

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

March 15, 1968

REMARKS VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY DEMOCRATIC REGIONAL CONFERENCE PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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The headlines remind us daily of the world we live in.

At home, we've been warned that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white -- separate and unequal."

Other headlines report an outside world in serious trouble -- hunger and hatred...the rich getting richer and the poor lagging ever farther behind...a distant war in which American boys are fighting and dying.

As we read these headlines, we must ask ourselves some fundamental questions.

Can we finally build a society of full and equal opportunity for every citizen? Or will the American dream be lost as our 200th anniversary of nationhood approaches?

Is America prepared to play an active, vital role in the world? Or will the questions of peace and war in this nuclear age be decided without us?

John Kennedy once said: "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."

Do we have the courage to act in the face of uncertainty... to seize the opportunities in every challenge...or are we to be crushed in spirit and in body by the big questions that confront us?

I think I know your answers.

For, why after all, are we Democrats?

We are Democrats because we believe that a nation united, guaranteeing life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all, is not an empty promise but a clear and attainable goal.

We are Democrats because we believe that the fortunate have a clear obligation to the unfortunate -- both at home and in the world.

We are Democrats because we believe that problems created by men can be solved by men.

I won't recite the record of Democratic accomplishments.

Back in the 1920's, Will Rogers observed at a Jackson Day dinner:

"I don't know when the Democratic Party started, but for all I've heard tonight it started several hundred years before Jackson, for all they have dug up tonight couldn't have happened since his time."

Now, 40 years and 4 Democratic Presidents later, that record seems centuries longer.

But it is helpful to remember just how far and how fast we have progressed.

Twenty years ago we were still talking about lynchings.

Ten years ago we were talking about lunchrooms.

Today, for the first time, we're talking about life, real life, for all our Negro citizens, with a full share in our abundance.

Not many years ago we talked about the horror of Hoovervilles; today it is housing starts and Model Cities.

Once we talked about the shame of child labor; today we talk about pre-natal and post-natal care for every American child.

Once we talked about sweatshops. Now most American workers are covered by a dollar and sixty cent minimum wage.

Today's problems are the problems of progress, the challenge of a better America coming to maturity and seeking the best for all its citizens.

Let's look at the accomplishments of just the last four years in perspective.

If we, as objective observers, saw that developed Country X on another continent, had tripled its investment in health and education in the last four years...had increased the number of people in job training programs ten-fold...had established a new ministry of urban affairs...had passed sweeping new legislation to provide equal rights to all its citizens, I believe we would correctly conclude that Country X had dramatically committed itself to radically improving the life of its citizens.

A Democratic President and Democratic Congress have done these things and much more in our own country during the last four years.

Now let's get that message out to the voters.

But at the same time, let us, in Adlai Stevenson's words "talk sense to the American voters. Let's tell them the truth, that there are no gains without pains."

For there is another part of the American perspective today -- the perspective of the mother in the inner city tenement who still can't feed her child adequately or send him to a decent school...who still walks in fear in hallways and on the streets.

There is the perspective too of the seasonal worker of the left-out rural family living second-class in a first-class country.

Despite our progress -- or even because of it -- these inequities are all the more unacceptable -- not only to those oppressed by them but to this prosperous nation as a whole.

"The sufferings that are endured patiently as being inevitable," said de Toqueville, "become intolerable the moment it appears that there might be an escape. Reform then only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains oppressive and now all the more unbearable; the suffering, it is true, has been reduced, but one's sensitivity has become more acute."

Now there are some people -- not Democrats -- who greet rising expectations, and even the progress that stimulated them, with gloom and dismay.

You know the sounds of that Republican-led Coalition of Retreat:

"Americans never had it so bad." "Enough for now." "Go slow." "Cut back." Cut back to what? I wish I could give you an answer.

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But to be perfectly honest with you, I have trouble keeping track of their candidates, much less knowing where they stand on the critical issues before us today.

One says he's for peace in the Pacific, but says he'll wait a year to tell us how he'll get it.

Another, who can't decide whether to run or not, "has had the advantage in the last twelve months," according to a well-known political analyst, "of not having taken stands on controversial issues which could lose him friends."

As a rule they're long on pronouncement and short on program.

They count on a maximum of headlines and a minimum of ideas.

Talk about a credibility gap

There is only one gap that bothers Democrats -- the gap that still exists between the reality and the promise of America.

President Johnson's messages to Congress this year are a Democratic declaration that we shall fill that gap.

