



FOR RELEASE

Saturday PM's
Telephone 202/225-2961

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
UTAH STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH
JULY 27, 1968

Let's talk politics -- and the purposes of politics: 1968.

And let's get this clear: The politics that count are the election results in November.

We already know that a leading contender for the Republican nomination is now putting his "primary emphasis on winning in November."

One of his un-announced opponents -- a not-too-distant neighbor of yours -- has been through the South for the stated purpose of gathering for the Republican Party the kind of support George Wallace expects to represent.

Well, I don't think the Republicans will win.

They won't win because America will support the kind of forward-looking Democratic policy and program that meets the real needs and aspirations of our people.

The next President of the United States will face a new period in history -- a period of turbulent change -- change that we can mold to our will if we have courage and vision...change that will overwhelm us if we don't.

He will confront nothing less than the need to re-examine and to change, where necessary -- our national priorities...the allocation of our resources...even the structures and framework in which we conduct the business of this country.

All the doctrinaire arguments about yesterdays -- or even rightful pride in recent accomplishments -- will mean very little against the challenge of the next decade or the year 2000.

To resist the changes our time demand will be disastrous. To simply talk about the need for change will be inadequate. Action...getting it done...is what America needs.

The next President must take charge of America's future.

PAGE TWO

What is one our new agenda?

First, Peace -- nothing less. The world won't be truly civilized until nations, and people, stop building fences... stop stocking weapons...stop settling their disputes by force.

I have called for a new era in American foreign policy based on reconciliation and peaceful engagement, rather than containment and hostile confrontation.

It is not that we can under-estimate the dangers and tensions that still exist in the world. One need only look to Asia or Eastern Europe to be reminded of the precarious state of international understanding and cooperation.

The road to lasting peace will be long and arduous...and the pitfalls will be many.

But I am prepared to walk that road.

There is a new generation emerging in the United States and other countries -- a generation which rejects the old premises of war and diplomacy -- one which places greater emphasis on human and personal values -- like people having enough to eat... being able to learn...raising their families in health and security.

And there are hopeful signs that many nations realize the need to begin shifting resources from military budgets to human development.

This is what America wants, and this is what I want.

cont'd

PAGE THREE

This means peace in Vietnam -- a stable and lasting peace -- at the earliest possible moment.

And I mean to make a specific proposal in the regard within the next few days.

It means we have to slow down the arms race in the world at large.

It means getting to the table as soon as possible with the Soviet Union to talk about mutual reduction of both offensive and defensive weapons.

It means getting down to the hard work -- right now with the Soviet Union, and in the future, with Communist China -- of reducing the tensions that increasingly take our resources for the wrong things.

It means a massive international effort to start closing 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 nuclear arms race itself.

It means doing everything we can to increase the effectiveness of the U.N.

I have talked to Prime Minister Kosygin about these urgent priorities. Given a change in the international atmosphere, I would hope to do the same with some future Chinese leader.

* * *

Here at home, we are facing up to our shortcomings -- while also recognizing our tremendous assets to overcome these shortcomings.

As Adlai Stevenson once said, self-criticism has been democracy's secret weapon.

But so has self-respect and self-confidence.

We must maintain this balance between self-criticism and self-confidence.

In so doing, we can create a new social morality in America -- a morality that will no longer tolerate racial discrimination in democracy...hunger in the midst of plenty... or joblessness and under-employment in a prosperous society.

In so doing, we can truly take charge of America's future.

This means the placing of national priorities and resources against the problems that keep ordinary people from living a freer, more rewarding existence.

I reject the idea that we have to be two nations, black and white...or two nations, north and south...or two nations... rich and poor.

No responsible person wants that.

There is a vast, silent group of Americans -- a majority of many millions -- that wants to make this country work... that wants safety and equal rights for everyone...that bears no ill will against other Americans.

I think this Silent America -- an America still unaroused -- can be aroused.

I mean to try...to build bridges...to show fortunate Americans that many of the claims of the poor are legitimate... and to show the poor that they are not shut off from the leadership of this nation...that the democratic system can work.

We can bring both security and opportunity...civil order and civil justice...to all people of this country -- not one without the other, but both.

I submit that the recommendations of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders are right, and that they should be carried out.

We must look to the full meaning of civil rights.

We must recognize the right of every American to earn a living -- to work and earn.

I believe people want the dignity and the self-respect that comes from an honest job.

I believe it is our responsibility to help everyone who wants a job to have that job. I think the private sector can come up with most of the jobs.

But I have also proposed that the government do whatever is necessary to back that effort up with financing or subsidies.

Then, education...I have proposed that America guarantee the right to a full education for every child -- from the age of four through college or advanced technical or vocational training...on the basis of his ability to learn and not ability to pay.

And cities...I have spelled out my Marshall Plan for the cities designed to put the full commitment of America into making the places where most of us live decent and safe -- with emphasis on local initiative, planning, and control.

And hunger...in a country where many are concerned about the hazards of overeating, it is criminal neglect when one child goes undernourished. Let's say so. Let's see that it doesn't happen any more.

And crime...America does not have to live with a rising crime rate. When I was Mayor of Minneapolis we used a simple and effective formula for combatting crime. I called upon the essentially law-abiding public for strict law observance, and I used every technique at my command to provide fair, impartial and effective law enforcement. We drove the rackets out of Minneapolis. I think that formula will work for all America.

Those are big goals.

They will require big commitments -- commitments in money; commitments in determination be federal, state, and local government...by the free institutions of this country...by every single person who has faith in the vitality and destiny of their free country.

I am betting my personal future that America is ready to make these commitments.

It is time to challenge those who chant and jeer and disrupt those with whom they disagree -- to challenge those whose minds are so closed they will not listen to the other man's point of view, or even permit its expression.

Every citizen in this nation has the right to be heard -- but not to prevent others from being heard.

We cannot afford the abusive tactics which have reappeared in American politics.

It is time to get on with this country's work -- to take charge of America's future.

* * * * *

Eight years from now this country will celebrate its 200th birthday.

By then, this nation can be torn...divided...withdrawing within itself from the outside world.

Or it can be open.

It can be safe.

It can be free.

It can be filled with opportunity -- for every single citizen.

I think we can do that. I think we can build that kind of country.

We can do it if those of us who believe in political action will dedicate ourselves to it.

