

Chs Bill Kerr

Someone from Minn
~~On top~~

Custer - 44 June 29 -

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

OKLAHOMA STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA

JUNE 29, 1968

Don't do a thing
until I
Return

Bob Kerr } It's George Nigh (Nye)

This is an important year for America.

Americans will make basic decisions this year about the
future of our country and the world.

But before we do, I think we must be sure to face the
realities -- in our country and the world -- of the time in which
we live.

Reality number one is this.

Ref. Unreliable
a Democrat!

NOTE:

Text of Oklahoma State
Democratic Convention
speech is identical to
Iowa speech given later
that day.

Ed Edmundson

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Americans will make basic decisions this year about the future of our country and the world.

But before we do, I think we must be sure to face the realities -- in our country and the world -- of the time in which we live.

Reality number one 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 not simple answers.

The world is a complex, troubled place.

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 judgement and our statesmanship that we shall be judged as we wrestle with the complex problems in the world around us.

Statesmanship involves steadiness.

With every age, we have been beset with gloomy, brooding prophets who would indict our entire history to fit our current ailments.

They have always failed.

On the other hand -- in every age there have been men and women of strong faith who have tried to build our future on what we have learned each year -- and I am proud to join this convention in sharing a claim of membership in that group of Americans.

Reality number four: We have more chance in America today to overcome the troubles that plague us than at any other time in history.

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

Let no one sell America short. Let's build America strong.

* * *

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

I won't list all the achievements. Just ask the people of America. They know.

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

Or ask their children, who are no longer burdened with their hospital and doctor bills.

Ask the worker who only a few years ago was unemployed, and now has a job.

Ask the millions of workers who got job training and upgraded their skills.

Ask the man who is 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 that all-important chance for a decent education because of a federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Four Administrations have struggled to get federal help to these youngsters. This Administration did it.

But what about tomorrow. What about the Humphrey Administration. What are some of my priorities. High on my list are civil order and civil justice.

The fact is that civil order and civil justice are twin imperatives ... that they are interdependent ... and that one without the other diminishes America.

It must be clear that violence, crime, looting, burning cannot be condoned and must be stopped.

It must be equally clear that the conditions that breed crime and violence have to be sought out -- and then rooted out.

This relationship between "law and order" on the one hand and "social justice" on the other hand should be made plain to every American.

I have spent a great deal of my life defending civil liberties and civil rights -- not just recently when they have become popular, but back over a long time when they weren't.

I know that today, more than ever before, violence is the enemy of civil rights and civil liberties. It is the ally of reaction -- and can be used as an excuse for not doing the things that need to be done in this country.

If we want civil order we must recognize the civil right of every citizen in this nation to have enough to eat.

There is no reason in America -- with its unequaled wealth and agricultural productivity -- for any one to go hungry. It is immoral to allow some babies to suffer from malnutrition, while others in our population are concerned about the dangers of over-eating.

If we want civil order we must recognize the civil right of every American to earn a living.

The richest society man has ever known cannot afford to permit the festering frustration of unemployment which can so easily erupt into violence. Jobs bring dignity to the individual and resources to his family -- and wealth to the nation.

The idea of guaranteeing decent jobs to everybody who will work at them makes sense -- with private employers providing job opportunities to the fullest extent possible, and with the government making whatever back-up or financing arrangements are necessary.

If we want civil order we must recognize the civil right to a full education -- from age four on through college -- and the civil right to grow up in a decent home and neighborhood.

Civil order and civil justice are not two goals. They are one.

And the future hinges on our realizing this oneness -- not only as a moral principle but as a matter, possible, of our survival as a free society.

There is no choice today but to be tough-minded, hard-headed and fair-minded about stopping crime and violence in this country.

There is no alternative to being tough-minded, hard-headed -- and warm-hearted too -- about establishing social justice in this country.

We have to do both, and as rapidly as possible.

Lately, we've had so much talk and so much concern about the problems of our cities that you'd think we didn't have a rural population.

I believe we've neglected our rural and farm population and I expect to do something about it. Seventy percent of our population is now jammed onto 2 percent of the land, and I say the movement of millions of people from the country to the city is not in the national interest, is not inevitable and is not desirable.

It is time America made a national decision to provide more opportunity, in terms of both income and a better life, to farm and rural people. We must enable them to share, without moving to the city, in America's unprecedented living standard.

The most important step in making rural America more attractive -- and, indirectly, in slowing migration to the cities -- is providing economic equity for farmers and ranchers.

Existing public programs give agriculture an essential margin of income protection -- a price and income base to build on.

But farmers need better ways to increase bargaining power, obtain long-term credit at reasonable interest rates, expand market demand both at home and abroad, and control rising land prices, taxes, and other production costs.

Our national commitment, however, must reflect the fact that rural America's problems go beyond dollars-and-cents considerations.