The President proposes:

-- Decent low cost housing for 20 million Americans still trapped in degrading, unhealthy, unnecessary tenements;

-- A partnership between government and private industry to provide training and jobs for 500 thousand hard-core unemployed workers;

-- Full-funding of the poverty programs in the fiscal year ahead;

-- A comprehensive crime control program to provide Americans "the security that they demand and the justice that they deserve." -- A civil rights proposal which is one of the strongest ever offered to any Congress, and which, I am happy to say, is already well on the way to enactment.

This is part of the program of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration. It is all spelled out. It makes very clear what we are offering the American people -- concrete results, by definite dates...such things as:

-- 500 thousand men trained and employed by 1971... full pre-natal and post-natal care for every needy American mother and infant by 1973...26 million new housing units by 1978.

Those are not just stop-gap objectives.

They are a blueprint for a better America in decades to come -- decades when today's Head Start children will be the voters and leaders of America...when today's unskilled youngsters can look back on a life of productive employment... when no American family is wracked by want.

Our programs are not for the needy alone, not for the left-out citizen alone. They are for all Americans -designed to improve the quality and style of life, to enable every American to achieve his fullest potiential.

When will the whole job be done? When will all the disabilities that afflict America's left-out citizens be overcome? When will every American live in safety and fulfillment?

It will take time.

But win next November, and you can start checking off the last hurdles on the path to full democracy in America in the very near future.

That is the challenge at home. And that is how we propose to meet it.

* * *

What about the challenges we face abroad?

No nation today can have either security or development at home without security and development in the world.

Peace in our cities will mean little without peace among nations.

Our wealth and our freedom will mean little if the vast majority of mankind is still oppressed by hunger and want.

No issue concerns Americans more deeply today than Vietnam.

And I can tell you that President Johnson spends most of his waking hours seeking a just and peaceful solution to the painful conflict there -- a solution that does not depend either upon nuclear risk-taking or on appeasement.

And I can tell you where this Administration stands on Vietnam. It stands for "peace and peace at the earliest possible moment" -- but peace without appeasement and peace without the risk of World War III. Ever since World War II the American people have believed that a challenge accepted is safer than a challenge ignored... that perils recognized are safer than perils denied...and that peace and freedom are worth the sacrifices we may sometimes be called upon to make.

That reasoning lay behind the Marshall Plan for the re-construction of Europe.

It lay behind the Berlin Airlift.

From Korea and the Straits of Formosa to Lebanon and the Congo, in Laos, in Cuba, in the Dominican Republic and Cyprus -four American presidents, with the American people behind them, have made their commitment to peace and security -- even if they had to fight for it.

Now, when the going gets tough, I don't expect to give up that commitment.

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Now I have talked to a lot of Democrats around the country in the past few weeks, I also read the newspapers.

And I can report that there is a certain amount of discussion and debate going on within the Democratic Party.

Indeed I am sometimes reminded of another of Will Rogers' observations: "I am not a member of any organized political party. I am a Democrat."

But debate and discussion are not all I have found.

That unshakeable humanistic tie that binds Democrats together is as strong as ever.

All of us -- from the President to the youngest Young Democrat -- are concerned about people...old people and young people...in the cities and on the farms...people in need in America and all over the world, wherever freedom is restricted and opportunity blighted.

Concern and compassion...faith, not fear, in the future... hope without illusion...unity of purpose -- that is where the great strength of our party lies.

What about November?

Like many of you, I had an unsettling experience last Tuesday night. I watched the New Hampshire returns coming in on television. The polls closed. The computers began to sort out the winners. The votes began to mount.

And all of a sudden, right there in my own livingroom, was a familiar face -- with a most unfamiliar, uncharacteristic, and unbecoming declaration of victory on his lips.

It was the old used-car salesman. Back again with the same old model.

I doubt if many Democrats want to stand by and watch that scene repeated next November 11.

So I say to those who think debate is a sign of weakness in our party...or who think discussion means dissension...you just don't know us.

We talk a lot. We love ideas. We enjoy debate.

But when it comes to the critical issue of advance or retreat, Democrats stand united.

When it comes to a choice between decisive action and temporizing with the security of America at home or abroad, Democrats stand united.

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And next fall, when America's future is in the balance, we will stand united -- behind our party and our platform -behind the ideals that will move this nation forward to greater freedom, prosperity and security.

And behind our candidate. And I can tell you who that candidate will be...nominated in August, campaigning in September and October and reelected in November: President Lyndon Johnson.

For make no mistake about it. The Democratic Presidential candidate will be President Lyndon Johnson.

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