

1 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you. Thank you.

2 Well, Mr. Mayor, what a special privilege it is to be  
3 welcomed to this beautiful city of the West, the Gateway to  
4 the Rockies, by the Mayor of a wonderful city and a wonderful  
5 Mayor of a great city, and, Mr. Mayor, I want you to know  
6 that no matter what happens from here on out, every time I  
7 come to Colorado, I feel a little better, a little stronger,  
8 a little younger, a little more frisky, a little more Demo-  
9 cratic.

10 (Applause.)

11 And, my very good friend, the wonderful Lt. Governor,  
12 had another gathering that he needed to be at, and we sort of  
13 had a conference about it, and I said, "Well, Mark, I always  
14 like the best. Will you please send Nancy?" And so, we have  
15 Nancy. Nancy is here with us tonight, Nancy Hogan.

16 (Applause.)

17 And I am so proud to have a man that kind of heads up  
18 the Humphrey activities around these parts. He's out riding  
19 the range. He's out herding the cattle. He's out getting  
20 the votes. He's out rounding up the delegates, I hope, and  
21 what you don't round up, I hope I can then, and I am so  
22 pleased that Ben Stapleton is with us here tonight, and I  
23 want to thank him for all that he's done in my behalf.

24 (Applause.)

25 I think I should tell you who the mysterious guest is

1 of the evening. You know, there's a man in the White House  
2 that is from Texas, and that man never lets me go any place  
3 in this country but what he puts a Texan to tail me, and I  
4 have the finest of the Texans, the man that went across this  
5 country speaking for Lyndon Johnson when he was a Senator,  
6 and a candidate for the office of President, and I'll tell  
7 you, when I have a choice of getting somebody to talk up for  
8 me in the Congress of the United States, there's none that  
9 I'd rather have that's any better, that can do a better job,  
10 than Jim Wright, of Texas.

11 Jim, stand up.

12 (Applause.)

13 If you see him taking any notes, girls, wink at me,  
14 will you, because I'll be on guard. But, it's just great to  
15 be here with you this wonderful evening.

16 I would like to take a lot of time tonight to go down  
17 over a list of dignitaries that are here, that are old  
18 friends of mine, but I'm not going to do that. I want to  
19 think that we're all friends here this evening, and I'm  
20 going to work on that assumption, and try to say just a few  
21 words to you, and afterwards, if you don't mind, I know it's  
22 going to take time, but many of you came a long ways, and,  
23 by the way, I came across the street myself, from Washington,  
24 D.C., and I thought that we'd do something that we sort of  
25 do out in Minnesota, when we get all through with the speech



1 making and all through with the arguments and everything, why  
2 we just sort of stand around and shake hands, and talk, and  
3 visit, and so when I'm through with what I have to say here,  
4 I'm going to park myself some place, and if you've got the  
5 time and you have the energy, and I still have the energy,  
6 and I think I'll have it, I'd like to shake the hands of  
7 every person in this room before you go home tonight.

8 (Applause.)

9 By the way, there's another little gathering going on  
10 in these premises. (Laughter.) I hope that a few of them  
11 have decided to come down and look in, because there's  
12 nothing that I enjoy more than a Republican that repents for  
13 his political sins. (Applause.) And if you see anyone  
14 working their way down the aisle here with that look of,  
15 you know, of confession on their face, just part the way and  
16 let them come right on down, right down here in front.

17 (Applause.)

18 This is the first time the Republicans have been above  
19 us, and they are right now (indicating). (Applause and  
20 laughter.) But I want you to know they had to pay a hundred  
21 dollars a person to get there. (Laughter and applause.)  
22 They're getting food for the body, and tonight we're going  
23 to give food for the spirit, and it isn't going to cost you  
24 nearly as much. (Applause.)

25 Now, I know that there are people here that have dif-

1 ferent ideas about who ought to lead the Democratic Party  
2 in the months ahead, and, believe me, I welcome you. I want  
3 every one of you to know that I'm the kind of a Democrat  
4 that has not only been loyal to his President, I'm loyal to  
5 my party, and when this party completes its work at the  
6 Chicago Convention in August, whomever it nominates, and I  
7 have a certain one I'd like to recommend, and I'll get  
8 around to that, but whomever it nominates, you can rest  
9 assured of one thing, that Hubert H. Humphrey will be there  
10 to help that person get elected. (Applause.)

11 Well, let's see now. Let's see what we're going to say.  
12 Somebody said to me, "Where's a copy of your speech?" I  
13 said, "I just didn't have time to get one ready."

14 We're just going to talk tonight, and we're going to  
15 visit. I want to talk to you a little bit about why I'm  
16 doing what I'm doing, and then I'd like to talk to you a  
17 little bit about why I think if we can work together, we  
18 can get it done.

19 Some of you were here that day we had the precinct  
20 workers' meeting. I believe it was in this same hotel,  
21 unless I'm mistaken. It was one of the finest gatherings  
22 I have addressed, and I was really warmed up that day. I  
23 just felt good. I can generally tell when I'm feeling good,  
24 making a good speech, I get real perspiry, and I can tell  
25 it's going good. In the same manner, an athlete also



1 always knows when he's doing good, it's when he feels sort of  
2 at ease, you know, and, as Satchell Paige used to say, "When  
3 you feel sort of loose and the juices are running," and I  
4 had a great time with you at that gathering.

5 Tonight I want to talk to you, not as I did then. Then  
6 I was speaking for someone else, and I was speaking from my  
7 heart to you, about the great issues of the day. Tonight  
8 I'm going to speak for all of us, and I'm going to try to  
9 put in a little personal recommendation, just as a commercial,  
10 in between some of the suggestions.

