

#17

REMARKS OF VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY  
BURK BURNETT PARK  
FORT WORTH, TEXAS  
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1968

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you. Thank you very much -- Senator Yarborough, thank you for not only an introduction, but thank you for getting this campaign under foot and under way here in Fort Worth with a typical Texas spirit that just spells out win and victory. This is the way Texans believe.

(Applause)

Governor Connally, you honor us by your presence. You have honored me by your friendship. You have honored your State by your leadership. You have honored your nation by your service.

I am honored and so delighted to be here as the guest of and as the candidate of the Governor, the Senator, the Congressmen, the Democrats, the independents, the young people, the farmers, the workers -- yes, we are the candidate of the people -- that's who it is.

(Applause)

Now, I have heard a great deal about Fort Worth from Congressman Jim Wright. And I believed most of it. But today I believe it all. It is really wonderful.

(Applause)

And I have heard a great deal about Texas -- you can guess from who.

(Laughter)

And today -- today I believe it all -- every last word of it.

(Applause)

And I want to thank Congressman Jim Wright, George Mahon, a great man of Texas, and Henry Gonzalez, and the others that are here -- my friend Will Davis, the members of our committee -- for putting together this tremendous gathering.

I want you to know that it means a great deal to me, because what I have to rely on in this campaign, what I have to rely on are the people. We don't have the money, but we can have the people. And here we have the people.

(Applause)

Let me tell you that we worked together before here in Texas. We worked together as Democrats across this country. And this great State stands for the future. Its best days are yet to be lived. Its greatest glories yet to be found. And to come here as the candidate of our party and to talk to you is in the proper setting for a Democrat -- because the Democratic Party is not the party of yesterday -- it isn't the party that spends its time cheering about its achievements of yesterday, but rather it builds on those achievements. It is going to build on the achievements of these last eight years, of John Kennedy and of Lyndon Johnson, achievements that are memorable in this country.

(Applause)

Now, we have -- we have two weeks left -- just two more weeks -- two more shopping weeks, as they say -- before we decide who is going to be the President of this country.

(Shouts from the crowd)

Well, frankly -- frankly, I do, too. And I agree with you.

Now, I think we need to ask ourselves the basic questions -- and with a great audience like this, it is a special pleasure to talk sense, to talk constructively about the issues.

Who can the American people trust -- and that is the word -- trust -- to lead this country. And secondly -- and secondly, my fellow Americans, the basic question -- can we trust each other. And I think we can

There is no room in America for demagoguery that pits one group against another, one race against another, rich against poor, north against south.

What America needs, if America is to achieve any of its goals in the next few years -- America needs trust -- trust of a President, trust of the people; the people trusting their President and the people trusting each other, and the President of the United States inspiring and leading and constantly trusting the great people of this land to do what needs to be done for our country and for our world.

(Applause)

Now, I have wanted -- I have wanted in this campaign the rare privilege of meeting on the public platform the candidates of the other parties. I think you know that I have purchased radio and television time, as I did last Sunday, in the hopes that the two other candidates would appear.

I want to say for Mr. Wallace that he agreed. But Mr. Nixon -- Mr. Nixon -- no, no.

My friends, when Mr. Nixon returns to Texas, you look for him under a bush, because that is where you are going to find him.

(Applause)

Mr. Nixon -- Mr. Nixon, the Republican candidate, doesn't want to debate. And now I think I know why. Because he knows -- he knows I would ask him some questions.

He knows, for example, that I would say -- Mr. Nixon, where do you stand on federal aid to education, to help our young people?

And then you know what he would say? If he said anything, he would say "Well -- but". That is the "buttliest" candidate that the Republican Party has ever had.

But, my friends, I would have to push him a little. And I would have to remind him -- Mr. Nixon, when you had a chance to vote, you voted no.

And, Mr. Nixon -- I wish I had that empty chair right here right now -- Mr. Nixon, where did you stand on medicare for our senior citizens. You know, he would have to answer that he said it wouldn't work, that he was opposed to it. And he has never said he was for it.

And I would have to ask him some other questions.

Thank you -- Mr. Nixon -- there it is, right there. There it is, right there. (Applause) That is a hard chair.

May I say that after this election is over, we are not going to be unkind to Mr. Nixon. We are going to give him all of the benefits of social security and medicare that anybody needs.

