% would be allotted to Puerto Rico and the territories; the remainder would be allotted among the States on the basis of relative numbers of students graduating from public or other nonprofit high schools.

3. The amount of the stipend would be determined annually for each student on the basis of his financial need (without regard to tuition and fees of any particular institution). Maximum stipend per year:

\$800, plus \$200 in the second year for students who were in the upper half of their class in the preceding year. No stipend payable if the need is below \$200.

4. Candidates would, generally, enter competition for awards while still in high school, and the State scholarship selection committee would make selections solely on the basis of superior ability to pursue successfully a course of study at an eligible institution determined in accordance with objective measurement of ability and achievement. Selectees would be ranked according to relative standing in the competition, and first-year stipends would be determined for those who need them, going down the list until available funds are exhausted. Those on the list not receiving an initial-year stipend would receive a certificate of scholarship.

5. In order to make for an equitable geographical distribution of scholarships and scholarship funds within a State, a State plan could provide for allocation of scholarship funds among school districts or other attendance areas on the basis of public and private high school enrollment or some other equitable basis.

Vice President H. H. Humphrey Speaks to Dallas National Conference

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 22, 1968

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I had the pleasure of attending the National Democratic Conference in Dallas, Tex., on February 9 and listening to the Vice President of the United States, the Honorable HUBERT HUMPHREY address the conference.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include Mr. HUMPHREY's speech, as follows:

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONFERENCE, DALLAS, TEX., FEBRUARY 9, 1968

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They have already renewed their familiar refrain: "Me too." "Enough for now." "Time for a pause."

They are for all the right things.

They are for health—but they voted 93 percent against Medicare in the House of Representatives.

Education? Oh, yes. But three quarters of their representatives voted against the elementary and secondary education act in 1965.

Cities? They want to improve them—but 88 per cent voted against model cities in the House of Representatives.

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Social Security: We passed it in the first place over desperate opposition. And we brought another million needy Americans out of poverty a few weeks ago by expanding its benefits.

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The minimum wage was ours too—twenty-five cents at first, and now a dollar sixty.

A Peace Corps—a Teacher Corps—Head Start for disadvantaged pre-schoolers—a nationwide youth opportunity program:

What does it all mean? A grandmother living out her days in dignity and security. Not pauperized by medical costs; a Mexican-American child who gets special help in language instructions; a chance for a Negro mother to keep her family together; a poor teenager who can look ahead to college rather than the street corner.

It all means dignity and opportunity—the right of free choice—for more and more individual Americans.

And how is it all done? Not for people, but with people . . . not by the Federal Government alone, but by helping revitalize State and local Government.

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Did you know, for example, that over 90 percent of the community action agencies using Federal War on Poverty funds are Churches, civic groups, inner-city community groups, and not Government agencies at all?

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Not enough? Maybe not. There are of course limitations to what can be undertaken at any one time.

But we are doing so much more today than anybody did during the stagnant 1950's . . . so much more than any of us thought possible a few short years ago, that I find it hard to feel discouraged.

You don't get that kind of progress by accident. You get it with leadership that is ready to invest in a better, stronger, healthier America.

You don't get that kind of progress from timid guardians of the status quo and econo-

miles of stagnation. And Americans know it. . . .

So much for the record. There's a lot more, and I urge you to learn it and use it.

But you know and I know that the American people don't vote for yesterday . . . especially at a time when this nation faces serious challenges both at home and abroad.

1968 is going to be a year for serious debate about the future—not the past—of America.

Do we mean to pursue policy of security and development at home and abroad? Or are we going to draw back from our commitment to a better life in a safer world?

Do we as the richest, strongest nation in the world mean to lead in mankind's struggle for freedom from want, freedom from ignorance, freedom from fear?

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Meanwhile, all Federal law enforcement agencies have been unified under the Attorney General. The President has asked Congress for a powerful bureau of narcotics and dangerous drugs to prevent, in his words, "The sale of slavery to the young."

Were you waiting for dramatic new programs? Those are dramatic programs, and there are more messages yet to come.

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Or to take the more difficult road of active engagement in pursuit of the fundamental human aspirations we have always stood for. Freedom from want. Freedom from fear. Self-determination. Social justice. Security. Stable and lasting peace.

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We have our candidate. He is President Lyndon Johnson. With your support, he will lead our party to victory this November. And we will get on with the unfinished business of building a stronger, freer, safer Country—and a more peaceful world—for the Americans of the years to come.

Arkansas Careers, Inc.

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 22, 1968

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the January 12, 1968, issue of the Christian Science Monitor had the following article about a unique organization that has been in operation in Arkansas for the past several years:

HOW AND WHY

Arkansas Careers, Inc., is living up to its name.

It has been operating with a paid staff for only 18 months. But already it's found positions in Arkansas for 300 college graduates who normally would have left the State. And it has enticed back home to positions in Arkansas 200 grads who already had found jobs elsewhere.

What makes the organization unique is that it is financed entirely by private funds contributed by 600 Arkansas firms. And it charges no fees for job placement.

W. F. Rector, its president, and some other Arkansas businessmen grew weary of educating executives for other states. So they put the organization together informally three years ago. It quickly proved itself.

Today its executive secretary roams the state, talking to civic clubs and college groups.

Bimonthly news letters go out to college grads now in military service informing them of job openings back home. And businesses get a monthly report giving thumbnail sketches of Arkansans who are leaving the service, finishing college, or working out of state but wanting to come home.

It started back in 1960 when a group of civic and student leaders decided it was time somebody got busy to help young Arkansans find careers at home and, at the same time, assist businesses to fill available positions with Arkansas college graduates. Today that organization has a paid staff, has the financial support of over 600 Arkansas business firms, and has successfully aided young graduates find jobs they want and helped Arkansas business firms to employ capable and talented young people they need.

It is a pleasure to salute the fine Arkansans who comprise the officers and board of directors of Arkansas Careers: Mr. W. F. Rector, president; Mr. Dave Grunfest, vice president; Mr. Dabbs Sullivan, vice president; Mr. San Anderson, secretary-treasurer, and Mr. Porter Briggs, executive secretary.

Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller is chairman of the board and the members are Mr. S. J. Beauchamp, Jr., of Little Rock; Mr. John Carruthers of Pine Bluff; Mr. R. N. Dills of Fort Smith; Mr. Alexander



FOR RELEASE

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

Saturday a.m.'s
February 10, 1968

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VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
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Everybody knows about our 83 months of unbroken economic expansion...and that unemployment is now at its lowest point in 15 years.

But do they know that real personal incomes have grown more in every single year since 1961 than they grew in the five years from 1956 to 1961 together?

I'm proud of that record.

And I don't mind reminding you that it is prosperity we are trying to protect today with the President's program to fight inflation. (A major part of that program, by the way, is the President's request for a temporary tax surcharge. It needs your help).

Yes, we have a record to stand on and to put before the people:

like this

transcript 83 months

transcript

-31-

-- This Administration has invested twice as much in help for education since 1963 as was invested in the previous century.

