

FRIDAY AM's
April 12, 1968

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
LOUISIANA AFL-CIO
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA
APRIL 11, 1968

1968 is a year for facing the facts in America.

In 1968, Americans know they confront basic decisions about the future of our country and the world. . . decisions we cannot postpone. . . decisions that have to be solidly based not on wishfulness or escapism, but on the realities of the time in which we live.

The first reality is this:

John Kennedy said it:

"Peace and freedom do not come cheap and we are destined--all of us here today--to live out most, if not all our lives in uncertainty and challenge and peril."

That is exactly the way it is. And to think otherwise is a dangerous illusion.

* * *

Reality number two: The answers to these uncertainties... challenges and perils--and you know them well--are neither easy...nor cheap...nor instant.

They are not to be found in criticism for its own sake... or in the pitting of people against each other...or in dividing a society that desperately needs unity.

They are to be found in the concrete deeds, over the course of years, of people dedicated to the causes of building and of reconciliation.

Certainly, at the end of this momentous week, most Americans know this.

We should, by now, have reached the end of our Age of Innocence.

* * *

Which brings me to reality three: America is a grown-up nation. We must be able to act our age.

Young in spirit, yes. Young in hopes and ideals, yes.

But it is by the maturity of our judgment and our statesmanship that we shall be judged as we wrestle with the complex problems in the world around us.

* * *

Reality number four: Despite our problems--and I do not underestimate them--we have more chance in America today to overcome them than any other nation, at any other time in history.

We have the power, the skills, the resources to do what needs to be done. We must put them to work.

Let no one sell America short. We can build America strong--if we use what we have.

* * *

We have come a long way in the last four years. Your Democratic Administration has kept its promises.

Just ask the people of America. They know.

Ask the retired couple who gets modern medical care--with dignity--under Medicare.

Or ask the children of that elderly couple--who are no longer burdened with their hospital and doctor bills.

Ask the man who only a few years ago had no job, and now has one.

Ask the millions of workers who have gotten training and new skills.

Ask the man covered by a minimum wage for the first time--and getting not less than a dollar sixty an hour.

Ask the mothers of 9 million American children who now have their first chance for a decent education because of an Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Four Administrations have struggled to get federal help to these youngsters. One Administration did it: Your Administration--the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

Yes, we have kept our promises.

And, in these critical months ahead, I do not intend to disavow either President Johnson or the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

I intend to stand up for the promises we have kept.

I intend to take our message to the country--an affirmative...positive...hopeful message.

No, there is not much new about America's shortcomings.

What is new is that remedies have come faster in the last four years than ever before in the history of this Republic.

And I want to tell you that as one who has devoted his entire public career to the unfinished business of American democracy..and as a man who is fully aware of the enormity of the task still ahead..I am proud of our record:

--Twice as much has been invested in education in the last 4 years as in the previous century;

--3 times as much has been invested in health this year as in 1964;

--26 million hospital bills paid--5 million patients already receiving doctor's services under Medicare;

--5 million needy persons making their voices heard in community action programs--over 1 million children in Head Start programs;

--more consumer protection legislation passed than in any previous Administration--fair packaging...wholesome meat...traffic and auto safety...truth in lending...flam-mable fabrics;

--crucial beginnings made for clean air...clean water...clean rivers;

--major crime control legislation passed and more pending in Congress...firearms control...safe streets and crime control...juvenile delinquency prevention.

Those who deny that record distort the truth.

They discredit the very ideal you and I have fought for.

They cheat Americans out of pride in their progress... feed their frustration...and shake their confidence in our nation's ability to face the future.

Deception, doubt and despair--that is the litany of the men who sell America short.

Are we content with our achievements? Of course not.

But dissatisfaction--which we all share--is no excuse for violence or demagoguery by the irresponsible few.

Within the week we have seen the result once more of preachments of hate and division.

We have seen the violent act of a depraved individual grow into mob violence--tragedy compounding tragedy...injustice compounding injustice...hate compounding hate.

It is time in America for a permanent moratorium on the inflammatory demagoguery which pits men against each other--for a moratorium on the vocabulary of violence.

It is time in America for a permanent moratorium on violence itself--violence in the streets...violence in the lives of our people.