(Applause)

Mr. Nixon -- Mr. Nixon, where do you stand on Project Headstart and on bilingual education. I think he would have to answer no.

And, Mr. Nixon, where do you stand on the Trinity River navigation program, that means so much to Fort Worth and Dallas, which would mean jobs, which would mean jobs by the thousands and new prosperity.

Mr. Nixon, are you going to take us back to that period of Republicanism, of no new starts, no new beginnings, no new nothing?

That is why he doesn't want to debate, ladies and gentlemen. He doesn't want me to put the question to him. He doesn't want me to ask him these questions.

But I am going to -- from every platform across this country.

(Applause)

And, Mr. Republican -- Mr. Republican, where did you stand and where do you stand on the Peace Corps? Do you still think it is a haven for draft dodgers?

And what about the treaty to ban nuclear testing in the atmosphere, which saves the lives of children yet unborn. What about it, Mr. Nixon -- do you still think it is a cruel hoax, do you think it is catastrophic nonsense?

What about your votes on social security?

Yes, Mr. Nixon -- what about your anti-labor attitude?

Yes, Mr. Nixon --- what about your votes to cut down on soil conservation, on the needs of our farmers.

Mr. Nixon, I know why you don't want to debate. You don't want to expose a miserable public record that is against the people -- that's why.

(Applause)

Now, Mr. Nixon -- Mr. Republican -- where do you stand on economic growth? Where do you stand on the growth of our economy?

Your advisors -- your advisors said here the other day -- I read it in the Wall Street Journal yesterday -- that is a very prominent Nixon publication -- I read on a front page story that Mr. Nixon's economic advisor suggested that one of the ways to have price stability in America, and a way that Mr. Nixon would accept, is a higher rate of unemployment.

I want every worker, every person in this audience to think that over -- a higher rate of unemployment.

How many, Mr. Nixon? You said 4.5 million wasn't too many. You mean 5.5 million? And where are they to be unemployed? In Fort Worth, in Dallas? Who is to be without a job -- what family?

You know, I've got an idea. Nixon's the one.

(Applause)

But in all seriousness, that is dangerous talk.

Mr. Nixon talks of fiscal responsibility. Ladies and gentlemen fiscal responsibility doesn't mean three recessions in eight years, which the Republicans gave you. It doesn't mean an outflow of your gold at the rate of \$4 billion, which the Republicans gave you. It doesn't mean the highest peacetime deficit which the Republicans gave you.

Ladies and gentlemen, when I hear a Republican talk about fiscal responsibility, it is like a drunk talking about temperance.

(Laughter)

Fiscal responsibility -- nonsense.

Fiscal responsibility, my friends, depends upon a growing economy. It depends upon new investment. It depends upon new jobs. It depends upon a better educated people. It depends upon protecting the value of that dollar.

And I stand before you today to say we have done it.

And let's take a look at the record.

Eight years of Republicanism -- '53 to '61 -- they managed things -- they were in charge of the store. What happened? They gave you what I call a hiccup economy. They gulped a little and then they paused. Did you ever have the hiccups for eight years?

(Laughter)

Well, that is what happened.

First you got a little prosperity, then they took it away from you. Then you got a little prosperity, then they took it away from you. And in 1960, when John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson were campaigning in this state -- (applause) -- when John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson were campaigning in this state, the national average of unemployment was 7 percent of the work force. This nation had lost \$175 billion in lost wages. The family income in those eight Republican years had gone up only 9 percent. The wholesale price index, inflation, 9.2 percent.

Now, let's take a look at the Democratic years of 1961 to today.

Family income for a family of four, not up 9 percent, up 32 percent, up 32.

(Applause.)

The wholesale price index, not up 9.2, but only 7.8.

Twelve million more men and women employed. Ten million out of poverty. Ten million people who were on relief, 10 million people who were needy, 10 million people who were nonproductive. Ten million more today who have come out of the slums of poverty -- self-sustaining, self-respecting, taxpaying, productive citizens. That is what the Democratic administration has meant to you.

(Applause.)