This means better schools and better hospitals for rural America. It means modern public services of all kinds that can attract new industry and job opportunities -- new sources of income.

Today, for every 175 rural young people reaching working age, there are fewer than 100 jobs in their home areas. This year, as a result, about 200,000 of these young Americans will leave home and go off to the city.

We must make it possible for young couples to stay on the farm, if that is their choice, and still look forward to a full and rewarding life.

The kind of rural America I have in mind has economic viability -- new investment, expanding job opportunities, and a growing tax base. It is modern America in the countryside.

We want a modern America in the countryside, -- a rehabilitated America in the cities and a peaceful America in the world. I want to tell you briefly of some of my priorities in our relationship with that world.

First, we have to slow down the arms race.

We have to get to the table as soon as possible with the Soviet Union to talk about mutual reduction of both offensive and defensive weapons.

With our allies, we need to talk to the Soviet Union and her allies about a mutual thin-out of troops in Central Europe.

We need to actively build bridges to Communist China -- to do our best to break the Chinese people out of their unhealthy isolation.

Once Vietnam is over -- and if we have the courage to see these discussions in Paris through, I think it can be over -- the nations of Southeast Asia can get down to the work of peaceful development, without regard to ideology. I think we should help.

We must set as a high priority the closing of the gap between rich and poor nations -- a gap that is growing larger every day, and one that I believe is far more a threat to our ultimate security than any other, with the possible exception of the arms race itself.

We can get on, too, with the work of building better peace-keeping machinery in the United Nations and in regional organizations so that the United States will not find itself standing alone as world policeman. We live in a changing world and our foreign policies must be geared to change -- not to outdated concepts that were part of another, simpler world.

My friends, I believe with my heart and my mind that we are on the threshold of a great adventure.

I believe that this nation is now engaged in a massive confrontation -- with itself. We are facing our reality with its weaknesses as well as its strengths.

The greatness of America is its capacity for orderly change, for bending the institutions of government to serve even higher national purpose.

Self-confrontation is painful but my friends it is democracy's luxury -- a luxury denied to many countries. We have held the mirror up to ourselves and we have seen poverty as well as affluence, racial discrimination as well as generosity, violence as well as justice.

We mean to brighten the image in that mirror and to realize those great goals for which this nation was founded. That has been the purpose of my public life. That is my pledge to you.

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REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
OKLAHOMA STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA

Release on delivery
Expected 10:30 a.m.,
Saturday, June 29, 1968

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Americans will make basic decisions this year about the future of our Country and the World. But before we do, I think we must be sure to face the realities -- in our Country and the World -- of the time in which we live.

Reality Number One 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.

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Reality Number Two: The answers to these uncertainties ... challenges and perils -- and you know them well -- are not simple answers.

The World is a complex, troubled place. 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 judgement and our statesmanship that we shall be judged as we wrestle with the complex problems in the World around us.

Statesmanship involves steadiness. With every age, we have been beset with gloomy, brooding prophets who would indict our entire history to fit our current ailments. They have always failed. On the other hand-- in every age there have been men and women of strong faith who have tried to build our future on what we have learned each year -- and I am proud to join this Convention in sharing a claim of membership in that group of Americans.

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Seventy percent of our population is now jammed onto 2 percent of the land, and I say the movement of millions of people from the country to the city is not in the national interest and is not inevitable and is not desirable.

It is time America made a national decision to provide more opportunity, in terms of both income and a better life, to farm and rural people. We must enable them to share, without moving to the City, in American's unprecedented living standard.

The most important step in making rural America more attractive -- and, indirectly, in slowing migration to the cities -- is providing economic equity for farmers and ranchers. Existing public programs give agriculture an essential margin of income protection -- a price and income base to build on. But farmers need better ways to increase bargaining power, obtain long-term credit at reasonable interest rates, expand market demand both at home and abroad, and control rising land prices, taxes, and other production costs.

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* * * *

Now, what is the business of the next President in that wider world?

The next President must use his power to slow down the arms race. He must get to the table as soon as possible with the Soviet Union to talk about mutual reduction of both offensive and defensive weapons.

He must join with our Allies to talk to the Soviet Union and her Allies about a mutual thin-out of troupes in Central Europe.

He must build bridges to Communist China -- and do his best to break the Chinese people out of their unhealthy isolation.

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The next President must set as high priority the closing of the gap between rich and poor nations -- A gap that is growing larger every day, and one that I believe is far more a threat to our ultimate security than any other, with the possible exception of the arms race itself.

The next President must get on, too, with the work of building better peace-keeping machinery in the United Nations and in regional organizations so that the United States will not find itself standing alone as World policeman.

We live in a changing World and our foreign policies must be geared to change -- not to outdated concepts that were part of another, simpler world. If I am the next President of the United States, I will see to that change.

