

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

MARCH 10, 1967

It's good to be at home again with the people who do so much to make this country move ... and who have so much fun doing it.

My old friend Adlai Stevenson used to say that the Democratic Party is the party which makes even its old men seem young -- and that the Republican Party is the party which makes even its young men seem old.

I think that's fair enough.

President Woodrow Wilson spelled it out a little more than that. He said:

"The trouble with the Republican Party is that it has not had a new idea for 30 years. I am not speaking as a politician; I am speaking as an historian."

Seeing as how Wilson said that back in 1915, we have to bring his statement up-to-date.

Now it can be said that the Republican Party hasn't had a new idea for 82 years, to be exact. (But I suppose there is still hope.)

Yes, we Democrats are the people who believe in new ideas and in forward movement. And when the opposition says we're moving too fast, what they generally mean is that we're creating too much progress.

Let's face it. The people of the other party just plain feel more-at-home when things are standing still. There's so much less noise that way. There's so much less trouble. There are fewer adjustments to be made.

But you know, and I know, that if you're not moving ahead, you're moving backward. And, in these exciting days, if you're just moving forward a little bit it's the same as standing still.

Shall we move ahead? Or shall we fall behind?

That is the basic issue which will face the American people only a few months from now. That is the issue on which we Democrats will have to take our stand.

Now, I have heard some of my Democratic friends say, in all good faith, that -- judging from the 1966 election results -- maybe we should play the Republican game ... maybe we should slow things down.

And my reply is this: If that is what you think, all right.

But President Lyndon Johnson, and Vice President Hubert Humphrey and the Democratic leadership in the Congress, and the officers of your Democratic National Committee are going to stand by the pledges we made to the American people in 1964.

We are going to press forward, as hard as we know how, for the policies and programs which we think are right.

To borrow someone else's phrase, "I know in my heart he's right" when our President says that we cannot stand still when we are faced with a crisis in our cities ... with water unfit to drink and air unfit to breathe ... with transportation systems that move us no place but to desperation ... with a rural America that still lacks its rightful share of our prosperity ... with millions of young Americans who need education and jobs ...

with millions of grandfathers and grandmothers who deserve greater dignity and security .

We cannot stand still when there is crime in our streets.

We cannot stand still when there are millions of our fellow citizens who, for the first time, have hope in their hearts for a real and productive life ... who, for the first time, can look ahead to being somebody.

Just where have we been since we kept our last date with the national electorate?

If the Republicans haven't had a new idea in 82 years, we have since that 1964 election made into law all the good ideas that have been thought of during that time.

People ask me: "Humphrey, whatever became of your liberal program?"

And I tell them: We made it into law.

There is plenty of bad news around; there is plenty of gloom and doom. But let's at the same time look at the facts about America. And when we do, we see the good news ... the hopeful news ... the promising news.

Since that 1964 election we have made into reality the dreams of our generation, and of generations before. All the causes we have fought for ... all the things we marched for, spoke for, yes, even demonstrated for -- those are things we have made into reality.

The first year I came to the United States Senate I introduced a bill for medical care under Social Security -- among several other "hare-brained" bills.

I was almost hooted off the floor for such a Utopian idea. And I was told, in no uncertain terms, that I was headed for political suicide if I kept up with that sort of thing.

That "hare-brained" scheme is today Medicare. We have it, and thank God for it. And we mean to improve the Social Security system even further, as well as to do something more about the cost and quality of health care in this country.

For years federal aid to education was in trouble because of debate and dispute about considerations that had nothing to do with the specific objective of providing better education to our children.

We found a President who was interested in one big consideration: How to bring the highest quality education to every child in America, regardless of his race, creed or color. And today we have new laws and programs that are literally creating a revolution -- a revolution for the better -- in our educational system.

We have done something about providing equal voting rights to all our people.

We have replaced a shameful and outmoded immigration system with one that is humane and just.

We have put our farm programs on a solid and long-term basis. And we have designed those programs with this question foremost in mind: What will these programs mean not only to all our citizens, but to the families who live in rural America?

We have declared war on poverty and made our objective its eradication.

We have tackled head-on the job that nobody tackled before: The job of making our cities safe and rewarding places in which to live as well as to work.

And, not least, we have brought to this nation the longest uninterrupted period of economic expansion and growth it has ever known.

We did it.

We are the people who wrote a platform in 1964 and made that platform into law. Who else has ever done it?

We are the people who were not afraid of trying new ideas, who were not afraid to take on the old, "insoluble" problems. Who else would have dared it?

And we are the people who are not going to turn back and give up just as those age-old problems are beginning to give way. I don't believe there is a summer soldier in this room.

How are we going to keep moving forward?

First of all, we have to get the word out to people of just what has been done.

There has been breath-taking progress here in Washington, but many of the new programs still haven't been felt in towns and cities around the country. But they will be, and soon.

Our job is to carry the word -- and to carry it in a positive way. We can be proud of what we have done; there is certainly no need for apology.

Second, there is another thing to be done. It seems obvious; but it is all too easy to overlook. We need to pull together and work together.

I have taken a good, long look at the November 1966 election returns. And what did I find? Really nothing surprising.

What I found was that, in states and Congressional districts where there was a strong and unified party ... in states and districts where there was organization, voter-registration and voter-turnout activity... in states and districts where efforts were made to bring new people into our party -- we won.

In states and districts where these things were not true -- we lost.

And here -- in the family -- let me offer
some plain talk.

We just cannot afford the luxury of division.
Our party, in a number of states -- and my own state
was one of them -- tried that out last November.
It doesn't work.

In November of 1968 we will face a far greater
challenge than we faced in November of 1964. Despite what
Harry Truman used to say, I don't think we can count
forever on the self-destructive qualities of the Republican
Party.

All of us will have to run hard next year. And
that means we will not be able to afford the wasted energy,
wasted money, and wasted campaign ammunition of a
fight among ourselves.

Here in Washington we mean to provide all the
help we can.

You know how the Democratic National Committee
is being strengthened.

Our new deputy chairmen == Charlie Weltner,
Billie Farnum and Bill Phillips -- are here with us this
morning. There will be other additions to the Committee
in the days ahead ... new party programs and people to
help you.

But the critical work -- the work that means the
difference between winning and losing -- will have to be
done by you, right at home.

When you return from this meeting it will be
time to survey your voter registration programs. It will
be time to review your fund-raising efforts. It will be time
to liven up your publications. It will be time to seek out
young and attractive new candidates all down the line.

*John Bailey
Mary Price
John Russell
Laurie Martin
Art Krimer
Ruthy Bush*

*Voter
Reg. &
Meetings
Publications*

For, if those things aren't done now, it will be too late to do them in the heat of the campaign.

The buck stops with us. It also stops with you.

We have a great deal going for us.

We have an unmatched record of progress -- a record which we will build on in this 90th Congress.

We have a strong and brave and compassionate President -- a President who needs and deserves your support and the support of the American people.

All that remains is the application of some elbow grease.

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Now, having talked to you as fellow Democrats, I would like to talk to you for a few moments as fellow citizens ... and about a matter which has nothing to do with partisanship: I mean Vietnam.

A year ago, when I returned from Vietnam, I reported to the President and the people that we had reason for measured optimism ... that we were making small but real gains.

It is easy to overlook them in the everyday confusion, but those gains are continuing. They are not dramatic. But they are solid and they are steady -- and they are likely to gather momentum as we move along. And you should know it.

The Communists have been defeated in every major military engagement of the past few weeks. And now they are beginning to lose their stranglehold on the countryside as well.

I know of no better measure of the degree to which their grip has slipped than the roads of Vietnam.

At the end of 1965, almost half of the country's major roads were unsafe even in the daytime. Now over three-quarters of them are open.

That is not only a measure of progress. It is a great help to further progress.

The overall economic outlook is improving. Inflation has been checked at a level only a fraction of what we had to deal with in Korea.

Out in the Villages -- where the war must ultimately be won -- the revolutionary development program is beginning to get into high gear.