This nation has the resources.

This nation has the money.

PAGE 7

This nation has the strength.

This nation has the power to do whatever it needs to do.

#

How Rought
Sen. Mass
Ch. Sandback
Norma Thomas
Cal Raulings
Dean Westwood

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

UTAH STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

JULY 27, 1968

~~for~~

Future

An old friendship
President Brown
of the Latter Day
Saints

Someone
from
Minnesota
will be
our nominee
&
I will
support!

Let's talk politics -- and the purposes of politics: 1968.

And let's get this clear: The politics that count are the

election results in November.

We already know that a leading contender for the
Republican nomination is now putting his "primary emphasis
on winning in November."

Keep

+ less Republican Candidates
One of his un-announced opponents -- a not-too-

distant neighbor of yours -- has been through the South
for the stated purpose of gathering for the Republican Party
the kind of support George Wallace expects to represent.

L Well, I don't think the Republicans will win.

They won't win because America will support the kind
of forward-looking Democratic policy and program that meets
the real needs and aspirations of our people.

L The next President of the United States will face a new
period in history -- a period of turbulent change -- change
we
that/can mold to our will if we have courage and vision ...

change that will overwhelm us if we don't.

Change with Responsibility
(the offer)

Change!

NH President

- 3 -

He will ~~confront nothing less than~~ the need to re-examine -- and to change, where necessary -- our national priorities ... the allocation of our resources ... even the structures and framework in which we conduct the business of this country.

All the ~~past~~ ^{old} arguments about yesterdays -- or even rightful pride in recent accomplishments -- will mean very little against the challenge of the next decade or the year 2000.

To resist the changes our time demand will be disastrous.

To simply talk about the need for change will be inadequate.

Action ... getting it done ... is what America needs.

The next President must ^{ask people to} take charge of America's future.

New
Ideas
Put
to
work

What is on our new agenda?

First, Peace -- nothing less. The world won't be truly civilized until nations, and people, stop building fences ... stop stocking weapons ... stop settling their disputes by force.

L I have called for a new era in American foreign policy based on reconciliation and peaceful engagement, rather than containment and hostile confrontation.

~~It is not that we can under-estimate the dangers and tensions that still exist in the world.~~
L ~~of course there are dangers -~~
One need only look to Asia or Eastern Europe to be reminded of the precarious state of international understanding and cooperation.

The road to lasting peace will be long and arduous ... and the pitfalls will be many.

But we have no other choice - we are here - no place to hide.

↳ But I am prepared to walk that road.

There is a new generation emerging in the United States and other countries -- a generation which rejects the old premises of war and diplomacy -- one which places greater emphasis on human and personal values -- like people having enough to eat ... being able to learn ... TO work -- raising their families in health and security.

↳ And there are hopeful signs that many nations realize the need to begin shifting resources from military budgets to human development. — Liberalization + Emancipation

↳ This is what America wants, and this is what I want.

and this search for Peace

~~negotiated~~
~~Settlement~~
~~for Settlement~~

This means peace in Vietnam -- a stable and lasting peace -- at the earliest possible moment.

Paris

↳ It means we have to slow down the arms race in the world at large.

arms
Race

↳ It means getting to the table as soon as possible with the Soviet Union to talk about mutual reduction of both offensive and defensive weapons.

Reduction
of
offensive
defensive

It means getting down to the hard work -- right now with the Soviet Union, and in the future, with Communist China -- of reducing the tensions that increasingly take our resources for the wrong

USSR

China

~~things.~~
things.

↳ It means a massive international effort to start closing the gap between rich and poor nations -- a gap *that* ~~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 nuclear arms~~ race itself.

It means doing everything we can to increase the effectiveness of the U.N.

- Peace Keeping

* ~~##~~ *

Here at home, we are facing up to our shortcomings while also recognizing our tremendous assets to overcome these shortcomings.

f at home

As Adlai Stevenson once said, self-criticism has been democracy's secret weapon.

But so has self-respect and self-confidence.

We must maintain this balance between self-criticism and self-confidence. ! *Don't close our eyes to problems or assets*

In so doing, we can create a new social morality - *new humanity* in America -- a morality that will no longer tolerate racial discrimination in democracy ... hunger in the midst of plenty ... or joblessness and under-employment in a prosperous society.

In so doing, we can truly take charge of America's future.

This means the placing of national priorities and resources against the problems that keep ordinary people from living a freer, more rewarding existence.

I reject the idea that we have to be two nations, black and white ... or two nations, north and south ... or two nations ... rich and poor.

No responsible person wants that.

There is a vast, silent group of Americans -- a majority of many millions -- that wants to make this country work ... that wants safety and equal rights for everyone ... that bears no ill will against other Americans.

I think this Silent America -- an America still unaroused -- can be aroused.

And I mean to try ... ~~to build bridges~~ ... to show fortunate Americans that many of the claims of the poor are legitimate ... and to show the poor that they are not shut off from the leadership of this nation ... that the democratic system can work.

We can bring both security and opportunity ... civil order and civil justice ... to all the people of this country -- not one without the other, but both.

I submit that the recommendations of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders are right, and that they should be carried out.

We must look to the full meaning of civil rights.

We must recognize the right of every American to earn a living -- to work and earn.

I believe people want the dignity and the self-respect that comes from an honest job.

I believe it is our responsibility to help everyone who wants a job to have that job. I think the private sector can come up with most of the jobs.

But I have also proposed that the government do
whatever is necessary to back ^{up} that effort ~~up with financing~~
~~or subsidies~~.

Then, education ... I have proposed that America *Education*
guarantee the right to a full education for every child --
from the age of four through college or advanced technical
or vocational training ... on the basis of his ability to learn
and not ability to pay.

And cities ... I have spelled out my Marshall Plan for
the cities designed to put the full commitment of America
into making the places where most of us live decent and safe --
with emphasis on local initiative, planning, and control.

And Rural America - modern
to economic & social
opportunities

And hunger ... in a country where many are Hunger
concerned about the hazards of overeating, it is criminal
neglect when one child goes undernourished. Let's say
so. Let's see that it doesn't happen any more. !