My friends, I believe with my heart and my mind that we are on the threshold of a great adventure. I believe that this nation is now engaged in a massive confrontation -- with itself. We are facing our reality with its weaknesses as well as its strengths.

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OKLAHOMA STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

SPEECH OF VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY

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June 29, 1968

HELD AT: Sheraton-Oklahoma Hotel
Sheridan & Harvey
Oklahoma City,
Oklahoma

REPORTED BY:

DONNA E. BRYSON
Certified Shorthand Reporter
836 N. W. 39th Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
JA 5-0001

Ladies and gentlemen, my fellow Democrats and fellow Americans, there is one thing that I want to say right quick. I've noticed the signs and the placards that are here. I hope you won't think we Minnesotans immodest if I say that no matter what happens in the Democratic Party, there will be a Minnesotan running for president. And if you will lend me your ears, I might just suggest to you the one that it ought to be.

What a special joy it is today to share this platform with great public servants and dear friends! This isn't as if a stranger came into a strange land, but a neighbor coming in the midst of friends.

Very frankly, as I came through the door, I saw so many people that had these little signs on about a man by the name of Mike. Well, let me tell you, my dear friends, you couldn't do better. That's right. Show Mike Monroney.

You just keep waving those banners and you get those votes, because ladies and gentlemen, the state of Oklahoma is over-represented in the United States Senate and that's the way it ought to be.

I hope it won't get out of this room and I'll deny I ever said it, but I want it quite clear that, as far as I have been able to understand and determine, Oklahoma has four senators, because Monroney and Harris do the work of four.

Some of you, some months ago, might have thought that it was Charles DeGaulle that was getting our gold, but I can tell

you that it was Monroney and Harris bringing it down to Oklahoma.

Very seriously, I call upon this convention, I call upon the Democrats in this state, I call upon the people of this great state, this 46th state that believes in good government, in progressive, honest, effective government, I call upon you to redouble your efforts, to make positively, unqualifiedly sure that Senator Mike Monroney is returned to the United States Senate.

And, what wonderful things you do! Not only do you have this fine senior senator, an old friend, Mike, but you gave to us another new friend and a tremendous person. One of the most capable, one of the most able, and may I say, one that is recognized nationally as one of the most able and dedicated public servants that ever came from this state. Young in years, but so mature in his judgment, and my co-chairman and your United States Senator, Fred Harris. Thank you for him.

I will quit bragging on this fellow. He gets too good a response. He just said--Fred just said to me, "Mr. Vice President, I accept the nomination."

I tell you, it's great. And I have one just like him from the state of Minnesota and I want to know how you can nominate both of them at the same time.

Well, friends, there's somebody else here today, indeed there are several. If I have no opportunity at all to say

anything for myself, I would like to say something for your own people here. I gather they don't really need these words, but I enjoy saying them, because they represent my heart and my mind.

One of the truly great men of the Congress, a little giant great of mind, warm of spirit, brilliant tactitian, loyal and faithful Congressman and public servant and leader, the majority leader of the House of Representatives, Carl Albert. What about him?

I am going to quit bragging on you, too. Here comes our friend, Senator Mike Monroney. Come on up here, Mike.

Well, you know, we had this all timed just right. If Mike had been here when I was speaking about him he would have been blushing with flattery. He just wouldn't have been able to take it, but Mike, I want you to know we all said some nice things about you and everybody agreed, there was--I think there was--a unanimous vote that you are a great senator and you are going to be re-elected. We got it all fixed for you.

This remarkable Congressional delegation! I was down here not long ago, and somebody said I mispronounced his name, but I didn't. I just want Tom Steed to know that I know it's not Tom Sneed, it's Tom Steed, and a great Congressman he is, too. We are all indebted to him so much, and your other members of this delegation, and I don't want to miss a one of them, because sometimes I think folks tend to take some of these men

for granted. But they are hard-working, effective public servants. And you have two more in this Democratic delegation, and you can add some more a little later on. But you have John Jarmon and Ed Edmondson and you couldn't do better. All you Jarmon folk stand up for John when he comes.

Now, my friends,--Where is John? Well, stand up there. That's good! Good to see you back there.

We're going to have a good time. You can sure tell this is a Democratis convention, all right. I always said politics was too enjoyable to leave it in the hands of those old Republicans. It never should be.

And I hope you will forgive me if I do say that I am really enjoying this. There are some folks who don't think you ought to enjoy anything these days, but I am having a heck of a time and I like it.

Bill! Bill Kerr! It would be remiss on my part if I didn't today, once again, remind this audience as I have on other occasions when I have come to Oklahoma about a truly great political leader in this state, that helped me when I needed help, that campaigned tirelessly for every Democratic candidate for the presidency, that always was out there in the front battling, battling, and indeed literally working his heart out, and I salute a great United States Senator no longer with us except in spirit and in his good deeds and good works, I salute the father of your state chairman, Bob Kerr,

United States Senator.

