

Steve Mitchell

Bruce King - Chgo

Tom Brown
nat. comm. chairman

Mrs Sawyer
nat. com. woman

Clint + Annemette

Ann + Della

Tom + Connie Morris

John Polly Walker

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

TESTIMONIAL DINNER, SENATOR CLINTON ANDERSON

ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO

SEPTEMBER 19, 1966

I'm Touched

Mr Johnson here soon
Sept 21-22

I am proud to join tonight in this tribute to my

good friend and colleague, Senator Clinton Anderson, and the entire New Mexico Congressional Delegation

Clinton Anderson and I were both born and

raised on the plains of South Dakota. But, whereas I headed a little way east, he headed a long way west.

Both of us entered the Senate in the class of

1948. But he was no green young freshman like me.

He had already been, by then, five years a Congressman and three years a member of President Truman's Cabinet.

So I had a lot to learn from him, and I did - and I hope I earned a passing grade.

I'm Touched

Sen Montoya Sister
Truman sent to Sen Anderson

Mrs Aurelia Salazar
(Ranch Dinner)

all Democrats in the State House / Mayor Ralph Trigg

Annemette
Sen Anderson
Sen Montoya (Della)
Angie Monds
Cona Walker
John Campbell
St. G. Easley
Gene Lusk
John Simmons
John Burroughs
Bob Miles

EXHIBIT

ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO

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ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO

Faint, illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.

Ruellas
Navajo
Apache } Indian
Truck

Withdrawal of

~~Despite - or perhaps because of~~ his many years in public life, Clinton Anderson has more energy, more enthusiasm, more dedication to the service of his fellow-men than almost anyone in Washington - and, I might add, more seniority in the Senate, too.

new Clinton Anderson always says he came ^{out} here because of your climate - but I have always suspected he had your political climate in ^{mind} ~~view~~ as well.

and ~~I think~~ New Mexico has gotten a good return on its investment in a poor immigrant boy from South Dakota.

But superb climate and magnificent scenery - and Clinton Anderson - are not your only assets. Another is the confluence here of ^{three} ~~two~~ great languages and cultures with the high traditions of hispanic culture proudly represented

by Senator Joseph Montoya, as they were by ^{our} ~~my~~ late and beloved friend, Senator Dennis Chavez.

Chavés
Shavés

3 cultures
- Spanish
- Indian
- Anglo

Spanish
- Indian
- Anglo

TFK / Let us Begin -
LBS / Let us continue

Indian
Education
Training

We did Begin - We did continue
of we are continuing to
build a better America

- Economic Growth - business, Jobs, Farm
- Scientific Advance
- and a ~~more~~ better America
for our children, our Elderly,
our Crippled, our Needy, our Poor
and all our People!

Civil Rts - Voting Rts

War on Poverty -) not just get crops, or Head Start
but Doc Sec - Educ Housing
Medicare - Rent Supp

Tom Morris

and You have also two hard-working and effective young Congressmen in Thomas Morris and Johnny

Johnny Walker

Walker. Like me, Johnny Walker has an interest in a drug store. And, like me, he has the utmost confidence in the people who are minding the ~~shop~~ ^{store} - so that both

Druggist

of us can give our undivided attention to our work in Washington.

Great Record on Building America

and Your Senators and your Congressmen have always taken a keen and understanding interest in the welfare of other lands and other peoples - particularly those who today,

in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, ^{and those who} are struggling to build new nations, as we ourselves were almost two centuries ago

Spanish American

Just two days from now - this Sunday, in fact, an important step in nation-building will be taken in a country thousands of miles away on the map, but as close to us as the young Americans risking and giving their lives there.

in Peace Corps

for Latin

Alliance

for Progress

Alliance for Progress

Longest journey is first step?

-4-

The people of South Vietnam will go to the polls to elect a constituent assembly.

The first step in Democracy

In many ways, that election will be as important to us as our own election two months from now.

I have detected a certain cynicism in the outlook of some Americans concerning this election.

They do not seem to believe that an election can be held in the midst of war.

Others say that the people of South Vietnam don't know what elections mean, that they have had no experience of democracy and no concept of it.

~~They come close, in fact, to saying that democracy can work for people with names like Smith and Jones, but that people with names that are a little harder to pronounce aren't up to it.~~

↳ I think the best answer to these skeptics is the fact - too often ignored - that Vietnam did have a free and vigorously contested election, with a secret ballot and an honest count of the vote, as recently as last year.

↳ On May 30th of last year millions of South Vietnamese citizens in 44 provinces and five cities went to the polls to elect 471 provincial and city councillors. The Communists missed the bus in last year's elections. They didn't take them seriously, didn't make a determined effort to disrupt them. But they aren't about to make that mistake again.

They are determined to "smash" and "crush" this coming election - I quote these words from their own instructions to their followers.

~~↳ The signal was first given by a Hanoi radio broadcast on June 16 and the Viet Cong immediately - and obediently - went into action.~~

First, they warned all candidates to withdraw. They warned all officials concerned with the preparations for the elections to cease their activities forthwith. ~~Otherwise, the~~ ~~Communists warned, they~~ they Communists warned the people would be acting "at the risk of their lives" and would be "punished without mercy."

Also, they warned government officials "not to coerce the masses to vote."

