REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY DEMOCRATIC DINNER St. Louis, Missouri January 29, 1972 It is a great pleasure to be back in the state of Missouri Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

and the city of St. Louis -- the home of many great Democrats.

And it is a great pleasure to meet with you tonight on

the eve of the ninetieth anniversary of the birth of a beloved American, a great Democrat, and a truly great President

Today -- when we have a Republican President -- we realize how much FDR meant to this country and how very much we miss him.

President Roosevelt had many, many talents, and through his legacy of promise and achievement he still lives with us

Among his talents was his common touch -- his ability to

reach the people and bring out the best they had to offer.

He saw the promise of excellence in a Missouri Senator and against much pressure FDR had the foresight to make him his Vice President. And as President, Harry S. Truman fulfilled that promise. The three decades of Presidents Roosevelt and Truman take on ever-increasing brilliance as the years pass. They are a shining hour in the many days of the history of this country.

As President, Harry Truman continued the tradition of bringing great Missourians to Washington. A member of his Administration went on to become my good friend and your senior Senator. He is with us here tonight -- on the platform -Senator Stuart Symington. A man of great character and ability with an outstanding record, Senator Symington has made few mistakes in his distinguished career. He did make a slight one though, recently. Stu, I think you know what it is.

Another great Missourian in the Truman Administration was the late Bob Hannegan. But he is also with us in spirit -- Bob Junior is with us tonight in the audience -- and that great Democrat Sid Salomom -- who came to Washington with Bob Hannegan is on our platform. And so is your great Mayor and my good friend Al Cervantes.

So part of FDR's great legacy is a group of great Missourians -- who have given much to our country.

Beyond these men, FDR left us his spirit and his idealism. And this country desperately needs both today.

For today there are deep wounds in this country. FDR told us what we had to fear was fear itself.

And people are fearful today. There is fear on our streets; fear in our neighborhoods; fear in our cities. And this Administration does nothing to alleviate those fears.

People are afraid of what this Administration may do tomorrow -- and of what it may not do tomorrow.

-- The Republicans have shown neither the commitment nor the wiscom we need to set this country right.

-- The Republicans have been persistent in their errors and confused in their convictions.

-- The Republicans have not brought us together -- as the President promised -- but have torn us apart, one from another. What we need -- what FDR brought us -- was leadership. And

only the Democratic Party can provide that leadership.

The promise of this country, and all its broken dreams, are the concerns of the Democratic Party. It is for us to see that they are fulfilled. It is up to us to get this country moving again.

But not with a Republican Administration.

This Administration pledged to end the war. And the war goes on.

This Administration promised prosperity. And a recession

I say, set a date for withdrawal. End the war this year, and bring home every American soldier in Vietnam.

I say, end the recession this year and give jobs to the jobless.

But not with a Republican Administration.

In the New Hampshire primary, Congressman John Ashbrook, a member of the President's own party is challenging him on the grounds that Mr. Nixon has violated the historic traditions of the Republican Party.

Mr. Ashbrook is being unfair with Mr. Nixon.

Nixon and the Nixon Republicans are pursuing the very same policies they have always pursued.

They are against the working family, against the involvement of young people in government, against the senior citizen, against the farmer, against the small businessman.

This Administration has even produced a traditional Republican recession which has affected millions of Americans.

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I believe all of us should correct Mr. Ashbrook and tell him that we're witnessing another dose of that old time, big business, special interest Republicanism.

It's clear to me that those who are devising campaign strategy for the Nixon Administration are planning to try to get as much distance as possible between the man who is running and his identification as leader of the Republican Party.

The bumper stickers are already out. They say "Re-elect the

President." They don't say he's a Republican.

But I want to tell all of you tonight that Richard Nixon can't run away from the Republican Party. We Democrats won't let him get away with it.

No matter how hard he tries, no matter how many millions he will spend in his advertising campaign, Richard Nixon is a

Republican President, and he can't escape that fact.

As hard as he tries he will be unable to divorce himself from a party with more concern for special interest than the public good -- a party that simply hasn't shown real concern for the needs of people -- young and old, black and white, North and South.

