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A D D R E S S

of

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice President of the United States

At

Golden Ballroom

Hotel Statler Hilton

Buffalo, New York

On

Saturday, January 7th, 1967

Joseph F. Crangle, Chairman, Erie County Democratic
Committee.

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1 MR. DULSKI: I am informed that the
2 Vice President has a very tight schedule, so I shall
3 proceed to present our first guest of the morning.

4 At a banquet a famous author once said,
5 "It would take me a great deal of time to properly
6 introduce our guest. To describe fully of his achieve-
7 ments, his deeds, his warmth, his affection would
8 only be words easily forgotten, but introduce him
9 only by his name, and the people know of his work,
10 his affection and his deeds, and as he comes to the
11 rostrum, every deed becomes a shining beacon of his
12 work."

13 Ladies and gentlemen, Buffalo's greatest
14 Mayor of this great city, the Honorable Frank A. Sedita.
15 (applause).

16 MAYOR SEDITA: Thank you very much,
17 Teddy. Congressman Dulski, our toastmaster; reverend
18 gentlemen; our guest of honor, Vice President Hubert
19 Humphrey; our chairman, Joe Crangle; our distinguished
20 office holders, congressmen and Council President and
21 Councilmen; our distinguished Comptroller, our dis-
22 tinguished District Attorney; distinguished Senators
23 and Assemblymen, friends all, and fellow Democrats:

1 This is indeed a beautiful turn-out
2 and this will now substantiate Joe Crangle's claim
3 because he has been telling the Vice President what
4 a tremendous organization he has here in Erie County.
5 (applause).

6 We have many political pragmatists
7 in this room, Mr. Vice President. The older fellows
8 know what to do; the younger ones, if you don't
9 mind, I would like to give them a word of advice as an
10 old war horse. Those of you who aspire to public
11 office, you know that publicity is the life blood of
12 any campaign, and so you young fellows that want to
13 run for office, you get out there where the publicity
14 is, but before you get next to the Vice President
15 or the President, whoever the guest of honor might
16 be, remember that the cameraman will always say, "Wave,
17 Mr. Vice President." So if you want to go where the
18 action is, where the cameras are, make sure that you
19 find out whether he is left handed or right handed.
20 (laughter and applause).

21 We came down from the room, and I knew
22 that the cameramen were there, and we were battling
23 coming down. McCarthy hit me on the left side. I

1 didn't want to fight with Joe Crangle who is the
2 chairman. (laughter). Somebody switched my card,
3 Mr. Vice President. I know that the toastmaster
4 sits near the lectern. When I got down here, somebody
5 switched it, Teddy. And then the final blow of all was
6 when someone said, "Wave to the crowd, Mr. Vice
7 President." He did and turned to me and said, "Well,
8 Frank that takes care of you. (laughter).

9 I want you to know that I am really not
10 angry. I would be if this were about two weeks before
11 election. However, it is good to see all of you. Mr.
12 Vice President, we certainly are happy that you are
13 here this morning. We have a good virile, healthy
14 Democratic organization in our county. These are the
15 leaders. We have thousands upon thousands of registered
16 Democrats that believe in the philosophy of our party but,
17 as I say, these are the people that do the work, that
18 lead the way for all the thousands of workers that
19 we have. We even tried to arrange to have some
20 Wisconsin -- Is that Minnesota or Wisconsin? (laughter).
21 We have arranged to have some Washington weather, but
22 whether Wisconsin, Minnesota, Washington, all we know
23 is that you belong to us, that we admire you, that

1 we love you. And last night it was my happy privilege
2 to present to you a bison symbolic of the City of
3 Buffalo at the Buffalo Club that entertained you, and
4 today we have here a key to our city.

5 I know that before you leave, there will
6 be a wiseacre or two who will tell you that you don't
7 need this key because it is an open town anyway.
8 (laughter).

9 So here it is, Mr. Vice President, the
10 key to the City of Buffalo, the key to our hearts, and
11 our very, very best wishes for whatever your heart
12 desires in the future, and we wish you the very best.
13 (applause).

14
15 MR. DULSKI: Thank you very much, Mayor
16 Sedita.