The South Vietnamese government is now committing the bulk of its troops to assure day-and-night security to the people of pacified villages.

Four hundred trained teams of Vietnamese village workers are already in the field, and almost 300 more will be going out in the coming months.

Their mission will be to help the villagers to help themselves -- to help in the building of schools and health centers, the digging of wells, the improvement of farming methods, the achievement of better standards of living.

This is part of the so-called "other war". Another part -- perhaps the most vital of all -- is political development.

Democratic government is beginning to work in Vietnam -- all the way from the rice paddies to Saigon. And this is where the effort is perhaps most critical of all.

The Viet Cong did their best to disrupt the Constituent Assembly elections last year.

But, in the face of terrorism, the people turned out in record numbers -- over 80 per cent of the registered voters.

The Assembly has been hard at work, writing a democratic constitution for Vietnam. It is scheduled to complete its work this month.

Elections in the villages and hamlets will begin next month. The villagers, for the first time in 10 turbulent, war-torn years, will choose their own officials, responsible and responsive to them.

This summer, or at the latest in September, there will be national elections.

I have said it before and I say it now: the best long-run guarantee against a Communist takeover in Vietnam is a government freely elected by its people.

It is no secret that Communists don't like elections. They have never won a free national election anywhere in the world, not do I believe they ever will.

Their method is to organize a determined minority. Their method is to seize and hold power by force.

But democracy, unlike communism, is government from the bottom up -- government responsible to the people, rather than giving them orders.

That is the kind of government that is coming into being in Vietnam. And against it, the Communists can only prevail by naked force.

I am confident that they are not going to prevail. And I think they are beginning to realize it too.

A growing number of the Viet Cong rank-and-file have made that decision for themselves. They are defecting in steadily increasing numbers.

Something like 34 hundred of them came over in the first six weeks of this year -- almost double the number for the same period last year. And our intelligence shows that, for every official defector, there are several more who just leave their units and go home.

I don't want to paint the picture in colors any rosier than the hard reality.

We face determined enemies -- enemies who are deeply dug in throughout a good part of the countryside.

Digging them out will be grim, hard, slow, and dangerous work. We shall have to measure our progress village by village.

The brave and compassionate Americans who are there -- in uniform and in shirtsleeves -- know the importance of this fight and are determined to see it through.

And we, for our part, must back them up with equal determination. For this in large part is a test of will between us and the Communists -- a test whether their will or ours gives way first.

But I repeat, we are gaining momentum day by day, and they are losing theirs.

Needless to say, we remain eager to move this matter from the battlefield to the conference table.

But thus far there is still no response from Hanoi -- except to call for an immediate cessation of our bombing of the North as a prior condition for any possible future discussions.

With the bombing pressure off, Hanoi might very well filibuster at the table, while the fighting and bloodshed went on in the South, for months and years ahead.

To cease the bombing under those conditions would be to invite a repetition of Panmunjom in Korea -- where our losses were greater after talks began than before they began.

We cannot, and will not, tie the hands of our soldiers -- and of those of our allies -- by committing ourselves, under those circumstances, to end effective action against the flow of men and supplies from the North.

We remain committed to peace in Vietnam. Our offer of negotiation stands.

But Hanoi should know that we will not buy peace at any price and that we have the stamina to see it through.

And when that realization sinks in, I believe we shall be much closer to a real and lasting peace than we are today.

It is my earnest hope that the time may be near when Hanoi comes to that realization. Until then, we have no choice but to persevere. And that is what we intend to do.

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REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
BEFORE THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE LUNCHEON
WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH 9, 1967

....Harry Truman had what is an indispensable quality for a great man: character. He put substance and principle above image and popularity and I'll tell you this that the Democratic Party would be unworthy of public respect and unworthy of a page in history unless the President of the United States and the Vice President and those that are entrusted with responsibility do what they believe to be right, no matter what the consequences.

We can do no less, we cannot retreat on fundamental issues of peace and war. We cannot retreat and withdraw from our international commitments. We cannot retreat on the issue of human dignity and opportunity. We cannot retreat on the great fundamental issues that relate to the growth of this country. And if the price of having the pat on the back or the popularity or a favorable public opinion poll is to renege on our commitments, is to cut and run on our basic policies, then I say the price is too high.

I just want you to know that if you are looking for somebody who is going to try to be all things to all people -- if you are looking for a political leader and political parties that are not going to stand for things that they believe in -- then you have the wrong President and the wrong Vice President.

But if you are looking for a political leader that will stand on principle, that will fight it through, that will do his level best to give you both progressive government at home and honorable conditions abroad, that will stand by his principles and the commitments of this nation, I think you have the right President. And I'm going to be with him come hell or high water and stand by him all the time. (Applause.)

(At this point the Vice President offered to answer questions, and he was asked to speak about Vietnam.)

There ought not to ever be party politics in these matters of national security. I'm not saying that there ought not be differences of point of view, I happen to be one that has great respect for the right of people to express their own point of view. They call it the right of dissent and I think that right is a precious right. I also believe there is the right of advocacy -- of stating your position as you see it.

What have we been trying to do in these post-war years my fellow Americans -- because you cannot deal with Vietnam without dealing with a broader scene -- because Vietnam is like the infected thumb on the palm of Southeast Asia and Southeast Asia is like a part of the total body of this great globe that we have here called the earth.

Now since World War II the business of this country has been trying to find ways and means to organize the peace. That is what our business has been.

We were the ones that gave impetus to the United Nations. We were the ones that first went to the United Nations to be willing to share our nuclear knowledge and indeed even to ban the nuclear weapon. Do you remember the Baruch Plan? Some people have forgotten this. We were the ones that led the first efforts for disarmament. We were the people that called our troops back from Western Europe.

Now there are people today like myself, who feel that the world has changed greatly and much of it for the better.

Twenty years ago, 1947, we were on the verge of a mighty struggle with the Soviet Union. Joe Stalin had demanded that he was going to take the upper provinces of what is now known as Iran. And your President, then Harry Truman, gave him five days to get out of there and he spelled it out in words that he could clearly understand. He said "you are violating an agreement, an agreement to which we both affixed our signatures, and Mr. Stalin get out. If you don't get out I shall send in American power." That was a risky thing to do. Mr. Truman meant it. Mr. Stalin knew he meant it. And Mr. Stalin left.

If we are at a time in history when the Soviet Union is a little more cautious, a little more prudent, or as some people say -- if we are at a time in history where we are at the edge of a detente which means a better understanding -- we are not there because we cut and ran. We are not there because we said to Joe Stalin: "if you want Iran, help yourself." We are not there because when Mr. Stalin said that he demanded the Northeast provinces of Turkey, as he did in 1946 and

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'47, we said: "take it." We said "no." We are not there because Mr. Stalin said "I want the Dardanelles -- an outlet to the Mediterranean." No, we didn't agree to all that. And we are not where we are with the Soviet Union today because we said to Mr. Stalin and his forces "if you want Greece take it." We are here where we are because we stood firm in Iran, and stood firm in Turkey, stood firm in Greece and stood three times in Berlin, 100 miles inside the Iron Curtain.

In 1961, lest you have forgotten, your President John Kennedy called up 250,000 reserves in this country -- families disrupted, men taken from their jobs-- 50,000 of those reserves sent to Europe immediately, forces sent to Berlin augmenting our military establishment and we confronted Mr. Khrushchev with the fact of American power. We said "Mr. Khrushchev, you're not going to change Eastern Europe by force."

We confronted the Soviet missiles in Cuba, and my fellow Americans, and my fellow Democrats, your nation was within hours of a nuclear war, because we had issued the ultimatum to Mr. Khrushchev "get them out," and our fleets were coming through the Panama Canal.

Every airport in this country that is a strategic airport had B-47s upon its aprons and landing strips ready to take off loaded with nuclear weapons. Because we meant business.

And we are not where we are today in this world, with the Soviet Union being a little more prudent and cautious, because we said "have Korea." And I was in the Congress when that was going on in Korea. We had been defeated in the North, driven out to the battlefields in the South, hanging on the very skin of our teeth and there were those who said "get out."