And crime ... America does not have to live with a
rising crime rate. When I was Mayor of Minneapolis we
used a simple and effective formula for combatting crime.
I called upon the essentially law-abiding public for strict
law observance, and I used every technique at my command
to provide fair, impartial and effective law enforcement.
~~We drove the rackets out of Minneapolis.~~ I think that formula
will work for all America.

Those are big goals. !

*But this is
a big country*

↳ They will require big commitments -- commitments in money; commitments in determination by federal, state, and local government... by the free institutions of this country... by every single person who has faith in the vitality and destiny of their free country.

↳ I am betting my personal future that America is ready to make these commitments. - Faith - confidence

↳ It is time to challenge the people who say this country is sick -- to challenge those who chant and jeer and disrupt those with whom they disagree -- to challenge those whose minds are so closed they will not listen to the other man's point of view, or even permit its expression. SICK

↳ Every citizen in this nation has the right to be heard -- But no one should but not to prevent others from being heard.

↳ We cannot afford the abusive tactics which have
reappeared in American politics.

↳ It is time to get on with this country's work -- to
take charge of America's future.

* * *

Eight years from now this country will celebrate its
200th birthday.

By then, this nation can be torn ... divided ... with-
drawing within itself from the outside world.

Or it can be open.

It can be safe.

It can be free.

It can be filled with opportunity -- for every single
citizen.

I think we can do that. I think we can build that kind
of country.

We can do it if those of us who believe in political action will dedicate ourselves to it.

This nation has the resources.

This nation has the money.

This nation has the strength.

This nation has the power to do whatever it needs to do.

#

1
2
3
4
5
6 REPORTER'S TRANSCRIPT OF ADDRESS

7
8
9 by

10 HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

11 Vice President of the United States
12
13

14 at

15 UTAH STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

16 Valley Music Hall
17 North Salt Lake, Utah,
18

19 Saturday,
20 July 27, 1968.
21
22

23 --o0o--
24
25
26

1 VALLEY MUSIC HALL
2 NORTH SALT LAKE, UTAH

JULY 27, 1968
11:00 A. M. (MDT)

3
4 INTRODUCTION BY FRANK E. "TED" MOSS,
5 UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM UTAH

6 MR. MOSS: Thank you so much, Wally Sandack, Chairman
7 of this great Democratic party of the State of Utah.

8 Norma Thomas; our distinguished guests on the stand;
9 visitor that we have with us, Congressman Chet Hollifield of
10 California, who is with us today. Chet's -- (applause).
11 Chet's a youngster. He's only been in Congress 26 years and
12 is the great leader of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy
13 and a great friend of ours. We're delighted he could be with
14 us this morning. We're here on important business. I'll not
15 detain you very long. I just want to say what a great thrill
16 and pleasure it is to come home at a beautiful time of year
17 like this, to see the mountains, our farms, our factories, our
18 people, and see things looking so good in Utah, and, secondly,
19 to be today engaged in the people's business here in this
20 democracy where we live and have our hopes and our aspirations,
21 and you who are seated here today are to be congratulated,
22 and I congratulate you every one, for taking your time, your
23 interest, your intellect, your desire to serve in the cause
24 of democracy. And what a great inspiration to see in printed
25 form the platform of our great party, "Change with Responsibility."
26 And that's what this is all about today and we're doing it

1 within the framework of our Constitution, the framework of
2 our statutes and with the care and the intellectual attainment
3 of our people and that's what we are doing and that's what
4 you are doing here at the grass roots here in this great
5 commonwealth, this great state that we serve, and, so, I
6 congratulate you every one as we meet to carry out the people's
7 business, all of us proud to be members of the great Democrat
8 party that has served this nation so long and so faithfully.
9 It's the oldest political party in age and the youngest in
10 point of view because we believe in change and change with
11 responsibility (applause) and we're here to exercise our
12 franchise, to do it in an orderly way, not with slogans, not
13 with hate, not with unbridled demonstrations, but to do it in
14 accordance with the traditions of the great land that we call
15 America and that we all serve.

16 I said about three months ago that the Democratic
17 party this year had three brilliant great men who were seeking
18 the nomination for the Presidency. One of them, by cruel fate
19 and by a wanton act of savagery, has been torn from us and all
20 of us hang our heads in sorrow, and our party is poorer, our
21 country is poorer and the world is poorer by reason of his
22 absence. But I say and reiterate again to you this morning
23 we have two great men seeking the nomination to the Presidency
24 of the United States and I honor them both (applause). I'm
25 sure that all of the Democrats here remember that Senator
26 Gene McCarthy came just last year (applause) to address our

1 Jefferson Jackson Day dinner. He bought his dinner and stayed
2 in our state, skied on our great ski slopes at Alta. Gene is
3 my great and warm and considerate friend and has served with
4 distinction in both the Senate of the United States and the
5 House of Representatives, and I say without hesitation he is
6 a man of ability and courage and dedication. He's a fine
7 man (applause and cheers). He is a philosopher and a poet and
8 a man with lofty ideals and wide knowledge and he has a keen
9 mind and I'm sure that the Vice President would be first to
10 agree with me. He and his fellow Minnesotan, friends before
11 they ever came to Washington, have worked together over 20
12 years in fellowship for their state and for their nation.
13 Theirs is a relation based on enduring mutual respect, which
14 is a great tribute to both. So, I say to the McCarthy people
15 that should Senator McCarthy win the Democratic nomination and
16 be elected to the Presidency, the country would be in competent
17 hands (applause and cheers).

18 Today, however, I have the privilege of introducing
19 without question one of the greatest and most gifted political
20 leaders of our time. It is impossible (applause) -- It is
21 impossible to catch the essence of either his ability or his
22 accomplishments in the few minutes allotted to me here. The
23 New York Times says of him, and I quote: "During his 16 years
24 in the Senate and his four years in the Vice Presidency he has
25 demonstrated that he has the intellect, the imagination, the
26 energy and the knowledge of Government second to no one in

1 national life today." (Applause and cheers.)