Now, friends, we have taken a little time here this morning, to talk about some of the personalities in your politics and in the life of this state and nation. I know your Lieutenant Governor is here, George Nigh, and I want to salute him as well, and other public officials.

There is a lesson in politics that one should never forget. You seldom get anywhere or do anything that's worthwhile, without the help of someone else. And the one thing we need to know and need to remember, is that we need each other and there's plenty of room for all of us in this House of Democracy. And there's always a lot of room for honors and plaudits when you win. I'll tell you when you're lonesome, and I have had a little experience at it, it's when you lose. Oh, how lonesome you can be!

So I call upon this party today, regardless of your differences over candidates or even issues, to remember one thing: that it has been the Democratic Party and it has been Democratic leadership in this century that has moved this country forward; that has made this country what it is; that has offered hope and inspiration to the people of this land that felt left out; that has offered opportunity and prosperity to the people of this land; that we are a fundamental part of its economic and social structure. So I call upon Democrats to bind up the wounds, to remember that the opposition is not in this party,

to remember that the opposition is in that old party of parties, the Republican Party, and we gird ourselves to give them a whipping this November.

I'm not sure who their candidate will be, but I am sure of one thing: that whoever he is, he will bring in a crew of conservative reactionaries with him that will stop this country at dead center if it doesn't put it in retreat. It's always been that way.

I shall not spend my time running down fellow Democrats. I don't need to build up Hubert Humphery by tearing somebody else down. I intend to lead this party, if you will give me the chance, on to a great victory in November, 1968.

This is a fateful year. Everybody knows that this world of ours is in turmoil; that our country is restless; that there is anxiety; and every one of us knows that we have to face up to certain realities. The politics of make-believe has no place in modern America.

I hear a lot about the new politics. Well, let me tell you what's important. Just good, solid, honest, hard-working, progressive politics such as you have here in Oklahoma. You don't need to put new labels on it. We know what we stand for.

And I want to talk to you about the realities of our time. Not the fictions, not the make-believe, but what is. As some of the youngsters say to me, "Tell them how it is, Humphrey, tell them how it is".

Well, let's take a look at the realities. The first one, Reality Number One, was put very succinctly, very directly, by John Kennedy. And here are his own words and they speak for themselves, a lesson in life, a picture of the history of our times. "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." End of quote.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that's the way it is. It should not frighten us. This nation has not gained a reputation as being the land of the timid, the home of the fearful, but rather, the land of the brave and the home of the free. That's it!

So we shall not shrink away from reality. We shall face it as we have done all of our lives. It has never been easy. Oklahoma did not come to what it is today through ease and accident but through hard work and dedication and that's the story of America.

What's Reality Number Two? The answers to these uncertainties, these challenges, and these perils--and you know them well without me running down the list--are not simple answers. There are no instant answers. Problems that have beset us for generations are not subject to instant solution.

The world is a complex and troubled place. We should know by now that we have reached the end of our age of innocence.

In other words, not to run away from the challenge, but to set our course to intercept it and to come to grips with it, knowing that it will be difficult, knowing that it even may take time, and knowing, above all, that it will require our personal as well as our national commitment.

Which brings me to Reality Number Three. America is a grown-up nation and we must be able to act our age. Young in spirit, yes. Young in hopes and ideals, yes. Youth is not a time of life, it is an attitude of mind. You are as young as your hopes and as old as your despair. You are as young as your ideals and as old as your fears. That's what we mean by youth. And you are as young as your confidence and old as your doubts.

I happen to think this is a country of confidence. I happen to think that America is the land of hope and I happen to believe that we have yet--despite all that people say--great ideals. And the doubts and the fears and the despair belong to somebody else.

Let me tell you, if you give me the opportunity to lead this party, I shall not be an apostle of fear. I shall seek to inspire this nation rather than to frighten it; to lead it rather than to confuse it. And let me tell you, that's the way you win.

Statesmanship--and that's what you ought to hope for in your president--involves steadiness and steadiness comes through

experience, through testing, through maturity. With every age, we have been beset with gloomy, brooding prophets. Prophets of doom and gloom, who would indict our entire history and an entire people to fit our current ailments.

We have people today who say that our beloved America is sick, lost its way. I say our beloved America is growing up, searching even for a better way. That's what's happening in this country and I want to be a part of that group that understands that the politics of hope and inspiration is what this nation needs, rather than the politics of fear and desperation. I want to be a part of this great group of Americans that believes that America is growing up, reaching its maturity. Young in heart and young in spirit, but wise from experience and not having lost its way, but searching, ever searching, for a better way.

You see, that's the difference in this country between some of our political leaders and the two parties.