17 Our next guest of the morning is in the
18 category of a county leader. In the State of New York,
19 Mr. Vice President, we have many men who fall in that
20 title and are in that category as county leaders. We
21 in the western part of New York State, in the great
22 Erie County, are proud and are very much pleased with
23 the outstanding record of our Democratic county leader.

1 Our contribution to the Democratic
2 Party can be measured by the votes that we have garnered
3 under the able leadership of our county chairman and
4 his able committee. Washington has been rather silent
5 about passing any of the appointee patronage towards
6 this great county, and we know that 1967 will have a
7 great affect with the result that we have had in the
8 year of 1966.

9 Ladies and gentlemen, I present to you
10 our dynamic leader of the Erie County Democratic Party,
11 Joseph A. Crangle. (applause).

12
13 MR. CRANGLE: Mr. Vice President, Rever-
14 end Crumpley, Mayor Sedita, Distinguished ladies and
15 gentlemen of the dais, our public officials and party
16 officials in the audience and, certainly, friends all:
17 I know that I certainly speak the thoughts and the
18 wishes of all of you here in the room this morning of
19 our great love and respect for our Vice President. I
20 know that you are very proud and very happy that he
21 took time out from his very, very busy schedule to
22 break bread with us this morning. To call a breakfast
23 meeting at 8:30 promptly and ask you to be seated I

1 think is certainly a testimonial of the leaders of
2 our community to our Vice President, as well as to our
3 President.

4 There are those who feel that 1966 was
5 not the best year for the Democratic Party, but what
6 they fail to understand is that one year, one election
7 does not change the image or respect of a political
8 party. We all know, whether we call it a fair deal
9 or a new deal or a square deal or a new frontier or a
10 great society, the common denominator has always been
11 consistent, that the Democratic Party best represents,
12 best translates into legislation social economic re-
13 quirements to meet the problems of the day. And our
14 party is not one that just concerns itself with the
15 great, nor is our answer to take care of the average.
16 Many have always thought that civil rights is a very
17 narrow thing such as giving the negro the right to vote,
18 that our honored guest today in 1948 was fighting that
19 battle, but it wasn't just a question of the Negro
20 alone, though very important that it was, but it was
21 the civil right to have the right to work, to have
22 the right to have an education, for all -- not just
23 the average, not just the most talented or the most

1 fortunate, but also the least, whether the person be
2 handicapped physically or mentally, that that person
3 was a human being and, as such, had dignity and the
4 function of government was to translate that dignity
5 into concrete action, and today we have here the Vice
6 President of the United States whose whole career
7 has been dedicated to that proposition. And while we
8 never rest on our laurels as a party, we are indeed
9 most fortunate as a party here in our city, in the
10 great County of Erie, and in this state and in this
11 nation to have Mr. Humphrey as our Vice President,
12 who is preaching the Democratic gospel throughout this
13 country, whether it be at a Democratic rally, if it
14 be at a breakfast as this, or last night at the Buffalo
15 Club on Delaware Avenue, and I can assure you there
16 weren't too many Republicans there -- too many Demo-
17 crats there (laughter). Let me quickly regroup and
18 say -- there weren't too many Republicans there after
19 the Vice President got through talking. (applause)

20 And Mr. Vice President, the Mayor
21 presented you the key of the City of Buffalo, and as
22 chairman of our great Democratic Party here in the
23 County of Erie where we have over a quarter million

1 registered Democrats, the thing I want to extend on
2 behalf of the people here as well as throughout the
3 county, our warm hearts. The Vice President of the
4 United States. (applause).

5
6 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you,
7 my good friend, and your leader and good friend, Joe
8 Crangle. Mayor Frank Sedita and Congressman Dulski;
9 my friend, Max McCarthy; the gentlemen who joined me
10 last night in our Democratic rally over at the Buffalo
11 Club; Delmar Mitchell, all of the distinguished officers
12 of the party in Erie County and Buffalo, and the elected
13 officials and friends: I can only say to Frank Sedita
14 that with all the problems he has with me, strictly
15 a right-handed man, just imagine what it would be like
16 if you got mixed up with one of these ambidextrous
17 fellows. (laughter). You better be careful when you
18 walk alongside President Johnson because he goes like
19 this, with both arms. (laughter). (applause).