2 Hubert Humphrey has what has been called the most
3 innovative legislative mind in the country. Scarcely a piece
4 of major legislation has been enacted in 20 years which does
5 not bear in some part the Humphrey brand (applause). The
6 first bill he introduced when he came to the Senate was a
7 health insurance bill which finally became law as Medicare.
8 He has sponsored more than 20 (applause) pieces of legislation
9 to aid America's schools. He was the first, for example, to
10 propose the impacted area act, the bill which has been of
11 such immeasurable aid to school children of Utah. He was an
12 early sponsor of Federal aid to elementary and secondary
13 schools as well as universities and colleges. His proposals
14 for Federal scholarships and loans for college students and
15 for grants for college facilities became major parts of the
16 bills enacted in those fields. The food stamp bill, the
17 wilderness bill, the water pollution control, automobile
18 safety, protection of the consumer from flammable fabrics,
19 opportunities for the aged, these and many other bills have
20 been enacted into law and they've all sprung in whole or in
21 part from the fertile brain of Hubert Humphrey (applause).
22 The Peace Corps was a Humphrey brainchild, and years before
23 he (applause) -- before he -- it gained widespread popularity
24 Humphrey was talking about the Job Corps and the Neighborhood
25 Youth Corps. The limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty had its
26 genesis in an early Humphrey proposal, so much so that President

1 John F. Kennedy said, and I quote him: "Hubert, this is your
2 tree." (Applause.) As for civil rights, how could anybody
3 who is old enough to have watched the 1948 Democratic conven-
4 tion proceedings ever forget the determined fight that young
5 mayor Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and Franklin Roosevelt, Jr.,
6 made to write a strong civil rights plank into the Democratic
7 platform? He was far out in front in the drive to ban
8 discrimination based on race or color in America and he's
9 continued to fight it down through the years. It was Hubert
10 Humphrey's strategy and leadership that broke the civil rights
11 filibuster in the Senate in 1964, the first time a civil
12 rights filibuster was ever broken (applause). I was on the
13 floor and I saw the leadership and I felt the encouragement
14 and the warmth and the direction and the iron-will determination
15 of Hubert Humphrey as he led us until we finally broke the
16 Republican roadblock, augmented by the southerners, that had
17 held us in bondage for a hundred years in the field of civil
18 rights (applause and cheers).

19 I say those who chide Hubert Humphrey on civil rights
20 and those who boo him -- an unbelievable thing -- either
21 refuse to remember his monumental contributions to providing
22 economic opportunity in America or they're too young to know
23 or they refuse to find out (applause).

24 It's hard to know where to start in talking about
25 Hubert Humphrey and hard to know where to stop. In
26 receptivity to new ideas and humanitarian zeal he has no

1 superiors on the political scene, and as to executive
2 experience, Hubert Humphrey is and has been for four years
3 Vice President of the United States. He has assumed and
4 discharged with distinction more of the executive load of
5 this country than any other Vice President in history
6 (applause). He sits in the Cabinet and he leads task forces
7 in fields as diverse as space and physical fitness. He has
8 represented us around the world in Africa, Asia, Europe and
9 Latin America, where he has walked with kings but did not
10 lose the common touch. I know of no representative of my
11 Government in whom I have more pride and absolute confidence.
12 He is not erratic or whimsical. He is pragmatic and hard-
13 headed, yet he genuinely cares for people, especially the
14 disadvantaged and the poor. His heart is full and warm while
15 his head is clear and ordered. I wish that I could transmit
16 to you what a warm, compassionate and understanding human being
17 is our guest today but words fail me, so the best thing for
18 me to do is to introduce him to you and let you hear him.

19 Hubert Humphrey, who will say to you: "What has gone
20 before is simply a measure. It's what we do now that counts."
21 I give him to you, the Vice President of the United States,
22 Hubert Humphrey! (Applause and Cheers.)

23
24 MR. HUMPHREY: Thank you very much. Thank you very
25 much, Senator Moss. Not only "thank you," but may I say that
26 after hearing your introduction I can hardly wait to hear what

1 I'm going to say. This is a wonderful, generous introduction
2 and for a while I wasn't sure just exactly who you were going
3 to introduce (applause and laughter). I just want to go on
4 record in this Convention right now that you can bet all your
5 money on this one fact: someone from Minnesota will be the
6 nominee of the Democratic party (applause and cheers). And,
7 after all, I have no seniority clause in my contract. Mine's
8 running out on January so I am available for the nomination
9 and available for the job and I intend to get both with your
10 help (applause and cheers). Thank you, Ted Moss. Thank you
11 very, very much. You're a friend and a great senator,
12 constantly giving of your efforts to this great State of Utah
13 and to our country, and I could spend equal time praising you
14 for your diligence, for your great efforts, for your
15 accomplishments.

16 I want to take this moment that I have to praise, and
17 generously so and rightly so, one of the finest governors that
18 has served in the State of Utah (applause and cheers). He's
19 had to put up a hard holding action out here in the western
20 country, the only Democratic governor in the continental
21 United States in the west and the only Democratic governor
22 between here and Hawaii, and I want to tell you that we need
23 him. I want you to re-elect him and I want you to spread the
24 good message to other states as well (applause and cheers).

25 Governor Rampton, if I'm the nominee of this party,
26 I'll be hanging so close to you out here in Utah they'll think

1 we're Siamese twins (applause and laughter).

2 Let me just make my thanks to the officers of the
3 party without going down the roster. I know what it is to
4 help build the party, what it is to help direct one, because
5 I've had those opportunities and experiences. A political
6 party is a fundamental part of the political system of this
7 country and I hope that in all of our oratory and debate and
8 all of our discussion that we'll not downgrade the importance
9 of the political party, of the caucuses, of the conventions,
10 of the county organizations and of those who give leadership
11 year in and year out in an effort to sustain and maintain this
12 important political mechanism. This Government cannot operate
13 without responsible, responsive, effective political parties
14 and it's our job as Democrats in the Democratic party to keep
15 this party of ours responsible, to keep it rational, to keep
16 it reasonable, to keep it progressive, and to keep it
17 constantly filled with new ideas and new people so that it
18 may be an effective instrument for democratic government in
19 the United States (applause). This is my special plea to the
20 young who have come in in such large numbers. We need them.
21 Neither political party has a monopoly on wisdom or virtue.
22 Both political parties can stand a little extra idealism and
23 extra enthusiasm, and I'm happy to say that throughout this
24 country the Democratic party is once again being infused -- it is
25 literally being revitalized -- by that youthful energy and
26 spirit that comes from thousands and thousands of our young

1 people. Let's open our hands and our minds and our doors to
2 them, welcoming them in as new leaders of the party (applause).