Harry Truman said "stay." A new command was put in. New forces were put in. Over one-half million men were put in. There were over 165,000 casualties. That's quite a lot of them. And today Korea represents the greatest breakthrough in economic development in all of Asia.

What am I telling you? I am telling you that we have exercised a role of world leadership, resolutely, firmly, perseveringly. We haven't been belligerent, we haven't been bellicose, and we haven't vacillated.

We have paid a high price, 200,000 casualties thus far since World War II. We spent a fortune with Marshall plans and Truman doctrines and AID overseas and Alliance for Progress, and Korea. We have paid a terrible price, but today the world has escaped nuclear war.

Aggression unchecked is aggression unleashed. We ought to have learned that lesson. The real problem that we have today is that half of the people living in America today have no memory of World War II. Over half of the people alive in America today do not even know -- remember -- the things that happened before World War II that led up to it. And some of the same thinking that is going on today from the dissident elements went on in the Thirties.

Who knows but what had we stopped Hitler in the Rhineland when he broke the Versailles Treaty that we might not have ever had World War II. Who knows but what had the Japanese been stopped in Manchuria that there never would have been a Pearl Harbor. One thing we do know: that you do not satisfy the appetites of an aggressor by handing him pieces of territory. We tried that with Mr. Hitler and it didn't work, and it won't work. One other thing we do know, and we have some experience in it, is when you are prudent and careful and firm and resolute dealing with a totalitarian, militant, aggressive Communism they tend to hold back. We have those experiences.

Now here is Vietnam. Now your President didn't get you into Vietnam. Your President -- President Johnson -- hasn't signed a single new treaty since he has been President except the Space Treaty to ban nuclear weapons in outer space. He isn't the author of SEATO. He didn't even vote for it. He isn't the author of the ANZAC Treaty.

But the President of the United States has an obligation as Chief Executive of this nation to fulfill our commitments under treaty. That treaty passed the Senate 82 to 2. And we had some other resolutions that have passed the Congress.

But even if we didn't have a treaty, why are we in Vietnam? We are there for the same reason that we were in Korea. As a matter of fact, in Korea we had

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already announced that it was beyond the perimeter of our defense, in case you have forgotten. But when the attack came, and the aggression, we went to meet that attack. And I don't think you would think it was wrong. What kind of a Japan do you think there would be today, what kind of an Asia do you think there would have been today, if militant Communist aggression had succeeded in Korea? Do you think there would have been a free India? Do you think there would be a free Malaysia? Do you think there would be a relatively free Burma? Do you think there would have been a free Indonesia? I don't.

Now Vietnam has had American presence since 1954. There were over 25,000 American soldiers in Vietnam in 1963. There were almost 30,000 of them by 1964 and some of them were getting shot -- not many -- but about 500-600. They had been the victims of battle and the day came when we had to make up our mind as to whether or not we were going to pull all of our troops out of Vietnam or stand and fight. South Vietnam was a signatory to the same treaty that we were -- the Geneva protocols, the SEATO Treaty -- asked that we come to their help. We sent in air power in February 1965. We put in troops in 1965, and it is fair to say that had we not have done so Vietnam today would have been gone -- all of it.

Now what is the situation? Some people say today that if you stop the bombing that you will get peace. Listen, my dear friends. If we thought so your President would be stopping the bombing so fast you couldn't possibly know how fast.

There wasn't one bomb dropped on North Vietnam from 1963 to 1965. Not one. And yet from 1963 to 1965 before the first American bomber went to North Vietnam the equivalent of one and one-half divisions of North Vietnamese troops had gone into South Vietnam in open aggression. And the Viet Cong was being armed and directed out of Hanoi.

Let me tell you that your government knows that the Viet Cong is managed out of Hanoi. We know! We intercept their messages! Good God, who are you going to believe? Do you think that your President, your Secretary of State, your Secretary of Defense would lie to you on matters of this importance?

When I hear people say that the Viet Cong is like a little indigenous group of folks down in South Vietnam! They are no more indigenous, my friends, than some of the Greek Guerrillas were in the civil war in Greece, when they were managed out of Moscow -- until that line was cut -- until Tito broke with Stalin. And when Tito broke with Stalin and closed the border to Greece the civil war in Greece was over.

The Viet Cong is a national liberation front. The only honest word is front. It is not national. It is not liberation. This is not to say that members of the Viet Cong -- that many members -- are not non-Communist, because many of them are. But at least 20 per cent, 15 per cent let us say, are hard-core Communists. More importantly, they are directed.

But, the point: '63 - '65 not one bomb dropped. Your government appealed for peace one hundred times. In Canada, a member of the International Control Commission begged for peace. Did North Vietnam come to the conference table for peace? No. We paused five days in May 1965. Why? Why do you think we paused? Because we were asked to. By whom? Eastern European Communist countries. Why? Because they said they could bring North Vietnam to the peace table. And after the second day do you know what your President was told by a very prominent official of the Iron Curtain countries? "It's an insult. This is like an ultimatum. We will not knuckle down to you." That pause went over. It was useless.

We paused and were told again "if you would only pause fourteen days" -- this is all a matter of historical fact and record -- "if you will pause fourteen days we think we can bring North Vietnam to the peace table." Remember, your government has been asking for the peace table every day. North Vietnam has never said that they would come to the peace table. North Vietnam has never, ever said that they would guarantee that they would come to any peace table. They said they might, possibly, if we would do this or that, but they have never said they would come.

Your government has been saying since the beginning that we will be there, any place, any time, under any responsible forum, without any pre conditions to negotiate peace. No other government has said that. That is, North Vietnam has not said that.

So we paused fourteen days at the request of certain countries who said they thought they had contact in North Vietnam. At the end of the fourteen days no

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North Vietnam at the table. They came to your President, the Secretary of State, they said give us seven more days. The President said fine, seven more days. Seven more days, twenty-one days passed, and they came and said we will need another six. Twenty-seven days. Fine, We gave them another six. At the end of that they came back and said "it is useless." Even then we lasted. We stayed thirty-seven days. And nobody came. In the meantime supplies were pouring over the frontiers.

Now you have 450,000 young men out there. And if you don't think that when you stop the bombing that the rate of infiltration of men and supplies increases, then I am afraid, my dear friends, that the case is hopeless to explain to anybody. They poured men and supplies in because there was a cease-fire over the Tet period, and when Mr. Kosygin was in London with Mr. Wilson, again we held back. And again down the coastlines came thousands of tons of supplies and men. Your government was willing to talk but we got no response. No response! And when Mr. Wilson said "Had there been but one act of faith, we might have had peace" -- that act of faith came from here. I know! I sat in on the meetings. But it didn't come from Hanoi. So when I hear about that we ought to stop all of this -- listen, it isn't a matter of bombing or no bombing. That is not our policy.

Our policy today is what we do to preserve the territorial political integrity in South Vietnam and get peace. If we can get it with no bombing, we will stop tomorrow. If we could get it with a cease-fire... I know the other day one of our prominent leaders said we need a cease-fire. May I say most reverently, Lord God, of course we need a cease-fire. But it has got to be both sides. You can't have your men over there -- we on the cease-fire and the others firing.

Now, there are some dividends here, my friends. The picture has changed. This is not 1965 or 1966. The enemy cannot win. That is Number One. Start out with that. Militarily we have power there that is beyond anything in that area the world has ever known. We are not France, in case you have any invidious comparisons. The French were brave, but they were fighting in Laos, Cambodia, North Vietnam and South Vietnam.

We're essentially trying to protect one little area called South Vietnam. That was not chosen as the battle field by Lyndon Johnson. That battlefield had been chosen by the enemy. And it just so happens that two Presidents prior to Mr. Johnson had decided that this was the place to resist them. Dwight Eisenhower and John Kennedy. They both placed American money, material and men in that area. I think they were right.