20 I never believed that this many people
21 would come out for breakfast on a cold and wintry morning
22 such as we have here today unless you lived in Minnesota
23 (laughter) but then I should remember that you, too,

1 are on the Great Lakes and it is sort of a life line
2 between us, and I guess we get accustomed to pretty
3 much the same thing. I only wish that we were accustomed
4 to voting Democratic as you are up here. But I thought
5 I would come up and just sort of stick around a while
6 and let this get to you.

7 Joe, I want to particularly congratulate
8 you on your remarkable leadership. I hope to have
9 some things to say briefly this morning about that
10 because what you have done here in Erie County is an
11 inspiration to all of us.

12 But I think I ought to explain my
13 presence here. First I want the Mayor to know that
14 I appreciate very much that bison that he gave to me
15 last night. One thing about this fellow Sedita, he
16 plans on being around here a long time -- That's the
17 heaviest key I have ever seen! (laughter). And that
18 bison he gave me last night, that's more gold than
19 anyone has seen since Charles DeGaulle started calling
20 in the gold. (laughter).

21 I have been a friend of the Mayor. I
22 was so proud to see him on our Democratic state ticket
23 this last election and, by the way, I want you to

1 know that I was proud of the entire ticket and I am
2 proud of the fact that Erie County gave Frank O'Connor
3 one of the greatest majorities here of any county in
4 the State of New York. (applause).

5 But I think I should tell you how I got
6 up here. Of course, I came up by plane, but I think
7 you ought to know why I came up. My friend, Vinc
8 Gaughan, called me. I was down in Washington, and
9 he said, "I want you to come up to the Buffalo Club."
10 I knew he was an agent for somebody. I was trying
11 to figure out what was going on. He said, "Well, I
12 think you'll like it. It's sort of a Democratic
13 organization." And I said, "Is that right?" I said,
14 "Who is there?" He said, "First of all, of course,
15 there will be Paul Fitzpatrick, he'll be there, and
16 Max McCarthy, and John Galvin and Judge Desmond, Judge
17 Desmond and Frank Sedita and Joe Crange, they'll all
18 be there." I said, "Well, that's just fine." I
19 didn't realize. I had been of the opinion it was
20 somewhat like our Minneapolis Club; they are not
21 exactly all card carrying members of the central
22 committee, you know (laughter) and I came, and I think
23 I listed all of them right there. (laughter).

1 But I can honestly tell you I was greeted
2 royally and generously and kindly and I had a delightful
3 evening with some very fine people last night. (applause)

4 It is good to have some of the older
5 timers here and to come to the home city of Jim Meade.
6 I knew him when he was Senator and on the Federal
7 Trade Commission. I met his son, as a matter of fact,
8 when I came here to the hotel last night, and it is
9 always good as a Democrat to come to the City that
10 had Grover Cleveland.

11 I went to that Buffalo Club last night
12 because I kept hearing that most everybody that had
13 ever been there got to be president. (laughter).

14 I don't want you to tell anybody in
15 New York about that. (laughter). But I just thought
16 I would kind of get in the spirit of things, you know,
17 and then, too, I would like to come to Buffalo be-
18 cause, well, you have had some of the same experiences
19 up here that we have. As I mentioned, we are both what
20 we call Great Lakes cities; Minneapolis, Minnesota,
21 my home city, where I once served as mayor, Frank,
22 and I, too, used to have people waving their hands in
23 front of me when the pictures were taken. (laughter).

1 I will never forget, one time they had
2 what we called paint up and clean up week, and the
3 local Chamber of Commerce asked me to come on out and
4 get a mop and a broom and sort of head a committee.
5 We were thinking about sandblasting the city hall. I
6 was thinking about blasting a lot of folks out of
7 there. (laughter). We got up there to the city
8 hall to take this picture and all the big shots in
9 town and all the dignitaries were there and here was
10 the mayor, and that is where I learned where you are
11 supposed to get yourself placed in the picture, and I
12 had the mop and the broom and all you could see of
13 the mayor was his arm. (laughter). The rest of him
14 had been cut off. So, Frank, all I can tell you is
15 there is only one thing to do -- lock arms and never
16 let a man get by. (laughter and applause). Just
17 lock arms so they can't remove you now matterwhat they
18 do. (laughter).