3 Now, let's talk a little politics, not so much about
4 ourselves. We Democrats have a quality that is rather unique:
5 we sort of work each other over a good deal of the time. I
6 often like to believe that this is just sort of spring training,
7 getting ready for the main event in the Fall, but don't let
8 your spring training go so far you're apt to miss the main
9 contest. Stay ready (applause).

10 Let's talk some politics. Let's talk not just
11 politics but the purposes of politics, and in this critical,
12 decisive year of 1968, the year that I believe represents the
13 beginning of a new era and the end of another, a year that
14 will make decisions -- in which decisions will be made that
15 will affect this republic for another decade or generation
16 just as the election did in nineteen hundred and forty eight.
17 There are many similarities and those of you who remember
18 those events of '48 need not refresh yourselves through the
19 reading of history, but those who do not remember because
20 you were possibly not at that time interested or too young ,
21 might I suggest that it would be well for you to look at the
22 history. 1948 - a critical year for freedom, a critical year
23 for this country in the post-war period, at a time when the
24 world was threatened with the onward rush of totalitarian
25 doctrine, at a time when there was a lack of leadership in
26 many areas, at a time when the President was harrassed and was

1 set upon and was called unpopular, and, yet, at a time when
2 this Democratic party stood its ground, when its leader fought
3 the good fight and carried the message to the American people.
4 You know, I'm proud to say to this audience that my political
5 hero and that the man who is my honorary chairman for my
6 campaign in this country for the first time in history is the
7 former President, Harry S. Truman (applause). That was 20
8 years ago and a new day is here, a changed world. Better than
9 60, 70 new nations; conflicts and turmoil; the economy's
10 changed; race relations fundamentally different; everything
11 different. So, we need to talk now of the decisions that we
12 are going to make this year.

13 The first decision will be the decision of our
14 convention on its nominee, the second decision will be the
15 decision of our convention on its platform and the third
16 decision will be the decision of the American people in
17 general election in November, and on those decisions we will
18 come then to face the crucial and critical problems of a
19 changed world and a changed America on high noon, January 20,
20 nineteen hundred and sixty nine. So our business is serious
21 business here. We're not gathered in just a social conclave.
22 We're gathered here to talk about America and the America of
23 tomorrow. We're gathered here to talk about the policies of
24 America and the policies of an America for tomorrow and we're
25 gathered here to talk about one clear point above all: the
26 politics that count for the immediate future.

1 What is important are the election results in
2 November. We already know that a leading contender for the
3 Republican nomination now, as he puts it, is putting his
4 primary emphasis on winning in November, and one of these
5 Republican candidates that's been here in Salt Lake City,
6 and a not too-distant neighbor of yours, has been traveling
7 around more recently through the south for the stated purpose
8 of gathering for the Republican party the kind of support that
9 George Wallace expects to represent. You see, the Republicans
10 have their Wallace, too, and he's out to out-Wallace Wallace
11 to get those votes back into the Republican party (applause).
12 I don't think the Republicans are going to win, and I'll tell
13 you why: They won't win because America will not support
14 policies that look back, that stand still or that place us in
15 limbo. They won't win because America will support the kind
16 of forward-looking Democratic policy and program that meets
17 the real needs and the real aspirations of our people, and
18 that's why we have to write that kind of a program. I heard
19 Senator Moss refer to your platform, a copy of which I was
20 privileged to receive this morning. I've looked through that
21 platform and read about it in your morning press and it is a
22 document of action for tomorrow. It is a prospectus for the
23 future. It does not represent but an eulogy of the past,
24 even though it pays proper tribute for what has been done. It
25 represents a challenge for tomorrow and it represents a doctrine
26 that I wholly embrace and that I wholly subscribe to. Change!

1 Change! But change with responsibility, and my fellow
2 Democrats, that's what America wants. (Applause and cheers).

3 Now, let's talk about this next President of the
4 United States because there will be at least a change in that
5 office. The next President. You're going to have something
6 to say about who that person will be. That is partly in your
7 hands. The next President of the United States, as I've
8 indicated to you, will face one of the most dynamic, one of
9 the most radically changed periods in America, in the history
10 of this country or the world; a period of turbulent change,
11 change due to science and technology; change due to the forces
12 at work in human relations; change in the power structure at
13 home and abroad; and change, by the way, though, that we can
14 mold to our will if we have the courage and the vision to do
15 it; change that will overwhelm us if we don't. So, it does
16 little good just to say that it is a time of change. The
17 question is: What will we do with it? Change will come whether
18 we're here or not.

19 The purpose of political activity, the purpose of a
20 political party and political leadership is to challenge these
21 forces of change--indeed, to channel them, these forces of
22 ferment and change, into constructive paths, and I come to you
23 today to think aloud with you as to how we might do it. Let
24 me say quite candidly no one man has the answers and no one
25 at this time and place can say exactly what he will do or what
26 can be done, because, just as I've indicated, change comes

1 sometimes without any way that we can -- that we can have
2 anything to do with it.

3 We must also be able to adjust ourselves to those
4 changes, but that next President can do much. He can be a
5 leader or he can sit back and say: Let's return to normalcy,
6 as some have said, if anybody knows what normalcy is.

7 I happen to have a concept of the Presidency. I've
8 called it the Open Presidency, the Presidency of Leadership,
9 the Presidency of the Educator, the Presidency of the man who
10 mobilizes the resources of this country, private and public,
11 to focus them in upon the problems that confront this country,
12 because you know as well as I there isn't a single major problem
13 that can be handled by any one segment of our society alone.
14 Our problems are so great, the challenges are so all -- so
15 all-overwhelming that it's going to take a partnership, a
16 partnership based upon respect and responsibility of both
17 public and private resources to do what this nation needs to
18 have done at home and abroad, so whomever serves you, whomever
19 has that high responsibility, must be an educator to the people
20 to explain and take the people into his confidence, and he must
21 be a leader to inspire the people of this land to stand up and
22 be the great people of which they're capable, and he must also
23 be student and follower. He must learn. He must open his
24 heart and his mind to the forces and the voices of the people.
25 He must follow, in a sense at least, the events so that he can
26 shape them for positive good.