-- This nation is now investing over twice what it was in 1961 to help poor Americans lift themselves out of poverty. And ten million Americans have crossed that threshold since 1961 as a result.

-- Our investment in health is now three times what it was in 1964.

Not enough? Maybe not. There are of course limitations to what can be undertaken at any one time.

But we are doing so much more today than anybody did during the stagnant 1950's...so much more than any of us thought possible a few short years ago, that I find it hard to feel discouraged.

You don't get that kind of progress by accident. You get it with leadership that is ready to invest in a better, stronger, healthier America.

You don't get that kind of progress from timid guardians of the status quo and economies of stagnation. And Americans know it.

So much for the record. There's a lot more, and I urge you to learn it and use it.

But you know and I know that the American people don't vote for yesterday...especially at a time when this nation faces serious challenges both at home and abroad.

1968 is going to be a year of serious debate about the future -- not the past -- of America.

Do we mean to pursue policy of security and development at home and abroad? Or are we going to draw back from our commitment to a better life in a safer world?

Do we, as the richest, strongest nation in the world mean to lead in mankind's struggle for freedom from want, freedom from ignorance, freedom from fear?

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

These are the challenges of 1968.

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration does not seek to evade those challenges.

We shall meet them.

For, as Harry Truman said in another time of trial:
"If we falter in our leadership we may endanger the peace
of the world, and we shall surely endanger the welfare of
the nation."

President Lyndon Johnson has a program to meet those challenges here in America and in the world. You have seen some of it in his messages to Congress, and there is more to come.

Mahler - quote - transcript, act. 3 Henry Ford, reference.

There is a manpower program designed to wipe out most of the hard-core unemployment in this country by 1971.

That is no costly stop-gap, make-work, public-sponsored palliative. It is based on a partnership between government and industry -- industry to do the training and provide the jobs, government to pay the extra costs of training.

It is not too much to say that this new manpower program will test the vitality of our free enterprise system.

Can it make room for half a million workers who have never before had the dignity and opportunity that goes with a productive, steady job? I think so.

In education:

-- An Educational Opportunity Act to assure "that in America there will be no economic or racial barrier to higher education; that every qualified young person will have all the education he wants and can absorb."

- follows outline here

-- More funds for Head Start...full funding for bi-lingual education programs...support to states for vocational training...a stay-in-school program... and much more.

Civil Rights: There are a lot of people in this country today who are mad at President Johnson and the rest of us Democrats because they think we've moved too far, too fast on civil rights.

One of the Republican Presidential candidates, reincarnated and true to his party's historic position, says: "Enough for now, time to consolidate our past gains."

verbatim.

And there is a third party candidate who says Republicans and Democrats alike have wrecked a comfortable and genteel way of life, and that he's going to restore it.

Well, I want to be perfectly frank with you.

verbatim

When you declare that all Americans are equal before the law and at the polls...when you make your commitment to the Emancipation Proclamation not as a promise but as a reality, you do raise expectations and you do encourage change.

When you ask Negro-Americans and Spanish-Americans, among others, to risk and give their lives for their buddies and their country, they will not -- and should not -- be expected to move to the back of the opportunity bus when they come home.

→ goes off

Change is coming. It is good for the health of this free country of ours. And we are for it.

- picks up.

The challenge -- and the responsibility of every American -- is to make that change peaceful and constructive, to the benefit of all.

So this year's Civil Rights Message asks Congress to help "complete the task it has begun,"...to prohibit violent interference with civil rights...a strong Equal Employment Opportunity Commission...non-discrimination in jury selection...equal opportunity in housing.

Crime: The President declared just two days ago that 1968 is the year when "the forces of law and order must capture the initiative in the battle against crime."

He called on the 90th Congress to give the American people "the security that they demand and the justice that they deserve."

The President's Message on Crime will contain a 22-point program for action now -- gun control...the Safe Streets and Crime Control Bill...and much else drastically to improve the law enforcement capabilities of the state and local authorities responsible for public safety in this country.

Meanwhile, all federal law enforcement agencies have been unified under the Attorney General. The President has asked Congress for a powerful Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs to prevent, in his words, "the sale of slavery to the young."

Were you waiting for dramatic new programs? Those are dramatic programs, and there are more messages yet to come.

They are dramatic.

They are Democratic.

They are the building blocks of a better, stronger, freer, safer America.

I for one mean to fight for them from this day until next November and beyond, and I hope you will be with me.

* * *

What about the challenges we face abroad?

Those are the ones that concern Americans most today.

The masterplans for world peace -- and even for local peace -- are plentiful. But they don't always fit the realities that confront us.

What is the answer?

... To withdraw and let the fate of a nuclear-armed world be decided without us?

... Or to take the more difficult road of active engagement in pursuit of the fundamental human aspirations we have always stood for.

- Freedom from want.
- Freedom from fear.
- Self-determination.
- Social justice.
- Security.
- Stable and lasting peace.

America has chosen the latter path, as indeed it must, knowing full-well that, in the words of John F. Kennedy, "Peace and freedom do not come cheap, and we are destined -- all of us here today -- to live out most if not all of our lives in uncertainty and challenge and peril."

goes off

24-26 transcript

m

good points + 26 - transcript goes off

used

verbatim

We have believed that challenge accepted is safer than challenge ignored...that perils recognized are safer than perils denied...that peace and freedom are worth the sacrifice we may sometimes be called on to make.

Such a commitment requires a leader. (This country has it in President Lyndon Johnson.

He has the courage to meet our national responsibilities when others may waver.

He is unafraid to make lonely decisions when others afford the luxury of the second-guess.

And I believe that when the American people, this November, measure President Lyndon Johnson against any of the alternative choices, they will decide that his leadership is needed -- both at home and in the world -- for another four years.

The Presidency of the United States is no place for any image-maker's make-believe creation. Nor is it a place for men whose basic philosophy is out of tune with the times and with the needs of the next century.

used

It is a big job. It calls for a big man with a mind and heart big enough to do that job when the going gets tough.

We have our candidate. He is President Lyndon Johnson. With your support, he will lead our party to victory this November. And we will get on with the unfinished business of building a stronger, freer, safer country -- and a more peaceful world -- for the Americans of the years to come.

###

*continues for
4 1/2 pages
on transcript.*

*Hits leadership - a important -
evidently likes to talk on it.
political responsibility*

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

2/28/68

Did not use
edited transcript because
text put in record
before edited transcript
was received back
from Jeff Antenucci.

BT

~~VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:~~ Thank you, my fellow Democrats. ~~You surely do know how to make a visitor feel good.~~
~~I hope you will feel as enthusiastic when I am through as when I started.~~

First may I express my thanks to Chairman Bailey and to John Criswell for not only their being here but getting us this program of leadership, and direction in our regional conferences.

I hope to be able to attend as many of these conferences as time will permit and I trust that we will have enough time to get to all of them.