What have been the dividends? Well, today instead of the Viet Cong having their bases untouched, they are in retreat. That is Number One. Number Two, there has been a great election held in South Vietnam for a Constituent Assembly. Do you remember that last fall? Do you remember what the cynics said? It never would work. It would be crooked. It would be fixed. Do you remember? Let me tell you something. They had 400 reporters from this country that went to South Vietnam to look at that election and they found more mistakes at the election in Minneapolis than they did in Vietnam. And that's a fact. They couldn't even get a good story. They came home heartbroken.

Eighty some per cent of the total eligible electorate in that country voted. They are writing a constitution. That constitution will be promulgated this spring. District elections for district leaders and councilmen, mayors, will be held this April. National elections will be held three months after the constitution is promulgated and a representative government will come into Vietnam under fire, under war. It is not easy.

In the meantime, what else is happening? Great economic development is taking place. In Korea, in the first six months: inflation 750 per cent -- I want to just remind you of a few things -- seven hundred and fifty per cent the first six months. In five years in Vietnam: inflation 100 per cent. That's a little different, isn't it? Sure there is inflation. But in Korea we had the kind of conditions in which you didn't have everybody running all over the countryside looking for a story. This has been an open war where the television cameras and the reporters -- they're looking for a new story every day.

Agricultural production is up. Roads are being opened up. Provinces that were once held by the Viet Cong are being cleaned out. The military is strong. The overwhelming power of men and material of the United States moves on. When will it end, I don't know. I don't know. I doubt that it will be soon. I doubt that it will be soon. Don't misunderstand me. But I want to tell you this. The enemy knows it cannot win.

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I think the enemy hopes it can win in Washington. I think the enemy hopes it can win in a divided American public opinion. They won the last struggle they had over there in Paris and they are trying it again. But I think I should tell you that the President of the United States and the Vice President of the United States and the National Security Council of the United States that advises the President are going to persevere. We are going to stay with it. We hopefully don't want to escalate this struggle. We are doing everything we can to prevent any confrontation with any major power. We have every avenue of diplomacy open that we can possibly find. But we are going to persevere resolutely, calmly, coolly in the hopes that we will find a way to get an honorable peace. That's what we are going to do. And we think it will work.

In the meantime, Indonesia that one and a-half years ago -- now just remember the dividends, one and a-half years ago -- was a Chinese Communist-controlled nation. Adam Malik, foreign minister of Indonesia, came to my home in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in September of 1966 -- a man that I have known for twenty years, and told me that the reason that the hundred million people of Indonesia today are free of Communist rule is because we were in Vietnam.

Prime Minister Lee of Singapore -- no friend of the United States, often a bitter critic -- has said that the American presence in Vietnam is buying time for free Asia. Malaysia today, that was confronted for seven years with this kind of a struggle, is today our friend, our partner, free and secure. Isn't it interesting?

Australia held an election on this very issue. Prime Minister Holt. The opposition party made the issue that Mr. Holt and his party are collaborating with the United States, are backing U. S. policy in Vietnam, therefore get him out of office. And Australia had fifteen hundred combat men out of a little country. Mr. Holt won the biggest victory that any Prime Minister has ever won in the history of Australia. He did it even at the time that he tripled their commitment to 4,500 combat men -- and more are going in, and thousands of civilians.

In New Zealand, Mr. Holyoke won the biggest victory that the party has ever won. And on what issue? Supporting the policy in Vietnam.

Prime Minister Sato of Japan who was confronted with corruption and division in his party was accused by the opposition of being a lackey of the United States of America in Vietnam policy. What did he do? He won, too.

It seems to me that the closer the people are into this struggle in Vietnam the better they do politically. And I might add quite respectfully that most of our critics about Vietnam are the people that have never been there, and are writing about it from a great distance.

Don't run from this issue. God only knows that war is what Sherman said it is -- Hell. But I will tell you what's worse. Tyranny! And what's worse is for a great power to renege on its responsibilities. If we can't stand there, who can?

I happen to think that part of the problems that China is having today is because we stood firm in Vietnam.

I know that Indonesia is free today because we stood firm in Vietnam.

And I know that with all of the sacrifice it has taken that there will be a day in history when it was said that President Johnson, like Harry S. Truman, proved himself to be great at a time when greatness was required of us, of its leadership.

That's about my answer to you on Vietnam.

#

~~Follow~~ REMARKS BY
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

BEFORE THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

LUNCHEON,
WASHINGTON, D.C.,
MARCH 9, 1967

~~light here in this room that lost faith in him -- momentarily -- because we were~~
~~under terrific pressure and we read the polls in our states and because it looked~~
~~like he couldn't win and you always like to be on the side of a winner. But Harry~~
Truman had what is an indispensable quality for a great man & character. He put
substance and principle above image and popularity and I'll tell you this that the
Democratic Party would be unworthy of public respect and unworthy of a page in
history unless the President of the United States and the Vice President and those
that are entrusted with responsibility do what they believe to be right, no matter
what the consequences. ¶ We can do no less, we cannot retreat on fundamental issues
of peace and war. We cannot retreat and withdraw from our international commitments.
We cannot retreat on the issues of human dignity and opportunity. We cannot retreat
on the grave fundamental issues that relate to the growth of this country. And if
the price of having the pat on the back or the popularity or a favorable public
opinion poll ~~if the price~~ ^{egg} is to renege on our commitments, is to ~~sort of, you know~~
cut and run on our basic policies, ^{then} I say the price is too high. ¶ I just want
you to know that if you are looking for somebody ^{who} is going to ^{try to} be all things to all
people. ¶ If you are looking for a political leader and political parties that are not
going to stand for things that they believe in ^{then} you have the wrong President and
the wrong Vice President. ¶ But if you are looking for a political leader that will
stand on principle, that will fight it through, that will do his level best to give
you both progressive government at home and honorable conditions abroad, that will
stand by his principles and the commitments of this nation, I think you have the
right President. And I'm going to be with him come hell or high water and stand by
him all the time. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN BAILEY: The Vice President has said that he will answer a few
questions. After that remarkable speech I wonder if anybody has a question they
can ask.

Ques. I would like the Vice President to deal with one of our troubled problems --

Vietnam.

(At this point the Vice President offered to answer questions, ~~the~~
and he was asked to ~~deal with~~ ^{speaking about} Vietnam.)

I think it's one that we need to deal with and I didn't deal with it in the context of this rambling message I gave you because it is obviously one of the most non-partisan matter that we ought to deal with. There ought not to be party politics in these matters of national security. This doesn't mean I do not want to be misunderstood. I'm not saying that there ought not be differences of point of view, I happen to be one that has great respect for the right of people to express their own point of view. They call it the right of dissent and I think that right is a precious right. I also believe there is the right of advocacy of stating your position as you see it.

Let me see if I can run through it quickly for you. What have we been trying to do in these post-war years my fellow Americans because you cannot deal with Vietnam without dealing with a broader scene because Vietnam is like the infected thumb on the palm of Southeast Asia and Southeast Asia is like a part of the total body of this great globe that we have here called the earth.

Now since World War II the business of this country has been trying to find ways and means to organize the peace. That is what our business has been. We were the ones that gave impetus to the United Nations. We were the ones that first went to the United Nations to be willing to share our nuclear knowledge and indeed to even ban the nuclear weapon. Do you remember the Baruch Plan? Some people have forgotten this. We were the ones that led the first efforts for disarmament. We were the people that called our troops back from Western Europe. Now there are people today like myself, that feel that the world has changed greatly and much of it for the better. Twenty years ago, 1947, we were on the verge of a mighty struggle with the Soviet Union. Joe Stalin had demanded that he was going to take the upper provinces of what is now known as Iran. And your President, then Harry Truman, gave him five days to get out of there and he spelled it out in words that he could clearly understand. He said you have violated an agreement, an agreement which we both have fixed our signatures and Mr. Stalin get out. If you don't get out I shall send in American power. That was a risky thing to do. Mr. Truman meant it, Mr. Stalin knew he meant. And Mr. Stalin left.