1 I hope that I will have some of those capacities. But
2 let me say in all humility and all candor, no man alone can do
3 it, he needs the help of a united party, he needs the help of
4 an understanding electorate, he needs the faith and the
5 confidence of the people; but in order to have it, he, too, must
6 have faith and confidence in the people. That's the first
7 quality of leadership (applause).

8 I know there are many that like to indulge in the
9 arguments of yesterday. Really, what good does it do, except
10 for what we can learn from those experiences. All the old
11 arguments about the yesterdays or even the shouting of rightful
12 pride and recent accomplishments will mean very little against
13 the challenge of the next decade or the year 2000. And that's
14 what we are talking about. We are talking about now, about the
15 last third of the twentieth century. We are talking about where
16 this country's going to be on its two hundredth anniversary
17 in 1976. We are talking about where this America's going to be
18 in this changing world in the year 2000. If we are not, we
19 are wasting our time. To resist this, to stand in the way of
20 changes that our time demands, will be disastrous. To simply
21 talk about the need for change will be inadequate. What we
22 need is not just philosophy; it's action, determined action.
23 A good idea is a noble thought, but a good idea put to work
24 is a noble good work, and what this nation needs today is good
25 ideas put to good work for good works for the American people
26 (applause).

1 Well, that next President must ask the American people
2 to take charge of America.

3 Now, what's on our new agenda? What are the priorities?

4 Well, the very first priority is a world of peace. Just peace--
5 nothing less--because the world won't be truly civilized until
6 nations and people stop building fences to separate one another,
7 stop stockpiling weapons of massive destruction. And this
8 world will not be a civilized place until we stop settling
9 disputes by force of arms. The cause of peace is supreme!

10 (Applause.) This is not an easy task. I cannot predict when
11 mankind will come to its senses, but I can only say this:
12 that it is the duty of political leaders to seek to lead people
13 to a realization of the dangers that are inherent in the modern
14 weapon technology of today. There is no place to hide. We
15 have, along with some of the great powers of this world, the
16 Soviet Union in particular, and ourselves, we have been able
17 to create these massive weapons of destruction, or, these
18 weapons of massive destruction that can annihilate mankind,
19 destroy civilization, and the greatest task before the next
20 President of the United States is to see to it that things do
21 not get so out of balance that man loses his sense of reason
22 and gives way to his sense of passion and destroys this world
23 in one great conflagration. That's the real challenge, to
24 prevent nuclear destruction and a nuclear holocaust. Thank
25 goodness we understand it.

26 I have called for a new era in American foreign policy,

1 an era based on reconciliation, not recrimination; on peaceful
2 invasion rather than containment and hostile confrontation.
3 Of course there are dangers; of course there are conflicting
4 ideologies. One needs only to look to Asia today or to Eastern
5 Europe this morning to be reminded of the precarious state of
6 international understanding and cooperation or the lack thereof.

7 The road to lasting peace is not a smoothly paved one.
8 It is filled with pits, it is filled with impediment, it is
9 filled with danger, and it will be long and arduous, but we have
10 no choice but to travel that road unless we wish to quit
11 traveling altogether. We are here, here and now, and there is
12 no place to escape. There is no place to hide. This world
13 has become a smaller and more intimate community. You can't
14 say, stop the world, I want to get off. You can only live in
15 it, and since we have such little choice as to where we're
16 going to be, then I suggest that we make up our minds that
17 where we're going to be we make a better place so that we can
18 live and not perish, so that we can have an enriched life
19 rather than not be able to survive. That's the challenge of
20 tomorrow (applause). That's the challenge we have.

21 There is-- I repeat, there is a new generation
22 emerging in the United States and other countries and I think
23 a better generation, a generation which rejects the old
24 nemesis of war and power diplomacy, one which places greater
25 emphasis on human and personal values like, for example, such
26 fundamental and simple things as people having enough to eat,
~~people being able to learn, to work, and raising their families~~

1 in health and security. And there are hopeful signs that many
2 nations now realize the need to begin shifting resources from
3 the heavy military budgets to human development. Yes, my
4 fellow Americans, all over this world there is a movement of
5 liberalization and emancipation underway at home here in
6 America, in Asia and Africa, Latin America. Every place in
7 this world people want human dignity, self-respect. They're
8 beginning to want to be identified as a human being and not
9 merely a number on a punch card. I think it's a great develop-
10 ment for good in this world (applause). This is what you see
11 happening behind the so-called Iron Curtain. This is part
12 of the reason for the so-called campus revolt. This is what's
13 happening in America: people want to be included in and
14 recognized as individuals rather than to be excluded out and
15 looked upon merely as problems.

16 We have to open the doors of democracy and fill the
17 house with its inhabitants and its children. We have to have
18 a broader place on the political processes of this country,
19 in the decision-making processes, and we have to have a wider
20 sharing of the benefits of the decisions of this country.
21 That's what the struggle is all about. And, my fellow
22 Democrats, this is the time for us to speak up, not necessarily
23 to tear down the past--indeed, to the contrary, not to repudiate
24 what we've done because what we've done basically has been good,
25 but to set new standards, to lift our eyes to new horizons.
26 As I told a group of you yesterday, not to the right or not to

1 the left or not even to stand in the middle, but to stand just
2 a little higher and look to broader horizons and lift ourselves
3 out of our quagmire of trouble to higher ground and promised
4 ground. I think that is what we ought to do (applause).

5 On July 24th this city and this state celebrated --
6 commemorated that long trek of those brave people that came
7 here to settle in this valley, and it was said, "This is enough.
8 This is the place. This is the time." Ladies and gentlemen,
9 we've come to a place and we've come to a time when we must
10 make new decisions and we have to make them carefully but we
11 have to make them with courage.