And then, too, Will Davis and to Frank Erwin, a very special thanks for your hearty welcome here to the great State of Texas. Thank you for not only greeting me when I arrived but the wonderful President's Club Reception that we had just a short time ago.

And I am glad to see that fine, tall Texan down there, the speaker, Ben Barnes. It sure makes me happy to see him here tonight.

(Applause.)

Of course, when you think of the Democratic Party and you think of Texas, you think of a good fighter, you think of a man that works for all the things that mean so much to people, you think about a man by the name of Tiger Teague, and I am just delighted to see, I really am.

(Applause.)

1 And I don't forget that I am in Dallas and I am in the
2 home district of one of the finest Congressmen that ever cast a
3 vote for the common good, and that is Graham Purcell.

4 (Applause.)

5 I know this is a regional conference and I am not sup-
6 posed to be parochial. I was going to say something about Jim
7 Wright but he hasn't any opposition.

8 (Laughter.)

9 All I say is that is the prayer of every man that ever
0 ran for office or ever held office.

1 (Laughter.)

2 How good it is to have a chance to be with you. I am
3 in somewhat of a quandary this evening. I am not quite sure
4 just what I want to do with you, for you, or about you tonight.
5 This has been one of those busy days. And some time last week,
6 getting ready for this, I grabbed hold of a Dictaphone and I
7 started dictating late at night some thoughts that I might want
8 to expound upon at this regional conference. And then, after
9 I took a look at it today, after they got it all typed up, I
0 said I wonder really whether that is what I want to say after
1 all.

2 But I believe I will. As a matter of fact, I will most
3 likely say what I intended to say and some things I didn't in-
4 tend to say because this is a very, very important meeting for
5 all of us.

I have had many people ask me, as I travel around the country, how do you keep it up? ~~Somebody said tonight,~~ where do you get that pep?² And I want to say to them ~~-- but I didn't know whether it would be taken seriously --~~ that all you have to do is ~~to~~ be a good Democrat and you get all the pep that you need.

(Applause.)

But I do say, in all seriousness, that I think that ~~the public eye and public participation,~~ participation in public affairs ought to be something of joy. It ought to be exciting, and it ought to be interesting, and it ought to be something ~~that is~~ challenging. And if you are an active member of our party -- and I am talking to active members -- you find something that is exciting, something that is challenging, something that requires a zest for life, because this Democratic Party all through its history, at least in this 20th Century, has been an instrument for social progress. It is filled with restless people. It is filled with people of beautiful spirit, ^(young) not only ~~young Democrats~~ of age but ~~young Democrats~~ of the mind and the heart and the spirit.

And the party that you and I belong to, the party that is the governing party of this Nation, ~~-- and I remind you that you are a member of the governing party of this Nation -- that party~~ has never been afraid of the future, has never run away from the present, and spends very little time in nostalgic

memory about the past.

We are people ^{who} ~~that~~ want to look ahead. And what I have to say to you tonight must be said within this framework; that we are looking ahead and building on what we have, never satisfied with what we have done, always seeking to do a better job, setting our own standards of public and private performance, unwilling to compare ourselves, if you please, with the opposition because it would be unfair competition for them.

(Laughter.)

~~and~~ [#] and above all ~~that~~ [↑] we must think and talk and act within the frame of reference that we ^(find) ~~find ourselves~~ today, namely, a Democratic President, a Democratic Congress, the Democratic Party ^{the party which} ~~the majority party, and the Democratic party that~~ has fashioned both the domestic and the foreign policy of this country to a large degree.

JOY AND CHALLENGE

~~And~~ ^(we) ~~if~~ ^{we} do that, then politics takes on both the spirit of public service that it ought to encompass and ~~it also~~ ~~takes on~~ the challenge that gives you that sense of joy that ought to come in public life.

~~I noted in my reading that they used to have a mayor~~
~~# (most of you will recall the late)~~
~~down here in Dallas by the name of Bob Thornton, I guess he~~
~~was four times Mayor of Dallas, unless I am mistaken.~~

(Applause.)

~~And~~ [#] ~~in~~ [↑] his later years he chose ~~might~~ carefully between those meetings that he would attend and those meetings he would pass up.

~~that he would attend. And this is one of the real difficult tasks of a man in public life. I know for myself it is difficult. We get an average of a hundred invitations a day. And I think I am going to have two or three ladies in my office that will never have any fun, never get married, because they spent all their time saying no.~~

~~(Laughter.)~~

Well, old Bob Thornton used to say: "if it's ~~is~~ a do-meetin', I'm going. if it's ~~is~~ a don't-meetin' I'm staying ~~here~~ ^(home)." Well, ladies and gentlemen, this is a do-meeting so I'm here.

~~(Applause.)~~

And I might add that this is a do-year for Democrats, too.

~~(Applause.)~~

I had a young friend of mine out in California give me an evaluation of a talk I made out in Fresno recently. ~~He is a~~ ^(He told)

~~very objective fellow, so objective that I didn't like all he said. That's the trouble with these objective friends of yours.~~

~~(Laughter.)~~

And one of the things he said to me, he said, "You know, ~~me,~~ ^{"Don't"} be too partisan." And I think he's right, you really ought not to pick on the weak.

~~(Laughter.)~~

And then he went on to say that it is all right, however, if you can point out in your partisan remarks the

1 accomplishments that you and your party have made but don't be
 2 negative. Well, I ~~am a fellow who~~ like^e to accentuate the
 3 positive^u and I am not going to be negative. But in order to
 4 have you appreciate the positive I've got to give you some
 5 ~~alternatives, you see, some~~ contrast.

THE PAUSE PARTY

6 I've said a number of times that our friends in the op-
 7 position party are ~~-- well, they're~~ rather a contented lot with
 8 things as they used to be. ~~And~~ they are really what I call the
 9 pause party, ~~you know~~. They are not really opposed to going
 10 some place, ~~that is~~, if you just take enough coffee breaks along
 11 the way. ~~They really want to just stop long enough to grow old~~
 12 ~~on the achievements of others and say let's not go too fast.~~

13 For example, ~~now~~, I find that our friends in the opposi-
 14 tion party right ^(now are) solid for ^{health} ~~seep~~. They really believe in it.
 15 But they voted 93 per cent against Medicare. ^(They're) ~~not~~ for health
 16 for old folks, ~~primarily~~, I guess, just for health for them-
 17 selves.