It is time for reconciliation. It is time for healing and unity.

It is time for law and order in American life.

Order in the streets--yes.

Order that protects the lives, the property and the rights of every citizen, black and white--yes.

Order that is enforced by every means at our command--yes.

For the rule of law cannot, and must not, give way to the rule of the jungle--or the very basis for democratic self-government is perverted and denied

But there is another dimension of what we must do.

For there is a higher law and a deeper order that dictates to the conscience of each of us.

It is the higher law and deeper order expressed in the words of Dr. Martin Luther King:

"I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a Nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character."

Martin Luther King was voicing more than his personal dream.

That is my dream.

I believe that is America's dream--the dream of mothers and fathers of all races, religions, and regions.

I believe that dream need not drown in a whirlpool of violence.

I believe Americans have the faith and courage to make it real.

* * *

Nor can a mature country...a responsible people tolerate, condone, or embrace extremism, or violence in the broader human neighborhood any more than it can in its own streets and cities.

We cannot tolerate, condone or embrace the dangerous courses either of violence or of withdrawal--not at home, not in the world.

Because we know what they cost.

The path of human progress--worldwide--lies in diplomacy...negotiation...economic progress...education and health..and peace.

Last week I returned from Mexico City where I affirmed our country's pledge to help keep Latin America free of nuclear weapons.

A nuclear non-proliferation treaty is now pending before the United Nations.

Just within the last year,

--We have seen the establishment of a new Asian Development Bank;

--We have joined with other nations to lower the barriers to international trade and economic growth;

--we have concluded an agreement barring nuclear weapons from outer space;

--we have agreed on a consular treaty with the Soviet Union;

--the hot line kept the Middle Eastern crisis from exploding into a major international confrontation;

--President Johnson's personal envoy averted war over Cyprus.

These are the building-blocks of the cathedral of peace.

They are not the result of some magic formula discovered on the political stump in an election year.

They are the hard, realistic achievements of peace builders.

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So here is America in 1968: No longer an adolescent nation...but a country thrust into the center of world power and responsibility.

Here is America: No longer able to afford the luxury of escapism, in its own cities or in the wider human community.

Here is America: Rich and comfortable...but knowing that wealth alone does not make justice, and comfort does not mean peace.

Here is America: With more opportunities than problems...with more strength than weakness...with more chance of achieving the full meaning of freedom than any other country in history.

We can have an America that pledges itself to full and equal rights for every citizen--and keeps that pledge;

We can have an America that pledges cities that are safe and clean...where neighborhoods are once more filled with neighbors--and keeps that pledge;

We can have an America that pledges development of the precious human worth in every child--and keeps that pledge;

We can have an America that pledges itself to peace and progress around the world--and keeps that pledge.

* * *

I have spoken of the search for peace in America.

Finally, let me say a few words about our quest for peace in Vietnam.

In an act of selfless statesmanship, President Johnson has offered peace with honor in Southeast Asia.

He has offered a peace that would save American lives and Vietnamese lives.

He has offered a settlement that could bring new security and development to all the peoples of Southeast Asia.

The road to peace is tortuous and difficult. But the beginnings are being made.

I know what it means to search for peace.

I was the sponsor, in the United States Senate, of Food for Peace . . . of the Peace Corps . . . of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

I led the fight for the Nuclear Test Ban treaty.

I stood through many long, hard days, as Majority Whip of the United States Senate -- alongside President John Kennedy as we sought the Test Ban Treaty . . . as we looked ultimate danger in the face in the Cuban Missile Crisis.

I have stood beside President Johnson, day after day, as he faced decisions involving the international security of this nation.

I have been with the President in meetings of the National Security Council -- and alone with him at lonely house in the White House Mansion -- in review of the various policy alternatives facing our country in Southeast Asia.

I have given my advice. I have honestly given my viewpoint.

And when decisions have finally been made -- after the crossfire of discussion and review -- I have done what I could to support them, just as I do now.

I will do everything I can for the cause of peace in the world.

I will do everything I can to keep social progress moving forward in America.

I will do everything to sustain and carry forward the work we have begun in this country.