Now, Reality Number Four, and this is one that you all know is so true. We have more to do with here. We have more chance in America today to overcome the troubles that plague us than any nation at any time before in any other period of history.

We're so fortunate, so blessed! Yes, I know we have difficulties, urban, rural, youth, problems of crime, intolerance. I know we have these, of course we know. But, ladies

and gentlemen, look what we have to do with. Look at the great economy of our land. Look at the fabulous people of this country. Look at that great vitality of this Republic. And that's why you must keep in mind this year, the election of a man who will try, under the Constitution, to form a more perfect union, to unite the people of the United States of America.

I have no intention to try to sell America short to make me look tall. Now, let's settle down to the business of forming that more perfect union, of promoting domestic tranquility, of providing for the common defense, of assuring justice under the living Constitution which every one of us, as officers of this government, take a solemn oath to uphold.

Now, we have come a long ways these last few years, a long ways. Oh, I would just like to just unwind here and just give you the whole story of the Democratic leadership during these years, but time forbids and what's more, I think you are more interested about the days of tomorrow. But I think we have a pretty good record. And my fellow Democrats, let me tell you something: I don't think that you have to downgrade your family and repudiate your family in order to make yourself look good. I don't think so! I do not think you need to tear apart the record of Democratic Congresses and Democratic presidents in order to aspire to this high office.

I believe that what we need to do--I believe that what

we need to do is to take a look at where we are, where we've been, and where we're going. Learn the lessons of history and then, as Franklin Roosevelt put it, "let us move forward". Let us move forward!

And how? With a strong and an active faith. Those are his words, the words that came from his mind and pen as God Almighty took him from us, as the pen fell from his hands, the final testament of that great president was "the only limitation to the realization of tomorrow are our doubts of today. Let us move forward with a strong and active faith."

We have done a few things and the Senators that are here have helped make it possible, and Senators before them and Congressmen. When I think that every bill that passes has to have the support of the majority leader of the House of Representatives, what I say here is not only a testament to Democratic presidents, but to a Democratic Majority Leader, to a Democratic Congress, the Democratic Senators.

Ask the retired couple who today has modern medical care under Medicare and Medicaid. Ask them! They know that the Democratic president and a Democratic Congress cared. They know.

Ask that worker, who only a few years ago was unemployed. I saw the statistics just the other day. 1961, almost 7 per cent of the so-called white workers, unemployed; today, 1.9. 1961, 14 per cent of the non-white workers, aged 20 and

over, unemployed. Nobody giving him a chance. Today, less than 4 per cent.

We haven't done as well as I would have liked, but we have done so much better than our opposition wanted us to do. Let's move forward in making even a better record!

Ask those millions of workers who today have job training and upgraded their skills. Five years ago, less than 10,000 of these unemployed workers in training; today, 1,100,000. That's what you mean by human dignity; a job, a skill, learning and earning. That's what we're talking about--learning and earning.

Ask the man! Ask that man who is covered by a minimum wage for the first time, and 9,000,000 more of them were covered just last year and getting not less than \$1.60 an hour.

Ask the mothers of 9,000,000 poor children, deprived, victims of deprivation and poverty, who have never had a good chance for a decent education. Ask them, because now, under the elementary and secondary education act, for the first time, they are getting a fair chance and a decent opportunity for an education.

These are just a few of the things--and every one that I mentioned has had the approval, the support, of your people here, trying to build America, not to tear it down, not to cast doubt. But what is our purpose? To build a better

America, to provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare. That's the purpose of government.

But what about tomorrow? Because after all, the yesterdays are but prologue. It's what we are going to do that counts! But what we are going to do doesn't mean that what has been good we should destroy. We build on that firm foundation that is good. We learn the lessons of our mistakes. We proceed forthwith to try to remedy those mistakes and to build and build.

What are my priorities then? What about a Humphrey administration? Where would it take us? What will we do? Because this is the question that people must ask.

Well, high on my list--high on my list--is the relaxation of tensions at home and abroad. And speaking here at home, the highest priority is civil order in our country and civil justice for our people.

You cannot build a better America in violence. You cannot build a better world in war. The fact is that civil order and civil justice are twins; twin imperatives, opposite sides of the same coin of the realm. They are interdependent in that one without the other diminishes America. It must be manifestly clear today and tomorrow, that violence, crime, looting, burning, cannot be condoned no matter where it takes place or who does it and it must be stopped.

And it must be equally clear that the overwhelming majority

of Americans, urban and rural, black and white, the overwhelming majority want order, want a community of peace, want justice, want progress. They want order with change and change with order. It must be clear that the conditions that breed crime and violence--and there are conditions that do--have to be sought out and rooted out, just as we seek out the criminal and just as we restrain the hoodlum and just as we put down the violence, which is the minimum requirement of good government. I call upon my fellow Democrats to root out, first, to seek out the contributing factors to crime and violence, to seek out the injustice and the inequities, to identify them and then to root them out as consummate evil. We can do it!