11 I had no more intention of being here in the present  
12 role that I now find myself in than you would if you were  
13 standing here tonight where I am. Mrs. Humphrey and I  
14 journeyed to Mexico on behalf of our Government to sign a  
15 treaty prohibiting the stationing of nuclear weapons in this  
16 part of the world. In other words, to make Latin America a  
17 nuclear free zone. This is something that I had worked for  
18 all of my congressional life. I had introduced the original  
19 resolution in the Congress, as a part of my desire to see  
20 the nation and the world proceed step by step towards halting  
21 the dangerous arms race, and I was privileged to go as the  
22 representative of the President and the American people to  
23 Mexico. The ceremony was to take place on the first day of  
24 April. And how I remember what happened on that night  
25 before; we flew down on a Sunday. That Sunday morning, as I

1 was getting packed, we'd been -- well, we'd been up pretty  
2 late the night before, and we'd attended our early morning  
3 church services, and around eleven o'clock, I got a call,  
4 and the call was from the President of the United States.  
5 The President said, "Hubert, what are you doing?" I guess  
6 he'd forgotten he was sending me to Mexico. (Laughter.) And  
7 I said, "Well, Mr. President, I'm packing up, and Muriel and  
8 I are just getting ready to take off, around noontime, to  
9 go to Mexico City."

10 "Oh, yes," he said. "Well, listen," he said, "I'm just  
11 coming out of church, and I'd like to stop over the house and  
12 have a little visit with you."

13 I said, "Well, of course."

14 What do you expect I'd say?

15 I said, "Come right on over, Mr. President."

16 And Muriel says to me, "Does he know that we're getting  
17 packed?" You know, wives take such a practical and pragmatic  
18 view towards these things. And I said, "Dear, this has got  
19 nothing to do with it at all, being packed or not being  
20 packed, we're going to have a little coffee and cookies, and  
21 some toast or a roll, with the President."

22 Well, he came over, and I knew that he was getting  
23 ready to address the nation on a matter of foreign policy  
24 and national security, relating to Southeast Asia, because  
25 we'd been in a series of meetings for better than two months,



1 we'd been probing the international front, in the hopes that  
2 we might find some response to a peace initiative from our  
3 country.

4 I have been involved in all of those meetings, all of  
5 them, as I told you before, when I was here.

6 The President came over, and we went back into my  
7 study, and he showed me the address that he planned on making  
8 that night. I had seen two or three drafts before, and I  
9 looked it through, and it was a fine message, and it had had  
10 exactly in it what I hoped that ultimately the President  
11 might want to say, a peace initiative on our part, a unila-  
12 teral effort on our part, to bring about, hopefully, some  
13 talks and discussions that could lead to negotiations, that  
14 might end this awful conflict in Southeast Asia, and I read  
15 it, and my heart was filled with joy, and I said, "Mr.  
16 President, this is tremendous, it's a historic message.  
17 When are you going to give it?"

18 He said, "Well, I plan on giving that message tonight."

19 I said, "Wonderful! Where are you going to give it  
20 from?"

21 He said, "Well, I'm planning on doing it from the  
22 White House, Hubert."

23 And, we'd even talked, by the way, of the possibility  
24 of having the Cabinet all present when that message was  
25 delivered. And we sat there and visited about it, and he

1 showed me the message, and he says, "Now, I have two endings  
2 for this message, Mr. Vice President," or, he calls me,  
3 "Hubert," I always call him, "Mr. President," I want you to  
4 know that -- and he said, "I have two endings for this. I  
5 want you to take a look at them."

6 And I took it, and he said, "Here's number one," and  
7 I looked at it, and it was a pure oration, that was beauti-  
8 ful, and I said, "Oh, Mr. President, if you make that, this  
9 nation of ours is going to be everlastingly grateful to you,  
10 it will be a tremendous message."

11 He said, "Just a minute. I want you to take a look at  
12 the other one," and he pulled out of his pocket -- and if  
13 you know our President, and as some of our friends from the  
14 news services that travel with me, he carries a number of  
15 papers in his pocket, and he pulled out one from his pocket,  
16 and said, "I want you to read this," and it was about two  
17 and a half or three pages long, and I looked at it, and  
18 looked up at him, and said, "You're not serious."

19 He said, "I've been seriously thinking about it. As a  
20 matter of fact, Hubert, I planned on doing this at the time of  
21 the State of the Union message. I think this is the one  
22 I'm going to deliver." And it was in that second document  
23 that he had prepared, his statement that he would not be a  
24 candidate for re-election, nor would he accept the nomina-  
25 tion if it were offered to him, and he was going to dedicate



1 all of his time and energies to the securing of peace, and  
2 hopefully to unite this country once again. (Applause.)

3 I talked with him, and I said, "Mr. President, I hope  
4 you won't do that." I said, "Many people are depending on  
5 you, Mr. President, to carry through," and believe me, I  
6 was one of them. And he talked to me about why he was going  
7 to do it. He said to me, in so many words, without quoting  
8 the President, because you ought not to quote him personally,  
9 he said, "I want the American people to believe, I want them,  
10 all those that have doubted me, to believe, that I am willing  
11 to do anything that is honorable, anything that is reasonable,  
12 anything that is humanly possible to be done, to bring  
13 about a cessation of this war."