And I ask your help -- and the help of all Americans -- in doing this.

The world is watching us now.

We cannot for a moment let there be any misunderstanding of our intention or our national resolve.

I call on all Americans to stand together now in unity in our national quest for peace -- at home and in the world.

We must put our differences behind us.

We must once and for all break through the chains of narrow personal interest . . . of suspicion . . . of misunderstandings that divide us.

We must see each other not as strangers, but as neighbors.

We must reach out to each other with the extra measure of understanding and tolerance that we offer to friends.

We must trust each other.

It will require discipline. It will require patience. It will require, above all, maturity.

Can we do it?
I think we can.
I know we must.
I ask your help.

His Excellency
Arthur Bishop Hanna
Bishop Tracy

SPEECH PLATFORM GUESTS

~~Russell K. K...
whip~~

✓ Sen Long

✓ Sen Ellender
✓ Blanche Long

J. J. McKeithen
Sr

Father of
the Governor

✓ Victor Bussie + Hertrude
✓ Gov John McKeithen
✓ Cong Hall Boggs

REMARKS Father T. Co... of...

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

AFL-CIO LOUISIANA CONVENTION

BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

APRIL 11, 1968

Mayor Woody Dumas
Mayor Vic Skelton
Memorandum

④ at Home - Capital Lake
Highland Road - LSU { Feel good
Here!!

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∠ Let no one sell America short. We can build America
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Your Democratic Administration has kept its promises.

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Ask the retired couple who get modern medical care --
with dignity -- under Medicare.

↳ Or ask the children of that elderly couple -- who are no longer burdened with their hospital and doctor bills.

↳ Ask the man who only a few years ago had no job, and now has one.

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↳ I have given my advice. I have honestly given my viewpoint.

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I will do everything I can for the cause of peace in the world.

I will do everything I can to keep social progress moving forward in America.

I will do everything to sustain and carry forward the work we have begun in this country.

And I ask your help -- and the help of all Americans -- in doing this.

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I call on all Americans to stand together now in unity in our national quest for peace -- at home and in the world.

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↳ It will require discipline. It will require patience.

It will require, above all, maturity *and responsibility*.

Can we do it?

I think we can.

I know we must.

I ask your help.

#

Thank you very much. ... (Applause) ...

The words, "thank you" are hardly adequate for the emotions that run through my being after these generous words of introduction by a very good friend, a very great public servant, a very dedicated citizen and a truly remarkable Governor of the great state of Louisiana - John McKeithen. ... (Applause) ...

And Governor, the late and beloved Adlai Stevenson once said after receiving a very generous introduction, "I can hardly wait to hear what I'm going to say."

But I want you to know that I am singularly honored by the words even though I know that they are very flattering - and I'm afraid that Mrs. Humphrey would tell you that some of them are at least undeserved - still they are very appealing to me and when you're Vice President, you can stand a little flattery - it doesn't hurt a bit. ... (Applause) ...

Your excellency, Archbishop Hannan, one of the great spiritual leaders of our land, Bishop Tracy and the Reverend Clergy, my good friend Senator Russell Long, my good friend, Congressman Hale Boggs, so many good friends here tonight. I should tell you that Mayor Schiro of New

Orleans was with us a little earlier, but he had to leave. I cherish his friendship, honor his leadership.

Mayor Woody Dumas is here from Baton Rouge, and there is another special person here that I want to note tonight, and that's the father, the dad of this fine Governor. He's been my friend, and I've found out he's been one of my early friends, and I will tell you I'm so happy that his son follows in the steps of the father - ... (Applause) ... dad, there he is right there. ... (Applause) ...

But then let me add that there is another very special friend here this evening, and he is the leader of this State AFL-CIO, this great, free labor movement of Louisiana, and I want to put it on the record that I do not believe that there is a more talented, a more gifted, a more dedicated, a more sincere and honorable leader in the entire trade union movement in America than Victor Bussie. ... (Applause) ...

And when I compliment the leader of this fine labor movement, I wish to compliment the other officers and the members that are here and the delegates of this Convention. I am proud to be on the laborer's platform - always proud to be - it's never been any secret at all in my public life

that I have always enjoyed the help, the support and the friendship of the organized labor movement of America - I'm proud of it. ... (Applause) ...