No one, of course, is "coercing" the people to vote. Just as in every free election, a good many people won't. Some have not registered - no one coerced them to - and hence won't be qualified. Some who have registered will not actually turn up at the polls - and no one will coerce them to.

This purported warning to election officials is actually an implied warning to the people themselves not to go to the polls.

In case anyone might miss the point, the Viet Cong have been busy all over the country spelling it out.

Threatening
Killing, Kidnapping - Terror.

First, they held what you might call seminars for campaign workers ~~only they were exactly the reverse of the kind that political parties usually hold.~~ Instead of discussing techniques for getting the voters to the polls on election day, they outlined ways and means of keeping them away.

~~Then they began putting these "keep in the vote" ideas into action.~~

↳ In many parts of the country, they have been carrying out forcible collections of identity cards and voting cards, in an effort to prevent the people from casting their ballots.

↳ In other places, they have made preparations to block roads and disrupt traffic, so that the people can't travel to the polling places.

↳ ~~In many cases,~~ they have warned the villagers that it will be highly dangerous to go anywhere near the polls on election day. They have threatened to mine them, to lob hand grenades at them, or to pour rifle fire into them.

↳ In still other cases, they have bluntly threatened the villagers with instant death if they dare to vote.

↳ ~~Whether the Viet Cong will be able to carry out all these threats remains to be seen.~~ But, they have already done their best to show that they mean business.

↳ They began by setting off an explosion at a pre-election fair in the northern city of Hue, with a heavy loss of life. ↳ They have continued with mounting violence, including the assassination of several dozen village leaders and political activists. And only this week they blew up an election information center in the capital city of Saigon.

A century ago Abraham Lincoln said: "The ballot is stronger than the bullet."

The Viet Cong must fear that he was right, or they would not have gone to such lengths to prevent the people of Vietnam from casting their ballots Sunday.

∟ I am not going to make any forecast about voter turnout. We know from our own experience that the turnout is not high in any election short of a Presidential one. Moreover, there is terrorism, and there is a war going on.

∟ But I do predict that millions of Vietnamese citizens will vote. And ~~I believe~~ the ballots they cast in the quiet of the polling booths will speak louder and clearer than all the bombs and guns of the Viet Cong terrorists.

∟ Incidentally, this election will not be the kind of make-believe, 99 and 44/100ths per cent unanimous election we have seen in Communist countries. As of today, there are some 540 candidates for the 108 elective seats. There will not be a single uncontested seat anywhere in the country.

Constitution

↳ Seat of our govt moved -
Philed, to Balt, then to Phil, then to Lancaster
to York, back to Phil, to Princeton
to Annapolis, to Trenton, to N.Y. ←
Then to Washington

↳ Articles of Confed - adopted 1777 - ratified 1781

In 1787 - Delegates from each state invited to
meet in Phil, May 14, to draft const
on May 25, a quorum of 29 - several
weeks later 55, representing 12 states
(Rhode Island never did send anybody)

By Sept 15, Draft const ready - 13 delegates
had left, 42 remained - and only
39 signed (3 refused) and it was
2 yrs later before R. Island signed.

↳ Meticulous provisions have been made for assuring the secrecy of the ballots and the honesty of the count.

↳ Almost 400 American and foreign correspondents will observe and report all that happens on election day.

↳ As for ourselves, we welcome this election. We shall be delighted to work with any Vietnamese government which results from the constitution-making process which

it will begin.

← *And We have had some experience with constitutions in our Country -*

Now, I am not so naive as to think the Communists will give up if the election doesn't go the way they want. If they'd ever let election losses discourage them, they would have gone out of business long ago- for they have yet to win a free national election anywhere in the world.

↳ But this election will be an important step in the process of nation-building in South Vietnam - and therefore a setback to the Communists.

↳ Wherever the prospects for free institutions grow stronger, totalitarians grow weaker.

↳ We will continue to wage the struggle in Vietnam on the diplomatic, political, economic and military fronts - with vigor, determination, and above all patience. And we must always remember that, in this new kind of war, the building of schools, the establishment of hospitals, the improvement of agriculture, the restraint of inflation, the holding of elections - all the things that build the framework of a nation - can be as important as what happens on the battlefield.

~~It is the same in other~~
↳ Vietnam is, of course, only one of many new nations that are struggling to find their feet in today's world. And it is not the only nation where the Communists have sought to take power by subversion or outright aggression.

In Asia alone, Malaya, the Phillippine Republic, Burma, Indonesia, and Thailand have suffered or are suffering from Communist insurrections - and South Korea and India have been the victims of large-scale attacks by Communist neighbors.

↳ Yet in the end, I am confident, the Communists will find their aggression can gain them little -- so long as it is resisted. ↳ For they are bucking the strongest tides running in the world today -- the tides of national independence and self-determination. ⊗ Here - other countries

↳ As the roots of a tree seek out water, so peoples seek their own national identities.

↳ It is not the stale dogmas of Karl Marx that are shaping the world of today and tomorrow, but the ever-fresh principles of our own Declaration of Independence.

In the words of Thomas Jefferson:

"All eyes are opened, or are opening, to the rights of man. . . the palpable truth that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few, booted and spurred, ready to ride them."

What we have been and are doing here at home is no more and no less than what we are seeking abroad - for our foreign policy is essentially a projection of what we seek and do at home.