14 And what he did, in other words, was to give up his  
15 political life. That's what he did. He was a casualty of  
16 the war, just as surely as a man who is wounded in battle,  
17 and as he went out the door, I said to him, "Mr. President,  
18 I understand, but I hope you won't do it." Well, we rode  
19 to the airport, and I tried to prepare Mrs. Humphrey -- she's  
20 very fond of the President -- in fact, I tease her about it  
21 all the time -- and today the President teased me about it a  
22 little bit, he says, "I've been getting love notes from your  
23 wife," you know. He said, "I sent her over a little perfume,"  
24 you know, and, "You fellows, you need to have somebody to  
25 kind of shake you up once in a while and make you a little

1 jealous, you'll tend to business a little more," and, he  
2 said, as he went out the door, he did like this (indicating)  
3 to me, which meant, "Keep this to yourself."

4 The President and the Vice President have to keep many  
5 things to themselves.

6 So, on the way to the airport, I had a feeling of what  
7 was going to happen, and I told Mrs. Humphrey, I said, "The  
8 President is going to deliver a powerful message tonight,  
9 and it's going to be a very important message, it may be a  
10 message that changes our lives, and we simply have to find  
11 some place, somehow, in Mexico City, to hear that message."

12 Well, to make a long story short, we were there at the  
13 American Embassy that evening. The only time that the  
14 President of Mexico has ever gone to an Embassy of any  
15 country, in the history of Mexico, was the time when the  
16 President of Mexico came to the American Embassy for our  
17 dinner that evening. And he knew nothing about the message.  
18 And he sat in the study of Ambassador Freeman, and we  
19 listened to the President speak, and after about twelve  
20 minutes, five minutes into the speech, the telephone rang,  
21 and Mr. Watson from the White House called me, and said,  
22 "Mr. Vice President, the President wanted you to know that  
23 this speech will end with ending number two."

24 And I said -- I didn't say, "Thank you." -- I said,  
25 "I understand."



1 I sat down, and I asked the Ambassador if we could  
2 listen to the entire message. It was a real moment of  
3 history, I'll never forget it. With the President of Mexico,  
4 one of our faithful friends, the American Ambassador,  
5 Ambassador and Mrs. Freeman, the Ambassador and his wife,  
6 Mrs. Freeman, President Diasor and his wife, the Vice  
7 President of the United States and his wife, the six of us,  
8 sat there and listened to that message. It was like the  
9 roof had fallen in on me.

10 As my wife said to the President a little bit later on,  
11 she said, "You know, Mr. President, we sort of just depended  
12 on you, you were sort of like our --", she said I was like  
13 Linus in Peanuts, "and you were sort of like my blanket."  
14 You know what I mean?

15 This is the way we were, we had but one desire and one  
16 design, and that was possibly to be on the ticket again, as  
17 Vice President.

18 When I came back to Washington, the telephone that  
19 night rang, the very first call that I received on the  
20 telephone that night was from Margaret Truman, the daughter  
21 of the former President of the United States, Margaret  
22 Daniels, that's the first call I received, and then I got a  
23 second call, and that was from her daddy, and then I might  
24 just as well say that the proudest moment that I've had in  
25 recent years is when the former President of the United

1 States, my living hero, the man of courage, of fortitude and  
2 independence, Harry Truman -- (applause) -- when Harry  
3 Truman, the former President, himself, volunteered his  
4 services in my behalf, encouraged me to run, to make myself  
5 available as a candidate, to seek office, and said to me  
6 that, "I'm going to be your chairman," and he is my honorary  
7 chairman. (Applause.)

8 Many people have asked me, "Well, why didn't you just  
9 declare the next morning?"

10 Because I didn't know if I wanted to. This was a  
11 traumatic experience. I've been close enough to the office  
12 of the presidency to know that it's no picnic. I've been  
13 close enough to it to know that when you get that office you  
14 resign the rest of your life for all practical purposes to  
15 public service, and to other people. I've been close enough  
16 to that office as Vice President of the United States to  
17 know the tremendous demands upon the President, to know the  
18 incredible difficulties that this nation faces, to know what  
19 it does to you. So, I took a little time, and I talked to  
20 many people, some on this platform, I talked to the husband  
21 of this lovely lady (indicating), I had a message from the  
22 Mayor of this city, I talked to the Congressman here from  
23 Texas, who was an old friend of mine, and I talked with Ben  
24 Stapleton, and I talked with dozens and dozens of people,  
25 others, that are in this room, and all over America, thousands



1 of letters poured in, and telegrams, and I had to ask myself,  
2 first of all, "Am I up to it?" Secondly, should I do it?  
3 And, thirdly, what will it mean?"

4 Now, I'm a public man. I've been in public life now  
5 since 1945, and I guess it was almost inevitable what my  
6 answer would be, but I wrestled with it, and I needed to talk  
7 to my family, I needed to talk to my wife, and, frankly, I  
8 needed to talk to myself, I needed to think it through, and  
9 I had people shoving and pushing, and there were people saying,  
10 "Well, is he going to make up his mind? Is he playing cute,  
11 or what is he doing?"

12 Listen, you don't play cute with something like this.  
13 I ran once in the primaries with little or no chance or hope  
14 of winning, but I did it because I thought I had a message  
15 to take to the American people, and I took that message to  
16 the American people, and, by the way, I think one of the  
17 greatest services that I performed for this country is the  
18 fact that I gave John F. Kennedy his chance to prove himself  
19 and to become President of the United States, because he  
20 defeated me. (Applause.) I knew that any man that had his  
21 spring training working on Hubert Humphrey could take Dick  
22 Nixon in the fall. (Applause.) But one other thing is that  
23 when it came around to the fall, I was in there pitching, in  
24 my state, for the man that was on our ticket for President,  
25 and I traveled throughout this United States, even though I

1 was a candidate for re-election for the Senate in my own  
2 state, literally bankrupt, with no campaign funds, because  
3 we'd spent them all, and one of the two states in the Middle  
4 West, and the only other state outside of Nevada to the  
5 Pacific Coast that went for John F. Kennedy, was mine.  
6 (Applause.) The only other one. The only other one.  
7 Missouri, Minnesota, Nevada. All the rest of them were east  
8 of the Mississippi.