Now, I know that Nixon scares you a little bit once in a while. He says -- you know, he goes around the country, and he says we have got to have -- we have to have a government where you can travel abroad. Do you remember what he said? He said, "You know that the President of the United States can't even leave this country in safety." That is the man Mr. Nixon offers. That is what he said in his acceptance speech. I wonder if he has forgotten when he had to send the Marines to rescue him from Venezuela when he went to make a trip.

(Applause.)

Mr. Nixon, you have got a bad memory. If I were Mr. Nixon, I wouldn't be talking about law and order. No. You know what he said about law and order the other day? He gave a speech on it. Of course he is for it. Everybody is you know. The difference is Mr. Nixon is for it with bumper stickers. He says support your police. I say support your police with money, with equipment, with training, with professional competence.

Law and order comes when you pay for it, it comes when you want it. (applause).

And what does he know about law and order? He has never been in charge of anything that had to do with law and order. I served as the mayor of a city the size of Fort Worth. I gave my city law and order. I ran a police department. As governor, I never knew that the President of the United States was supposed to be the chief of police of the nation. I always thought he was to be the president. I am not running for sheriff. I am running for president of the United States.

(Applause.)

Here is Mr. Nixon -- here is Mr. Nixon, a great man for states' rights. And every time he gets in a jam, he wants somebody else to do it.

Now, listen -- the police power of this country belongs right where it is -- with your government at home, with your governor, with your legislature, with your mayor, your city council, with your local officers. We do not want a federal police force. We want law and order on a local basis, and we can have it.

(Applause.)

Now --

(Shouts of "We want Humphrey.")

Thank you. Say -- thank you. And I want to tell you those are some of the best signs I have seen for a long time. (Applause.)



Now, just a final remark for your attention.

You know, many of these people that talk about law and order, but what they are really talking about is something else. You know, they say that Humphrey, this fellow Humphrey, they said watch out for him, he wants to give a black man a job, he wants to give -- he wants to give a Spanish surnamed American a job. And I want him to know they are right. I want everybody to have a job.

(Applause.)

And I want -- and I want -- I want my white -- I want my white blue collared worker friend -- that a boy -- thank you very much.

Now -- you know, this is the kind of heckling I like.

(Applause.)

Now, let me say a word about that job.

The only one that is going to cause you to lose your job is not that neighbor that is black, not that Spanish surnamed American. The guy that will cause you to lose your job is that Nixon Republican administration. So don't you forget it.

(Applause.)

So, friends, we have got some work to do. We have got work to do in this country. We have got work to build this country together. We have work to help protect the resources of this country. We have work to do to protect the security of this country. We have work to get the peace that this country wants -- both at home and abroad. We have work to do to build confidence with each other. And I come to you today, my friends, as one who says that there is nothing too big for us -- whatever we wish to do, we can do. America has the means, if America has the will. America has the resources, if America has the management. America can build a better America for more Americans if you keep people in charge of that country that trust you, and you trust them. And I come to this great audience today, and ask you to help me -- to help yourself -- to help your country. I come here and ask you to give us a Democratic victory all along the line on November 5th.

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

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REMARKS OF VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY  
 GREEN OAKS INN  
 FORT WORTH, TEXAS  
 TUESDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1968

#16

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much. Thank you very much.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure you can understand how I must feel after a not only generous and fulsome introduction, but one that came from a good friend, and words that were spoken by a friend to a friend. And, Governor Connally, my friend John, I want to thank you very, very much for your words of welcome, for your words of support, and over the years for your words of guidance and counsel -- and might I add that you will have many more years, it is my hope at least, in which I can look to you for guidance and counsel and for friendship.

(Applause)

This is a wonderful day, a beautiful day at the park, an audience that I will long remember, and an occasion that I am sure that this State will long remember.

I told Ralph Yarborough, your Senator, that he really warmed that audience up. I said "Don't worry about bragging on me, Raoph. Just get up and tell it to them as it is, and tell it to them like it is" as the young ones say "and let them know that we are going to win this election".

To me -- and I see Governor Connally, Senator Ralph Yarborough, the members of this congressional delegation, those present here and others not present, Citizens Committee and regular party organization working together -- I can say there is no place in America, in any of the fifty states, where we have a better organization, a better organized effort for the Democratic ticket than you have right here in Texas.

(Applause)

And I want to thank the Congressmen of this district and in particularly my dear friend, Jim -- Jim Wright -- I want to thank you for what you have done to make this possible.