18 ~~Education -- this is one way of describing it --~~ ^{three-}
 19 fourth^(their) of ~~the~~ Representatives in Congress ~~-- in your body,~~
 20 ~~Graham and Tiger -- they~~ voted against the Elementary and
 21 Secondary Education Act of 1965. ~~Now~~ I hope that every school
 22 district and every superintendent and every principal and
 23 every teacher and every mother and father will remember that,
 24 because elementary and secondary education in this country is
 25 as vital to freedom as the breath of life itself. ~~And the~~

1 ~~opposition, when it had a chance to really be called, when it~~
 2 ~~got away from the polemics and it got down to separating those~~
 3 ~~who were for it and those who were against it, as usual, they~~
 4 ~~came out with three-fourth of their membership voting no.~~

5 ~~Now I am just running over quickly. Cities --~~ ^{it} ~~everybody~~
 6 is concerned about the cities these days. ~~And our opposition~~
 7 ~~wants to improve them.~~ But 88 per cent of the ~~members of the~~
 8 ~~House of Representatives voted against Model Cities. Eighty-~~
 9 ~~eight per cent of the~~ Republicans in the House of Representatives
 10 voted against Model Cities.

11 Now, if this is partisan ~~then~~ ^(the) it is also truth. I can't
 12 help the fact that the Republicans voted against education,
 13 voted against health, and voted against Model Cities. I didn't
 14 tell them to do it. I know ~~that~~ ^(the) President didn't tell them to
 15 do it. ~~We didn't ask them to do it.~~ We urged their bipartisan
 16 support. We said, as Americans, give us a helping hand, ~~as~~
 17 ~~Americans~~, help the young, help the old, help the cities. ~~But~~
 18 they want you to know that they are for the young, they are
 19 for the old and they are for the cities -- but not much, not
 20 much.

21 (Applause.)

22 ~~Let me just say a word or two about a couple of other~~
 23 ~~little programs as we go along here; and this is going to be~~
 24 ~~just a sort of conversational meeting.~~

25 ~~When I was a young Democrat -- and I look around here~~

1 ~~and see some mighty attractive ones -- I remember the party of~~
 2 ~~the opposition waged a whole campaign on Social Security -- not~~
 3 ~~on it, against it. Well,~~ *KEEP IT THIN* I am happy to tell you that this past
 4 year, under the Johnson-Humphrey administration, ~~that~~ we ex-
 5 panded ~~again the~~ Social Security benefits. We had a little
 6 opposition. Oh, they weren't really against it, they ~~were~~ just
 7 ~~wanting~~ ^{ed} to trim it, ~~-- trim it.~~ They are sort of the Metrecal
 8 party, keep it thin, you know.

9 (Laughter, applause.)

10 But we didn't listen to that kind of counsel, and we
 11 were able, because of a Democratic President, a Democratic
 12 Congress, and *D*emocratic leadership, to improve the benefits of
 13 Social Security, expand its coverage and bring another one
 14 ~~million people -- another one~~ million of our fellow Americans
 15 out of poverty to a decent standard of living under a tried and
 16 tested, sound program of social insurance. And we didn't get it
 17 because the Republican Party loved the old folks.

18 Then, let's take a look at higher education. I look
 19 around this room and see a number of young men and women that
 20 are undoubtedly in college or on their way to college. Aid to
 21 higher education ^{*is*} ~~-- It's~~ a Democratic program, sponsored by a
 22 Democratic President, passed by a Democratic Congress, and
 23 1,250,000 college students today are in colleges and univer-
 24 sities on public grants or loans because of *(this program.)* ~~a Democratic~~
 25 ~~President and a Democratic Congress and because you elected them.~~

~~that is what we've done for higher education.~~

~~(Applause.)~~

~~And~~ the minimum wage law was ours, too. I won't take you back to when it started but I will remind you that when it started it was 25 cents, and even then our opposition was against it. And I remind you that this last month it became ^(- but) \$1.60 ~~and~~ not with the help of our opposition.

~~And I can name them off like calling the roll -- not up yonder but right down here.~~

~~(Laughter.)~~

A Peace Corps, a Teacher Corps, a Headstart, a Job Corps, a ~~Nationwide~~ Youth Opportunity Program, the VISTA Program, Upward-Bound -- you name it, if it has been something ^(to) ~~that has~~ ~~been for the~~ help ~~of~~ our young people, if it has been something that is forward-looking, something that taps the creative energy of this Nation, ~~it was a program in the government, if it were a government program,~~ ^(it was) sponsored by a Democratic President, by a Democratic ~~administration~~, passed by a Democratic Congress, over the howling opposition of the Republican Party. Now, that's a fact.

~~(Applause.)~~

WE WENT TO WORK

I say this to you ~~and I will tell you why, it is~~ because I have been listening to some of my fellow Democrats. They ^(have) have almost forgotten what they ~~have~~ been doing. We sort of get ^(used to) what we call "progress as usual." Well it doesn't come as

usual. It comes because ^(we) ~~you~~ went to work. It comes because elections were won. ~~It comes even, if you please, some times when elections are lost.~~ It comes because some people are willing to get out and fight and educate and persuade and argue and debate and vote ~~and take a licking and stand up and vote~~ ^(until we) ~~again until we~~ finally succeed. ~~None of this just happened by accident. It didn't come just because somebody thought it should and hoped it would. It came because somebody worked to see that it was done.~~

~~And~~ [¶] what does this all mean? ~~these things that I have quickly run through?~~ [¶] Well, it means a grandmother living out her days in dignity and security and not pauperized by medical costs. ~~Ladies and gentlemen, this is news.~~ For the first time in the history of this ~~Republic~~ a citizen ^(who) ~~that~~ has arrived at the twilight of life ~~or, as they put it, in those golden years or however you wish to describe it -- that citizen~~ no longer has to fear disability through illness, has to proclaim himself ~~or herself~~ a pauper, has to appeal for relief and aid, has to go to ^(his) ~~the~~ family and say, "can you help me."

This great, rich, powerful ~~Nation~~ of ours today says that as a citizen of this country, when you have arrived at the point where you are eligible for Social Security benefits under the established law of this land, you ^(will) have the best ^(that) ~~that a~~ modern medicine and hospital care can offer you under the American system of medical care. That is what Medicare means. Seven and a half million senior Americans received care under it in the last fiscal year alone.

~~(Applause.)~~

And it works, too. And it didn't hurt a doctor and it didn't hurt a hospital, and it didn't hurt a patient. Four and a half million patients cared for ^{in the first year} -- what a wonderful thing. It should make you feel good.

I will never forget when we signed that bill out at Independence, Missouri, in the presence of Harry Truman who was the first man to suggest Medicare. And while it didn't become law under his administration, it became law in his presence.

~~(Applause.)~~

~~Well, what else does this all mean? that I have been talking to you about? Well,~~ ^{it} means ~~for example,~~ a Mexican-American child who can get special help ~~for example,~~ in language instruction under a recent addition to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

~~I will tell you something else that it means.~~ ^{It} means that a Negro mother can keep her family together and hopefully see her boys and girls have every opportunity that every other boy and girl ^{has} ~~have~~. It means that a poor teenager, ~~maybe from the hills, from Appalachia, from the less than prosperous areas of our country,~~ can look forward to a college education rather than a street corner. **DIGNITY, OPPORTUNITY**

^{And it all} ~~And every bit of what I have talked about~~ means dignity and ~~it means~~ opportunity. It means the right of free choice,

which is at the very heart of democracy. It means all of this for more and more individual Americans.