19 Well, you have here the Buffalo Bills
20 and we have our Minnesota Twins. (applause). I think.
21 I should tell you Kansas City wrecked both of us.
22 (laughter).

23 I was invited to go on out to the Super
Bowl out in Los Angelese, but I wasn't so sure that

1 this was the time for a real live Democrat to come to
2 California. (laughter). But I was on a later show last
3 night than Ronald Regan. (laughter).

4 Now, I want to talk to you just a little
5 bit this morning about our party. Oh, I don't want
6 to forget this. Let me see your program there. I
7 looked at the program this morning and I thought, well,
8 obviously it's not me; I guess Joe just won't settle
9 for anything but the best, and I looked at that seal,
10 and that's the Presidential seal. I don't want a copy.
11 I want everybody to take these copies home and keep
12 them for heirlooms because this is the first time
13 you will ever see that seal associated with the term
14 "Vice President of the United States", and don't you
15 ever let President Lyndon B. Johnson see this program.
16 (laughter). It is sort of subversive when you
17 realize -- (laughter).

18 I told the boys last night over at the
19 Buffalo Club about this seal. You know, the Vice
20 Presidential office is a rather unique and peculiar
21 office in the structure of our government. John Adams
22 once said you're either nothing or everything when he
23 spoke of his vice presidency and he had quite a history

1 of vice presidency. The Congress of the United States
2 back in the 1940s made the vice president a member of
3 the President's cabinet. Up until then he had never
4 been until 1946. He made him a member of the National
5 Security Council. The Vice President had never been
6 invited to the National Security Council. As a matter
7 of fact, most vice presidents never even came to
8 Washington. (laughter). That's a fact. They got
9 elected; they go on home and tend the fields or mind
10 the cows (laughter). I just like to be where the
11 action is. (laughter and applause).

12 Then after making the Vice President
13 a member of the cabinet and a member of the National
14 Security Council, in the administration of President
15 Kennedy the Vice President was given the chairmanship
16 of the Space Council, and very recently under the
17 administration of President Johnson, by act of Congress
18 the Vice President has been made chairman of what we
19 call the Council on Marine Resources, Engineering and
20 Development, commonly known as oceanography. You
21 will note that whenever the Congress or Dulski or
22 McCarthy have had anything to do with the Vice President,
23 they either assigned him or relegated him to outer space

1 or the bottom of the sea. (applause). Now, you can
2 read anything into that that you want to. (laughter).
3 Now you got an idea what they are trying to get at,
4 but I did tell the President one day, I said, "Your
5 domain is just this terrestrial ball, the earth part
6 of it. I have all the outer space and the oceans."
7 Seventy per cent of the globe is water, and space is
8 infinity.

9 I don't want to give anybody an inferior-
10 ity complex, but I do have a lot to do. (laughter and
11 applause).

12 Now, to get back to this seal. I think
13 mine is out here. We generally carry that along with
14 us. Now, you take a look at that eagle and then take
15 a look at the one Joe Crangle found in the library.
16 You will notice that this one is a little different.
17 And this is the Presidential eagle. He is the one
18 that is fully vitaminized. (laughter). His wings
19 are outspread; it is a healthy looking eagle and the
20 eagle has its head cocked towards the claws that hold
21 the branches, the olive branches, as the commitment
22 of this nation to peace, and then in the other set of
23 claws or talons is to be found a sheaf of arrows,

1 the provision of the common defense, the strength of
2 this nation. But the eagle, of course, the great
3 American eagle, symbolizes this nation, its President,
4 the office of the Presidency, looks to the peace.

5 Now, you take a look at the vice
6 presidential seal and you will notice that the Congress
7 when they got around to taking care of the Vice Presi-
8 dent, they wanted to keep him humble and let him know
9 what his place is. You will notice that that poor
10 old eagle looks like he's ready for a crash landing.
11 (laughter) Not very well fed, and he looks off over
12 there and the claws where the eagle's head is turned
13 to the olive branch - - and not branches (laughter),
14 and you look off in the other set of claws and
15 there's just one little old arrow -- not arrows.
16 (laughter). That's the way they keep the Vice Presi-
17 dent remembering what his place is in the structure
18 of government, but I think I'll tell everybody up here
19 I'm saving that arrow for the right time and the right
20 place. (laughter).