Organized labor has done many good things for this nation, and when I listened tonight to the opening ceremonies, the prayer, the Star Spangled Banner, the colors, I am reminded once again that when you really want to see loyalty, when you really want to see the people's patriotism, just go to the laboring people of America, you'll find it - they know about America - they love it, and they take their stand for it 365 days a year. ... (Applause)

Now I've mentioned all these very distinguished gentlemen, but I want to say to Victor that I am happy to say hello to Gertrude, too, and I want to say to my friend Hale Boggs, as grand as you are, Hale, and as proud as I am to have you on that committee that says United Democrats for Humphrey, I'm sure glad to see Linde along side of you - I feel all the better.

... (Applause) ...

And with all of my admiration and long friendship for Russell Long, let me tell you I feel better when I see Russell and Catherine here tonight - it just makes me real happy, Catherine, to see you there. ... (Applause) ...

And John, Governor, you're a great governor, but you sure do have a

pretty and a lovely wife - that Margie is my kind of a woman - I like her very, very much. ... (Applause) ...

And I love your family, and I tell you we just enjoy it so much - and Blanche, I want to say hello to you again and to thank you for all of your friendship through these years.

There are so many here that I should like to pay my respects to - to each and every one of you - you know, we feel like we're home, and I'm not just saying that just because we're at this convention. When we stepped off that plane today at your airport and were greeted by your Governor and by your state officials and people here from every walk of life, of every race, creed and nationality, I knew that we had come home. After all, whether you like it or not, you have to claim me a little bit - I did get my Master's Degree out here at Louisiana State University. ... (Applause) And I can still hear old Tiger Mike roaring at those football games.

And I learned a little politics when I was out there, too, because guess who was teaching me, Russell Long. ... (Applause) ... And when we were getting into the cars at the Governor's Mansion, overlooking the beautiful Captiol Lake, I heard Muriel say, "I remember when I used to

wheel Nancy around the State Capitol up here. Our daughter Nancy was, well, just about a year old when we came to Louisiana.

I remember, too, when we came down on the Illinois Central to Hammond, and I shall never forget the bus ride from Hammond to Baton Rouge

(Applause) ... And I'll never forget how big those strawberries looked to a South Dakota boy. Oh, I remember these things, and I remember Highland Road. Yes, and I don't want to make any commercials here tonight, but I remember a few of the fine business places. I can remember being up there at that campus, and I remember, well, so many happy memories. I can remember that I was able to get through the University here because I had a built-in scholarship - namely Mrs. Humphrey making sandwiches and me selling them on the campus up there. ... (Applause) ...

So, by the way Muriel got her M. A. Degree before I got mine. She was ma when we arrived here. We had a wonderful time together in this city, in this state. We were very poor, but very happy. We had the richness of friendship and fellowship right here in Louisiana, and we've never forgotten it, so when I say I feel like I'm home, I truly do.

Of course, I am somewhat of an Okie, I guess - I have several homes -

and I love every one of them. I was born in South Dakota, as your Governor said tonight, privileged to live and grow into maturity in Minnesota, and enriched and embellished, and I hope, helped a little bit by at least one good productive year in Louisiana, ... (Applause) ... so you're stuck with me, and tonight I want to talk with you, not to you. I want to talk with you about the most important thing in the world, about our lives and our country.

This year of 1968 is a very important year - for you, somebody said it might be for me, you can't tell, but it is an important year for all of us, ... (Applause) ... and I want to talk about some of the facts of this year and about our America in this year. How I wish that we had the time tonight for me to just review for you just a little bit as an outsider what I've seen in your own state.

I think Vic Bussie made it quite clear the remarkable achievements in this state and, Governor, before I say another word, let me salute you for your leadership, for your constructive, progressive leadership in the State of Louisiana - it's a fine record for any public official. ... (Applause)

In 1968, Americans know the facts. They know that they confront some

really tough decisions about the future of their country and the world in which we live, and they know that we confront decisions that we can't postpone - decisions that have to be solidly based, not on wishful thinking or escapism but on the tough realities of our time.