12 Now, I've spoken to you of peace and I know the subject
13 that grips all of us is the terrible conflagration that today
14 splits our nation and that our young men face under the field
15 of battle. I do not believe there is a decent American that
16 really wants war. I shall never forget the words of the
17 greatest commander of them all in this century, Franklin Delano
18 Roosevelt, who was a casualty in a sense of a great war. He
19 said, "I hate war. I hope the day never comes when war is
20 popular. When I hear people say: 'Is this war popular?' I say,
21 'I pray to God it's not.'" War should never be popular. What
22 should be popular is the efforts of men and women in every walk
23 of life to find a settlement to disputes without the use of
24 force. What we need now in Southeast Asia and what we need
25 now in Viet Nam is the search for peace through a political
26 settlement, through a negotiated settlement, which we now have

1 in the beginnings--just the beginnings--in Paris in the Paris
2 Peace Conference. Let's hope and pray out of this convention
3 as you did in your resolution--I commend you for your resolution,
4 a sensible resolution, one that could well guide the Democratic
5 Convention in Chicago. Let's hope our efforts for peace in
6 Paris will be realized in this year, in this month if could
7 be (applause). I hope that every Democratic state convention
8 can have the sense of balance and judgment that you've had here
9 and I hope, as I said -- again let me repeat it so there will
10 be no misunderstanding -- that we can have that same sense of
11 judgment and balance when we gather together in that emotional
12 atmosphere of the Democratic National Convention. I want the
13 delegates of the State of Utah to pledge to themselves and
14 their people we will come out of that convention not a party
15 that is torn asunder, not one that is rent and broken apart
16 but, rather, one that has come to an understanding, a party
17 that is responsible, a Democratic party that is united for
18 America and victory.

19 Yes, this search for peace means to slow down the
20 arms race, too, and I appreciate what Ted Moss said about my
21 limited efforts. All of my life I have sought to slow down
22 this catastrophic dangerous arms race. And it means, too,
23 getting to the table as soon as it is possible with the Soviet
24 Union to talk about mutual reduction of both offensive and
25 defensive weapons, and it means getting down to the hard work --
26 and I know that it will be misunderstood in some quarters --

1 getting down to the hard work right now with the Soviet Union
2 and in the future with Communist China of reducing tensions and
3 once again opening up the doors of communication and trying
4 to find a way to live at peace in this world. Make no mistake
5 about it, the peace of the world depends upon what I've just
6 said, the capacity of this nation and others to reduce inter-
7 national tensions, to engage not in containment and confrontation
8 but in reconciliation and peaceful engagement. That's the hope
9 of peace for your children and for theirs in this century
10 (applause). That search for peace means a massive international
11 effort to start closing the gap between the rich and the poor
12 nations, and we're doing very poorly at it, a gap that is a
13 threat to our ultimate security.

14 The late and beloved Pope John XXIII said, "Where
15 there is constant want there is no peace." And the peacemakers
16 are those who help people, help people lift themselves from
17 deprivation and poverty, from sickness and illiteracy. Those
18 are the building blocks of peace--education, health, earning,
19 dignity--and it's up to us to try to make our contribution.

20 Now, let's take a look at this home scene of ours for
21 a few minutes. One of my political heroes, and yours, was the
22 late and beloved Adlai Stevenson. What a noble man! What a
23 noble spirit! (Applause.) And might I just inject here --
24 interject here that one of the high honors that has come to me
25 is that Adlai Stevenson III is one of my most active supporters
26 and has dedicated his talents, his energy and his name to my

1 campaign for the nomination (applause). Adlai Stevenson had
2 such a wonderful way of saying things. He said, "Self-
3 criticism has been democracy's secret weapon." Of course, only
4 the strong and the healthy dare even admit their weaknesses
5 and self-indulgence in self-examination, but just as self-
6 criticism has been democracy's secret weapon, so has self-
7 respect and self-confidence. I do not think that we prove
8 ourselves to be great Democrats, good Democrats, with a small
9 deed or a capital deed, by merely indulging in self-criticism,
10 without some regard to our sense of self-confidence and self-
11 respect. We need to maintain this balance between criticism
12 and self-confidence. We dare not close our eyes either to our
13 problems or our strengths, and if we keep our eyes open and
14 maintain this sense of balance, I believe that we can create
15 here in America in our time a new social morality, a new
16 humanity, a morality that will no longer tolerate racial
17 discrimination and bigotry in democracy, a morality that will
18 no longer tolerate hunger in the midst of plenty or joblessness
19 and underemployment in an affluent and prosperous society,
20 and in so doing, with this new morality and this new sense of
21 humanity, we can truly take charge of America's future.

22 Now, this means placing of national priorities and
23 resources against the problems that keep ordinary people from
24 living a freer and a more rewarding existence. I reject from
25 this platform, as I have elsewhere, the idea that we have to
26 be two nations, one black and one white; or two nations, north

1 and south; or two nations, rich and poor. I accept what I know
2 to be the truth, that we can be one nation under God,
3 indivisible with liberty and justice for all. I believe that.
4 (Applause.)

5 There's a vast silent group of Americans--make no
6 mistake about it--a majority of American millions. They
7 haven't yet spoken out. They haven't been on the streets,
8 they haven't demonstrated, but they want to make this country
9 good. That vast silent majority--and it's here in this state
10 and all across this land--wants peace and wants equal rights
11 for everyone. That majority bears no ill will against other
12 Americans. I think this, what I call the silent America, an
13 America still unaroused -- I think this silent America can be
14 brought alive. I think it can be aroused, and, Ladies and
15 Gentlemen, I'm in this campaign because I believe this and I
16 intend to call this silent America to life and I intend to
17 arouse it for the public good (applause). I intend to show
18 them, the less fortunate Americans, that many of the claims
19 of the poor are legitimate and, hopefully, to show the poor
20 they are not shut off or shut out from the leadership of this
21 nation. We must--absolutely must demonstrate that this
22 democratic system of ours can work and work responsibly and
23 peacefully. It cannot work in violence. It cannot work in
24 lawlessness. There isn't a single problem that faces us today
25 that will be settled in the streets by lawlessness, by looting,
26 by burning, by crime and disorder. We have the opportunity in

1 our time to demonstrate to the world that we can have peaceful
2 change and we can make great social progress peacefully through
3 the democratic processes, and let's demonstrate it right now
4 in this year 1968 (applause).

5 Yes, we need to bring both security and opportunity,
6 civil order and civil justice, to all of the people of this
7 country. Not one without the other, but both. Not just
8 security, not just order, because you can get that in any kind
9 of a police state, but what we need is security and opportunity,
10 civil order and civil justice, one and inseparable.