You know, I spent a great deal of my public and private life defending civil liberties and civil rights, and not just recently when it has become kind of popular. And I know today more than I ever knew it in my life, that violence is the mortal enemy of civil rights and civil liberties. I know that it is the ally of reaction, and it has been used and can be used as an excuse by some for not doing the things that need to be done in this country.

So, my fellow Democrats, let's give America what it needs--law and order and social justice. We're capable of doing it.

And now, let's define it a little bit more. If you want civil order--and I do, I served as a mayor of the 14th largest city of this nation. I was confronted with problems of violence

and crime, both organized and unorganized. I am not a theoretician; I haven't written essays on it; I have had to have the responsibility for confronting violence and putting it down, and for coming to grips with crime and overcoming it. So I speak with some knowledge of the facts rather than some just nostalgic memory of a fictitious past. So, we can talk about reality.

Now, if you want civil order you must recognize the civil right of every citizen in this nation to have such a simple thing as just enough to eat. I submit that it is immoral and the worst kind of economics in politics and the worst kind of citizenship to allow some babies to suffer from malnutrition while others in our population are concerned about the dangers of overeating.

And, if I am permitted to be your president, I give you my word that in every county of this land, where there are hungry and needy people, there will be food to feed the hungry and there will be a compassionate administration to see that the hungry are treated with respect, and that food stamps and food distribution will be available. Mark it down!

Now, if you want civil order--and I do--than we must recognize and accept the civil right of every American who is able to work, and wants to work, to have a job to earn his own living and have self-respect.

Jobs bring dignity to the individual, resources to his

family, and my, what great benefits to the nation. The idea of a decent job for everybody who will work at those jobs makes sense to the American people. The lead must come with the private employers, providing job opportunities to the fullest extent possible, but then backed up by a government that cares, making whatever backup or financing arrangements are necessary to see to it that our fellow Americans who want to get off of relief, who are tired of the demeaning status of being a relief client, that those people will have their opportunity to be self-respecting, earning, working citizens.

Now, if you want civil order--and we do--we must recognize the civil right of every boy and girl, black or white, brown, red, or yellow; we must recognize their right to a full education to the maximum amount of their capacity to absorb that education from age four in pre-school right up through college and into the technical institutions.

And somebody says, "Can we afford it?" Ladies and gentlemen, the waste, the incredible waste that comes from unemployment, from ignorance, from illiteracy, from disease, from crime, from bitterness, from violence--you add up the waste of that lying on your ledger. And I am here to tell you, in my experience of almost twenty-five years in public life, that the cost of the investment that you will make in food and jobs and education will be much less than what you are paying today for failing to do what we need to do.

And what about the civil right to grow up in a decent neighborhood? A safe neighborhood? Safe streets and a decent home? You know, we provide a wholesome environment for our astronauts to go to the moon. I am for that. I am chairman of the space council. I think that this is an important program. But, I am going to say to you what I have said to others: that any nation that can afford to extend the resources that we extend to put a man on the moon can afford to help put a man on his feet right here on this earth.

So, friends, there's no choice today but to be tough-minded, hard-headed, and fair-minded about stopping crime and violence in this country. And the president, our present president, feels this way. The man that hopes to succeed him speaking to you, feels this way. And there is no alternative to being tough-minded, hard-headed, and warm-hearted about establishing social justice in this country.

Let me talk to you about a matter that is of great concern right here in Oklahoma. I was in North Dakota yesterday. I want to talk about where the next 100,000,000 Americans are going to live--and whether you know it or not, it isn't only that our gross national product is increasing, our population is increasing--and there's lots of room in America. Don't be excited about it. There's all kinds of it.

I have travelled the length and breadth of this country, but I must tell you that I think that we've got to do a little

rethinking about what we are doing and how we're going to do it, to find a decent place for these people yet unborn and some that are now with us to live.

We do a lot of talking about the urban crisis, the problems of our cities, but let me tell you right now that just like a flood that inundates the city down the end of the stream starts way up the stream, and never can be controlled by a dike at the end of the line but can only be controlled by watersheds up the stream, so the urban crisis, which is the summation of many problems in this country, will never be corrected until we solve the problems of rural poverty and make modern rural America a real place to live.

I think that there's been too much tendency in our thinking, in our writing, in our speaking, to neglect our rural and farm population, and I expect to do something about it. And this is not a new thought on my part. I have served these past years as the chairman of a cabinet committee on what we call the urban-rural balance, trying to look ahead for the next 20-25 years. This last third of the 20th century, where will this hundred million people, these new Americans live that will be with us in these next twenty years? Will they be shoved into the already overcrowded cities? And where will the poor from rural America go? And remember, there's more rural poverty than there is urban poverty. Remember, there are more poor whites than there are poor blacks--let's get

things straight. Where are they going to go?