One thing about our friends in the labor movement, they're capable of facing up to the realities. Now, I've spoken of these realities in many parts of our country, and I'm going to continue to speak of them because too many people are engaging in sophistry and not in reality. Now what is the first reality that everybody knows to be a fact. Well, the late and beloved President John Kennedy stated succinctly and concisely - here is the way he put it, "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." That's the way it is and for anyone to think otherwise is to, well, is an illusion and to fool themselves.

Now, what is Reality Number 2? Reality Number 2 is that the answers to these uncertainties and these challenges and these perils and you know them well - are neither easy nor cheap nor instant. They're difficult to come by. They're not to be found in criticism just for the joy of criticism or in pitting one people against another or in indulging in hatred

and extremism or in dividing a society that desperately needs unity. When I say that word "unity", I say it to an audience that understands it. This labor movement would be nothing without this concept of unity. You build it on the principal of solidarity and my fellow Americans - America will be nothing unless we are able to arrive at a sense of unity and a sense of companionship in this nation. ... (Applause) ...

Certainly, at the end of this momentous week, most Americans should understand this. What a period we've been through in these last 10 days. We should know by now that we have reached the end of our age of innocence, which brings me to Reality Number 3. America is a grown-up country, and we must be able to act our age. We can be young in spirit, indeed we are, because we are as young as our faith and as old as our doubts. We are as young as our ideals and as old as our fears. We are a young nation, but it is by the maturity of our actions and our judgement, by the maturity of our statesmanship, that we are going to be judged at home and abroad as we wrestle with the top complex problems in the world around us.

You can't watch your television - pick up your newspaper without knowing that these problems are almost beyond human solution, so beware of

those that come to you with easy answers. Now what is Reality Number 4.

Well, despite all of these problems, and I don't underestimate them for

a moment, we here in America have more chance today and tomorrow to

overcome these problems than any other nation in the world and at any

other time in history. We have the means, we have the power, we have the

wealth, we have the skill, we have the resources to do what needs to be

done if we have the will and therefore we must put these resources to

work. A great philosopher once said that you do not judge your country

by its size or its wealth or its territory, but you judge it by the

character of its people and it isn't size or wealth or territory that

makes a nation great but the question is what will we do with these things -

that's what is important. What do we do with the resources that we have.

Well, I think I know what we'll do because I am not one that doubts this

country - history's on our side and I want to say to you what I say to

every American audience and not only to American audiences but wherever

I go - don't sell America short. . . (Applause). . .

We're builders - we're builders, not destroyers, we're advocates, not
skeptics and we can build America strong and we can build America better

if we but want to and if we but use what we have. Now, those are the realities as I see them. They shouldn't awe us nor should they terrify us, they should just challenge us. Now, we've come a long ways in facing up to these realities and we have come a long ways in the last four years and I want to now talk just a wee bit of politics, if you don't mind. . . . (Applause) . . .

We'll do it. A wee bit of politics. . . . (Applause) . . .

I have said that the Democratic Party and the Democratic Administration is the administration of performance and promise and your Democratic Administration has tried and has kept its promises and I present the evidence tonight. I present the evidence by asking the jury for a decision and the jury is the American people - just ask the people. They know it - ask that retired couple who now gets modern medical care pre-paid with dignity under Medicare - they know that we kept our promise - they know it. . . . (Applause) . . .

Or ask the children of that elderly couple who are no longer burdened with their hospital and doctor bills or ask the man who only a few years ago had no job and now has one and a good job - he knows it - he knows we have

kept the promise.

Ask the millions of workers who have been receiving training and new skills and there are literally thousands of them here in Louisiana who only a few years ago were unskilled, who had no chance but today they have jobs, self respect, earning, productive citizens. Ask them whether we've kept our promise - they know! And ask the man today or the woman who is covered by a minimum wage for the first time and is getting not less than one dollar and sixty cents an hour - they know we've kept our promise! And ask the mothers of nine million American children who, for the first time in their lives, see the children have a chance for a decent education under Federal Aid for Elementary and Secondary Education! They know that we have kept our promise.

And mind you, four administrations prior to this one tried for that program and failed and one administration did it - your administration - the Johnson-Humphrey Administration did it. . . (Applause) . . .