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If we are at a time in history when the Soviet Union is a little more cautious, a little more prudent, or as some people say ^{if} we are at a time in history where we are at the edge of a ^{detente} ~~detente~~ which means a better understanding, we are not there because we cut and ran. We are not there because we said to Joe Stalin: if you want Iran, help yourself. We are not there because when Mr. Stalin said that he demanded the Northeast provinces of Turkey, as he did in 1946 and '47, we said: take it. ["] We said no. ["] We are not there because Mr. Stalin said I want the Dardanelles ["] an outlet to the Mediterranean. ["] No, we didn't agree to all that. And we are not where we are with the Soviet Union today because we said to Mr. Stalin and his forces if you want Greece ~~to call it a Civil War~~ take it. We are here where we are because we stood firm in Iran, and ^{stood} firm in Turkey, stood firm in Greece and stood ^{three} ~~three~~ times in Berlin, 100 miles inside the Iron Curtain.

In 1961, lest you have forgotten, but your President Kennedy called up 150,000 reserves ["] families disrupted and men taken from their jobs. ["] 50,000 of those reserves sent to Europe immediately, forces sent to Berlin augmenting our ^{military} ~~establishment~~ in Berlin, and we confronted Mr. Khrushchev with the fact of American power. We said ["] Mr. Khrushchev, you're not going to change Eastern Europe by force. ["] We confronted, ~~we confronted~~ the Soviet missiles in Cuba, and my fellow Americans, and my fellow Democrats, your nation was within hours of a nuclear war, because we had issued the ultimatum to Mr. Khrushchev get them out, and our fleets were coming through the Panama Canal. ["] Every airport in this country that is a strategic airport had B-47s upon its aprons and landing strips ready to take off loaded with nuclear weapons. Because we meant business. ["] And we are not where we are today in this world, with the Soviet Union being a little more prudent and cautious, because we said have Korea. ["] And I was in the Congress when Korea, the battle, that was going on in Korea, and my dear friends we were literally pushed out of Korea, we were hanging to the little what we call the area around ^{Pusan} ~~Pusan~~ We had been defeated in the North, driven out ["] the battlefields in the South, hanging on the very skin of our teeth and there were those who said get out. ["]

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 Harry Truman said stay. The new command was put in, new forces were put
 in. ~~Over~~ ^{One half} million men were put in. There were 165,000 casualties. That's quite
 a lot of them. And today Korea represents the greatest breakthrough in economic
 development in all of Asia. ~~And I can take you back to the newspapers 10 years~~
~~ago and said it was an unbelievable myth, beyond redemption, but we stuck with~~
~~it.~~ What am I telling you? I am telling you that ~~we have gained~~ we have exercised
 a role of world leadership, resolutely, firmly, perseveringly. We haven't been
 belligerent, we haven't been bellicose, ^{and} we haven't vacillated.
 ¶ We have paid a high price, 200,000 casualties thus far since World War II. We
 spent a fortune with Marshall plans and Truman doctrines and AID overseas and
 Alliances for Progress ^{and} Korea. We have paid a terrible price, but today the world
 has escaped nuclear war. //



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OK

Your government, your country has kept these commitments. Aggression unleashed or unchecked is aggression unleashed. We ought to have learned that lesson. The real problem that we have today is that half of the people living in America today have no memory of World War II. Over half of the people alive in America today do not even know — remember the things that happened before World War II that led up to it. And some of the same thinking that is going on today from the dissident elements went on in the Thirties. Who knows but what had we stopped Hitler in the Rhineland when he broke the Versailles Treaty that we might not have ever had World War II. Who knows but what had the Japanese been stopped in Manchuria that there never would have been a Pearl Harbour. One thing we do know that you do not satisfy the appetites of an aggressor by handing him pieces of territory. We tried that with Mr. Hitler and it didn't work, and it won't work. One other thing we do know, and we have some experience in it, is when you are prudent and careful and firm and resolute dealing with a totalitarian, and militant, and aggressive Communism they tend to hold back. We have those experiences.

Now here is Vietnam. Now your President didn't get you into Vietnam. Your President President Johnson hasn't signed a single new treaty since he has been President except the Space Treaty to ban nuclear weapons in outer space. He isn't the author of SEATO. He didn't even vote for it. He isn't the author of the ANZAC Treaty. But the President of the United States has an obligation as Chief Executive of this nation to fulfill our commitments under treaty. That treaty passed the Senate 82 to 2. And we had some other resolutions that have passed the Congress, but even if we didn't have a treaty, why are we in Vietnam? We are there for the same reason that we are in Korea. As a matter of fact, in Korea we had already announced that it was beyond the perimeter of our defense, in case you have forgotten. But when the attack came, and the aggression, we went to meet that attack. And I don't think you would think it was wrong. What kind of a Japan do

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you think there would be today, what kind of an Asia do you think there would have been today, if militant Communist aggression had succeeded in Korea? Do you think there would have been a free India? Do you think there would have been a free Malaysia? Do you think there would be a relatively free Burma? Do you think there would have been a free Indonesia? I don't. Now Vietnam has had American presence since 1954. There were over 25,000 American soldiers in Vietnam in 1963. There were almost 30,000 of them by 1964 and some of them ^{were} getting shot—not many—but about 500-600 ^{They} had been the victims of battle and the day came when we had to make up our mind as to whether or not we were going to pull all of our troops out of Vietnam or stand and fight. Our ~~the little country there~~, South Vietnam was a signatory to the same treaty that we were; the Geneva protocols, The SEATO Treaty asked that we come to their help. We sent in air power in February 1965. We put in troops in 1965, and it is fair to say that had we not have done so Vietnam today would have been gone ^{all} all of it.

Now what is the situation? ~~I've got to just quickly run over.~~ Some people say today that if you stop the bombing that you will get peace. Listen, my dear friends. If we thought so your President would be stopping the bombing so fast you couldn't possibly know how fast. Who do you think is paying the real heavy political price for this war? It is ~~the President of the United States.~~ I think it is fair to say that if the war is over in Vietnam by the end of this year that we won't need to have any National Committee meetings. Johnson would need us like he will need. Well, I won't tell you what. He won't need us at all. He is going to need us in case it isn't over and he is going to need us all the time, hopefully. But we didn't bomb. There wasn't one bomb dropped on North Vietnam from 1963 to 1965. Not one. And yet from 1963 to 1965 before the first American bomber went to North Vietnam the equivalent of one and one-half divisions of North Vietnamese troops had gone into South Vietnam and opened aggression. And the Viet Cong was being armed and directed out ~~of~~ of Hanoi.

~~It is a fact that your government knows that the Viet Cong is managed out of Hanoi. We know! We intercept their messages! Good God, who are you going to believe? Do you think that your President, your Secretary of State, your Secretary of Defense would lie to you on matters of this importance?~~ ¶ When I hear people say that the Viet Cong is like a little indigenous group of folks down South Vietnam! They are no more indigenous, my friends, than some of the Greek Guerrillas were in the civil war in Greece, when they were managed out of Moscow, until that line was cut until Tito broke with Stalin. And when Tito broke with Stalin and closed the border to Greece the civil war in Greece was over. ¶ The Viet Cong is a national liberation front. The only honest word is front. It is not national. It is not liberation. This is not to say that members of the Viet Cong, that many members are non-Communists, because many of them are. But at least 20 per cent, 15 per cent let us say, are hard core Communists. More importantly they are directed. ¶ But, the point: '63 - '65 not one bomb dropped. Your government appealed for peace one hundred times. In Canada, a member of the International Control Commission begged for peace. Did North Vietnam come to the conference table? No. We paused five days in May 1965. Why? Why do you think we paused? Because we were asked to. By whom? Eastern European Communist countries. Why? Because they said they could bring North Vietnam to the peace table. And after the second day do you know what your President was told by a very prominent official of the Iron Curtain Countries? It's an insult. It is like an ultimatum. We will not knuckle down to you. ¶ That pause went over. It was useless. ¶ We paused and we were told again if you would only pause fourteen days - this is all a matter of historical fact and record - if you will pause fourteen days we think we can bring North Vietnam to the peace table. Remember,

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your government has been asking for the peace table every day. North Vietnam has never said that they would come to the peace table. North Vietnam has never, ever said that they would guarantee that they would come to any peace table. They said they might, possibly, if we would do this or that, but they have never said they would come. ¶ Your government has been saying since the beginning that we will ~~not~~ be there, any place, any time under any responsible forum without any pre conditions to negotiate peace.