Here at home we are building a society of diversity and opportunity - a society in which every man and woman is free to express his own individuality, to realize to the full his abilities and talents. And it is that kind of world - a world of lively diversity, of self-determination for men and for nations - that we seek to help bring into being abroad.

Throughout his public career, Senator Clinton Anderson has worked to build that kind of world and that kind of America.

We owe him our gratitude. We owe him our support.

Thomas Wolfe

"To every man his chance;
to every man regardless
of his birth, his shining golden
opportunity. To every man the
right to live, to work, to be
himself, and to become whatever
thing his manhood and his vision
can combine to make him.

This... is the Promise of America

This is the goal of the Democratic
Administration.

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TESTIMONIAL DINNER

SENATOR CLINTON P. ANDERSON

REMARKS

by

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

CIVIC AUDITORIUM

ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO

SEPTEMBER 9, 1966



SENATOR MONTOYA: Thank you very much, Governor Campbell. Vice President and Mrs. Humphrey, Senator and Mrs. Anderson, Congressman and Mrs. Tom Morris, Congressman Walker, Mr. Speaker Bruce King, Governor-to-be Gene Lusk, and I'm one hundred percent for you, state officials and candidates, ladies and gentlemen.

I feel highly honored, and it is indeed a great privilege to try to fulfill this assignment tonight; but I want to say at the outset that I am proud to be here at this head table with my distinguished colleagues in the United States Congress from New Mexico. It is indeed a privilege to serve with a great senator from this state whom you honor tonight and who will be elected without any trouble in November, my friend, and a great public servant, Senator Clinton P. Anderson.

I am also proud to be serving with our two distinguished congressmen who are hard workers and real producers for our great state, and I want to pay tribute to Congressman Tom Morris and Congressman John Walker here tonight before the people of New Mexico. It is indeed a rare privilege to have two distinguished citizens born in the same state adorn this New Mexico platform here tonight.

Many years ago a conspiracy was born in the State of South Dakota, and as a result of this conspiracy, two



individuals immigrated from South Dakota. One went to Minnesota and the other to New Mexico, and many years later that conspiracy brought fruit not only to the respective states, but also to the United States of America; for Clinton P. Anderson and our distinguished speaker here tonight were born in South Dakota, from which they immigrated, and thus the United States of America, the State of Minnesota and the State of New Mexico became greatly enriched.

Two years ago, almost to the day, we were having a most difficult time, and the winds, the political winds, I should say, were not blowing any signs of victory. An SOS went to Washington, and into New Mexico to start our Democratic campaign came the distinguished speaker who adorns this New Mexico scene tonight and this platform, and because he came to New Mexico to open our campaign he has become a legend among the Democrats of this state and we are appreciative for his great, great contribution at that time.

But I want to say that as he immigrated from the State of South Dakota, all that he and I have in common is that he and I were soda jerkers in a drug store, only he got to be a druggist and I went on to law school. But I would say that in those years when he became an adult he had twenty-twenty vision, and today he still has that twenty-twenty vision, but in his exemplified by the wonderful choice he

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made in marrying his beautiful and charming wife, who is very popular in Washington, Muriel Humphrey.

Now, this distinguished speaker is legend in American politics because he had a distinguished career in the United States Senate. His vision and his person became identified with the Peace Corps, which is doing a wonderful job throughout the world. His vision and his person became identified with the Food for Peace Program. He was the author of these two pieces of legislation. He thought of the college student when he was a United States senator, and he was the original co-sponsor of the National Defense and Education Act which made possible the entry into college of many young American boys and girls who could not finance their education. These boys and girls were able to get loans to go into college, and from this Act generated its successor which made possible for an extension of this privilege to almost every American boy and girl today on the American scene.

But in the field of agriculture also, this man has no peer, because he has done a tremendous job and a great contribution in the field of agriculture. In the field of foreign affairs he is a goodwill ambassador and a great interpreter of the winds in international affairs, and a great advisor to the President, and in the field of domestic policy he is a champion of the people.

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He is a great advocate of what America needs and of what America should do to fill the vacuums that exist in our economy and thus bring about equal opportunity to all the citizens of our great country.

And so I say to you tonight that this American, with what he has done already, will live in the annals of history as a great American, as a great contributor toward the great strides that we have realized as a nation. And I feel greatly proud, and I present to you our great Vice President, the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, Senator Montoya, and I can truly say my very good and dear friend Senator Joe Montoya. Senator Clinton P. Anderson, my long-time associate and friend, guardian angel most of the time, Clint Anderson and to Congressman Tom Morris and Congressman John Walker, to Tom and his Connie, to John and his Polly and Joe and his Della and to Clinton and his Henrietta, I just want you to know how much Muriel and I appreciate the tribute to be in your company here tonight.

Governor Campbell, I want you to believe me when I say in deepest sincerity that you are one of the truly talented and gifted governors and chief executives of our fifty states and you have done great things for New Mexico and your name will live in the history of this state with

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honor and it will be remembered as one who gave unstintingly of himself to the growth and progress of this wonderful Land of Enchantment, this beautiful New Mexico, and I salute you for that.