Yes, we have kept our word sometimes under severe criticism - sometimes under unbelievable attack but because of men like those on this platform tonight, a Governor, a Majority Whip of the United States House

of Representatives from this state, a Majority Whip of the United States Senate from this state and a great labor movement in this state. .
(Applause) . . .

We have kept our promise and I want to make it crystal clear from this platform that I'm proud of the record of this administration and I'm going to take the record of this administration to every corner of this land. I'm not going to retreat from it. . . (Applause) . . .

And I'm going to take that record in an affirmative, positive, hopeful message. No, there is not much new about America's shortcomings - I think you've all heard them. My, we have a lot of experts on our shortcomings. They've been described, prescribed, postscribed and inscribed.

But I would rather talk a little bit about our longcomings because we've done a lot - but what is new is that the remedy for these shortcomings have come faster in the last four years than ever before in this republic and I stand on this platform to say that President Lyndon Johnson and his administration have accomplished more for the American people in the field of opportunity and social progress in the last four years than any other period in history. . . (Applause) . . .

I've devoted a lifetime to public service and as one who has devoted his entire public career to the unfinished business of American democracy and as a man I believe who is somewhat aware of the enormity of the task that still lies ahead, I say with humility and yet with a sense of pride - I am proud of our record and here it is -

Twice as much has been invested in education in the last four years as in the previous century!

Three times as much has been invested in health this year as in 1964!

26 million hospital bills have been paid and 5 million patients are already receiving doctor's services under Medicare!

5 million needy persons are making their voices heard for the first time in community action programs. Democracy has become real to them!

Over one million children in Project Head Start - what a blessing to families and children!

More consumer protection legislation has been passed in the past three years in this administration than since the beginning of this republic!

And critical beginnings in our environment - clean air and clean water and clean rivers and major crime control legislation passed and more pending in Congress!

Firearms control, safe streets and crime control desperately needed!

Juvenile delinquency prevention!

Now this is just a capsule of the record and ladies and gentlemen, those who deny that record, they distort the truth and they discredit the ideals that you and I have fought for. Those who deny that record and distort the truth are not our friends and let's remember it. . . (Applause) . . .

Are we content with these achievements? Well, you wouldn't be a member of the labor movement if you were content with last year's contract.

As a matter of fact, in the words that have become quite well known in this country - all of us are re-assessing our position these days. . .

(Applause) . . .

Indeed we are a restless people and we should be because democracy's house is not complete, but this is no excuse for either distortion or demagoguery and it's no excuse for violence or demagoguery by the irresponsible. Within this week, we have seen the result, once more,

of the preachments of hate and division, we have seen the violent act of a depraved individual grow into mob violence - tragedy compounding tragedy, injustice compounding injustice and hate building on hate.

This is a sad day, a shameful day and it is time in America for responsible citizens, for good citizens, for a permanent moratorium on inflammatory demagoguery which pits man against each other and it is time for a moratorium on the vocabulary of violence. It is time in America for a permanent moratorium on violence itself - violence in the streets and violence in the lives of the people - it is a time to do away, if ever in our lives, with hatred and it's a time, my fellow Americans, for reconciliation. It is a time for healing, it's a time for American unity, it's a time for law and order in American lives. . . (Applause) . . .

Order in the streets, yes, order that protects the lives, the property and the rights of citizens, black and white. Yes, order that is enforced by every means of our command, yes, for the rule of law cannot and must not give way to the rule of the jungle or the very basis for democratic self-government is perverted and denied and those who indulge in violence - the extremes, white or black - destroy justice itself.

We have a way in this country for the redress of our grievances and it is always to the advantage of those who need help to use the democratic process to obtain it. But there is another dimension of what we must do for there is yet a higher law and a deeper order that dictates to the conscience of each of us and it is a higher law and a deeper order that was expressed in the words of Dr. Martin Luther King. These are beautiful words, meaningful words, "I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character." Ladies and gentlemen, that's what America's all about - for a man to be a man, for a person to be a person, one of God's children and to be judged on what he is not how he looks, not what somebody calls him, but what he is. Every man his chance, every man his right to life, to work and to be himself, that is the promise of America. . . (Applause) . . .