9 And then I became his Majority Whip. I guess he found  
10 out that maybe I did know a little something; and we got  
11 together, and we did some politicking together. He was in  
12 the White House and I was in the Senate, as his Leader, one  
13 of his two Leaders, and I'm proud of that association.

14 So, I have a little grasp, may I say, of what it means  
15 to be in that office. I don't think anybody will ever know  
16 what it means until he is it, is the President. How can you  
17 know what it is to suffer pain unless you've had it? How  
18 can you know what it is to have sorrow until you've lost a  
19 loved one? You can read about it, you can hear about it,  
20 but it never is the same.

21 How was it when I lost my brother last summer? I called  
22 the Governor, the husband of the Governor, in Alabama, when  
23 Mrs. Wallace passed away from cancer. The Governor was at  
24 the moment not available, not there, he was sleeping, he'd  
25 been up all night, and he was in grief. He doesn't agree



1 with me politically, we have a different point of view, but  
2 I'll tell you something, I think I knew how he felt, because  
3 I saw a healthy man stricken down with cancer in five months,  
4 and I think I know how the former Governor of Alabama felt  
5 when he saw his wife taken in about the same length of time.

6 What I'm saying is, until you've had these experiences,  
7 you'll never know. Then maybe you know.

8 Well, we've had some experiences around this White House.  
9 Now I've looked it all over, I want you to know, and it's a  
10 livable place, and I'm going to move in. (Applause.)

11 I told the President -- he had the Governors down there  
12 not long ago, this is before he made his declaration, or  
13 statement, and I said, "Mr. President, do you notice what  
14 these Governors and their wives are doing? They're going  
15 around measuring the furniture, looking at the drapes." I  
16 said, "I don't think -- " -- I said, "I'm not sure that we  
17 ought to be having all these meetings down here." And, the  
18 other night, he said to me -- we were at a dinner party, and  
19 I was standing there, kind of glancing off, and he said,  
20 "There's old Hubert, he's measuring the drapes too."

21 Frankly, I was. (Laughter.) And, just between us, I  
22 don't think they need changing. I'm willing to leave them  
23 just like they are. (Applause.)

24 But, that task, that responsibility, is a tremendous  
25 one, and what an honor it is, but what a responsibility,

1 which leads me to tell you this, that what we need today in  
2 American politics is a sense of responsibility, in what we  
3 say and what we do, a sense of confidence about our country  
4 and our resources and our capacity to do what needs to be  
5 done. We need a sense of restraint, too, so that we don't  
6 rush pellmell into decisions that we ought not to rush into,  
7 a sense of restraint, if you please, so that we do not let  
8 our emotions and our passions overcome our judgment; and we  
9 need a sense of respect for the institutions of this country,  
10 from family to government, from church to the economic  
11 institutions, and we need a respect for law and order, be-  
12 cause the worst thing that could happen in America in the  
13 name of the pursuit of social justice is to tear down the  
14 very institutions that make possible justice. We don't need  
15 to destroy what we've built already in order to improve what  
16 we have. (Applause.) We can build on what we have.

17 The job of government today is a complex one. The task  
18 of the presidency is immense, beyond I'm sure almost human  
19 capacity, but somebody has to do it, and, as I see the role  
20 of the President, it is the role of the leader, of the  
21 persuader, of the educator, it is the role of trying to  
22 mobilize and unite the great forces of this country for a  
23 common purpose. It is the role, if you please, of appealing  
24 to the best that's in our people, looking for the best, and  
25 bringing it out. It is the role of leadership, of keeping



1 your feet on the ground, and your eyes to the stars, and it's  
2 the role of leadership, of moving this country forward, day  
3 in and day out.

4 How I remember those words of Franklin Roosevelt, "The  
5 only limits for the realization of our tomorrow are our  
6 doubts of today. Let us move forward with a strong and  
7 active faith," said this man, as he sat in a wheelchair,  
8 but he understood that you needed to move forward.

9 Somebody once said, and I remembered it, I can't  
10 remember the exact quotation, "Youth is not a time of life,  
11 it's an attitude of mind."

12 What we're talking about here is spirit. You're as old  
13 as your doubts, and as young as your hopes. You're as old  
14 as your fears and as young as your confidence. You're as old  
15 as your despair, and as young as your ideals.

16 And what we need to do in America today is to get ahold  
17 of that sense of confidence, that sense of idealism, again,  
18 that has permeated the American scene from its beginning, to  
19 realize that this nation is what Abraham Lincoln said it was,  
20 "The last best hope of earth," and what I'm going to talk  
21 to the American people about is the politics of hope, the  
22 politics of hope -- (applause) -- the politics of the new  
23 democracy, the new democracy in which more and more people  
24 participate, in which people of every ethnic group have a  
25 chance for their say, in which the poor, for the first time,

1 will be listened to and heard, in which we'll be able to  
2 translate community action communities, into the political  
3 process of decisions about the lives of the people that are  
4 involved.