9 No other government has said that. That is North Vietnam has not said that. So we paused fourteen days at the request of certain countries who said they ⁱⁿ thought they had contact with North Vietnam. At the end of the fourteen days no North Vietnam at the table. They came to your President and the Secretary of State, they said give us seven more days. The President said fine, seven more days. Seven more days, twenty-one days passed, and they came and said we will need another six. Twenty-seven days. Fine. We gave them another six. At the end of that they came back and said it is useless. Even then we lasted. We stayed thirty-seven days. And nobody came. In the meantime supplies were pouring over the frontiers.

Now you have 450,000 young men out there. And if you don't think that when you stop the bombing that the rate of infiltration of men and supplies increases, then I am afraid my dear friends, that the case is hopeless to explain to anybody. ~~It increased in the demilitarized zone twenty-fold~~

~~during Tet (sic) ... during the four days of Tet. Twenty-fold!~~

~~And young Marines are dead today because of it. They poured men and supplies in because there was a cease-fire over the Tet period, and when~~ back.

Mr. Kosygin was in London with Mr. Wilson, again we held ~~fast~~. And again down the coastlines came thousands of tons of supplies and men.

~~(not right) ... not right, not right.~~ Your government was willing to talk but we got no response. No response! And when Mr. Wilson said

had there been but one act of faith, we might have had peace. That act of faith came from here. I know! I sat in on the meetings. But it didn't come from Hanoi. So when I hear about that we ought to stop all of this, listen, it isn't a matter of bombing or no bombing. That is not our policy. Our policy today ~~must~~ is what do we do to preserve the territorial political integrity in South Vietnam and get peace. If we can get it with no bombing we will stop tomorrow. If we could get it with a cease-fire, I know the other day one of our prominent leaders said we need a cease-fire. ^{May} and I say most reverently, Lord God of course we need a cease-fire. But it has got to be both sides. You can't have your men over there ~~with~~ ^{on} the cease-fire and the others firing.

Now, there are some dividends here, my friends. The picture has changed. This is not 1965 or 1966. The enemy cannot win. That is Number One. Start out with that. Militarily we have power there that is beyond ~~anything~~ ^{in that area} the world has ever known. We are not France, in case you have any invidious comparisons. The French were brave, but they were fighting in Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam and South Vietnam. We're essentially trying to protect one little area called South Vietnam. That was not chosen as the battle field by Lyndon Johnson. That battlefield had been chosen by the enemy. And it just so happens that two Presidents prior to Mr. Johnson had decided that this was the place to resist them. Dwight Eisenhower and John Kennedy, they both placed American money, material and men in that area. I think they were right. What have been the dividends? Well, today instead of the Viet Cong having their bases ~~un~~ untouched, they are in retreat. That is number one. Number two, there has been a great election held in South Vietnam for a Constituent Assembly. Do you remember that last fall? Do you remember what the cynics said? It never would work. It would be crooked. It would be fixed. Do you remember? Let me tell you something. They had 400 reporters from this country that went to South Vietnam to look

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at that election and they found more mistakes at the election in Minneapolis than they did in Vietnam. And that's a fact. They couldn't even get a good story. They came home heartbroken. ¶ Eighty some percent of the total ~~eligible electorate~~ eligible electorate in that country voted. They are writing a constitution. That constitution will be promulgated this spring. District elections for district leaders and councilmen, mayors will be held this April. National elections will be held three months after the constitution is promulgated and a representative government will come into Vietnam under fire, under war. It is not easy.

¶ In the meantime, what else is happening? Great economic ~~development~~ development is taking place. In Korea, in the first six months ~~of~~ inflation 750 per cent. ¶ I want to just remind you of a few things. ¶ Seven hundred and fifty per cent the first six months. In five years in Vietnam ~~of~~ inflation 100 per cent. That's a little different, isn't it? Sure there is inflation. But in Korea we had the kind of conditions ^{in which} you didn't have everybody running all over the countryside looking for a story. This has been an open war where the television cameras and the reporters and the photographers ~~had~~ as much access ~~more than they have by a long range in this room.~~ For they are looking for a new story every day. ¶ Agricultural production is up. Roads are being opened up. Provinces that were once held by the Viet Cong are being cleaned out. The military is strong. The overwhelming power of men and material of the United States moves on. When will it end, I don't know. I don't know. I doubt that it will be soon. I doubt that it will be soon. Don't misunderstand me. But I want to tell you this. The enemy knows it cannot win. ¶ I think the enemy hopes it can win in Washington. I think the enemy hopes it can win in a divided American public opinion. They won the last struggle they had over there in Paris and they are trying it again. But I think I should tell you that the President of the United

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States and the Vice President of the United States and the National Security Council of the United States that advises the President are going to persevere. We are going to stay with it. We hopefully don't want to escalate this struggle. We are doing everything we can to prevent any confrontation with any major power. We have every avenue of diplomacy open that we can possibly find. But we are going to persevere resolutely, calmly, coolly in the hopes that we will find a way to get ~~an honorable peace.~~ an honorable peace. That's what we are going to do. And we think it will work. In the meantime, Indonesia that ~~two years ago,~~ one and a-half years ago ~~a~~ now just remember the dividends, one and a-half years ago ~~a~~ was Chinese Communist-controlled nation. Adam Malik ~~Mollick(?)~~, ~~former~~ foreign minister of Indonesia, came to my home in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in September of 1966. A man that I have known for twenty years, and told me that the reason that the hundred million people of Indonesia today are free of Communist rule is because we were in Vietnam. Prime Minister Lee of Singapore — no friend of the United States, often a bitter critic — has said that the American presence in Vietnam is buying time for free Asia. Malaysia today, that was confronted for seven years with this kind of a struggle, is today our friend, our partner, free and secure. Isn't it interesting? Australia held an election on this very issue. Prime Minister ~~Hope~~ Holt the opposition party made the ~~the~~ issue that Mr. ~~Hope~~ Holt and his party are collaborating with the United States, are backing U. S. policy in Vietnam, therefore get him out of office. And Australia had fifteen hundred combat men out of a little country. Mr. ~~Hope~~ Holt won ~~the~~ the biggest victories that any Prime Minister has ever won in the history of Australia. He did it even at the time that he tripled their commitment to 4,500 combat men and more are going in, and thousands of civilians. In New Zealand, Mr. Holyoke won the biggest victory that the party has ever won. And on what issue? Supporting the policy of Vietnam.

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4 Prime Minister Sato of Japan who was confronted with corruption

and division in his party was accused by the opposition of being a lackey of the United States of America, ~~in~~ Vietnam policy. What did he do?