I want you to take our good wishes to Mrs. Campbell, Ruth Ann, and to all of your official family. What a wonderful privilege it is to be in a state where everybody that is anything in politics is a Democrat. You just have no idea how good that seems. I want you to know that it's a habit that you ought to get accustomed to. You keep it up and you can do it in this election with some hard work, some real faith, some drive and some get up and go by electing Gene Lusk as your next governor and Fabian Chavez as your next lieutenant governor, just to start out. I am for them and I know you are, too.

Oh, there's so many people I should like to salute here tonight. I have a whole list of them, but we have work to do and I want to get on with our evening, but I was so pleased to know that three of your distinguished former governors are in your audience, Governor Miles, Governor Burroughs and Governor Simms. It's a wonderful, wonderful heritage that you have here. The service of these fine men, and they're here with you, not only with you, they're here to give you inspiration, and they're here to help you. At least

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they make me feel that I am really in a wonderful Democratic land, and I want to wish each and every one of them well out here in the audience here this evening.

You are going to have a very distinguished visitor very shortly as was indicated from this platform, our very wonderful, lovely first lady, Mrs. Johnson, Ladybird Johnson will be out here with you. I can't think of anyone that has given more inspiration to our country to beautify this nation, not only in terms of its physical appearance but to beautify it in terms of its spirit, than this fine, lovely first lady.

And I wish that you'd salute to her when she comes here on my behalf, to just tell her once again that Muriel and I love her. We think she's just wonderful. And she's a great inspiration to our President and you're going to have a good time with her and I hope that beautiful young lady sings that beautiful song and that's a lot of beauty all at once, I might add. Muriel was keeping her eye on me all the time that girl was singing. As I look out over this audience and know that you have come to a dinner tonight, I can't help but be reminded of what our late beloved President John Kennedy once said when he came to a dinner like this and the price tag was rather substantial, he said, "You know, I feel touched, but," he said, "I gather you were touched a little sooner than I was, but I hope that the touch was soft and pleasant."

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I know you've had a great evening and you are here for a good cause and you are here to salute a truly remarkable, great American, your own Senator Clinton P. Anderson. Well, I'm proud to join tonight with so many who pay tribute to this wonderful man. We have been seat mates in the United States Senate and as was indicated here by this grand fellow, Joe Montoya, we did come from South Dakota. I believe that Clint was over at Redfield, around that part, Mitchell, and I was over around Watertown. I say Watertown because it was a major city of around six thousand. I was really born in a town of seventy-seven, there were seventy-six Norwegians and my father over at Wallace, South Dakota, and then a little later to Huron, South Dakota, and Nowlin, and then on it, I went a little bit east into Minnesota, but Clinton Anderson headed a long ways west.

Now we both entered the Senate in the same year in the elections of 1948. We came in that class of the eighty-first Congress, but as you heard tonight, Clint Anderson did not enter as any old greenhorn. He was already a seasoned political leader. He had been five years in Congress, three years in President Truman's Cabinet, so he wasn't any young freshman like Hubert Humphrey, so I had a lot to learn, and I can say from this platform tonight that I went to Clint Anderson many, many times and he was kind and good and

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generous. He even contributed to me, I want you to know. I thought I ought to put that on the record here tonight, Clint, and he gave me a lot of advice. Oh, please, please do applaud for that, he gave me an awful lot, I want you to know.

And he would keep an eye on me all the time and I would keep wondering if I am getting a passing grade, sort of like my professor, and I have been inspired by him and he has so much energy and so much dedication and so much enthusiasm that he literally bubbles with it.

And when we get into trouble in the Senate of the United States we know where to go for some help, and this is no exaggeration for the purpose of pleasing local folks. The truth is that Presidents have called upon him time after time, as you know, to help this nation in difficult times, to help them find answers. And many was the time when I was privileged to serve as majority whip of the Senate that I went to Senator Clinton Anderson and said, "Clint, here's the situation, what do we do?" I didn't admit that while I was majority whip, but I am willing to admit it now, and he came to me and gave me good advice and gave the Senate great advice.

But you know, I have a reason I think I understand why he came out here. Now he was going around Washington telling people that he came out here because he loved the climate and the people, but what he really liked best of all,

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I am sure, is the political climate and he's helped improve it. There isn't any doubt about that, and New Mexico has obtained a rich return on this investment in this poor immigrant boy from South Dakota. You were lucky.

But superb climate and beautiful, magnificent scenery and Clint Anderson and Tom Morris and John Walker, Jack Campbell and others, those are not all the assets of this great state. Another is the joining together in this state of three great cultures and they are present here tonight, and it has enriched your whole community, the Spanish culture, the nature Indian culture, the Pueblo, the Navajo, the Apache and the Anglo, and these three great cultures have blended into like a mighty stream, a confluence, a mighty stream of fine and wonderful people and a new culture almost unto itself.

The progress that's been made here in education and science and industry and agriculture is phenomenal and the word has spread indeed, to all parts of the land, and the high traditions of that Spanish culture which means so much to our America are symbolized and represented in the purest form and the best in the presence and the representation of Senator Joseph Montoya.

That great tradition and culture was also gallantly and heroically represented for years in the Senate of the United States by our own and beloved, departed friend Dennis

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Chavez, and indeed we miss him, but I see his dear, sweet wife many times and Muriel and I love her much.