5 Government by the consent of the governed means exactly  
6 what it says; and many of the benefits of government today  
7 go to the least of these, many of the benefits of government  
8 today go to the sick and to the poor and the illiterate and  
9 the needy and the young, and they ought to therefore be  
10 included in the decision-making process. It isn't good enough  
11 just to have government for the people, it needs to be  
12 government of the people, by the people, and then it will be  
13 government for the people, all of the people. (Applause.)

14 You've heard me say it again and again, that we're not  
15 trying to create, and we shouldn't create, just bigger  
16 relief lines in America, because we have a sense of compas-  
17 sion. What we need to do is to create lines of opportunity,  
18 open the gates of opportunity. We don't want a welfare state  
19 in which the government is the paternalistic big brother. We  
20 want a government and a society in which each individual has  
21 his identity, in which each individual feels that he's a part  
22 of the action, in which each individual has a chance to  
23 develop his potentialities.

24 A great English philosopher once said, "Let a man have  
25 nothing to do for his country, and he'll have no love for it."



1           And that's right. And it's even true in a family. Let  
2 a child have nothing to do for that family and he'll have no  
3 love for it. It's true in the city. And what we need to do  
4 today is not to tear down what we have, but to build on it.

5           Our democracy has been a growing enterprise all the  
6 time. At long last we have the guaranteed right of vote to  
7 every person without regard to race, color or creed, in the  
8 Voting Rights Act of 1965. Our labor unions have brought  
9 people into the decision-making process about their  
10 economic life. Our farm organizations, through our great  
11 farm cooperatives, through the Farmers Union, and others,  
12 have brought the farmer into some of the decision-making  
13 process about his life, or the family life of a farm family.  
14 The agricultural committees spread out all over America,  
15 the thousands of these ASC committees, have something to say  
16 about what happens in rural America. This is the extension  
17 of democracy.

18           I seek to bring to this country, and in these months  
19 ahead, and if I'm privileged to be your President, I seek  
20 to bring to this country a new democracy, a new democracy  
21 that has room in it for everybody, everybody in this land.  
22 (Applause.)

23           Now, some people say, "Well, if you do that, it's sure  
24 going to be a confused situation," because there are many  
25 times when you get together in big meetings, people argue

1 and they discuss and they get angry and they walk out and  
2 they walk in and they adjourn and they recess, and, you know  
3 what I mean, any of us that have been in politics. That's  
4 all true. That's part of the pattern of democracy. It's  
5 not a very neat and orderly process.

6 Winston Churchill said, "Democracy is the worst possible  
7 form of government, -- except all others that have ever been  
8 tried." And he's right. "Except all others that have ever  
9 been tried." But, we must spread the base of participation  
10 in this country, not merely for the economic benefits but  
11 for political responsibility. If you want a man to be  
12 responsible, give him responsibility. If you want a college  
13 student to be responsible, give him responsibility. If you  
14 want young men and young women to take on the burdens of  
15 war and peace, give them responsibility.

16 This is why when I stood in the Senate for years, I  
17 sponsored a change in the voting law of this land, so that  
18 our young people could vote, so that those aged 18 or 19  
19 could vote on the great presidential races of the country,  
20 where policy is made. (Applause.)

21 Oh, I saw the other day where a Republican candidate  
22 came out for that, and I said, "Well, that's about par for  
23 the course." The scientists say that it takes 15 years from  
24 a successful experiment in a laboratory until it becomes a  
25 commercial product. It was just 15 years ago that I sug-



1 gested that point, of lowering the voting age, and now I've  
2 got Republicans talking about it too.

3 If you think you can wait 15 years for another idea to  
4 come into fruition, in order to have a Republican President,  
5 why that's up to you. I don't think you ought to have to  
6 wait that long. (Applause.)

7 Now I just want to be giving you a few more specifics,  
8 just a few specifics, and then I want to sit down.

9 We have come a long ways in America, a long ways, and  
10 let's not forget it.

11 I've had people say to me, "Well, Mr. Vice President,  
12 you're the Vice President now; how are you going to be your  
13 own man?"

14 That's never been my problem. I want you to know that.  
15 I've been able to get in trouble without anybody helping me.

16 But I want to be very candid about that. As the Vice  
17 President of these United States, the second highest office  
18 within the gift of the American people, I have felt it one  
19 of my duties and one of my privileges to be loyal and faith-  
20 ful to the duties of my office and loyal and faithful to  
21 the President of the United States, who is my leader.

22 (Applause.)

23 My father told me once, as a young man, he said, "Son,  
24 I want to give you some good advice. Smart people are ten  
25 cents a dozen. They're turning them out by the thousands.

1 But, a loyal person is a priceless possession and a price-  
2 less treasure. (Applause.) And, it is. (Applause.)  
3 Faithfulness, loyalty.

4 It hasn't been blind loyalty.

5 I've had a chance to participate in the decisions of  
6 this government, as a member of the Cabinet, a member of the  
7 National Security Council, as Chairman of a dozen Cabinet  
8 committees, as one of the legislative leaders for the  
9 President, as Jim Wright would tell you, that I sit in the  
10 legislative leaders' meetings all the time, working to get  
11 legislation through the Congress, so I haven't just fallen  
12 blindly in what I call "blind loyalty." I've had a chance  
13 to at least give my ideas whenever I wanted to, or whenever  
14 I was asked.

15 Now, no one gets his own way all the time, unless it's  
16 your wife. (Laughter.) I saw a lot of men bobbing their  
17 head out here, and I thought I ought to recognize that.