21 Now, I didn't come here just to have a
22 moment of frivolity and fun, though I see no reason
23 why politics shouldn't be filled with joe and pleasure.

1 I have always liked it. I don't think you win elections
2 by going around grouching and grumbling -- leave that
3 up to the other folks. We Democrats are supposed to
4 be optimistic and I think we are. We are supposed to
5 be futuristic and I think we are, and we ought to at
6 least have great confidence in our country, and I
7 think in our party if you feel that way, somebody
8 else may feel the same way and have a greater belief
9 in you.

10 I went into public life because I wanted
11 to. My wife has reminded me many, many times when I
12 get a little discouraged and grumpy and mean arand
13 the house that there wasn't any call from heavenⁿ that
14 told Hubert Humphrey and the people that the two were
15 needed together. (laughter). She says, "You volunteered
16 for this and quit complaining." I get some very
17 practical advice from her. I told the President just
18 the other night, I said, "I haven't been able to make
19 my own decisisions for a long, long time," I said,
20 "between you and my wife -- (laughter). Well, I am
21 very fond of both of them. (laughter).

22 We have a great party and I want to say
23 a few words about it this morning, and I am in the

1 right place. I asked Joe Crangle as I sat alongside
2 of him, "How did you do in this county?" He said,
3 "Well, over 44,000 votes majority at the head of the
4 ticket." Here is an area that only two years ago was
5 barely Democratic, you might say, and now it is a strong
6 Democratic County. You have two fine congressmen
7 that have an enviable record and have given a great
8 account of themselves in the Congress of the United
9 States, Congressman Dulski and Congressman McCarthy.

10 You have, as I jotted down here quickly,
11 six of the nine Assembly seats, two of three Senatorial
12 seats, eleven of the fifteen Councilmen seats -- now,
13 that's about the proper ratio, may I say. (laughter).
14 I think that's an even balance. That preserves the
15 two-party system without disservice to the country.
16 (laughter and applause).

17 Some people are sort of bad-mouthing
18 about the party and about the President. I can come
19 to you and talk very frankly about this. My political
20 life is tied to the political life of the President
21 of the United States, I think you know, as Vice
22 President. I made up my mind when I became Vice
23 President that I wasn't at all sure that I would be the

1 best vice president this country ever had; I wasn't
2 at all sure that I would be the most intelligent and
3 able vice president, but I was going to be the loyalist
4 vice president the country ever had. (applause)

5 In other words, I think it is the
6 responsibility of the Vice President to try to help
7 the President to ease his burdens, if possible, but
8 above all, to try to help the country and try to bring
9 some sense of dignity and responsibility to this office,
10 and we are trying to do that.

11 I am very proud of being a Democrat.
12 I do not go around this country apologizing for my
13 party. I go around this country wherever I can go and
14 whenever I can find the time to talk about the record
15 of our party and its leadership. I am not so foolish
16 as to try to tell the people that we make no mistakes.
17 Of course, we are humans and we are fallible and not
18 infallible.

19 We have made some mistakes. We haven't
20 done as well at times as people would like us to do.
21 We don't even do as well as we would like to do, and
22 that is one of the saving graces of being a Democrat --
23 we're a restless lot. We have our own standards.

1 We want to do more and I notice that our fellow
2 Democrats are more or less criticizing themselves
3 and criticizing others within our party, not because
4 they are angry with themselves or the party but because
5 they want us to do just a little bit more because there
6 is so much more to do.

7 It reminds me of a story I heard the other
8 night about Winston Churchill which may be slightly
9 out of place but possibly it tells us what I mean when
10 I say there is so much more to do. Winston Churchill,
11 as you know, was a great English leader; he was a great
12 orator and was also known for imbibing a bit; he liked
13 his brandy and his scotch. He was addressing a party
14 gathering of the Conservative Party in Britain one
15 night and as the party leader, while he was there, a
16 lady came in leading the temperance movement and she
17 just took over the floor and she said, "Mr. Churchill,
18 you ought to be ashamed of yourself. You drink. Why,
19 I just like to add up the amount of brandy and the
20 amount of whiskey that you have consumed." He said,
21 "Well, lady, just how much do you think that would be?"
22 and she said, "Well, I just don't know." and he said,
23 "Well, here I am. Let's just imagine you could put

1 it all in this room and I am standing in the middle
2 of the room. How high do you think that would come
3 up in this room? Where would you put it on me?" She
4 said, "I don't know." He said, "Well, what about
5 there, just about there right across the mid section."
6 And she said, "Well, that would be just about right.
7 That's just about how much I think you've consumed."
8 He said, "Oh, my dear lady, and there's so much more
9 to do. (laughter).