And I believe that Americans have the faith and the courage to make that dream promise come real. Nor can a mature country, and I must remind you again, a mature country, a responsible people, tolerate, condone or embrace extremism or violence in the broader human neighborhood,

the world, any more than it can in its streets, its cities. We cannot tolerate, condone, or embrace the dangerous courses either of violence or withdrawal either at home or in the world.

And, we have reason to know, the cost, the path of human progress worldwide lies in strength, in diplomacy, in negotiation, in economic progress, in education, in health, all of which represent the building blocks of peace. Now these are the building blocks of the Cathedral of Peace and they're not the result of some magic formula discovered on the political stump in an election year. They're the hard realistic achievements of peace builders.

So, here we are, America 1968. No longer an adolescent nation but a country thrust into the center of the world of power and responsibility. Your America - your country and mine - and here is America, no longer able to afford the luxury of escapism or run away from our troubles either in its cities or in the world. Here is America, rich and comfortable for most of us, but knowing that wealth alone does not make for justice and comfort alone does not make for peace.

Here is America, with more opportunities than problems, with more strength than weakness, with more chance of achieving a full meaning of

freedom than any country on the face of the earth in all of history and I happen to believe that we can have an America that pledges itself to full and equal rights for every citizen and keeps that pledge.

We can have an America that pledges cities that are safe for you and clean where neighborhoods are once more filled with friends and neighbors and we can keep that pledge. We can have an America, my fellow citizens, that pledges development of the precious worth in every child and keeps that pledge. I read once where a philosopher said that God Almighty's faith in the future is testified to in the birth of every child and believe me the least that this country can do is to take that gift of God Almighty and permit it to grow and to develop and to have its life enriched through the processes of education and a decent neighborhood and a home environment, and we can do it in this country and we must. . . (Applause) . . .

Now, let me then just tarry a moment with you on what is the most important business of all. Everything that we speak of fades into nothing, into chaos, if we are unable to preserve peace - to build the peace - I've talked to you tonight of the genuine search for peace in America

and let me say now a few words about our quest for peace in Vietnam because that's been the whole purpose of the American effort. Not a false peace, not a phony peace, not a peace of deception but a genuine peace, a lasting peace.

In an act of selfless statesmanship, President Johnson has offered peace with honor in Southeast Asia. He offered that peace at the sacrifice of his own political life. He has offered a peace that could and would save American lives and Vietnamese lives. He has offered a settlement that could bring new security and development to all the peoples of Southeast Asia. You see, I happen to believe, as the Vice President of the United States, that the man who has genuinely sought peace, who has walked that torturous road seeking peace, who has carried on that lonely and painful struggle seeking a real peace is the Commander in Chief of this nation, the President of the United States. . . (Applause)

And I am happy to tell you tonight that beginnings are being made and I think I know a little about what it means to search for peace. I have seldom spoken this bluntly about it as I shall now, but there comes a time when you need to say it. I was the sponsor in the United States Senate as my friends here on this platform know, of the Food for Peace

legislation, of the Peace Corps, of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. These are building blocks in the structure of peace. I helped lead the fight for the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and I stood for many long and hard days as the Majority Whip of the United States Senate alongside the President as we sought that Test Ban Treaty, worked for it.

I went to Moscow as one of those to sign it in 1963 and I saw the President as he faced ultimate danger in the face of the Cuban Missile Crisis along with Congressman Boggs, Senator Long, and a few of the rest of us. We were in the White House on that evening when the late President addressed this nation. The struggle for peace is not for the weak, or the cowardly, or the timid. The struggle for peace is for the brave and the strong, the determined. And I have stood alongside of President Johnson, too, day after day as he faced decisions involving international security. Yes, the very security of this nation.

I've been with the President in the meetings of the Cabinet and the National Security Council, and with the leadership of the Congress with your two leaders here on this platform, your Senator and your Congressman and I've been alone with him, may I say, in the lonely hours

in the White House at 7 a.m. in the morning talking about the dangers to this country and I've sat with him in the Situation Room in the basement of the White House where we review the most dangerous things that are developing and in review of the various policy alternatives facing our country in Southeast Asia.