Now I have mentioned about these two hard-working congressmen, and Tom Morris, we are indebted to you. You are a fighter and a worker and you, too, John. And I know that John Walker has something in common with me, he has an interest in a drug store and like me, he has the utmost confidence in the people that seem to be minding the store. So both of us can go to Washington and give our undivided attention to our work down there. As a matter of fact, our store started to make money after I left. I don't know whether John has made any true confessions like that or not, but he's, John Walker is a splendid, effective congressman, and these two men and your two senators make one of the greatest teams of congressional representation that any state has in the Congress of the United States. You don't have to take a back seat for anybody. In fact, you are in the front row in the orchestra section.

Now, I want to talk to you a little while about the great record that your members of Congress and others like them are making, not for themselves but for you and for a better America. President Lyndon Johnson has laid out before the Eighty-ninth Congress, and for part of the Eighty-eighth Congress, a tremendous program of social

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progress. You remember just a few years ago, five years ago, let me take your minds back just five years ago when a gallant young man became our President, and on that historic day of his inaugural said, "Let us begin, let us begin, let us get this country moving again." Those were the words of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, and all at once the nation came alive. We had a recession, but more tragically we had a sort, well, sort of a sense of national apathy, a laziness, a sluggishness, and then came that spirit and that strong voice and that gallant leader and he said, "Let us begin," and we started to get this country moving. And at the end of a thousand days he was taken from us, his work unfinished. But I say in all reverence, thank God that we had someone by his side who was capable of taking over the heavy burdens and the great responsibilities of the presidency, a friend of New Mexico, yes, a friend of all the people, and Lyndon B. Johnson, then Vice President, became President of the United States in that hour of our pain and our grief. What did he say to us? He said, "Let us continue", and he pledged that every bit of the program that John Kennedy had promised the American people would be completed, that he would carry through as a partner in the new frontier.

And my fellow Americans, whether you're a Democrat, Republican or independent, I come here tonight to testify to

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you literally under oath and on my honor, we kept the faith, the program was completed. The eighty-eighth Congress did its job and we did continue and we've been continuing since. We have been moving ahead with giant strides and an economy today that is the wonder of the world. Oh, yes, I know it has its problems, but I'll say from this platform I'd rather have our worries than any other country's worries. I'd rather be faced with our difficulties than theirs.

I know that there are pressures that could lead to inflation, but I say to this audience tonight that America's economy is healthy, America's economy is strong, America's economy is growing. And with a reasonable degree of self-discipline which is a quality required of free people, America's economy will continue to be healthy and to be prosperous and to grow.

We're in the seven hundred and thirty-five, forty billion dollar category today. We have eight million more people employed today than were employed five years ago. Our farmers are doing better today than they've done for years and rightly they should. American labor is better paid in real money and real wages, taking into account the cost of living increase.

American business has unbelievably high profits. Profits are good, investments are good, wages are good, income

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is up, savings are up, America is on the move.

I could detail it for you, and for those that worry about our country now, let me tell you I'd rather have the worries that we have over the economy that's moving ahead than the worries that you and I had five years ago that an economy that was on dead center and in retreat, wouldn't you?

Look at the scientific advance we've made and it's a tribute in a large part to this honored guest of yours and our great friend, Senator Anderson, the unbelievable scientific advance in atomic energy and space in our universities, in automation and technology.

We are a great country and this greatness of America didn't come about because everybody was indolent and because your leadership made mistakes day after day. It came about because most Americans are hard working people, most Americans seek to better themselves, most Americans are proud of their family, their community, their nation, their religion, and most Americans are willing to give just a little extra of themselves to make a better America.

And when we speak of the Great Society, we speak of a better America, a better America for our children, education; and what's our program? To give every child all the education that he or she can take; that's our program today, and we're doing it.

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In three years we have doubled the national investment in education. In three years, we have doubled the national investment in health. Elementary and secondary education and higher education, over ten and one-half billions of dollars of Federal aid to education. And men on this platform helped to get it.

No matter where your boy or girl goes to school, public, private, or parochial, there's some help for the child to make it better to have a better educational opportunity because we know that education is the key to success and the progress for most of us and we have looked after the health of our people.

If Clinton Anderson had never done anything else in his life but to have been able to do what he did do in the field of Medicare, he would be a national hero. Millions of our senior citizens tonight owe him a lasting debt of gratitude.

I know a little bit about this. I was one of the early sponsors of a bill to put hospital and home care under Social Security. I went to my dear friend Clinton Anderson when I was his seat mate and said, "Clint, I'm getting nowhere with this legislation. What do you think you can do about it?"

He said, "Let me see." I put it in the hands of a



master on the Finance Committee and he took it and he stayed with it. He didn't give up. He is no first act actor. You know, everybody is pretty good in the first act. He stayed with it for all two or three acts. And finally Medicare, hospital, nursing home care and medical care under Social Security has been made available to all of our senior citizens in the United States of America and it's a better America, isn't it, because of that great legislation?

And we as a nation have determined in these years to do something about the injustices that afflict our society and our people. We found in our great, rich, prosperous America that there was about one-sixth of our fellow citizens, one-fifth or one-sixth, that were not in the main stream of American life. They lived in another world, so to speak. They were almost a separate America, the America of the poor, America of the deprived, the America of the ghetto, the America of the poverty-stricken, Negro, Puerto Rican, Indian, Mexican-American and many others.