11 I submit to this audience and to this party that the
12 basic recommendations of the President's Commission on Civil
13 Disorders are right and that they should be carried out, and
14 I want to see the Democratic party take a stand on this, a
15 courageous stand, to get this job done (applause). We must
16 look to the full meaning of civil rights, not just the laws.
17 We must recognize the right of every American to earn a
18 living, to work and to earn. I believe that people want the
19 dignity and the self-respect that comes from an honest job.
20 I do not believe that people, at least the vast majority of
21 them, want to be simply relief clients and to be supplicants
22 asking only for handouts, and I believe it is our responsibility
23 to help every one who can work and wants to work to have a job
24 that is a meaningful job and a rewarding job so that he can
25 stand in dignity and self-respect. That's what this country
26 should stand for (applause).

1 And then, education. Thomas Jefferson said, "You
2 cannot be both ignorant and free." We better make our choice.
3 And some people today are not free because through no fault
4 of their own they have not been educated, through no fault of
5 their own they are imprisoned, the prisons of the ghettos and
6 of the slums and of poverty, the prison of illiteracy and of
7 fear. Those prison doors must be opened and the bright fresh
8 air and sunlight of opportunity must come in, and I have
9 proposed that America guarantee this. I want this Democratic
10 party to go on record to guarantee the right of a full
11 education to every child to the maximum capacity of that child
12 to absorb that education from age four into college, if he or
13 she wishes to go into college, or into a technical school or
14 advanced training whether the individual can afford it or not.
15 America must go on record now for a guarantee of education
16 (applause).

17 And our cities. Well, I've spelled out my Marshall
18 Plan, as I prefer to call it, for the cities designed to put
19 the full commitment of America into making our cities liveable,
20 making them what they ought to be, the symbol of the culture
21 of this life of ours. I believe it can be done. It will take
22 a great commitment. We are not going to underestimate the
23 cost. There isn't a single thing that we can and need to do
24 that will not tax our resources and ingenuity. It will cost!
25 It will be expensive. Why deny it? But, Ladies and
26 Gentlemen, it will not cost as much as alienation and riots.

1 It will not cost as much as crime and it will not cost as much
2 as disease and poverty and unemployment. Those are the dangers
3 to this country (applause). And let's make rural America a
4 modern and decent place to live. The crisis of the cities
5 has been born in the poverty of rural America in a large
6 measure. The only way that I know you can impede the migration
7 of the poor from the rural areas into the great cities is to
8 make the rural areas economically productive, the communities
9 of rural America liveable (applause).

10 And then high on that agenda for this party and this
11 nation is this ugly word called "hunger." Mind you, hunger,
12 in a country where surpluses stack up. Hunger where many are
13 concerned about the hazards of overeating. I say it is down-
14 right immoral and criminal to have a single child in this
15 country go undernourished and it's time that the Government
16 of the United States made that clear (applause).

17 Yes, I know these are all big goals: the fight on
18 crime, on lawlessness, our effort to see to it that there's
19 economic opportunity, social opportunity, civil order and
20 civil justice, security and opportunity. Don't get tied up in
21 just one side now. The American people are not going to
22 tolerate lawlessness, and a political party that pretends that
23 it doesn't exist will be a non-existent political party. But,
24 by the same token, a political party that is only interested
25 in what it calls law and order and has no regard for social
26 justice doesn't belong in the United States -- civil order and

1 civil justice. (Applause.)

2 Well, I'm betting my personal future on what I've
3 said. I'm betting my personal future that America is ready
4 to make these great commitments through Federal, state and
5 local government; through private resources; through our
6 churches; our trade unions; through our universities and our
7 many volunteer groups. I must say, however, that if we are
8 going to do these things we are going to have to make the same
9 commitment that the founders of this republic made. They
10 didn't say they'd give a little time to it. They didn't say,
11 well, if we have a moment we'll think about it. When those
12 men gathered at Philadelphia on July 4th, 1776, as they raised
13 the banner of American independence, they spoke of those great
14 unalienable God-given natural rights of life, of liberty and
15 the pursuit of happiness, and they spoke of them as rights
16 that could not be taken away. These were the rights that
17 were inherent in God's gift of life to a human being. I
18 believe that. I believe the purpose of this nation is to see
19 to it that we can demonstrate that life is something more than
20 survival, that it's something more than an ugly existence,
21 that it is life with justice and life with enrichment and
22 life with purpose. But in order to get that done, the founding
23 fathers of this republic pledged their lives, pledged their
24 fortunes and pledged their sacred honor. They pledged it all.
25 My fellow Americans of 1968, if we pledge any less we will not
26 be able to celebrate with high heads and noble purpose the

1 two hundredth anniversary of this republic in 1976. Let's
2 pledge our lives, let's pledge our fortunes and let's pledge
3 our sacred honor to making this America the dream and the
4 hope that it's supposed to represent to this people of ours
5 and this world (applause).

6 I want to thank you for listening to me. We talk
7 these days of dialogue. Regretably, occasions like this are
8 generally a monologue, but you have heard from my heart as
9 well as from my mind. I have abounding great faith, over-
10 whelming faith, in this country. I believe this nation has
11 been able to demonstrate to the world what can be done in a
12 pluralistic society for social good. America is not as strong
13 as the money in its banks or the productivity of its factories.
14 America is as strong as its people, and this party of ours is
15 a people-oriented party. Most everybody in this assembly today
16 came from very humble beginnings. Remember there are others
17 who are waiting their chance. The line has yet not passed by.
18 There are literally millions of Americans that have within
19 them so much to give to this country. Let's help them give it.
20 Let's make it the purpose of this political party to open up
21 the hearts and the minds of those who are imprisoned today in
22 fear and despair and frustration. Let's make it clear that
23 this party has hate for no one. Let's have this Democratic
24 party of ours stand for tolerance and understanding. Let's
25 have it stand for reason and responsibility. Let it stand for
26 restraint as well as responsiveness, and let's take our

1 message to the people. The American people want to do what is
2 right. I ask you to give them the leadership in the Governor's
3 chair, in the Senate, in the Congress, in the legislature, in
4 your cities. I ask you to give it the leadership in the
5 Presidency so that this nation can do what it wants to do and
6 what it wants to do will literally be a miracle for humanity.

7 Thank you very much.

8 (Applause.)
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26

--o0o--



Minnesota Historical Society

Copyright in this digital version belongs to the Minnesota Historical Society and its content may not be copied without the copyright holder's express written permission. Users may print, download, link to, or email content, however, for individual use.

To request permission for commercial or educational use, please contact the Minnesota Historical Society.



www.mnhs.org