~~And~~ how is it done? Not for people but with people, not by the federal government alone ~~for people but~~ ^(but) by helping ~~people to help themselves, by helping~~ state and local governments ~~to~~ undertake their responsibility ^(for) ~~with~~ the citizens ^{S/} ~~of~~ their communities.

~~And~~ it has been done through free enterprise, without curtailing free enterprise ~~one bit~~ but, rather, enriching it and strengthening it. ~~And I want you Democrats to take that message to the business community.~~

(We have had ^{3/} ~~8~~ consecutive months of prosperity in this country without one recession.

~~(Applause.)~~

Our Republican friends, in their eight years of administration, had three major recessions.

^(Ninety) ~~I notice that the other day that 90 per cent of the Community Action agencies that are using federal funds now in the war on poverty are churches and civic groups and inner-city community groups ~~and~~ not governments at all. ~~We're work-~~~~

~~ing with people, not big government, but big people, not a big federal bureaucracy dominating the entire social-political structure but, rather, a big country working with its government, building itself and making it a better place for us to live.~~

This is the new spirit, ~~a spirit that I've talked about~~
~~the length and breadth of this land, the new democracy of~~
 partnership between government and the private sector, ~~the~~ ^(of)
 partnership between federal, ~~state~~ and local government, ~~the~~ ^(of)
 partnership between all levels of government and private people,
 individuals and associations. It has really tapped the great
 strength of this Nation.

I noted the other day ~~about~~ ^(that) the unemployment figure in
 America. ~~It~~ ^{is} is the lowest it has been in the past fifteen
 years. ~~Real personal incomes have grown more in every single year since 1961 than~~
~~the lowest it has been in fifteen years.~~ And yet we're
 not content. We know that there is still unemploy~~ment~~ ^{ment} and we're
 out to do something about it. **THE RECORD**
 # I'm proud of this record:

Let me just go back again about education. I am sort of
 I guess I am sort of one of these folks that just feels that
 this is about the most important thing you can do. You know,
 Thomas Jefferson once said you can't be both free and ignorant,
 you have to make a choice.

(Laughter.)
 # ~~Ohio~~ Administration has invested twice as much in helping
 education since 1963 as was invested in the previous century.
~~and~~ if there is any one thing that President Johnson
 will be remembered for, above everything else, ^(it) is that he has done
 more for education than any ^(other) President of the United States.

(Applause.)

A Texas school teacher ~~that~~ ^(who) never forgot, ~~never forgot~~
 for a moment the need ^(for) ~~of~~ better educational opportunities; a
 Texas school teacher ~~that~~ ^(who) resolved as a young man that if he

they grew in the five years from 1956 to 1961 together.

(that all of the)
 even had a chance he would see to it ~~that every~~ boy^s and girl^s in
 this country ~~that~~ ^{would} have all the education ~~of which~~ they
 were capable of absorbing. ~~and he has kept that promise.~~

I want to just give you a little indication of how he
 has kept it. This administration has invested twice as much in
 help to education since 1963 as was invested by the federal
 government in the preceding one-hundred years. Now that is a
 fact.

(Applause.)

I don't care whether you are a liberal or a conservative.

Sometimes liberals say ~~it~~ ^(this) is not enough; ~~sometimes~~ conservatives
 say it is too much. I say it is better than anybody has ever
 done. ^(before) ~~That is good enough.~~

(Applause.)

Our investment in health ~~on the part of~~ ^(by) this govern-
 ment, ~~in research, heart, stroke, cancer, neurological diseases,~~
 in all of our health programs, is three times as much tonight as
 it was in 1964. ~~And America is better for it. You're not~~
~~going to make this country weaker and solvent by taking care of~~
~~the health of the people.~~

This Nation is now investing over twice what it was in-
 vesting in ~~1964~~ ⁽¹⁹⁶¹⁾ to help poor Americans lift themselves out of
 poverty. ~~And, my fellow Americans,~~ since 1961, when the
 Kennedy-Johnson administration came in, to this hour of the
 Johnson-Humphrey administration, ten million Americans ~~ten~~

(out of)

~~Million adult Americans~~ have crossed the threshold ~~of~~ poverty, into the promised land and the better land of opportunity and higher income. Now that is a mighty good record.

(Applause.)

And every time I say these things I always have somebody write an editorial or write an article or send me a letter and say, "I know. I know, I heard you. I know, that is what you're saying. You're just telling us all about it } but it isn't enough." Well, I suppose not. I don't really know what

~~is enough.~~ *# (In all of these areas, we are)* But I will tell you this; that we're doing more than anybody ~~ever~~ dared dream of ten years ago, and we're doing more than anybody ~~dared even think~~ *(thought)* we would five years ago, ~~and~~ *(are)* we ~~are~~ doing enough now to know that we can do more five years from now. Give us the chance.

(Applause.)

~~#~~ Now, that is some of the record. ~~Oh,~~ there is ~~so much,~~ *(a lot more)* you know. When I think about young people and their education and their opportunities -- I want the parents to listen to this one.

Do you know that there are more young Americans in colleges and universities today than all the rest of the world put together? More young Americans in higher education than all the rest of God's children put together. And I hear people complain that we're not doing enough. Well, I guess we're not. But I will tell you something. We sure are running a long ways

~~ahead of anybody that is closing in on us, I'll tell you that.~~

~~(Laughter, applause.)~~

SERIOUS DEBATE

(more)

But let's not talk about ~~the~~ yesterday, because today is important, and 1968 is going to be a ~~very serious~~ year ~~for us~~ ^{of} ~~we're going to have some~~ serious debate about the future, ~~and I hope we won't spend too much time about the past.~~

I think we have to ask ourselves some questions about this future, ~~and that is why I came here. I want you to help us decide whether~~ ^{# (Do)} we mean to pursue a policy of security and development at home and abroad or ~~whether~~ ^(are) we ~~are~~ going to draw back from our commitment to a better life in a safer world?

~~I ask you,~~ [#] do we as the richest and strongest nation in the world [↑] mean to take care of our own people here at home, and do we mean to lead in mankind's struggle for freedom from want and freedom from ignorance and freedom from fear, [↑] or are we going to turn ~~inwardly, turn~~ selfishly inward, to forget about others and ~~we~~ leave this country and the world divided between the rich and the poor, the healthy and the sick, the hopeful and the despairing, the peaceful and the seething, the threatening and the threatened?