18 But, in all candor, marriage itself is a compromise.  
19 Bringing up a family results in many discussions in which  
20 there are different points of view. A business doesn't  
21 operate on the dictates of one. That's why they have a  
22 board of directors. A union isn't just what one man says.  
23 That's why they have an executive council. But once the  
24 decision has been made, and there's only one person that  
25 can call that decision, he can listen to the advice of many,



1 under our constitutional system, and I gather you don't want  
2 to change the Constitution, I think most of us are still  
3 for that, there's a doubt as to what some people are for  
4 these days, but most people are still for the Constitution,  
5 our constitutional system places on the President of the  
6 United States the following responsibilities:

7 Head of his party, chief executive officer of the  
8 country, <sup>chief</sup> spokesman in foreign affairs, commander-in-chief  
9 of all the Armed Forces of the government, and the chief  
10 administrative officer of the land.

11 That's five responsibilities. Head of state, head of  
12 his party, chief administrator, executive officer, chief  
13 spokesman in foreign policy, commander-in-chief of the  
14 Armed Forces.

15 All of those with one exception are spelled out in the  
16 Constitution, the head of his party; that came by tradition.

17 There's only one President at a time. There are  
18 several that think they ought to be, but there's just one at  
19 a time, no matter which party is in power, and the worst  
20 thing that a Vice President can do is to gum up the works,  
21 as they say. You have to weigh your words carefully. People  
22 in foreign lands listen to what you say, they wonder whether  
23 or not if you say something different from a President  
24 whether this is a signal for a change in policy or a sign  
25 of things to come, and it may be just a foolish word, a

1 foolish mistake, you made, or a slip of the tongue, but you  
2 can't explain that to Paris and London and Moscow and Peking  
3 or New Dehli, you just don't have time to do it, so you have  
4 to be careful.

5 But, my friends, the programs that this administration  
6 has put through are the programs that I think are basically  
7 good for this country. Which leads me to this: We have  
8 made more progress, and let's not forget it, as fellow  
9 Democrats, we have made more progress in these last seven  
10 years, starting with John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, and  
11 then Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, than in any com-  
12 parable period in American history. Tremendous progress.  
13 (Applause.) And in doing that we didn't repudiate Franklin  
14 Roosevelt and the New Deal, we didn't repudiate Harry Truman  
15 and the Fair Deal. He built on it. Harry Truman suggested  
16 Medicare. Hubert Humphrey introduced the first bill. Fif-  
17 teen years later it passed. And we signed it in the presence  
18 of Harry Truman at the Truman Library in Independence,  
19 Missouri. We didn't repudiate Mr. Truman. We built on it.

20 People have said to me, "Mr. Vice President, how are  
21 you going to run? Where are you going to stand?"

22 I said, "Listen I'm going to run on the record of the  
23 Democratic Party. I'm going to run on the record of the  
24 administrations that I've served in. I'm going to run on the  
25 record of President Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, on the record



1 of Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey. I'm going to run on  
2 it, but I'm not going to rest on it. I'm going to lead the  
3 American people to build on it. We're going to add on it."  
4 (Applause.)

5 And that's what we're going to do. We know that we have  
6 problems in our cities. We know we have problems for our  
7 poor. We know that the educational system of this country  
8 isn't all it ought to be. We know there are tremendous  
9 problems of our environment, of pollution of water and air.  
10 We know that we have financial problems. We know we have  
11 housing problems. But we've made great progress. We've  
12 built more senior citizen housing in four years than the  
13 preceding two hundred. That isn't bad, just for a start  
14 (applause), you know (applause).

15 We have expended more in federal aid to education in  
16 the last three years than in the preceding century.  
17 (Applause.)

18 We have a million four hundred thousand unskilled  
19 workers in training today, tonight, for jobs. (Applause.)  
20 Four years ago you had ten thousand.

21 We've done things. We haven't repudiated Social  
22 Security, and we have expanded its coverage, increased its  
23 benefits, added help. And we can do more of it. We have  
24 the means and the wherewithall to do it.

25 This is an eight hundred and fifty billion dollar

1 nation right now. It will be a trillion dollar economy in-  
2 side of a few years, less than five or six years. A trillion  
3 dollar economy!

4 Now, a trillion dollar economy can afford education for  
5 its youngsters. A trillion dollar economy can afford a Head  
6 Start Program for the little kids, the four-year olds. A  
7 trillion dollar economy can afford medical and hospital care  
8 for its senior citizens. A trillion dollar economy, Mr.  
9 Mayor, can start to clean out the hovels in the tenements  
10 and the filth and ugliness of our slums. We can and we're  
11 going to get the job done. (Applause.)

12 And this kind of an economy can manage to make rural  
13 America a better place in which to live. Most every day  
14 in these days we talk about the cities. I know most people  
15 live there, and more and more will live there, unless we do  
16 more for rural America, because we have to make rural  
17 America an inviting place in which to live. You don't get  
18 by by smelling the pure air and just seeing the sun set at  
19 night and rise in the morning. You have to have money and  
20 jobs for the young people in the community, and your son and  
21 daughter going to that community college or going off to  
22 high school and graduating or graduating from college, is'  
23 not going to come home and live on a farm and earn less per  
24 hour than a man who works as a common laborer or at a filling  
25 station. We've got to provide a better economic situation



1 for American agriculture. We have to strengthen the farmers'  
2 bargaining power. We have to build rural communities that  
3 are modern, with hospitals, with schools, with modern small  
4 factories, with libraries, with good housing. And we can do  
5 it. We know we can do it. We've done it in many parts of  
6 America already.