He won too. 4 It seems to me that the closer the people are into this struggle in Vietnam the better they do politically. And I might add quite respectfully that most of our critics about Vietnam are the people that have never been there, and are writing about it from a great

distance. 4 ~~I conclude on this note of a Reverend preacher in my home town.~~

clerk
~~The Reverend Ruben Youngdahl. He is a very fine minister. He has the largest Luthern parish in the world. He told me he wanted to go to~~

~~Vietnam. He wanted to go to see the troops. He was one of the many members of the clergy that disagreed with our policy in Vietnam. I~~

~~made arrangements for him to be well received, to give him every accommodations that could be afforded. He went to Thailand, Laos;~~

~~he went to the Philippines, all through that whole area. He went to Vietnam and spent about ten days and went through one end of that~~

~~country to another talking to the troops, praying with the troops, eating with the troops, visiting with the troops, talking to the~~

~~officials. He arrived back and I called him on the telephone to welcome him home. Well, I said, Ruben, how was it? Well, he said,~~

~~first of all I want you to know that I have given four sermons today in order to counteract some of the things that some of my friends in~~

~~the clergy have been saying. He said you know, Hubert, I went there~~

~~doubtful and critical. I come back here to tell you that this is the greatest thing that your President has ever done, and I come back here~~

~~to tell you that if we do anything less than we are doing, we are~~

~~unworthy of being called a great people. He said I want to come down,~~

~~I want to talk to the President, I want him to know what I have seen.~~

~~And he came down here, and as you know, he did talk to the President!~~

OUT

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Johnson. And what he had to say to the President about what he witnessed

~~there would have gladdened your heart.~~ Don't run from this issue. God only

knows that war is what Sherman said it is - Hell. But I will tell you

what's worse. Tyranny! And what's worse is for a great power to ~~renig~~

renege on its responsibilities. If we can't stand there, who can? ¶ I

happen to think that part of the problems that China is having today

is because we stood firm in Vietnam. ¶ I know that Indonesia is free

today because we stood firm in Vietnam. ¶ And I know that with all of

the sacrifice ~~that~~ it has taken that there will be a day in history when

it was said that President Johnson, like Harry S. Truman, proved himself

to be great at a time when greatness was required of us, of its leadership.

¶ That's about my answer to you on Vietnam.

[Signature]

Vice President's
[transcript?]

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Remarks of the Vice President
to Members of the Democratic National Committee
March 9, 1967

Mr. Chairman, our friend John Bailey -- and my fellow Democrats, especially my welcoming committee which finally tracked me down! I'm sorry I was so elusive this morning. I'm going to let you in on a very special treat. I'm going to extend to you an unusually great favor. I'm not going to read any speech to you. I have all these remarks that prepared for all those who may have wandered from the paths of political righteousness so that I could send them texts and verse and scriptural lessons, but I thought today that since we were together as friends and as fellow Democrats, we might be rather informal and in my remarks to you to speak very plainly as I see things and very frank frankly. And then, if it's agreeable with you, since you're here to do...to work, help strengthen our party, I thought maybe it might be desirable if we had a little question and answer period. You may have some questions you'd like to ask...I'll try to find some answers. And all the answers that I can't find I'll put over to John Bailey, Margaret Price and a few others.

Now, I've been receiving a great deal of advice as to what I might say to you today. And I haven't taken any of it. I guess I should have, but I haven't.

I think the first thing I want to say to you is that the mourning period of mourning is all over. And I mean about the election of 1966, is over.

We can go around as Democrats and find somebody that is willing to listen to us, and tell them those dear friends what was wrong and what went wrong. You'd be surprised how interested people are in bad news. It's true in a neighborhood,

2- Vice President

it's even true in a family, it's surely true in any fraternal or social organization, and it's true in a political party.

And I might add that there ^{are} some friends right outside the door -- right out there -- ^{who would just} ~~that just~~ love to hear how bad things are.

It's ^{really} difficult to ~~really~~ get very much headline space for good news. But it's not at all difficult to get it for a mistake, an error in judgment, an unfortunate act, ~~or~~ an ill-tempered statement, or any complaint that you might want to register. ~~Now~~, I'm not saying these things to tell you not to speak your mind. ~~Because~~ I don't think it would do any

good if I did tell you that. I'm only saying that we had an election in ~~nineteen hundred and sixty-six~~. ^{well} 1966. It didn't come out as ^{have} good as some of us would have liked ^{again.} to have it come out, but you can't ~~live~~ it over. It's a thing of the past. ~~It isn't~~ even in this year. It has little or nothing to do with ~~nineteen hundred and sixty-eight~~ ¹⁹⁶⁸ -- unless we let it have something to do with ~~nineteen hundred and sixty-eight~~. ^{1968.}

Now, ordinarily I suppose I ought to open up my discussion with a few moments of levity and fun.

But your time is important and so is ~~my~~ mine ~~relatively~~ important. And you have Cabinet people who are going to talk to you, so I want to get right down to cases.

Now, we've been analyzed, scrutinized, victimized, pulverized long enough. We've ^{read} ~~had~~ article after article telling us of our shortcomings. There have been ^{who} ~~those~~ political pundits ~~that~~ have analyzed all the weaknesses of this Administration, all of the weaknesses of the Democratic National Committee, all of the divisions in the Democratic Party -- as if that were new. ^{Why} ~~I started~~ ^{does permit} in the. One of the reasons I joined the Democratic Party was because it ~~permitted~~ me to have a different point of ~~view~~ ^{from} ~~than~~ somebody else.

But I think that after all this analyzing, scrutinizing, victimizing and pulverizing what we need now is a little homogenizing and organizing. ~~So~~ That's what my purpose is today.

1968. I think it's fair to say that we have our work cut out for us in ~~nineteen hundred and sixty eight~~. The election of ~~nineteen hundred~~ 1960 was ~~and sixty~~ much more of a normal election than the election of 1964. ~~And~~ If you ~~can~~ put together the composite of the votes of 1960 and '62, rather than going around living on this political LSD of '64, you'll come closer to the realities of politics in the United States.

You cannot depend upon our Republicans, despite what our beloved friend Harry Truman said, ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{to fix things.} always ~~fix it~~ for us. You'll remember ~~XXXX~~ he ~~once~~ said, "Never underestimate the stupidity of the Republican Party." ~~And~~ I don't want to underestimate it, nor do I want to overestimate it. But I think we have ~~to presume, or at least we must~~ ^{assumption} ~~enough~~ to lay our battle plans on the ~~basis~~ ^{not} that they may have learned something. I'm not too sure. They may have learned ~~something~~ ^{anything after all.} I thought it was very interesting the other day when Mr. Romney said that he felt that Senator Percy was ~~a fine~~ ^{an} opportunist. I thought that was a very good start for them. They had a ~~sort of a~~ ^{rather} dull wake here in Washington a week or so ago, but it did raise a lot of money. ~~I know that when I looked at~~ John Bailey and John Criswell and Arthur Krim ~~they~~ ^a didn't much care what the substance of the messages were; all they did was take ^a body count. And when they saw the body count and the checks I could hear them say, "Why can't this happen to us?" Well, it can, and it must.

Now, ~~I say~~ ^{have to} we have our work cut out for us in 1968. ~~And~~ That means we start as of now. In fact, some of us have already started before ^{now.} If you want to take a look at what happened ~~in the~~ ^{last year,} ~~yesterdays~~ ^{that,} I think ~~it's~~...historically, we can say it wasn't unusual. Politically, we can

4-Vice President

say that it was painful. Prophetically, we can say: "Let's hope it never happens again."

But I'd like to trace for you today what I think is going to be the political picture in 1968, And why I think you ought to gird yourself for that battle.

The very first thing that you better make up your mind ^{had} ^{about} is who's going to be your candidate. ~~And~~ I think I can tell you. I just left him. Make no mistake about it. Just mark it down right now. You can read all of these ~~the~~ fiction stories you want. You can have people coming around blowing bubbles for you and telling ~~you~~ you: "Take a look in there and see if you can't see something else." ~~But the simple fact of the matter is~~ and some of us ought to remember it, ~~and~~ ^{where} particularly some of us from the Midwest ~~when there seemed to have been a lack of faith in Mr. Truman in 1948 before he went to the Convention in Philadelphia~~ ^{But can} you just mark it ~~right~~ down in your book right now that the next candidate for the Presidency of the United States on the Democratic ticket is the President of the United States -- Lyndon Johnson ^T that's who it will be.

Now, I'm not going any further than that on the rest of the ticket. I may be around to talk to you about it later on, so just keep an open mind. ^{-- we should} But I thought we ought not to go too far today ~~we~~ ^{just} leave some of these things open.