(Applause)

And all the other wonderful men that are here with us -- but we are not going to spend all of our time today just eulogizing each other, because I think we know we have a lot of work to do.

To Mr. Amon Carter Jr. of the Fort Worth Star Telegram, I want Mr. Carter to know that I have read with full approval, I might add (Laughter) -- the editorial in the Fort Worth Star Telegram for Sunday, October 20, and I am very grateful.

(Applause)

The only problem, Mr. Carter, with a fine editorial endorsement such as you have given me, is that it compels me to be a much better man than I am afraid that I can be. But it at least makes me want to aspire to the qualities that you have outlined in your testimonial and in your editorial support.

To Mr. Carter, to his associates, my everlasting thanks, on behalf of both Senator Muskie and myself, and we intend to have the Fort Worth Star Telegram be right in its predictions as well as in its characterization.

(Applause)

I want to give you a little report. Senator Yarborough has told you that we had a slow start, and this is no secret, you know. One thing about this campaign -- everybody has known the mistakes that we have made and the troubles that we have had.

You can rely on Democrats to tell on each other when there are troubles.

I want to warn our Republican friends, however, that sometimes

these fratricidal struggles that we have are only a training period for the main fight, and I think that is really what has happened here; not only here in Texas, but in New York, in California, in Minnesota and every state across the land.

We had a late convention, we had a late start. We had trouble in our party, there is trouble in our country, there is a long, frustrating war that faces us. We live in a difficult period. And there is no -- there really is no reason to try to pretend that these are not the facts.

But there is another fact that is even more important, and that is the fact that I have always known to be true about the American people -- that the greater the challenge, the greater the effort; that in the worst of times we must do the best of things. And I have known that the Democratic Party had a sense of mission, had a sense of its own greatness, knowing full well that in time of crisis the American people have always turned to the Democratic Party for leadership without exception.

(Applause)

And I think there is a reason for that.

One of the first reasons is that history has demonstrated that this party can rear up out of its ranks the leadership, not just of one but of many, that can meet the needs of our country. And then I think the people also know something else about the Democratic Party. They know that this party, with all of its limitations, and it is a human institution, it is fallible, not infallible, it is mortal, not immortal; the people know that this party and its leadership is sensitive to human need, that this party cares.

Many is the time I have seen a Democratic sign as I go across the country in state after state, and they will say "The Party that Cares" or they will speak of "The President that Cares" and it is a fact that the Democratic Party is a party with a heart and a very warm heart, sometimes people think with over-compassion. But may I say to you, my fellow Americans, you that are a part of the nation that is so powerful that it staggers the imagination, so rich that none can compare with us -- that with those qualities of power and wealth, that compassion makes for good character and makes for a decent people.

Don't be afraid to care. Don't be afraid to have a sense of compassion -- because in these times, when people are so concerned, when people are so frustrated and many of them so embittered, when many of them so confused, it is the party that can produce the leadership that shows an understanding and a concern and a sense of compassion that is going to have the respect and the trust of the American people.

(Applause)

I was noting in the car as we were driving here to this luncheon a spirit that has come about in our country in recent years that I think is to the good, that is from the highest office of this land, and this is particularly true since 1961 in the administrations of President Kennedy and President Johnson.

I think it is entirely possible that you have even forgotten what has happened.

I have served now with these two Presidents, one as the Majority Whip, floor leader, as Ralph knows, where I tried to carry out the responsibilities of a leader in the Congress, and the other with President Johnson as his Vice-President. In both positions I felt a deep sense of responsibility and loyalty.

I happen to believe that there still is some merit to qualities of responsibility and loyalty, even in a country as great and as rich as this.

(Applause)

But I have yet to hear the President of the United States, Democratic and liberal, far more liberal than some think he ought to be -- but I have yet to ever hear him use words of vindictiveness or vituperation or acrimony against labor or management, against white or black, against north or south, even against, may I say, our foes abroad.

The President of the United States has spoken with measured words, understanding that the rhetoric -- the rhetoric of an administration has something to do with the general attitude and the mood of a country -- and imagine what it would be like if you had a President or if you were to elect a President, that were to speak in anger, that were to speak out of passion, that was to speak as a demagogue, that was trying to play off one group against another, one section of America against another, one race against another, one part of the world against another. Imagine what this could mean in terms of our lives and our individual attitude and the mood and the temperament of this country.