7 I can take you to Huntsville, Alabama. Less than 15  
8 years ago, a sleepy little southern town of 20,000 people.  
9 Today 200,000 people, it's own symphony orchestra, a branch  
10 of the University of Alabama, one of the most modern hospi-  
11 tals in the world, one of the finest medical clinics, a  
12 fine cultural institution, a recreational institution,  
13 industries.

14 How did it get done? With some federal investment,  
15 some planning, some action by direct planning and policy,  
16 it can be done, and we plan on doing it, and, Mr. Mayor, I  
17 plan on coming back to talk to this country about it.

18 (Applause.)

19 Now I want you to know that this program that I talk  
20 of includes everybody. It includes the first Americans,  
21 our Indians. It includes the people of Spanish surnames,  
22 who all too often have been denied their chance. It includes  
23 the American who has been here as long as the white man, the  
24 American Negro. We're one people. (Applause.) One  
25 people. (Applause.)

1           And if you don't mind my being just a little immodest,  
2 I was fighting for these things long before some people  
3 could spell them. (Applause.) I had a little difficulty  
4 about some of them too.

5           Some of our younger friends have no reason to remember  
6 it, because they weren't around. But 20 years ago in July,  
7 I stood up in the Democratic Convention and called upon the  
8 Democratic Party to stand for the right in the bright sun-  
9 shine of human rights and to get out of the shadow of state's  
10 rights and walk out there for civil rights for every American  
11 citizen, for every person, without regard for race, color  
12 or creed. (Applause.) And, as I said from this same hall,  
13 some months ago, when it was a matter of standing up for  
14 the test ban treaty, to prevent the pollution of our atmos-  
15 phere with radioactive materials, when an effort was being  
16 made to slow down the nuclear arms race, and you couldn't  
17 get a corporal's guard to do it, there was a man by the name  
18 of Adlai Stevenson who found a friend by the name of Hubert  
19 Humphrey, and we were the two people that went across this  
20 country and called for a nuclear test ban treaty, and one  
21 of them is in the Senate of the United States, and joined in  
22 introducing a resolution, and got other sponsors, and passed  
23 in the Senate, and was sent by our President to go to Moscow  
24 to participate in the signing ceremonies for the nuclear  
25 test ban treaty, to slow down that arms race. (Applause.)



1           And last April I went to Europe for your country and  
2 went to six capitols, to try to help bring about an under-  
3 standing between ourselves and Western Europe and the Soviet  
4 Union for the non-proliferation, non-nuclear treaty, which  
5 is now before the United Nations.

6           We've been working. I saw to it as one Senator that  
7 this abundance of our fields, the surplus food that we have,  
8 was turned into food for peace, so that millions of people  
9 throughout the world could be fed, so that little children  
10 would not starve, so that the wounds of war could be healed,  
11 and the food for peace program has been one of the great  
12 compassionate efforts of this nation, and it's been good  
13 for everybody, good morals, good politics, good economics,  
14 and I was its sponsor. (Applause.)

15           And when there was a need to centralize in our Govern-  
16 ment peace-making efforts -- we have a Department of Defense,  
17 we have a Department of State -- I said, "Let's have an arms  
18 control and disarmament agency, let's specialize in this  
19 business, let's see if we can't bring some reason and sense  
20 to mankind, before it's too late." And I was privileged to  
21 be the sponsor of that legislation. And today there is a  
22 Disarmament Agency, and we are the only Government, major  
23 government, in the world, with one. And, today, if you  
24 please, there's a Peace Corps, and I spoke in Colorado in  
25 1959, when I spoke of the possibilities of a Peace Corps,

1 and not many people thought it would ever come about. I was  
2 able to convince a man who became President of the United  
3 States that it was a feasible idea, and I was privileged,  
4 at the request of John Kennedy, to introduce the legislation  
5 in the Congress of the United States, to hold the hearings,  
6 to sponsor it, to manage the bill on the floor, and today  
7 there are thousands of Peace Corps volunteers all over  
8 America, in fact, the chairman of this party has one of  
9 those Peace Corps volunteers in his family, right out here  
10 in Colorado. (Applause.)

11 So, when it comes to this peace business, I've been at  
12 it a long time, and I intend to stay at it all of my life,  
13 because the highest calling of mankind is peace, and as I  
14 speak to you now, even now, tonight, our great delegation  
15 of diplomats has arrived in Paris from the United States of  
16 America, they're there to open the discussions for the  
17 first time with the representatives of Hanoi, North Viet Nam,  
18 in the hope that somehow, some way, through reason, through  
19 negotiations, we can bring about a political, negotiated,  
20 honorable settlement of the tragic struggle in Southeast  
21 Asia. It's underway, folks, and I told you it would be when  
22 I was here (applause), and I do not delude myself into  
23 believing it will be easy, and we have to have the same  
24 courage, the same perseverance, in the pursuit of peace,  
25 that we've had on the battlefield. If we could fight in



1 the battlefields of Viet Nam since 1965, then we can nego-  
2 tiate around the conference table in Paris or any other place  
3 until we find an honorable way to bring about a settlement  
4 of this struggle. (Applause.)

5 And I want to make one other request of you. There's  
6 some of my friends here from Labor. When you're negotiating  
7 a contract, and you have your leader, and your negotiating  
8 committee, the one thing that the opposition would like to  
9 have you do is just argue amongst yourselves, just argue  
10 over everything, and they've got the ballgame won right  
11 then and there, and you haven't got a chance. I spoke to a  
12 great union here the other day, and I reminded them that when  
13 they sat down with their negotiating team, with some of  
14 the great corporations in the automobile industry in this  
15 country, that they back their leader, they back their team,  
16 until that team could come back with a proposal to the  
17 membership.