~~Now those are the issues.~~ [#] Those are the issues, [↑] because in a world of constant want there is no peace, [↑] and in an America divided there is no peace. [#] ^T The challenges of 1968 are very clear ^T whether or not we're going to build, stone by stone, step by step, block by block, the edifice of a peaceful world. ^{le}

and ~~whether we're going to build step by step, stone by stone,~~
~~block by block,~~ the foundation of a truly free America with
 equal opportunity for all. MEETING THE CHALLENGE

~~That's what we're talking about.~~
 # ~~(The Johnson - Humphrey Administration does not seek)~~
~~We think that we ought not to evade these challenges.~~

~~We shall~~
~~Our administration says let's stand up and meet them. I often~~
~~quote this dear man, Harry Truman, and I want you to ponder him~~
~~many times in these months ahead because these are going to be~~
~~difficult months. This is going to be one of the times that~~
~~tests us as never before. And when you come into a period of~~
~~difficulty you need to go back to sources of inspiration and~~
~~instruction.~~

~~(As Harry)~~ ~~(in another time of trial:)~~
 # ~~Truman said~~ "If we falter in our leadership we may
 endanger the peace of the world, and we shall surely endanger
 the welfare of the Nation." ~~Those are true words, my dear~~
~~friends.~~ # ~~And we have people now at home~~ ~~that~~ ~~would falter,~~
~~our leadership.~~ ~~We have people~~ ~~that~~ ~~want to withdraw.~~ ~~We have~~
~~people~~ ~~that~~ ~~think that~~ ~~our burdens are too many.~~ ~~And we have~~
~~plenty of people at home that think we're going too far, too~~
~~fast, trying to do too much.~~

~~Now,~~ President Johnson doesn't think that way. ~~And I~~
~~think I know why President Johnson has some political enemies,~~
~~because he has dared to do what others talked about.~~ He has
 dared to take a stand when it was difficult to take that stand
 abroad to meet the foe on the field of battle, ~~and he~~ ~~dared to~~
 take a stand here at home to see to it, after one hundred years

of waiting, that every American could stand tall and free and be known just as an American. ~~That is why has has got some~~

~~manuscript.~~

(Applause.)

Now, I said a while ago that we're not satisfied with what we have done. We want to do better. We know, for example, in this country there are hard-core unemployed. A great English political philosopher once said -- his name was John Stewart ~~Mill~~ -- his memory comes to me now, the thought comes to me, he said, "If a man has nothing to do for his country, he shall not love it." "If a man has nothing to do for his country, he shall not love it."

Ladies and gentlemen, the secret of good citizenship is participation. The secret of the love of this land is to be so much involved in it that it is like your own very fresh and blood. And if a man has nothing to do for his country, he shall not love it. This is why we say that those who, for whatever reason it may be, are not employed, are bitter, frustrated, helpless, unskilled, illiterate, ignorant -- call it what you will -- that those people have nothing to do for their country and then they begin not only not to love their country, they don't even love themselves, or anything about them.

And President ~~Lyndon~~ Johnson is determined that we're going to find a way, through ^(our) ~~this~~ private enterprise system ^{to have all those} ~~ours, of having these~~ people who are Americans ~~who live with~~

~~us, are a part of the society, that they are going to have their chance to be a participating citizen in the economic and political life of this Nation. That is what we mean by a manpower program.~~

INDUSTRY'S ROLE

(Applause.)

~~And~~ ^{we} we're not going to do it ^(with the help of) through just government. ^(have) We've asked one of the captains of industry, Henry Ford, ~~and we've asked him to take~~ ^(use) some of his ^(best) management, ^(in this effort.) ~~and he's taking the best, and we've~~ ^(We have) said to Mr. Ford ^(to) and ⁽ⁱⁿ⁾ others of our great corporate structure, it is your job now. It is your responsibility with ~~us,~~ ^(to assist you.) government ~~and industry together, government and the people, a~~ ~~caring program.~~

We dare to say at this time and this place that every American can be made a participant in this society of ours, ~~and~~ he can, if he is given the skill and given the chance and given the motivation, be an effective producing participant. And do you know what that is going to mean, not only in dollars -- think of what it is going to mean in pride and self-respect and dignity. And, really, that is what a good society is all about.

Many people with many dollars have no pride. Many people with great wealth have no dignity. But when people feel that they are wanted, feel that there is a place for them and feel that they are lifting themselves, they come alive again.

~~they are literally reborn.~~

~~So we're going to do it.~~ # But, ~~as was said in the intro-~~
~~duction,~~ we can't do these things by just wishing ^(have) and so we ~~can't~~
 come forth with a broad new program ^(for) educational opportunity,
~~with~~ more funds for Headstart, full fund^{ing} ~~for~~ ~~the~~ bilingual
 education programs, ~~and~~ new support for vocational training,
~~and~~ a stay-in-school program for those who would be school
 drop-outs, and much more. We certainly

~~Ladies and gentlemen, my fellow Democrats, we're resour-~~
~~ing lives. And this is mighty important business in a democracy.~~
~~and we~~ haven't given up our struggle in the field of equal
 rights and civil rights, either.

~~We've got all kinds of people --~~ # one Republican Presi-
 dential candidate, reincarnated and ~~coined~~ ^(time) to his party's historic
 position, ["] says: ["] enough for now, time to consolidate our past
 gains. ["] The greatest consolidators in the world -- they con-
 solidate what other people have ^(accomplished) ~~made~~.

~~And,~~ ⁼ ^{le} there is a third-party candidate who says
 that Republicans and Democrats alike have wrecked a comfortable
 and gentle ^{ee} ~~the~~ way of life ^(that) and [^] he's going to restore it.

Well, I want to be perfectly frank with you. When you
 declare that all Americans are equal before the law and at the
 polls, and when you make your commitment to the Emancipation
 Proclamation, not as a promise but as a reality, you do raise
 expectations, and you do encourage change.

And when you ask Negro Americans, Spanish Americans, and others to risk and give their lives for this country, fighting in battle along side their white brother, they will not and should not be expected to move back to the back of the opportunity bus when they come home.

I will put it more directly. You can't ask a fellow American of different ethnic origin than yours or mine to fight and die in Vietnam and then relegate him to second-class citizenship back home.

(Applause.)

Let me tell you what I told some 500 industrialists two weeks ago in Washington. If a Negro American can command a division of troops, as they are tonight, -- and I brought home a commander of a full division of our troops on the Korean front just a short time ago, who, by the way, had such raw recruits sometimes in his forces that he himself went out on patrol every night, averaging three to four hours a night sleep, to protect those 19-year-old boys that we sent over there.

When you have a colonel that can handle the logistics, the supply, can care for his men, can carry out a battle plan, can do the job of protecting the lives and defending this nation with 15,000 men in a division, don't tell me that he isn't good enough to run a production line in a factory. I now he is.

(Applause.)

And I think we're beginning to understand this. But I want you to believe it. It isn't good enough for people just to understand. We have to stand up and believe. Faith -- faith is a vital resource in any great endeavor.

SECURITY AND JUSTICE

But we also know that this change that we're going through must be peaceful and constructive, if it is to benefit all. The President declared just two days ago that 1968 is the year when the forces of law and order must capture the initiative in the battle against crime. And he called on ^(the) ~~the~~ 90th Congress to give the American people "the security that they demand and the justice that they deserve." ^(The) ~~And that means~~ ~~was spelled out, that message or that~~ program was spelled out in the President's Crime Message, a 22-point program for action ~~now~~ all the way across the board.