I couldn't help but think today that in my group that is travelling with me I am privileged to have the daughter of one of the great industrialists of America, Charlotte Ford, Henry Ford's daughter. And I couldn't help but think that I am privileged to have the vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, Mr. Joseph Keenan -- they can be together. We can work together.

We have Inger Stevens, a young lady that came from Sweden, and we have Rafer Johnson, a young man that came from Texas, both distinguished champions in their own right, one white, one black, one the daughter of management and one the son of labor, and we work together as people in a common cause, in this great country.

I think it is extraordinary.

(Applause)

So I have travelled across this land in campaigns and I have travelled as your Vice-President to every state in this Union, and I have talked to the people. I have been in more of the cities than most men that ever seek public office.

I come from the plains, from the plain people of the plains, one who has lived close to the rural areas of America, with the farm population, and yet I was mayor of a great city.

I have had the privilege, and it is a privilege, to learn of the people's problems, to listen to them.

I cannot agree with the Vice-Presidential candidate of the Republican Party who says when you see one slum you have seen them all. What a narrowness of vision. What an unfortunate narrowness of vision -- because one slum doesn't always tell you what the other is like.

Remember when we use the word "slum" we are talking not just about a physical environment; we are talking about a condition that pertains to people, the broken hearts of people, the broken hopes, the despair, the frustration, the hatred, the bitterness, the anger. And when you have seen one you have not seen them all, because every person is an individual. And it is this lack of vision which worries me.

And might I add that the first decision that a presidential candidate makes is his most important decision. That is the decision as to who will be his running mate.

Now, we had the good fortune in our party of a wide range of selection.

But I ask you to consider what you are thinking about now and what America should be thinking about. I want you to remember that the Presidency today is a tremendous responsibility, and the Vice-President of the United States in recent years has



taken on more of the responsibility as delegated to him by the President, and in the days ahead, particularly as we try to rebuild our cities, particularly as we try to come to grips with some of these great problems of human relations, and particularly as a President will ever more be involved in international relations and matters of our own national security, it is important that there be a team, not a team of one who is on top and someone who is subordinate. To be sure, only one voice can be President; to be sure, only one policy. But I say to you that today in the Presidency, as we speak of it in modern terms, we speak of the team. And I don't think I need to remind this audience that there are some differences.

The team of Wallace and LeMay stands for what it says it is.

The team of Nixon and Agnew.

And the team of Humphrey and Muskie.

(Applause)

I used an example the other day -- I don't know if I can do this all over the right way or not, but it just came into my mind as most things do when you are up here speaking to an audience. I said as I have travelled about our country and see the vast changes that are taking place, I kept commenting today about the changes in Fort Worth since I had last been here -- the building, the construction, the dynamism of this country, the thrust, the growth here in this America, this young nation of ours, restless and in ferment.

Many people say, you know, that it is a country that is sick, and I say it is a country merely that is growing up. Some people say it is a country that has lost its way; I say it is a country that is finding its conscience.

It is all in a matter of what your perspective of life happens to be. But it is a country in change, vast change. And the changes of science and technology alone are enough to shock us -- Apollo 7 and all that that means to modern technology, to modern medicine, to human behavior. Time forbids us today to even comment any more than just to mention it.

Fantastic changes have taken place. The computer, automation, the automobile; from a rural society to an urban society, from farm to the city, a highly industrialized America, a change in race relations in America, more dramatic in the last ten years than in the preceding two hundred. And, my friends, the miracle is not that we have had trouble. The news is not that we have had trouble. The news is that we have survived. The good news is that we are riding out this storm.

But now we come to a point where we have to decide we are going to change pilot and co-pilot, we are changing crews. And yet the storm clouds are still there. And you have to ask yourselves what kind of a team do you want, what kind of a pilot and a co-pilot do you want.