10 So my dear friends, that is about the way
11 we Democrats are. We have done a great deal. We
12 have made a lot of progress. There is so much more
13 yet to do. And when we say that, people say, "Ah hah,
14 that means they haven't done anything." or "that means
15 they failed." I think we have to tell our whole story
16 lest we mislead people. What we are talking about when
17 we say there is so much more to do, it means that we
18 know what needs to be done. We have started the process
19 of doing the things which need to be done. We are not
20 talking about that we have done nothing. We are
21 talking about the fact that we want to do more, and
22 we are talking about ourselves. We are not comparing
23 ourselves to the opposition which at best - at best -

1 comes around and says, "Well, I guess it was all right
2 or maybe we should have done it, too, or maybe it was
3 something we would have done had we had the chance to
4 do it."

5 The 90th Congress is going to meet here
6 in just a few days; it opens on Tuesday next, and
7 you have had in these recent years the 88th Congress
8 of John Kennedy and the 89th Congress of Lyndon Johnson.
9 I can tell you as one who has lived in Washington now
10 as a public servant and a United States Senator since
11 1948 and Vice President since 1964, I can tell you
12 that there never has been in the history of our
13 republic, and I am a student of government and a former
14 teacher of it, there never has been nor will there be,
15 I think, for a long time to come two congresses that
16 produced as much as the 88th and 89th congresses.
17 They were remarkable. (applause).

18 What we have had happen to ourselves is
19 pretty much like what is happening in the world,
20 rising expectations. We are expecting more to be
21 done; everybody is expecting more. When you start to
22 get some beginnings on the war on poverty, people
23 for the first time are beginning to be lifted out of

1 the quagmire, that paralysis of poverty; they feel a
2 sense of life once again, and they want more. It isn't
3 that they feel that nothing has been done; it is that
4 they want more, and many of the critics are the very
5 ones that did nothing -- nothing for years and years
6 and years.

7 I hear people today talking about what
8 President Johnson should be doing and how much more he
9 should be doing. I want to remind you, we have just
10 taken a tabulation of what has happened. In 1960, the
11 last year of the Eisenhower administration, a Republi-
12 can administration, the total federal expenditures for
13 all social services relating to the needs of people
14 that were poor, the unemployed, the pensioner, the
15 sick, the children that were from families of low
16 income, dependent mothers with low income. The total
17 amount was nine billion dollars. By 1963 that figure
18 had gone up to almost thirteen billion dollars. By
19 1966 it is twenty-three billion dollars, and next year
20 it most likely will be, and I am not privileged to tell
21 you what the budget is, but it will be more.

22 Now, we haven't done enough. There's
23 so much more to do, as Winston said, but I'll tell you,

1 there is a great deal of difference between nine billion
2 dollars in 1960 and twenty-three billion dollars in
3 1966, in six years. And five and a half to six million
4 new jobs have been added to the work force.

5 The greatest single success in the war
6 on poverty happens to be the expansion of this economy --
7 jobs, and in the main the American economic community,
8 business, labor, agriculture has done best in these
9 past six years than any other time in the history of
10 this republic. It could have been better - I have no
11 doubt about it - but that's what we are here for.
12 There are young people. We have got to leave something
13 for them to do. I have some children. I want something
14 for them to do. So let's not cry crocodile tears or
15 let's not sell ourselves short. Don't put poison in
16 the well from whence you will drink. Leave it to the
17 opposition and, my fellow Democrats, it is about time
18 that we joined hands and we quit the undue criticism,
19 the unneeded criticism of the President of the United
20 States and those who are entrusted with responsibility.
21 If you want to criticize somebody, criticize the Vice
22 President -- that's what he's around for. (laughter).
23 And keep in mind just what we are trying to do and

1 what you have done. You have made this possible, you
2 know, by your work.