18 Ladies and gentlemen, I think it is the solemn duty,  
19 I think it is the citizenship duty, I think it is a citizen-  
20 ship responsibility now, to give your President the benefit  
21 of the doubt, to back his team, to the last minute, until  
22 we can get a peace. (Applause.)

23 And, I'm not going to be standing on the sidelines  
24 second-guessing him, because most of the people that are  
25 second-guessing him don't know what they're talking about,

1 because, let me tell you, the hard facts of diplomacy are  
2 a lot different than the fiction of diplomacy, most different.

3 And then after Viet Nam, what? Just think it out now.  
4 After Korea, what?

5 I'll tell you what happened after Korea. You had a  
6 Republican administration and three recessions in eight  
7 years. That's what you had. You ought to remember it.  
8 (Applause.)

9 I want every farmer, every worker, to remember it. I  
10 want my friends in the Farmers Union to remember it. I  
11 want my friends in the labor movement to remember it. I  
12 want you to remember what the unemployment rate was in Denver,  
13 and in other cities in Colorado. I want you to remember  
14 what it was like in the mining industry.

15 Now, there were poor people after Korea, there were  
16 uneducated people, illiterates, the schools needed teachers  
17 and needed money, but not a single thing was done to help.  
18 There were old people that needed Medicare. There were  
19 students that needed fellowships and scholarships. There were  
20 cities that needed rebuilding. These slums didn't happen  
21 last week. They were here before. And you elected a  
22 Republican administration, you gave us at best a little  
23 numerical majority in the Congress that wasn't enough to  
24 pass anything, and we ended up treading water for about  
25 eight years, when we should have been moving ahead. We were



1 hanging on for dear life. By 1958, the people were catching  
2 on, and they started electing more Democrats. And then came  
3 1960, and John Kennedy said, "Let's get this country moving  
4 again," and the people heard it, and said, "All right, let's  
5 get going, Captain," and they elected him President of the  
6 United States, and we've been moving ever since, forward,  
7 too, not sideways, not backwards, we've been moving forward.  
8 (Applause.)

9 And why? And the answer to why is because you cared.

10 Now you've got the big decision of your lives coming  
11 up, the big decision. Who's going to be President of this  
12 country? It's a very important decision. And you've got  
13 another decision coming up. You've got the decision coming  
14 up, who you're going to nominate for President. I have some  
15 recommendations I'd like to make. One at least. (Applause.)

16 And I want you to take this decision seriously, and  
17 you are, I know, you are delegates here, you're going to  
18 elect your delegates to a national convention, and Colorado's  
19 delegates are going to be mighty important, all of them will  
20 be very important, and I want to say the people that are  
21 for Humphrey, and there are some here for Hubert Humphrey,  
22 and there are some here that are for the two Senators, I  
23 hope that every person for Hubert Humphrey will remember one  
24 thing.

25 I did not come to Colorado to destroy the Democratic

1 Party. I came here to build it. (Applause.) And I didn't  
2 come here to insult or embarrass or in any way condemn those  
3 who seek this office on our ticket, or even on the other  
4 ticket, as far as that's concerned. You can disagree without  
5 being too disagreeable, and it can be done.

6 Now, I hope that therefore what we do from here on out  
7 will be in the best interests of our country and of our  
8 party. As I said when I announced my candidacy, I'm a free  
9 man. (Applause.) I'm a free man first. (Applause.) I'm  
10 an American second, and I'm a Democrat third, and it's in  
11 that order. (Applause.)

12 I hope that we can leave this evening, tonight, this  
13 meeting tonight, with the feeling that we can unite. Listen,  
14 if we can't unite ourselves, how are you going to unite the  
15 country? If we can't unite our country, how do you expect  
16 to be able to unite the forces of freedom in the world? If  
17 we can't in this America win the battle against poverty  
18 here, how do you think they can do it in Asia or Africa?

19 And remember what the late and beloved Pope John XXIII  
20 said, "Where there is want, there is no peace." There is no  
21 peace.

22 And his successor, Paul VI, said, "Development is the  
23 new name for peace."

24 I speak of two great churchmen. I'm not of that  
25 faith, but I'm of the ecumenical spirit. And if you can have



1 the ecumenical spirit in religion, you can have some of it  
2 in politics too.

3 So, let's march forward now, building the new democracy,  
4 in which there is respect for the other man's point of view,  
5 in which there is confidence in ourselves, in our institutions,  
6 in which we seek to build a better day, for those yet to  
7 come, and let's go and build this new democracy on the  
8 premises of maturity and responsibility and restraint and  
9 action. Action. We know what the problems are. You don't  
10 have to have them spelled out. Everybody in this room knows  
11 what the problems are. In fact, we know so much about the  
12 problems, they almost terrify us. What we need now are  
13 answers. What we need is reason, that answers the problems,  
14 reason that proposes the solution, and then we need to have  
15 response which leads to action.

16 And I call upon the Democrats to act like Democrats.  
17 This is a forward-looking party. We have always dared to do  
18 what some people said was impossible. We have always dared  
19 to change. We have always dared to do new things. We have  
20 always dared to stand up and be counted, even when it was  
21 rough and the going was tough.

22 And I call upon you now to stand up and be counted as  
23 Democrats. I call upon you to unite your forces in this  
24 state.

25 You can elect people to office out here. You can elect

1 a President of the United States. And, what's more important,  
2 you can give this nation a new spirit, and what America needs  
3 today is one spirit, that spirit of confidence and courage  
4 and determination to get the job done.

5 Thank you very much. (Applause.)  
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