I always checked the weather when I used to fly in a smaller airplane. I now leave it up to the others to check it. But when I would fly in a one-engine plane or a two-engine prop job -- and I used to do a little of it myself -- I would check the weather and they would say to me "Well, you had better be careful, Hubert, there is going to be a front that you will run into". We used to have what we call Thunderstorm Alley around Madison, Wisconsin -- any time you left Minneapolis and flew to the east, you were sure to run into a whole line of thunderheads. And the Weather Bureau or the Federal Aviation Agency would say "You had better take it easy around there. If you have radar fly -- well, you maybe better fly south, fly north, fly to get around it, you can't get over it with

your plane" and so on.

Well, you know, we are coming now to the low, so to speak, in our own national history. By that I mean another period, an old period, and we are moving into what we hope will be a new period, a new era, a new day for America of changed and better relations amongst people in our economy and between the nations of the world.

Now we have three crews to choose from. But there is only one ship of state -- the plane, the American nation -- and it is a sturdy craft. It has stood many a storm. There is one crew of the third party that gets the warnings about the thunderheads and the storm line, and they say "We'll get in, we don't like them anyhow, some of them are black and some of them are white, we just don't like them and we are going to plow right on through".

Well, I am sorry to tell you that that kind of a crew generally ends up with the ship being torn apart, the passengers in panic, and ultimate tragedy. We have seen it happen.

Now, there is another crew, the Republican pilot and co-pilot.. They get the storm signals, they see the weather map, and they say, "Well, let's not go. It looks a little rocky."

(Applause.)

But they have sold a lot of tickets (laughter), and they don't want to give any refund, so they go with the passengers on the plane and they get out on the end of the runway and they just roar the engines and keep on the brakes, never taking off, but giving everybody the feeling that somehow or another they have had a ride.

(laughter and applause.)

Now there is a third crew, and it is their turn now, and they get into that plane, this great American ship of state, and they no first of all, they take a look at it and they know that this great plane has gone through every kind of a storm, they are well acquainted with all of its capacity for stress and strain. This pilot and this co-pilot have helped build this ship. This pilot and co-pilot know its weaknesses as well as its strengths, and this pilot and co-pilot are frank and open with the passengers. They say, "Look, it is going to be a hazardous trip. But there is a great destiny for us, there is a great hope for us, there is a great place that we will come to. The journey must be made. Now we want you to know what it is going to be like. It is not going to be easy, but you are in a good ship, you have a trained pilot and a co-pilot. We are confident of our equipment, and we want to talk to you, my fellow passengers; put on your seatbelts, but have confidence. Do not doubt one another, have no fear, have no panic. Do not think that we will lose our course as we vector around the storm. Remember, we have traveled this course before, and that crew of Humphrey and Muskie goes through those stormclouds without hitting them head on, bringing the passengers safely to the port to whence they want to go."

(Applause.)

That is the way it is, friends, an uneasy world, a dangerous world as we have only testified to by the recent Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, a world in which there is still war, an America that is in ferment and restless, but nevertheless here is America, and America is more than just a piece of land and it is more than just a country. America is a hope, a hope for the whole world.

Woodrow Wilson once said when he looked at the flag of the United States, he said, "I long to live for the day when that flag shall not only be the flag of this country, but shall be the flag of all humanity." And what was he speaking of, imperial domain? No. He was speaking of a spirit that this nation represents, a spirit of promise, a spirit of hope.

As a matter of fact, there has never been anything like it. When I met yesterday with the representatives of nationality groups in New York, I looked at them in wonderment, and I said to them aloud, I said, "Look at us, look one at another, here we are from every corner of the earth, from Asia and Africa, from Latin America, from Europe, from North and South America. Here we are and we are all Americans. No people before has ever tried to put together such a mosaic of talent and cultures, and still to make it a beautiful picture. America the beautiful is not its landscape. America the beautiful is its people, and that is why I speak as I do about the necessity of trust amongst one another. That is why I deplore the demagogue who tries to divide us, spread fear and doubt and suspicion, because I know that this bond of mutual trust is what is absolutely essential not only for we here to win an election,

but more importantly for we as Americans to be able to be what Lincoln once said of us, the last best hope on earth.

I want to give you just for a few minutes my ideas of what a president<sup>+</sup>, of my ideas of the presidency. You know you have heard many people say -- I want to be very candid about it -- "When are you going to be your own man," you know, like I don't know what they mean by that, but they will say, "Well, when are you going to just speak up?"

Well, I have never been known to be silent. That is one thing people have never thought about me.