I have seen a President grow tired and weary and I've seen him under unbelievable attack, never giving him the benefit of the doubt, always laying the whiplash of criticism to him as he struggled to fulfill our obligations under charter and treaty, as he struggled to preserve the security of this country, as he sought to prevent Armageddon on the installment plan and I'm proud to have stood alongside the President of the United States in these the most critical hours.

(Applause) . . . I have done what I could to support the decisions that have been made. I have never been denied the opportunity to give what advice I could, good or bad as it might be. I have honestly stated my viewpoint whenever it was asked and I think some of you know, when it wasn't. And I have done what I could, I repeat, to support these decisions, just as I do now, and I want to make it unmistakably clear from this platform or I wouldn't be worthy of your attention or this

audience.

I do not apologize for these decisions. I think the decisions that your government has made, I believe that the stand that your country has taken with all of the uncertainties of the world in which we live, with all of the perils that we face, that those decisions have been basically right. Oh yes, you can have some doubts . . . (Applause) . . . you can have some doubt about this or that but remember this, my fellow Americans, all of us here, every one of us, we can enjoy the luxury of democracy, the luxury of debate, the luxury of descent, the luxury of discussion, but one man has to take on the awesome burden of decision and it is the burden of decision that wears you down. It is the burden of decision that tests your moral fiber, it is the burden of decision that determines whether or not you are a man worthy of the trust of the nation and let me say that I think the President of the United States has proven unmistakably that he is worthy of that trust. . . (Applause) . . .

I want you to know that I will do everything I can as one citizen, as a member of this government, as the partner of this President, for the cause of peace in this world. I will do everything I can to keep

social progress moving forward in America. This is why I'm in politics.

I will do everything I can to sustain and carry forward the work that we have begun in this country and great work it is, the work of full citizenship for our people, the work of emancipation for millions, the work of ridding the nation of the curse of poverty and ignorance and bigotry and discrimination. I enlist for this fight whatever may be the course, whatever it may take, I do not intend to quit as long as there is one ounce of strength left in my body and one breath of life. . .

(Applause) . . . And my friends, I come to you tonight to ask for your help, your help, your faith, your confidence. . . (Applause) . . .

I remind this audience that the entire world is watching us. Indeed, the eyes of the world are upon us. We cannot for one single moment let there ever be any misunderstanding of our intention or our national resolve. It would be dangerous to deceive an enemy into believing that we are weak less they make some critical disastrous step or action that could parcipitate a world into a total confrontation.

I call on all Americans to stand together now in unity in our national quest for peace. I call upon all Americans to stand in unity for peace and tranquility at home and in the world. There comes a

time when you must put your differences aside, there are moments of great decision and they're here. We must, once and for all, break through the chains of national or of narrow personal interest, of suspicion, skepticism and doubt and of misunderstanding that divides us.

You can remember what John Kennedy said, "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country." Tonight, my friends, ask yourself can I not put aside for at least some time whatever personal prejudice or personal view I might have - and we all have them. Can't I sacrifice that little bit tonight so that we can bind up the wounds of this nation so that this can really be one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. Can't we do that? (Applause)

My friends, the answer is perfectly obvious. We not only can do it - we must do it. We must exercise self discipline. We must have a higher patriotism, we must have a loyalty to the ideals of this country. Ideals which are clearly known by every child and I hope by every parent.

We must understand that America is not just a piece of land. We

must understand that America is not as rich as the money in its banks or the forests of the land or the mines. We must understand that America is as rich as its people. Its people, educated, healthy. Its people, with understanding and tolerance. Its people that have rid themselves of the intolerable burden of discrimination and prejudice and hate.

My fellow Americans, I want to take this message not only to you but to others and I ask you to help us and I want to commend every action in this state that has led to better understanding amongst the people. I ask you to join in a mighty mighty effort of reconciliation. To join in a mighty mighty effort of true understanding and brotherhood within these 50 states of these United States of America and with that understanding and unity there is no power on the face of this earth that can stand up against us. We will be what Lincoln said, the last best hope on earth and that is America. Thank you very much. . . (Applause) . . .



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