I won't go into its details. I will only say this: We cannot and will not condone or tolerate violence and rioting in the streets or off the streets, ^B but having said it and believing it with all our heart and knowing that this must be done, I say to you, my fellow Americans, don't tolerate injustice in the streets or off the streets, either. Let's have an equal-handed justice, law enforcement, law observance, equal opportunity, equal justice under the law and in practice, then you begin to get a lawful and a fair and decent America.

(Applause.)

One of the ~~more, I think,~~ ^(parts of this) vital programs that will need

your help, as mothers and fathers of sons and daughters will need your help at every level is the President's program to strengthen the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, to stop ~~this filthy~~ ^{the} traffic in drugs and narcotics. ~~And let me get it off my chest now,~~ this isn't something just for the federal government. ~~I have been the mayor of a pretty large city and I know a little bit about local law enforcement, and I think~~ one of the great weaknesses in America today is that the drug traffic has been left primarily to the control of ~~the~~ federal agents, and we only have a handful of them.

~~Mothers and fathers, every school in this land is subject to drug traffic. And children in upper and middle-income families use more drugs than children in the poor families. And drugs is another form of slavery. And it may start out as what they think are relatively harmless drugs only to lead to heroin and the worst of dope.~~

~~Now,~~ ^(through) if there ever was a community effort that needed to be mobilized ~~from~~ the home, ~~through~~ the community agency, the church ~~and~~ the town and the county and the ~~state~~ and the federal government, it is to stop this "sale of slavery," as the President said, "to the young." ~~And whatever kind of enforcement you have, it cannot be tough enough, just remember that.~~

(Applause.)

Let me give you a little good political advice, my fellow Democrats. The best politics is to do what you have to

~~No. And Democratic Party organizations ought to be interested not only in our partisan programs but interested in what people need and what they're doing and what they ought to do and what they want to do.~~

~~And I particularly ask our young Democrats on these college campuses, through our communities, to help, help in community houses, help in every way you can in social service, make yourself readily available for the good things that need to be done.~~

~~Now, I know~~ ^{if} ~~when I say these things, that some people~~ ^(There are) say, "Well, where are the dramatic programs?" ~~Now, I even~~ ^(Who) ~~have some people come to me and they say, "Well, Humphrey,~~ ^{you know, I have a} ~~whatever happened to the liberal program?"~~ ^{few friends that talk that way to me.}

~~(Laughter.)~~

And then I just wait a little while and I say, "We passed it. I hope that doesn't upset you. It's the law."

~~(Laughter, applause.)~~

^(Our new) ~~Now, these programs, I happen to think, are~~ ^(also) ~~dramatic. And~~ ^{there are more} ~~to come. They are dramatic.~~ ^{to come.} ~~But I will tell you something else. They are Democratic. And~~ ^{they are the building blocks of a better and a stronger and a freer and a safer America.}

CHALLENGES ABROAD

~~Now, what about the challenges abroad? And let me~~ ^(You) ~~reach this point with you now and bring this message: to I hope,~~ ~~a submission, that~~ ^{your foreign policy can be no better than}

your domestic policy. Your national security is no stronger than your economic base. Your national will abroad is no better than your purpose and will at home. You can't export something you don't produce. ~~And you can't have strong muscles by just a clenched fist. It takes a strong body.~~

~~As one once said, that the military forces of this Nation are nothing but the fine cutting edge of the blade of our economic and social strength.~~ And ~~So~~ So, when you speak about America today, and its strength, ~~my friends~~, don't talk just about its Air Force, its Navy, its Army, its Marines, its Coast guard, ~~even though they are good and they are strong and they are trained and they are well-equipped --~~ think about what produced them, what kind of America is behind them.

~~And I might add tonight, my friends, we're calling upon the best that we've ever had in the armed forces to do the most difficult job that this country has ever been called upon to do. And I wonder, sometimes, I wonder if those who are out there on the cutting edge of our strength, on the battle line, if they really feel that what's behind them is solid, is confident.~~

~~How can you expect one of your men in uniform to be confident of victory in battle far away from home if you doubt his cause here? I don't think you can. And what is more, I think it is wrong to ask him to do that which you doubt that he can do.~~

~~I am sure that not all of us doubt for a long time, in~~

fact, I am sure that the majority of us do not, but I sometimes have a heavy heart for those that we ask to literally give their lives as we debate the fine points of military strategy, as we study our scout manual, knowing very little about either one.

Now, what about the challenges that we face abroad?

Well, there are those that concern Americans most today. They're

the master plans for world peace and even local peace, and these plans are plentiful, but they don't always fit the

realities that confront us. So what is the answer? ~~What is~~

~~the answer?~~ To withdraw and let the fate of a nuclear-armed world be decided without us?

I heard the Secretary of State say today to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, as we sat and visited at a luncheon, I heard him say that I imagine that there are not many more than a hundred people in the world today ^{with} ~~that~~ really understand what a nuclear confrontation would mean. It came after a little discussion in which somebody said, when we were talking about the nuclear treaties, somebody said, "Well, if we don't get it now, maybe some time later." And the Secretary of State said, "Well, if that some time later is after we have failed, there won't be anybody for some time later." And that is a fact.

So we have to ask ourselves, are we going to withdraw from the scene of trial, from the scene of difficulty, only to

~~... come by the installment plan.~~ ^{# Or} are we to
take the more difficult road of active engagement ⁽ⁱⁿ⁾ ~~and the~~
pursuit of ^(the) fundamental human aspirations that we ^(have) ~~are~~ always
stood for?

Now, [#] what does this country stand for? Well, we say it
~~stands for liberty. Well, let me put it in the words of some~~
~~others and words of our own.~~ [#] freedom from want, we stand for,
at home and abroad. [#] freedom from fear, the knock on the door
in the middle of the night.

[#] we stand for self-determination for our own people here
at home and for people throughout the world. ^{# V} ~~and we~~ stand for
social justice, and no people has done so much to achieve it.
^{# V} we stand for security and we stand for development. [#] And
this all adds up to a stable and lasting peace.

[#] You know, John Kennedy put it quite well ~~to us~~ when he
said, "Peace and freedom do not come cheap, and we are destined
all of us here today, ^(U) to live out most if not all of our lives
in uncertainty and challenge and peril." ~~These are words of~~
~~prophecy. And it is just as true now as the day that he~~
~~uttered them.~~

Every day of our lives from here on will be in uncer-
tainty and challenge and peril. Then the question comes, are
we up to it?