(Applause.)

There is Richard the Silent, but not Hubert the Silent, I know that.

(Laughter.)

So I give you my views today on the presidency. I have learned a great deal about the presidency from the two men that I have mentioned with whom I have served, one as one of the legislative leaders with John Kennedy, and, secondly, and, of course, much more intimately as the vice president with President Johnson. I have watched these presidents at work. I know a little bit, at least from observation, of the tremendous responsibility that is theirs. I know of the awesome responsibility that comes to a president. No man can be sure how he will react under those strains and stresses. The only thing that you have to judge by is the record, your record of performance. And that is why I have said to you and to others, I want to be judged by my record. Some you like, some you don't. But I want to be judged by it, and I want the others to be judged by it. This is why I have said that I thought the great national debates on national television would be so advantageous, not just for me, I might not win that debate, who knows,, but the American people would win. The American people have a right to look into the heart of a man, not just his makeup out side, but of what he is made inside, to look at his character.

(Applause.)

I think the American people should never be taken for granted, particularly at this time when they are literate, knowledgeable people. When we have this vast wonderful thing called the television, the radio, the free press, people ought to have a chance to judge us, and we ought to stand side by side and be judged by the great American jury.

I don't think that the White House ought to be for sale to the man who has -- who is the highest bidder, and I don't think it ought to go to the man with the highest and the biggest advertising budget.

(Applause.)

I think it ought to go to the man that has a better idea, Miss Ford. I think it ought to go to the one who can put that idea to work. So, my ideas of the presidency have been emboldened in part by observation, by some in-service training, by experience in government but more importantly by experience in human relations. I have said I believe in the open presidency. The people have said, "Well now, what do you mean by that?" Well, I am a rather open man, very seldom contrived, not particularly conspiratorial, possibly a little too open, on occasion. But I believe that a presidency is one that can, an open presidency is one, that can overcome the increasing gap between Americans that are living in the cities, in the towns, and government in far off Washington, and there is a remoteness today which does something to us. People live so far away from their government, and yet it is possible to have that government so close to you through modern means of communication. I believe that we must have an open presidency that can enable each American to feel that he is an important part of the whole process of government, that he doesn't feel left out, that no matter how big it is, that he feels that somehow his views are heard.



I believe that we must have a presidency that is very<sup>8</sup> sensitive and responsive to the people, not just at the end of a long chain of bureaucracy, which is inevitable in government, but directly, a direct relationship between people and their leader. And I hope to have such a presidency. I hope to have -- to be a people's president.

Now in the next four years, then, I see there are certain realities that this new president and the people of this nation must face, and the first reality that stands out, that cannot be ignored, is the reality of war and peace, war and peace. The highest act of statesmanship, the highest calling of statesmanship, is to be a peacemaker. I say the first reality of war and peace not just for ourselves but for all of mankind, and why? Because our power, this awesome, unbelievable power that we have in this country, confers upon us a great responsibility. Our Strength, which is different than power alone, our strength requires restraint. In fact I believe that a president must know how to exercise not only power but he must also know how to exercise restraint in the use of that power. And then he must also take actions that lead to justice.

The whole world looks to us, worries about us, what we are going to do with this power, with this strength, and they want to make sure that we use it for purposes of peace, and that we use it for purposes of justice.

Now peace does not come to the timid or the weak. It comes to the strong and to the daring, and peace is not something that comes by the wish for it. It comes by the working for it, and it does not come at a moment's notice. It sometimes comes through years and years of persevering patience. But let it be clear, let the world know, that the objective of the American presidency and the American nation is not conquest, not war, but the objective is to build those conditions in this world that are conducive to peace, and, as our platform said, to be willing to accept some of the risks of peace just as we have on occasion been compelled to accept the risks, the dangerous risks, of war. So the next president, if this president is not yet able to bring us peace in Vietnam, and he is working ceaselessly for it -- let me tell you that I have known of no man that has tried to be a peace president more than the present president of the United States.

(Applause.)

But that next president, if peace does not come, must have as his highest priority the attainment of that honorable peace, and he must find ways, my fellow Americans, of slowing down this arms race which is about to spiral into new proportions before the ghastly costs of that race raise the level of danger throughout the world where there is safety for no one.