3 Now a word about this election. Now,
4 I know they said we suffered a great defeat. It is
5 true we didn't do as well as we would have liked to
6 do. Franklin Roosevelt in 1936 had the greatest
7 victory that any president has had since George
8 Washington. He lost 71 seats in 1938 in the Congress
9 of the United States. He lost 14 United States
10 Senators and 16 governors. Dwight Eisenhower defeated
11 Adlai Stevenson in 1956 with a smashing majority and he
12 lost 58 seats in the next election in the House of
13 Representatives and 11 in the United States Senate.
14 There was a change of three senators in that Congress
15 of the United States in the last election, two
16 additional Republicans. There are 63 Democrats and
17 there are approximately 250 Democrats in the House of
18 Representatives. We lost 47 seats. The average, as
19 you know, over the years in an off year election runs
20 between 40 and 45. I wish we hadn't lost 47 and I am
21 ever grateful to the State of New York for its
22 remarkable record and I thank this great area for
23 giving us Congressman/and Congressman McCarthy.
(applause).

1 But I will tell you a simple lesson,
2 my fellow Democrats, and I have studied every state:
3 Where the party was united, we had victory, and where we
4 spent our time in patricidal warfare, we suffered a
5 defeat that was so well deserved. And what I ask you
6 is, whatever differences you have, work them out here.
7 The opposition is not in your party. The opposition
8 is in the other party.

9 The 90th Congress is a Democratic
10 Congress. There is a Democrat in the White House,
11 There is a Democrat in the Vice Presidency. There is
12 a Democrat that is the Speaker of the House of Represen-
13 tatives. The majority leaders of both houses are
14 Democrats in the Congress of the United States. We
15 are in charge, and the President of the United States
16 is going to make a moving, strong, progressive, forward-
17 looking state of the union address. We are not going
18 to retreat. Let me lay the gauntlet down right now.
19 We are not going to run away from our responsibility.
20 We are not going to apologize for our programs. We
21 are going to move ahead. John Kennedy said, "Let's
22 get this country moving." We did and we intend to
23 keep it moving with Lyndon Johnson. (applause)

1 I will give you just one little obser-
2 vation. I remember when President Truman was in the
3 White House and they had him ridden out of town on the
4 rail, too. You remember, everybody was against him.
5 There is only one thing that I can say about President
6 Truman: He was right. He knew what he was doing.
7 He was right. (applause).

8 I have been in politics long enough to
9 know that there is a difference between principle and
10 popularity. I know that one of the purposes of political
11 popularity is, it's like a line of credit in a bank;
12 it's to be used, and when you have to make tough
13 political decisions, decisions on the international
14 front, decisions on the domestic front; when you have
15 to meet, as we are today, aggression; when we have to
16 fulfill our international commitments in a world that is
17 complex and difficult and, believe me if you don't
18 think it is, you figure out what you would do with
19 this world if you were in charge. Just go home and
20 put that in your mind for a while and think about it,
21 "What would I do?" because, after all, we elect the
22 President of this country as a representative of the
23 people. We don't elect angels. We don't elect genius.

1 We elect people, and the problems that face this
2 economy are unbelievably difficult in your own country.
3 Forces of inflation and deflation at work at the same
4 time; people that are untrained, uneducated and un-
5 skilled through no fault of President Johnson, or any
6 other one man, but of a system, of a habit - a bad
7 habit - of segregation, of discrimination.

8 What would you do? All I can say to
9 you is that the man who is your President tries to
10 do the best that he knows how to do, as does your
11 Congressman, as do the people that represent you in
12 government, and what I am asking of you is to have
13 that measure of tolerance and understanding for others
14 that you have for yourselves. What I am telling you
15 further is that it isn't half as important to be
16 popular in public office as it is to guard and protect
17 the common defense and the general welfare. And there
18 are just two requirements of the President of the
19 United States, two requirements of the Vice President
20 of the United States, two requirements of a Congress-
21 man or a Senator under the Constitution of the United
22 States, just two things that he is obligated to do,
23 and everything else is optional, and I repeat then

1 these two requirements and they are mandates: to
2 provide for the common defense and to promote the genera
3 welfare. Those are the two things that we are required
4 to do. Everything else is maybe you will and maybe
5 you won't. And when you fulfill those two requirements,
6 you lose a friend now and then and some of the sunshine
7 patriots wither and run away. As Thomas Payne said,
8 the first blast are the wintry winds of dis.

