

SATURDAY AM's MARCH 23, 1968

REMARKS VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY DEMOCRATIC RALLY MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

MARCH 22, 1968

This is a time of testing for America.

Can we assure every American the opportunity and security here at home he deserves?

Do we have the stamina to pursue the hard task of building peace and security in the world?

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

On inauguration day, 1961, this country awoke from eight years of fitful and costly slumber.

Unemployment stood at 6.6 per cent.

We had suffered recessions.

Americans had watched others take the lead in space.

We had been a nation asleep -- but not at ease.

Since that time we have acted -- under the leadership of the Kennedy-Johnson and Johnson-Humphrey Administrations and the Democratic Party.

In health we passed a Medicare program -- crowning a struggle begun 20 years ago by Harry Truman. Seven million senior Americans were cared for under Medicare last year alone.

We passed an Elementary and Secondary Education Act. They said it could never be done.

Last year 9 million needy American children had new opportunities because of it -- not just in public schools but in schools of their choice.

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

Did you know that the federal government is today investing three times as much in health and education this year as it was in 1964? Did you know that we have invested twice as much in education over the last four years as we invested in the previous century?

Unemployment is now down to about 3.8 per cent -little more than half what it was on that January day in 1961. Real personal incomes have increased more each year since that time than they increased in the five preceding years together.

What do all those figures mean?

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

A Mexican-American child getting 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.

A nation alive -- driving hard toward fulfillment of that great American dream.

True, there is uncertainty and a certain amount of turmoil in America today.

There is impatience because America still isn't just right.

Indeed I think our very progress has made most of us impatient.

We have worked so hard...we expect so much...and we see our goals so nearly within our reach, that the burdens which remain seem insufferable for rich and poor, black and white alike.

I am reminded of de Tocqueville's words:

"The sufferings that are endured patiently, as being inevitable, become intolerable the moment that 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."

When frustration and disappointment turn to violence, it will be suppressed. The Johnson-Humphrey Administration is fully prepared to give local and state law enforcement authorities any help they need to guarantee the full protection of the law to every citizen.

But America is not embarked on a downward spiral of violence and counter-violence. The disappointments and tensions that today exist are the growing pains of a nation that is still in its youth.

For we labor today not in the name of wealth...or comfort... or luxury for those who have already found security.

We speak of jobs and training...Head Start and Upward Bound...housing and health...of new commitments to relieve old ills.

We speak of achieving the kind of life you want -and that every American wants -- a decent home...productive employment...rewarding leisure...human enrichment. President Roosevelt once said, "The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have too much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

America has begun to pass that test in the last eight years.

* * *

Now let me say a few words about the issue which most concerns all of us today -- Vietnam.

Why are we there? What do we seek? What is the outlook?

We are there for many reasons. But two are paramount:

First, to protect our own national security.

Second, to increase the possibilities of a stable and peaceful world for ourselves and our children.

Those have been the dual objectives of American foreign policy ever since the dark days of World War II -and particularly since the development of nuclear weapons.

Our quest has been slow and painful. But it is honorable. And it is necessary in this troubled, shrinking planet.

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

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

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

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

That is also what Dwight Eisenhower and John Kennedy thought. That is what Lyndon Johnson thinks.

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

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

We have had setbacks and learned hard lessons.

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

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

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

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

In July 1963 President Kennedy said of Vietnam:

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

What are the prospects?

We faced an active, revolutionary communism in Europe. We stood firm.

Today we are able to live in peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union. And an unquenchable human desire for freedom and personal dignity is at work among the people of Eastern Europe as never before.

I believe that if we stand fast with the independent nations of Asia we can, in time, achieve the same kind of results there.

I believe Communist China may well find it in her interests to rejoin the family of nations.

That is why we speak of "containment without isolation"... a policy of working toward peaceful reconciliation with China.

As President Johnson said in his State of the Union Message:

"America will persevere, and our patience and our perseverance will match our power."

And he also said: "Our goal is peace -- and peace at the earliest possible moment."

My friends, I can tell you that the roadblock to peace in Vietnam does not lie in Washington. It lies in Hanoi -- a fact which deserves sober recognition as we enter this campaign year.

And peace does not come by wishing or hoping or pledging.

It is won by determination, hard bargaining, and, if need be, by fighting.

And I say to you that the world would have much less of it today if not for the strength and determination of America.

* * *

Yes, peace...peace that will last...peace that is not just a lull before the storm -- that is our quest in Vietnam.

Will America stand firm?

Are we still ready, as we have been in the past, to wage the lonely battle and make the awful sacrifices for a stable, lasting peace? Are we courageous enough to pursue the difficult middle way?

On April 2, Wisconsin can help provide the answer for all who watch and listen -- in this country and around the world.

Wisconsin's answer can be a ringing vote of confidence for an American President who refuses to play the politics of popularity when the peace and security of the United States are in the balance.

It can be a grateful vote of appreciation for a President who has done more for the social well-being of America -- more in health...more in education...more toward the conquest of poverty and blighted opportunity -- than any other man in our history.

Wisconsin can say to Lyndon B. Johnson, "Thank you, Mr. President. We are with you."

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I believe Communist China may well find it in her interests to rejoin the family of nations.

That is why we speak of "containment without isolation"... a policy of working toward peaceful reconciliation with China. As President Johnson said yesterday:

"Let no one misread our purpose: Peace is our goal.

"Let no one mistake our resolve: Peace will be won.

"It will be peace with honor. It will be a peace in which the people of South Vietnam will be free to live the lives they choose to live."

My friends, I can tell you that the roadblock to peace in Vietnam does not lie in Washington. It lies in Hanoi -- a fact which deserves sober recognition as we enter this campaign year.

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