And President Johnson had the foresight and the insight and the moral courage to summon this nation to an all-out war on man's ancient enemy called poverty. And we are at it. Oh, we haven't won it, but I remind you that merely to identify it as a social evil and merely to have challenged this force, this injustice, to have gone to work



on it is a victory within itself.

And this war on poverty will be won and we are putting ourselves to the task with a galaxy of programs; education, yes, over a billion dollars for the deprived, for needy school districts and needy children in those districts, loans and grants, Social Security extension expansion, minimum wage improvement, and substantially, rent supplements for low-income people so they can have a decent place in which to live.

And if you were in the Alleghenys in the East, the Appalachian program, the older American's Act, the Office of Economic Opportunity, Head Start, Upward Bound, a host of programs. To do what? To make it possible for our fellow Americans to be first class citizens, to bring them into the blessings and the opportunities of American life.

And may I say to critics of these programs -- and many of these programs fail in part, I know that, many of them do not do all we wish. Sometimes we do not have all the means and all the resources that we wish, but I want to say that to the critics that how little or whatever little we are able to do or even how poorly we are able to do it, it's better to do what we are doing than to do nothing.

Every time a life is saved, every time that a boy or girl is taken out of the ghetto, out of the slums and out



of the poverty-stricken rural areas of America and is made a truly productive citizen, America is the better and so is the boy and so is the girl.

And literally hundreds of thousands of young people have been reclaimed, rehabilitated because America cared, because you cared and new leadership is growing up in America. And I wish to say to my fellow Americans that all the preaching that we do to the world about freedom and democracy will fall on deaf ears unless we can demonstrate that we know how to practice it here.

And when we speak of justice, and the profits of Israel spoke of justice flowing like a mighty river, and when we speak of justice in America, let's be sure that we practice it and then we can talk about justice in the rest of the world and have somebody believe us.

Oh, we're making progress; housing, Medicare, rent supplements, Job Corps, Head Start, Civil Rights, voting rights; we have a long way to go, but as that old proverb -- "The longest journey is the first step", and we've made those first steps and we're on the way, and I say to our critics, "What do you propose? What is your plan?" We know what ours is and we're going to stick with it. We're not going to give up in this war on injustice and inequity and inequality simply because on occasion it doesn't all work out as we want.

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We're like the doctor that seeks the cure for cancer and they've been seeking it for a half a century and they haven't found it, but you do not abuse the medical profession because they haven't found a cure, do you? No. You praise them for their effort because people in this audience know that one out of five in this audience will at sometime in his or her life be the victim of cancer. And one out of five in America is the victim of poverty.

And I say to you, that poverty is not the burden of the poor alone. It's the cancer of America's social structure just as the slum is not merely the problem of the city, it represents the rot of the nation. And illiteracy is not the burden of the ignorant or illiterate nearly as much as it is a constant shame upon a society that prides itself in knowledge.

So, we're at the business of doing what you want done and you know you want it done. Government, private organizations, churches, schools, labor, business; all of us working together as a great team to try to find some answers to old problems and to emancipate people who today are literally in prisons of disease and ignorance and poverty and fear.

And every time that prison door opens a little bit and someone escapes, it's a brighter day and a better day for

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America because remember what Abraham Lincoln said, "We shall either nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope on earth." And that last best hope on earth is where you live in the United States of America and it is the hope of all mankind.

Now, let me say just a little word or two to you about another part of the world because as I indicated to you, there isn't any such thing as domestic policy separate from foreign policy. We are one people, one nation, and we live in one world, and it is getting smaller every day.

The space age, the nuclear age has made this world shrink so that we are neighbors to people that we don't even know. The late Pope John the 23rd said, "In a world of constant want, there is no peace." And the great Roman Seneca once said that, "Where there is hunger, there is no reason".

So, in a world of hunger and a world of want, in a world of poverty and much of this world is that way, the peace that you want for your children, the peace that we want for days ahead is threatened. Your Senators and Congressmen have always had a keen understanding of this factual situation. They've been interested not only in the welfare of the people at home, which we must and surely should put first, but also in the welfare of people in other lands.

Latin America, Latin America, I want to say that



Joe Montoya, he mentioned that the Vice President was Ambassador of Good Will; I hope you know, in this audience, how much the people of Latin America respect, admire and hold in high affection Joe Montoya, your own United States Senator. I'm sure you know that because of these two Senators, Clinton Anderson and Joe Montoya, and the Congressmen, that your Government today has hundreds, hundreds of Spanish-Americans, Spanish speaking Americans, people from your own State, in the Foreign Service in the Peace Corps. We've reached down into the talents of the people, and we've enriched the whole Diplomatic Service of America, the Peace Corps of America, the Foreign Aid Program of America, and we're doing the same in Africa and Asia.

Just two days from now, in fact this Sunday, another important event is going to take place in another part of the world. We Americans don't have a monopoly on important events. It's an important step in nation building, and, it's going to take place in a country thousands of miles away on the map but very close to families here tonight, as close to us as the young Americans who are risking and giving their lives there, and I have been there. I speak of Viet Nam, a painful war, difficult one to understand, but we're not there just to help the Viet Nameese, even though that will be moral justification, we're there for our own national security.