9 Well, I don't worry about that. I
10 remember when they had President Truman in defeat.
11 I remember when they said he couldn't be re-elected
12 and I remember because I heard in Congress the un-
13 believable attacks upon him, and I venture to say that
14 if you go down the streets of Buffalo today and you
15 ask any man or woman who you meet, Republican or
16 Democrat, "Name me two or three of the great men of
17 all time in America", that one of those names will be
18 Harry S. Truman. (applause).

19 The reason is simple -- because he had
20 intestinal fortitude. He didn't run. He was willing
21 to stand up and be counted. He was a man, and he
22 would rather do what he thought was right and suffer
23 the consequences of political calumny and of political

1 unpopularly than just try to be all things to all
2 people. You can't be that way.

3 Now, we are building for the future and
4 I want my fellow Democrats, I want to leave you with
5 this note, that what we did in the 89th Congress and
6 the 88th Congress was to fill the warehouse of American
7 democracy with the goods and the tools and the equipment
8 not only for today, but for the years ahead. We made
9 the great breakthrough in federal aid to education.
10 We debated it for years and we either killed it on
11 the basis of religion or race, and you know it. Now
12 it is a fact.

13 We made the great breakthrough on health
14 and medical and hospital care for our elderly.
15 It hasn't been perfected. It will have limitations,
16 I know it, and all the limitations and all the weak-
17 nesses and all the mistakes will get all the headlines
18 but I am here to tell you that that breakthrough is one
19 of the most amazing achievements of the government of
20 the United States in the history of this republic.
21 (applause).

22 We designed legislation to help rebuild
23 our cities and when I listen to the critics, I can't

1 help but say, "Well, where were you?" and in those
2 years from 1953 to 1961 did anybody really do much
3 about education at the Washington level? Was there much
4 done about the cities? The cities were here then, too.
5 Was there much done about the health of our people?
6 The people had sickness then, too. There were elderly
7 people. The answer is "No".

8 We have had some great periods in American
9 history. We had the period of Franklin Roosevelt
10 for social advance to put America into the Twentieth
11 Century. We had the period of Harry S. Truman to
12 bind up the wounds of World War 2, and we stemmed the
13 tide of communism, aggression and communism movement
14 across the face of the world.

15 We had a pause in the middle 1950s
16 and then came John Kennedy and we started to look
17 to the future, and he outlined for us in beautiful
18 words and magnificent deed much that needed to be
19 done and did much, but I submit to you that the man
20 that succeeded him has made his place in history, too
21 because he is a doer; he gets things done. (applause).

22 When you talk of the remarkable record
23 of the 89th Congress, and we are proud of it, remember

1 the President helped make that. But he needs your
2 help. He didn't send me here to ask for it. In fact,
3 I think he would even scold me if he knew I was asking
4 for it, but he needs your help. He needs your encourage-
5 ment. Now, if you know any quick and easy way, with
6 honor, to settle the war in Southeast Asia, he needs
7 your help. If you know any quick and easy way to
8 keep this economy moving steadily, without inflation,
9 without imbalance, he needs your help. If you know
10 any instant way to rebuild the cities in a way that
11 we can pay for it now, he needs your help, but if
12 you don't know and have those quick answers, he needs
13 your help and he needs your confidence and your faith
14 and I hope that you are going to give it to him. He
15 is going to have mine.

16 I know that in the Democratic Party
17 there are men and women of ideas, men and women of
18 character, men and women of the hope of the future.
19 Keep thinking that way. Keep acting that way. We
20 are going to bring up our ranks and new leadership
21 every year and I ask that this county and this city,
22 you that work with Joe Crangle here, I ask you that you
23 be in the vanguard of new forces of progressive

1 democracy. I am just delighted to have had a chance
2 to come up here and talk to you. I am very serious
3 about our party and our government. I can think of
4 no greater honor than to serve in the government of
5 the United States of America unless it is to be a
6 citizen of the United States of America.

7 God bless you.

8 (Applause).

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