Well, 70 per cent of our population is already jammed on two per cent of our land, and I say that the movement of millions of people from the country to the city is not in the national interest and it is not inevitable and it may not be desirable.

The urban crisis feeds on rural crisis. And I think it's high time that America made a national decision to provide more opportunity in terms of both income and a better life to the farm and the rural people, to the small town and the growing community.

We must enable them to share without moving to the great cities in America's unprecedented living standards, its cultural attainments. The most important step in making rural America more attractive and, indirectly, in slowing down that movement to the cities, is providing what every farmer and rancher in this hall knows today, real economic equity for the farmers and ranchers of America, yet undone. Existing public programs give agriculture an essential margin of income protection, a modest price in income base. But it needs to be improved to be built upon. Farmers need better ways to increase their bargaining power. And let me tell you, in a competitive economy, bargaining power is the only way that you have a fair chance. And Mr. Farmer in America must have the same kind of right to bargain that Mr. Laboring Man has and Mr. Businessman

has. And I'm going to help him get it.

He needs to be able to obtain long term credit and at reasonable interest rates, which today he is denied. He needs to expand his market demands, both at home and abroad, and hopefully to be able to do something about production costs.

I shall come back to this audience and others, not again as a theoritician, but one that has the good earth in his bloodline, his people from the soil, to talk about what I believe is vital for the kind of an America we want, a America where between the great mountain ranges of the Appalachians and the Rockies will be found the new home for millions and millions of youngsters, yet unborn, and citizens now who seek a better life in every part of this land.

But that committment must go beyond dollars and cents, even though that's mighty important. Somebody said, "Money isn't everything". And another fellow said, "No, but it runs a close second". And you can't have what I am talking about without a fair price.

I saw a North Dakota farmer yesterday with 2,100 acres of land. He had a hundred cows, ninety calves. Beautiful country. 2,100 acres of land, but his home could have used many things. And yet, it was a wonderful--I should say his house could have used many things. But he had a wonderful home because he had a lovely family. Lot of difference between a house and a home, you know. I've seen some beautiful houses

and some very bad homes.

But here was a man with 2,100 acres of land and a hundred good Angus cattle, and ninety good calves, 350 acres of wheat under the allotment, some sorghum, fifty milk cows. And he and his wife and his little family had worked all year long on a huge investment, buying used machinery, and had a net income of less than \$6,000. And he was one of the lucky ones. It just isn't right!

I went out in the country to see this man because you can't read about it and feel it. It's like tragedy itself. It has to hit you. You'll never know what pain is until you have suffered it. You'll never know what it is to be out there on those prairies and see the price structure fall and see the interest rates go up and see things moving out of there until you've been there. And believe me, I want to say that if I am ever privileged to serve as president of this country, I will move heaven and earth to get these people a fair break.

We are not just talking about income, we are talking about where the young people are going to live. They are not going to stay out there unless there are good schools and hospitals, shopping centers, job opportunities, factories, a modern rural America, new sources of culture, new sources of income.

Today, for every 175 rural youth reaching working age, there are fewer than a hundred jobs in their home areas. So the other 75 leave. About 200,000 of these young Americans will

leave home and go off to a city, already overcrowded with people and cars, will go away hopefully to find a better opportunity. Let's give them a real choice. I don't say they must not travel! America must not restrict this freedom of movement but America must provide freedom of real choice and we must make it possible for these young couples to stay on the farm or remain in their community and still look forward to a full and rewarding life.

The kind of rural America that I have in mind is one of new investment, expanding job opportunities, a growing tax basis. It is modern America in the countryside and it is something else, it's a rehabilitated America in the cities and a peaceful America in the world.

Uppermost in your minds, then, is what of the tomorrow in this world? What is the business of the next president of the United States in the wider world?

Well, he'll know, first of all, that it isn't the world of 1948, or '58, or even '68. It's a changed world and you know how much its changed. It's a world in which the communist block itself is changing. It's a world in which Western Europe has come alive. It's a world in which there is a growing sense of nationalism in Africa and Asia. It's a changed and very different world and, therefore, we must talk in terms of that, think in terms of new ways in a changed world.

I said to you that the highest priority was the relaxation

of tensions at home and abroad. The next president of the United States must confine his attention, above all, to reconciliation--bringing people together, trying to get them to understand how much there is to do together; reconciliation at home and reconciliation abroad.

The next president must make it his business to slow down this costly, dangerous arms race which today grips the world. We must be willing and prepared to go to the conference table as soon as possible with the Soviet Union, to talk about the mutual reduction of both offensive and defensive weapons. And may I say that those talks now are just under way? That is, the Soviet Union, only these past few days, has responded to President Johnson's invitation to talk about the reduction of offensive and defensive weapons, weapons systems which do not guarantee the peace but tear at the very fabric of our society.