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We're there because we know that when aggression is unchecked it is unleashed. We're there because we know that if Communist Militancy and Communist Military power can sweep over what is known as the Great Food Belt and Food Bowl of Southeast Asia, that it threatens not only the United States but other free nations, India, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Taiwan; many of them.

We're in Southeast Asia tonight because it is a matter of our national security and our long range national interest, and we're there too, because we believe in helping people help themselves to have self determination. And Sunday of this week the people of South Viet Nam are going to take step number one in freedom. They're going to go to the polls in a free election, even though there is a war on, to cast votes to elect a constituent assembly, to write a constitution and a free constitution, my fellow Americans.

In many ways, that election is as important as the one we'll have here in a couple of months. Now, some of our fellow Americans have doubts about it, there's a certain cynicism. They don't seem to believe that an election can be held in the midst of a war, but I'm here to tell you that one can be held and will be held and I think the best answer to the sceptics is to remind them that only a year ago this last May, elections were held in every province and every district in



every city of South Viet Nam for the election of local officers, and millions of people cast their votes.

The Communists weren't on the job then. They missed the bus, so to speak. They didn't take that election seriously and they didn't make a determined effort to disrupt it, but they're not about to make that mistake again.

They're determined to smash, as they say, and to crush this coming election, and I use their own words. They warned every candidate to withdraw, they warned all the election officials concerned with the preparations of the election to cease their activities, they've warned Government officials, not, as they say, to coerse the voters.

They're busy threatening, killing, kidnapping, using terror tactics, to deny people the right of self determination. I want my fellow Americans to know, who are protesting, and that's their right. My fellow Americans who have a difference of view and that is their right and we'll defend that right but I want them to know that on this Sunday, a great national act of self determination and self respect is taking place in South Viet Nam, and who is trying to stop it. We? The Australians? The Koreans? The Philippines? The New Zealanders? Oh, no. The Government of South Viet Nam? Who is trying to stop it? The Communists. The Viet Cong, North Viet Nam, they are holding seminars, these Communists for

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campaign workers and what do you think they're doing? They're not teaching them how to get out the vote, they are outlining ways and means of keeping the voters away from the polls. They're carrying out forceable collection of identify cards and registration cards. They've made preparations to block the roads, disrupt the traffic so that the people can't even travel to the polls. Communists have warned the villagers that it will be dangerous to go anywhere near the polls. Every day the propaganda is out, "If you go to vote, you'll be killed. The polls will be bombed." They'll lob in the hand grenades or they'll pour rifle fire at them. In fact, they have threatened the villagers with instant death if they dare to vote. They've already done their best to show that they mean business. They've already killed people, killed candidates, but I would remind them of this, a century ago Abraham Lincoln said, "The ballot is stronger than the bullet," and the Viet Cong must fear that Lincoln was right or they would not have gone to such lengths to prevent the people of Viet Nam from casting their ballots on Sunday. This Sunday.

Now, I read your paper tonight and it says "Humphrey predicts big vote." I don't predict big vote, I predict significant vote. I want you to know that this election is being held under the threat of death. It's being held in the midst of war, it's being observed by over four hundred



correspondents of newspapers.

There are over five hundred candidates for a hundred offices, not a single office goes uncontested.

There is no censorship, but I do predict that hundreds of thousands, yes, millions of Viet Nameese will vote. How many, I can't say, what percentage I don't know. All I know is that in an American election where we literally beg people to vote, get the car out and haul them to the voting booth, where we put out literature and spend thousands of dollars to ask people to vote, entice them to vote, that in an off-year election we're lucky to get forty-five per cent of the voters out and even in a Presidential election we get about sixty per cent.

Now, in Viet Nam, with the Viet Cong on the job killing and threatening and kidnapping and assassinating,



we shouldn't expect that there will be forty-five per cent, but I can tell you that there will be many, and every voter is a hero because every single voter takes his life in his own hands.

Oh, this is important, and isn't it interesting to know that the Communists understand the importance of this election? They have elections of their own there, those unanimous elections that you have seen, you know, in the Communist country.

That's not the case in South Viet Nam. We welcome this election. No Communist Party has ever won a national election, a free election. We welcome the election that makes possible constitution making, and we welcome the opportunity to work with the Government that comes from that constitution and my fellow Americans, we have some experience with constitutions, and I'm going to just give you a moment of it and then we're going to say goodnight. A little history, I used to teach history and I know so many people are going to tell you about, well, this election in Viet Nam wasn't very good, and it had a lot of trouble with the Government, and it's unstable and so on and so on. There's been a change of Government five times in Viet Nam in the last six years. There were eleven changes of Government in Greece in eighteen months when the Greeks' so-called civil

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war was on when the Communists were pillaging Greece before we went to the help of Greece and don't forget it, we went to her help in 1946 and '47, '48, but we have had a little experience with Governments ourselves. We haven't always been this rich, this prosperous and as orderly as we are now, and we're not too orderly in some places right now.

Let me give you a little history; the seat of Government moved in the United States from Philadelphia to Baltimore, then to Philadelphia, then to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, to York Pennsylvania, back to Philadelphia, to Princeton, to Annapolis, to Trenton, to New York and then to Washington between 1776 and 1789. It was hard to keep up, to know where the Government was. That's America, and we've done pretty well.