If anything is more unpopular than Richard Nixon, it is the Republican Party, and his whole career has been tied to that party's dangerously narrow view of the American people.
Richard Nixon is a Republican, plain and simple. And I say

again we are not going to let the American people forget it.

And after three years of Nixon Republicanism, I find that the most disturbing trend in our country today is a widespread feeling of uncertainty, frustration, and despair: people believe things can't be done and their problems can't be solved.

I know that we can solve our problems. But not with a Republican Administration.

For without a government that people believe in, our problems at home and abroad cannot and will not be solved.

-- People will believe their government again when it answers the basic questions of policy and purpose.

-- People will believe their government again when it understands a changing country with changing needs.

-- And people will believe their government again when it trusts them -- when it trusts them with the truth.

It is not enough to say we Democrats can lead: We must show how.

And we will show how, both in the kind of campaign we wage and in the programs we offer.

It will not be easy. The Republicans will use every advantage of an incumbent President. They will outspend us. But this time their charade will not work. The American people will not make the same mistake twice.

More and more Americans will come to realize the great difference between Republicans and Democrats -- that we Democrats have always in the words of Franklin Roosevelt, "believed in the wisdom ... of the great majority of the people, as distinguished from the judgment of a small minority."

We now have a great opportunity to do more for this country in the 1970's, if we can only seize the chance. I think we can. This Party has a great history of accepting challenge and conquering it.

And 1972 will be part of that history.

In his last, undelivered address -- scheduled for the day after he died -- Franklin Roosevelt wrote: "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith."

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IN HIS LAST, UNDELIVERED ADDRESS -- SCHEDULED FOR THE DAY AFTER HE DIED -- FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT WROTE: "THE ONLY LIMIT TO OUR REALIZATION OF TOMORROW WILL BE OUR DOUBTS OF TODAY. LET US MOVE FORWARD WITH STRONG AND ACTIVE FAITH."

WITH FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT'S WORDS AS OUR GUIDE, AND WITH HIS MEMORY IN OUR HEARTS, WE WILL INDEED MOVE FORWARD.

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My friends --

I welcome this opportunity to talk to you today. In this year of decision, we must all meet head on America's great problems -- and its great prospects.

What is the overriding issue of 1972? What is really at stake in this coming Presidential election?

I believe the issue is clear: Whose America is this?

And nothing less than the future of our beloved country
is at stake in 1972.

Is this the America of the two hundred and ten million people who live and work here—the farmers, the mechanics, the truck drivers, the teachers, the small businessmen?

Or is this the America of a prosperous and privileged few, of a self-appointed and self-perpetuating elite?

Is this the America of the people who have built it with own their/hearts and hands?

My answer--the only answer--is that America belongs to the people. Like the poet Carl Sandburg, I say, "The People, Yes!"

But this Administration says "No" . - - No to the people

This Administration says the country does not belong to you, the people.

This Administration has given tax breaks to the wealthy-ordinary Americans shoulder an ever-mounting tax burder.

More than five million of our fellow citizens are out of work--victims of the President's so called economic "game plan."

These millions of Americans have seen the bottom drop out of their lives.

And no element of our working force has been spared-from file clerk to manager, from men and women on the assembly
lines to skilled engineers and scientists.

Some--men and women who have paid their own way all their lives--have been forced to resort to welfare.

They want work, not welfare, and so do the taxpayers.

And throughout this great country we see what happens when
the government does not care about the people.

In short, the American people are not being listened to by the Nixon Administration,

- --It is wrong that during the first two years of this Republican Administration interest rates were allowed to climb to their highest levels since the Civil War, making it impossible for people to buy a home or a farm.
- --It is wrong that the average unemployment rate for 1971 was the highest in a decade and may be even higher this year.
- --It is wrong that 20 percent of the elderly--after a hardworking and productive life full of contributions to our society--are today living below the poverty level.
- --It is wrong that millions of our senior citizens-though not in poverty--are forced to live by demeaning scraping
 and sacrificing.
- --It is wrong when this Administration has adonted a donothing attitude towards the rising costs of medical care.