He must join with our allies and take the lead to talk to the Soviet Union and her allies about a mutual thin out of troops in central Europe, not unilateral, but by mutual agreement. And he must even dare, my friends, to build bridges to open up vistas to Communist China, and to do his best to break the Chinese people out of their dangerous and unhealthy isolation.

He must--the next president of the United States must--think not of the yesterdays, but he must think of this last

third of the 20th century, and he must understand clearly that that could be the last third of mankind's existence unless we are able to bring reason and prudent judgment to bear upon the problems that beset mankind.

This is the dimension of the task. Once Vietnam is over-- and it will be--we must learn the lessons of that experience. Today, our objective--which has always been our objective, which surely has been my objective and has been the president's-- of bringing this tragic struggle to the conference table, at least part of that objective is now a fact and I want this audience to know the sacrifice that your president paid to make that possible. The president of the United States has five duties under the Constitution: he's Chief of State, he's Chief Executive Officer, he is spokesman in foreign affairs, he is commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and he is the leader of his political party and the spokesman for its policies.

President Lyndon Johnson, in his efforts to bring this conference about in Paris, to convince you and others like you--at least convince those who were so doubtful of him--and to convince the world, and indeed, to convince the enemy in North Vietnam, President Johnson announced to the nation that he gave up one part of his life as a public man. He said, "I shall not run for renomination nor shall I accept it".

He withdrew from the political life, sacrificing that part

of his life, the supreme political sacrifice, in order to do what? In order to get the world to believe and you to believe, and in order to get Hanoi to believe that we definitely wanted to go to that conference table. And he made it.

Ladies and gentlemen, what we sought to do is to build a shield behind which the peoples of South Vietnam could lift themselves. It has not been easy. It has sometimes been tragic. But the yesterdays will do us no good except to learn from them. What is important is what is taking place now. And I feel that if the president of the United States could make the sacrifice that he did, that the least that the rest of us could do is to try to support our negotiators and the president in this effort.

I have had people say to me, "Mr. Vice President, if you would just disassociate yourself"--I have even had them say to me, "If you would only repudiate your president you would be so strong and you'd be so popular".

Ladies and gentlemen, the greatest danger to a man in public life is an insatiable quest for popularity. Remember that!

Popularity pollutes the lifeline of integrity if that what you seek is but popularity! I have tried to be a faithful and loyal vice president and that's what I thought you wanted when you elected me vice president of the United States.

Thank you very much for your applause. I merely wanted

to say that anyone that will repudiate the government and the policy of which he has been a part, in order to gain votes, is the kind of a person that I don't believe that you could trust to keep the promises that he makes in a campaign and deliver on them in a general election.

Ladies and gentlemen, let us go on and build from what we have learned. We do not need to argue in acrimonian bitterness. No one really is sure that he is right, at least, I'm not. What I seek to do is to find out what is right. And as I have heard the president say a thousand times, it's not difficult for a president to do what's right. What's the difficult thing is to find out what is right to do. That's what's difficult.

So we shall build the peace-keeping machinery as best we can. We shall try to bind up the wounds. We shall try to speak to one another in tolerance, hopefully and understandingly.

My friends, I think we are launching upon a great adventure; a great adventure at home, an adventure in everbroadening social opportunities. The greatness of America--and it is great--is it's capacity for orderly change, for bending the institutions, public and private, to serve an even higher national purpose.

Self-examination is painful, we know that. But it is democracy's luxury, and a luxurydenied to many countries. I

am often reminded of what Winston Churchill said about democracy. He said, "It is the worst possible form of government except all others that have ever been tried." And how right--

We have held up a mirror. We have held that mirror up to ourselves and we are doing it now and we are seeing us as we are. Seeing many good things, I think, many, many good things. But we have seen also the poverty as well as the prosperity. We have seen the evil of racial discrimination as well as the sense of unity and generosity. We have seen, regrettably, too much violence as well as justice.

I think, however, that the ledger sheet shows that we have more assets than we have liabilities. And we mean to brighten the image in that mirror and we mean to realize those great goals for which this nation was founded.

Lincoln was right. This is yet the last best hope of earth. Each generation must prove it thus. And what is our goal? It has been defined so beautifully and so simply, far beyond partisanship in the highest traditions of our citizenship. A goal that, like democracy itself, it must be ever reached for, that we must constantly strive to attain.

Not the goal of two societies, separate and unequal. No, that's not for us! Not a divided people but a united people. Not a society of exploitation but of opportunity. And it was put so beautifully, and I bring it to you in the simplicity and the beauty of its own words. Our goal, your goal and

mine, that which we seek, that which we will achieve: "One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

That's it. Thank you very much.



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