Winston Churchill once talked about it, not the balance of power but the balance of terror as the fragile framework upon which world peace presently rests.

My fellow Americans, with five nuclear powers now, and with the possibilities of a half dozen more unless we can ratify a treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, the balance of terror is no guarantee of peace. It is more, may I say, a guarantee of catastrophe. That is why I think that a president, the next president of the United States, must understand both the uses of power and the restraint of the use of power.

(Applause.)

Secondly, he must understand the reality of the division in American society, and we must face up to it, there is a bitterness that grows. There are fears, but that president, whomever he is, must unlock the energies of the people. He must inspire a nation to its goodness. He must challenge it to its greatness. He must

lead the people away from divisions and discord and he must lead them to a trust in one another.

I think this is possibly his greatest challenge surely on the domestic front. The president must be leader and teacher, and he must also be willing to listen, to listen to his people, to listen to that quiet voice as well as the loud and militant one, and to listen to the common man as well as to the expert, and when anyone calls in need or even in confusion, that president of all of the people must respond. Now that will be the standard of my presidency, an intimate relationship with the people, a presidency, may I say, of fellowship, not just of respect, not just of authority, but a presidency of the people, of bond and trust, a presidency of understanding.

And the third reality of our time is the reality of stagnation or progress, standing still or moving ahead, standing still or moving ahead in the search for human rights, for social justice, for continued economic prosperity and, ladies and gentlemen, I think this is one of the issues that divide us in this campaign, the two major parties, more than any other. The Republican Party does not repudiate what we have done. They simply say that we have done enough, and then they say maybe we ought to slow it down.

Ladies and gentlemen, the problem is the rivers of change flow by even as we plant our feet in them, and either we move and try to direct these rivers of change, these forests of change to constructive purposes or we will be left behind or destroyed. This economy of ours, this great dynamic economy, is the key to everything we hope to achieve. There can be no war on poverty, there can be no better education, there can be no rebuilding of our cities, there can be no improvement in the health of our people, there can be none of these things if our nation falls back into recession or if it treads water or if it goes off into wild inflation. Therefore, we need people who understand the dynamics of modern economics, who understand that you can have reasonably full employment with a modest, at least a reasonable, degree of price stability, and you must, above all, understand that people are going to demand the right to earn a living, and that right to earn a living does not come in an economy that is stagnant. With a growing population, with the children of the poor reaching up now to adulthood seeking their place, seeking an opportunity to be self-respecting taxpaying citizens, this economy must grow, and I say that the greatest single weakness of the Republican management, of Republican philosophy, is its attitude towards economics, its belief -- (applause) -- its belief that somehow, some way, that the only effective controls that you have in an economy to prevent what they call inflation is at human expense, at the expense of unemployment, at the expense of recession, at the expense of stagnation. I can't agree with that, and I think we have demonstrated these last eight years, those of us who have been in charge, that we know something about this economy, and I say to this audience, that business has never been as profitable or never has it had as much opportunity for investment as it has had in these last eight years. No comparable period in human history.

(Applause.)

And I must say to you in jest, and yet in truth, if you are a manager of a great corporation, it is perfectly okay with me if you tell your friends and neighbors you are a Republican, but when you go into that ballot -- into that voting booth, when you go into that voting booth you owe it to your God, your country, your conscience and your stockholders to vote Democratic.

(Applause.)

So let me just wind it up. There are those who say we have gone too fast and too far. There are those that say we are seeking only a life of ease and security. To them I say you do not understand the American people. The American people want to be

challenged. The American people have a sense of toughness about them. The American people have a quality of greatness about them, that quality can be called forth. The American people are a youthful people, they dare, they adventure, and they do not want at the helm of this government men with an attitude or a philosophy that what we had is good enough. They want at the helm of this government people who have a great abiding faith in our system but who understand that this is a dynamic system, a system of growth. They want at the helm of this government a president and a vice president, if you please, who appreciate that there is room in America for everybody that calls himself American, and that everybody that calls himself American and has the blessed title of citizen of this country ought to have his chance, a right to participate, a right to earn, a right to an education, a right to a decent safe neighborhood, a right to be a citizen in the full meaning of the word, and that is the kind of an America I intend to give you as your president.

Thank you.

(Applause.)

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