The Articles of Confederation, our first Constitution, adopted in 1777 and were not ratified until 1781, and then in 1787 the delegates from each state were invited to meet in Philadelphia. A hundred delegates were invited on May 14, to draft a constitution.

On May 25th, Senator Anderson, they got a quorum, that's about as hard as getting one down at Washington, and they had a quorum of twenty-nine out of the fifty-five that ultimately came.

Several weeks later, fifty-five, representing twelve



States arrived. I said several weeks later, Rhode Island never did come. It just stayed away.

By September 15, having convened the convention in May, a draft constitution was ready for a vote. Thirteen delegates picked up their suitcase, so-to-speak and left and went home. Forty-two of the fifty-five remained, and only thirty-nine were willing to sign, and little Rhode Island didn't sign until a year after, three years later.

Now, my fellow Americans, that's the founding fathers in the United States of America. And we had won our revolution. We had supposedly a going Government.

I tell you this because we need some perspective of history. Your America has a lot to show the world but we need to have some tolerance for the rest of the world. We will continue to wage the struggle in Viet Nam on every front, diplomatic, political, economic and military, with vigor, determination, and above all patience, and we will cease, we will pursue ceaselessly, we will pursue with constant determination every possibility for a just peace.

Every day we're rebuked, every day it's the no, no, no, and when I hear people say, and I know that they again have the right to say it, and I mean it, they say Peace in Viet Nam, may I tell you that is President Johnson's daily prayer. This is your Vice President's daily prayer. Of

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course we want peace in Viet Nam, but my fellow Americans, we do not think it is right politically or morally to turn over to the Communists fifteen million South Viet Nameese, and that's what would happen if we were to leave.

But, we will wage the struggle not only on the military front, because that's only a small part of it. On the political, the economic and the diplomatic front, and we must always remember that in this kind of a war, the building of schools, the establishment of hospitals, the improvement of agriculture, the strengthening of the economy, the holding of elections, all of these things build the framework of a nation, and they can be as important or even more important than what happens on a battlefield.

Now, Viet Nam is just one of many places where new nations are struggling to find their way in today's world and it is not the only nation where the Communists have sought to take over by subversion, propaganda or aggression. In Asia alone, Malaya, the Phillipine Republic, Korea, Burma, Indonesia and Thailand have all suffered, or are suffering right now from Communist insurrections, and as you know, South Korea and India have been the victims of large scale attacks by Communist neighbors, and no nation in Asia did more to accomodate itself to Communist China than India.

It did everything, and twice within five years it was



attacked with naked aggression, but in the end I'm confident the Communists will find that aggression gets them little or nothing so long as it is resisted, for they are bucking the strongest tide running in the world today, the tide of national independence and self determination, and just as the roots seek water, the roots of the tree seek water, so people seek their own national identities.

I'm here tonight to say to my fellow Americans that it is not the dogma of Karl Marx, Lenin and Stalin that are shaping the world of today and tomorrow, they're not revolutionaries, they are despots, oppressors, pirates. The dogmas that are shaping the world of tomorrow are the ever fresh principals of our own Declaration of Independence and the Rights of Man, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

No nation has willingly gone Communist. No nation has willingly turned itself over to a dictator, and my fellow Americans, one billion people have gained their freedom in twenty years in this world. Seventy new nations have come on the scene of this world in the last twenty years and not one, I repeat, not one has gone Communist.

I don't think the tide of history is in their favor. In fact, the tide of history in America and what we stand for, is freedom and opportunity, what we live for and stand for and what we have been and are doing here at home is no more than what we are



seeking abroad for, as I said in the beginning, I now say it again, our foreign policy is essentially the projection of what we seek to do at home and we seek to do justice to promote domestic tranquility and to seek justice, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and here at home we are building a society of opportunity, not a welfare state but an opportunity state.

A society in which every man and woman without regard to his nation origin, his color, his race, or how he spells his last name is free to express his own individuality. To realize the full potential of his life, that's what we're seeking to do, to release this God given potential, that's in man, and it is that kind of world, a world of lively diversity of self determination for men and for nations that we seek to help bring into being abroad.

Senator Anderson has worked for that great idea. Senator Montoya has worked for this kind of a world. Your Congressmen, Morris and Walker, have been soldiers in the front line of freedom.

We all owe them a debt of gratitude. Generally, in a message like this, one picks a bit of scripture or verse as his text. I save mine for the end as a benediction. I've often asked myself what is it that means, what does America mean? What is the promise of this land? When I'm abroad, I know



because I know when people see our flag they see life and hope for themselves. Americans are not disliked. Sometimes we're misunderstood and sometimes we deserve to be misunderstood because we do things we ought not to do, but America, this great blessed land is a beacon light of hope.

It is the last, best hope on earth, but Thomas Wolfe, a poet and an author of 1930's, put in a concise verse that I give to you tonight and ask you to take it home in your heart, not as a democrat but as a citizen and what greater honor is there than to be known as citizens of the United States? Thomas Wolfe said this, "To every man, his chance. To every man, regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work and to be himself and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him."

This, yes, this is the promise of America. It couldn't be said more beautifully. And my fellow Americans, this is the goal that your President seeks. This is the goal that your Congress seeks, and I know that this is the promise that you have in your heart for America. Every man his chance to be something and above all, to be free.

Thank you very much.





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