[#] A LEADER
Well, we believe that challenge accepted is safer than
challenge ignored. We believe that perils that are recognized

are safer than perils that are denied. And we believe that peace and freedom are worth the sacrifice that we may ~~be~~ some-
 times ^{(be) (upon)} ~~called~~ to make. ~~And~~ [#] such a commitment ~~as what I have~~
~~said here tonight~~ requires a leader. ~~A nation needs leadership.~~
~~A family needs leadership. A community needs leadership. A~~
~~church needs leadership. A union, a political party -- most~~
~~people do pretty well if they have strong leadership. And~~
~~this nation ^(has one in) needs strong leadership and I am happy to tell you~~
~~that it has strong leadership and a strong man, the President~~
 of the United States, ^(Lyndon Johnson.) ~~your own man from Texas.~~

~~(Applause.)~~

The Presidency of the United States is no place for make-believe, and it is no place for any image makers' ~~make-~~
~~believe~~ creation.

~~When I was in Des Moines recently I got up and talked to an audience like this. And while I was visiting with them, I think I said something about like this, John: I said I read a great deal about image these days. I read a great deal about the image that a man makes in public life.~~

~~Well, ladies and gentlemen, I want to tell you what I~~
~~told them.~~ [#] What this country needs is not an image, and what this country has is not an image. What this country needs is character and substance, and that is what ~~the~~ President ^(Johnson) ~~of the~~
~~United States~~ gives ^(us) ~~you.~~

~~(Applause.)~~

Madison Avenue words and techniques are all right in the commercial marketplace, but, ~~ladies and gentlemen~~, when you are dealing with the life of a nation, ~~when you're dealing in the nuclear age, the space age, when every decision that you make is life or death~~, you don't need some facsimile of statesmanship. You don't need some caricature of a President. You don't need somebody ~~that~~ ^(who) can play the part of a President. You don't need somebody ~~that~~ ^(who) ~~just~~ looks the part of a President. You need somebody who knows how to be President, and that is what you ~~ve got~~ ^{have}.

~~(Applause.)~~

~~Well, my friends, I want you to take our message, now, to the people. I don't ask you to take a message and say that we have done everything right.~~ I don't ask you to go and say that this is an administration that has never blundered. I suppose we have. I am not going to tell you where it is, the opposition will tell it much better.

~~(Laughter.)~~

~~And I don't think you have to spend your time figuring it out, either. They will remind you.~~

I don't say that we have some omnipotent wisdom. I ~~only~~ ^(do) ~~say~~ ^{say} that I think we understand what century we're in and ~~understand~~ what part of that century we're in. ~~We know~~ ^{we know} ~~we're in the last third of the 20th Century.~~ And we know that this world in which we live today is a smaller world than it

has ever been, and a more dangerous world than it has ever been, and yet it is a more promising world than it has ever been.

And we know that the greatest resource in this world is the human being. And we know that the greatest philosophy of government in this world, the best is democracy. Or, to put it like Winston Churchill said, the worst form of government, except all others, is democracy.

(Applause.)

And we happen to believe that the role of leadership that ~~has come~~ ^(fell) to us, not by our design ~~no one planned it~~ ^{but that fell to us} at the end of World War II, in a world that was in ashes, ~~in~~ a world in which the power structure had literally been ~~put~~ ^(torn) apart, that role of leadership ~~that~~ ^(cannot) ~~came to us~~ cannot be cast aside. It may be taken from us, through our doubt and weakness, if we permit that, but we dare not cast ^(it) aside.

Leadership is an awful burden. It is a great honor. Everyone likes to be called a leader until he is required to fulfill the responsibilities of that title. And then when the duties and the burdens are heaped upon you, as they hail you as leader and champion, then the test of character comes.

My fellow Americans, we have witnessed this past week the ferocity, the cruelty, the viciousness, the subtlety, and the vitality of an enemy. You have witnessed it on your television as you watched real war, dirty war, cruel war, not make-

1 ~~believe war, in Southeast Asia, Vietnam.~~

A LOST WEEKEND

2 ~~#~~ There are enemies in this world. There are those ~~that~~ ^(who)

3 disagree with us. There are those, ~~my fellow Americans,~~ who

4 ~~do not like~~ ^(are hostile to) our way of life. ~~There are those who have differ-~~

5 ~~ent values.~~ ^(Yet) ~~And~~ it is entirely possible for this generation

6 ~~my generation at least,~~ to abdicate our responsibilities and

7 ~~just~~ live it up ^(in one) ~~such as a~~ big national lost weekend. ~~and just~~

8 ~~enjoy all the luxury that is ours and become debauched and~~

9 ~~corrupted in it.~~ It is possible. And possibly we would not

10 be brutally attacked, but what good is life if that is all

11 it's all about?

12 ^(But) ~~Or, there~~ is ~~yet~~ another way, the harder way, and yet

13 the safer way ^(to) involve ourselves, not to dominate but to be

14 a partner, not to be belligerent but to be firm, not to be

15 bellicose but to be resolute, not to be the policeman of the

16 world but to help be a part of the inspiration of the world.

17 ~~And~~ ^(are) that is ~~what -- that is~~ the course I think we ~~are~~ following,

18 and that is the course we must follow.

19 I want you, ^(the) ~~that are~~ members of this party ^(and have)

20 ~~responsibility in these four or five states, I want you to~~

21 take the message of political responsibility to your people.

22 ~~Do you know what~~ I think ~~about~~ the American people? ~~I think~~

23 ~~they~~ want to be told the truth. ~~I think they want to know~~

24 ~~whether we're big enough, strong enough, honest enough to give~~

25 ~~them good government, responsible government.~~ I think they

1 want us to level with them. They know that this is a hard and
 2 rough time in which we live. They know that there is no easy
 3 way out. They know there is no place to hide. They know that
 4 the enemy is strong and cunning and brutal.

5 But ~~I will tell you something else they know. They know~~
 6 ~~that~~ if you will but speak to them and share with them your
 7 thoughts, ~~that~~ there is a great common purpose here in America
 8 and a great community of interest. ~~And they know that the~~
 9 ~~heritage of this land, they know of its strength, they know of~~
 10 ~~its trials and its tribulations, they know of its victories.~~
 11 And one thing I've learned in America -- I don't care what the
 12 political complexion of the audience is -- ~~that~~ the American
 13 people do love their country, and ^(they) ~~the American people~~ have un-
 14 bounded faith in its purpose and its destiny. # But what they
 15 expect from those of us who call ourselves leaders, ~~who think~~
 16 ~~that we're precinct or district or county or state or national~~
 17 ~~leaders, what they expect of us~~ is a clear and unequivocal call
 18 to action.

19 They expect us to show the way. # They expect us to stand
 20 up and take the blows as well as to take the bows. Every
 21 ~~fellow American, they know that if you will talk to them.~~

22 I am proud to be a member of this administration. I
 23 am proud to be the partner of President Johnson. And I am
 24 proud to be a part of this great party. But, above all, I
 25 want America to be proud of us. I want us to be worthy of the

trust that has been placed in us. ~~And~~ I want the leaders of
this party to walk strong and firm and tall, and I want you to
speak the message of social progress, of national strength and of
international responsibility. ~~And I want you to be unafraid~~
~~and I want you to go out and win this election.~~

~~Thank you very much.~~

~~(Applause.)~~

END



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