Our cities decay. Our streets are not safe. The cost of living climbs ever higher. The use of drugs spreads like a pervasive cancer, wounding the very soul of America. And meanwhile, nobody at the White House seems to be minding the store.

Where is the President who promised to bring us together?

Above all, where is the vision of what America could be
and should be--not only for ourselves, but for all the world?

Where is the vision that made our flag a beacon of hope
to deprived people everywhere?

As the Bible warns us: "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

So I repeat: Whose America is this?

It must be, it shall be, the America of every man and woman who lives and labors in it.

But if America is to be returned to the people, we must all question those who wish to lead us.

We must ask will we be a country at peace with others?

We must ask will we be a country at peace with ourselves?

We must ask will we have healed the wounds of war,

violence and bitterness?

We must ask will our system of government be sensitive and responsive to the wishes of the people?

And we must ask will we have stirred America to a higher standard of living and a better quality of life for all the people? We must ask these questions; to do less would be unworthy of us.

And how shall we answer them?

We must understand that what we need above all else is for America to have renewed faith in itself. The fabric of America is strong and resilient. Our nation has withstood civil war. We received wave after wave of immigrants who contributed much to our country. We have weathered economic depression and vast natural disasters, and we have recovered from all.

And while the threads of our civilization and national unity are often stretched taut, they have held, and are stronger for the testing.

Our task before us now is as great as any challenge America has faced in the past.

Our task, my friends, is clear. It is reconciliation of our differences, rebuilding of our society, and rebirth of our spirit.

Our nation was founded on the principle of faith and trust in the people. The "We, the People. . . " of our Constitution's Preamble has too often been forgotten by those who govern. But it is in the people that this great country's strength lies.

And if we are to solve our many problems, we need faith and trust in the people. Only in this way will the government again become responsive to the people.

We need a new partnership, a partnership between the people and their government. We must bring the government back to the people.

We, the people of this country have had defeats as well as victories--especially in the last several years. But I know we, the American people, are determined to get back on our feet, to put our house in order, and get our country moving again.

Those who would lead the American people in this year of decision and the years ahead must demonstrate a capacity for achievement. That should be how we should be judged, and it is that judgment that I would ask from you, the American people.

Our times require the capacity to solve problems. I learned early in my public career that mx concern is not enough, even a good idea is not enough. Certainly rhetoric is not enough. As Mayor, as Senator, and as Vice President, I have learned to translate ideas and ideals into action.

It was not enough to speak against crime when I way Mayor of Minneapolis. It was necessary to take action, and I proved that a big city could be cleaned up.

It was perhaps easy to talk about Medicare for the elderly, a Youth Conservation Corps for the young and a Peace Corps, but my initiative and action were required to bring about the legislation which did, in fact, create Medicare, a Youth Conservation Corps and a Peace Corps.

It is all very fine to speak of peace. But I early decided that talk would be wasted if we could not get concrete action, and I am proud of my role as an architect of the first treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

And, above all, I have learned in my years in public life that nothing is possible without the trust and confidence of the people. And with the people, everything is possible.

I have learned that we must listen to the silent words of President Kennedy's last, undelivered speech:

". . .Let us not quarrel amongst ourselves when our nation's future is at stake. Let us stand together with renewed confidence in our cause--united in our heritage of the past and our hopes for the future--and determined that this land we love shall lead all mankind into new frontiers of peace and understanding."

With faith in our future, and with your trust, we shall indeed give meaning again to the words "We, the People."

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And it is a great pleasure to meet with you tonight,
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We, the people of America are challegged to give new and vigorous leadership to our country.

We, the people are challegged to bring direction and decisiveness to our government.

And we Democrats must convince all the people that we have the capacity to lead and that we deserve to lead.

We Democrats must convince all the people that we can change their fear into hope, and their frustration into action.

In this year of decision, we must not only attack; we must propose new solutions to all the problems the Republicans have brought us these past four years.

It is not enough to say we can lead; we must show how.

And we will show how, both in the kind of campaign we wage and in the programs we offer.

It will not be easy. The Republicans will use every advantage of an incumbent president. And they will outspend us. But this time their charade will not work. The American people will not make the same mistake twice.

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