Of course, I did say to John Bailey the other night, and to Ray Bliss of the opposition Party -- ~~I didn't mention his name, though~~ ~~I didn't give him any free publicity, did I, John?~~ ~~--- I said that, you know, there's~~ ^{that} ^{uncomplimentary things have} so many things been written about the Vice Presidency that ~~are~~ ^{why} ~~uncomplimentary~~ that I saw no reason ~~that~~ anyone should be particularly concerned who occupied the office. ~~And~~ ^S since there are so few things around on

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5-Vice President

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this
which ~~the~~/country can seem to unite these days, and since there is such a
lack of continuity in the effort, ~~we have here to build tradition, I went~~ I went
even so far -- and I hope my Democratic friends will excuse me for saying
this ~~I said it just to make things better for everybody so that somewhere,~~ I suggested that
some way, somehow we ~~can~~ could find some one or some office around which we ~~can~~ could all
unite. I offered myself on both tickets. ~~Now, I didn't get any takers in~~
either ticket, I might add, But I keep planting this seed. And you'd be
surprised; if you spread it around enough, it may take hold ~~someplace.~~ somewhere

Now, ~~having given my own pitch,~~ let me talk to you about why
I think that we have something to work for and something to do. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

Let's talk about our Party for a minute. ~~a bit.~~

I suppose Will Rogers really summarized it, ~~or~~ put it as
succinctly as anyone when he said that he was not a member of any organized
party, he was a Democrat. ~~Now that is a humorous, and yet it is in a sense,~~
~~a very analytical way of stating something about this Party.~~ an apt comment
Because the
Democratic Party is a restless political instrument. The Democratic Party,
as you know, is a national political institution. ~~It is a federation, so ~~EM~~ to~~
speak, of ~~50 state parties and from the territories.~~ from the 50 states and
Nevertheless, it has ~~in your presence, as national committeemen and committeewomen, it has a~~
continuity. ~~I~~ It has a sense of unity without demanding unanimity. It has a
sense of purpose without dogma or doctrine. We don't lay down any line for
you. We don't say to you that you must cross every "t" and dot every "i" ~~as~~
~~we say.~~ ~~is: "I"~~ What we say is, you try to make your political party in your state
as effective an instrument for social and political progress as you can. "

We ask you to try to help us enact at the national level
the platform that we committed ourselves to in the last Democratic Convention.

We ask you to think ahead ~~about~~ ~~as to~~ the kind of a platform that you
think we ought to have in the 1968 political party convention. ~~at our 1968~~
we adopt

6-Vice President

We ask you to take a look, not only ^{at} where we've been and where we are, but where we ought to go.

We ask you to take a look at your respective states and districts -- what do you want done?

We ask you to find new leadership -- to open up your gates, ^{new} so to speak, to ~~that~~ leadership. to new people.

We ask you to reach out and bring in the young, because every one of us knows that there must be a constant inflow of new talent.

We ask you to open up your Party councils so that ~~my~~ people of every race, creed and color can be active participants.

I just left a ceremony on the South Lawn of the White House ^{at which} where a young man from North Carolina ~~by the name of Special Sargent~~ Specialist 6 Lawrence Joel, was given the Congressional Medal of Honor. This man was wounded twice -- he was under constant machine gun and rifle fire for 12 hours -- ^{yet} he saved the lives ^{of others} of dozens of young men ^{as} he was a medical aide. Without regard to his own life, he crawled ^{forward,} even though he was severely wounded in both limbs, and saved life after life -- ^{is a} and he was a Negro boy. ^{is a} A young Negro man from North Carolina.

it reminds us once again of the
I mention this ~~my~~ because ~~this only once again tell us the~~ changes that are taking place in this country. ~~It tells us also that this~~ ^{of ours,} ^{or} Our Party, without being doctrinaire, dogmatic -- without having some kind of a prescribed ideology that you all have to bow down to -- ~~and take the pledge,~~ so to speak -- ~~this~~ this political party is basically directed toward human opportunity, human dignity, economic and social opportunity, and economic and social justice.

I know those are broad phrases, but they're beginning to mean something.

^{Now}
And let's talk about what we've been doing.

^{had the 1966 election,}
~~We went to the elections in nineteen hundred and ~~66~~ sixty-six~~
and many people said, "Well, how come?" Here was this wonderful, unbelievable
89th Congress that did these fabulous things. How come it didn't seem to
result in votes? "

~~Well,~~ I don't think it's too mysterious. It was an off-year
election. That's number one. Number two: ~~there was many a Republican that~~ ^{who}
had ventured away from his political party in 1964 ~~that~~ ^{1966,} was like a hungry horse
waiting to get back to the barn in ~~19~~ ^{1966,} nineteen hundred and sixty-six once the
gate was opened. I think it's fair to say that our Republican friends went out
and energetically organized. They sought good candidates. They were filled with
enthusiasm, determination, ^{and} ~~and~~ they funded their candidates ~~well~~ and their
party. ^{well.} But ^{more} ~~more~~ importantly, and quite significantly, most of what we did in

^{had not yet gone into full}
the 89th Congress ~~never had a chance to take effect.~~ Much of it was at the
stage of ~~what we call~~ ^{post} "authorization legislation." ^{few of the new} Much of it was directed
toward grievances of other years. Very little of it, for example, ~~in programs~~
~~like the War on Poverty, aid to education, pollution control -- a host of~~
^{even}

~~programs -- seldom got a chance to get its field force organized, much less~~
^{The benefits of new programs like the war on poverty and aid}
~~bring any benefits to the people. This doesn't detract from the importance~~
^{to education had only just begun to be felt. I say this not}
~~of what was done. But it only tells you what the facts were.~~
^{to detract from the importance of what was done, but only to set}

^{Now that} ~~The~~ 89th Congress redressed the grievances of better than
two generations. ^{enact} The unfulfilled commitments of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry
Truman and the eight dry years of the 50's under the Republican Administration.
Those injustices, those inadequacies were redressed, as we say, their petitions
were acknowledged and the Congress of the United States saw fit to bind up
those wounds ~~and give~~ legislation that corrected those old injustices.

^{But} it did something else.

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had done 88th and 89th

If all that we ~~did~~ ^{had done} in the ~~89th~~ ^{88th and 89th} and the 88th Congress ~~was~~ was to take care of the mistakes and the ~~n~~ injustices and the inadequacies of yesterday, then we surely would deserve defeat in 1968. ~~Because~~ ^A political party ~~or~~ ^A an administration that is ~~worth~~ ^{worthy of} the confidence of the people must look ahead. And what we did ~~was~~ ^{was} more than redress the grievances of yesterday. We ~~literally~~ filled the ~~democratic storehouse~~ ^{governmental warehouse} with the tools and the equipment for the problems of tomorrow. We filled this the great governmental public warehouse with the instruments, /policies, the programs, the authorizations to do what will need to be done in the year 1976 -- not just 1966, ~~1970~~, not just 1960. And that's the difference between a forward-looking government and one that is just catching up with ~~the~~ ^{the} yesterdays.

Now, this message hasn't gotten ~~ten~~ through. And I'm here to tell you this noon, my dear friends, /it's time we became the salesmen of this Party.

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I'm going to tell you that ~~my~~ ^I father was a great...you know, he was a great influence on my life. And by the way, he was a good Democrat. ~~He~~ often told this story ^T -- the only unkind thing I ~~ever~~ ^{ever} heard my father say about my mother, because they really had a love match. Dad, one time when I was a young boy, ~~scolded me and reprimanded me~~ ^{he talked back} very properly because I had been somewhat abusive to my mother, on an occasion, which is what young boys do once in a while. And I can remember him ~~literally~~ ^{holding} getting me by the nape of the neck and shaking me ~~up~~ ^{up} a bit and saying, "Listen, young man, the woman that ~~if~~ you have just insulted happens to be my wife and ~~my~~ my...the woman you have just insulted is my wife and my sweetheart. She happens to be your mother. And she's a very wonderful woman. And I won't take any more of this kind of sass from you, and any more of this kind of disrespect towards your mother. There's just one weakness that your mother has. She's politically unreliable."

you have talked back to

And Dad really did feel that Mother voted for Harding. And he never quite ~~ever~~ really trusted her in the political arena after that.

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OMIT?

Well, ^{don't} now, my dear friends, I want you ~~not~~ to be politically unreliable. I know that you're real Democrats. And I know that ^{you can} if you want a good headline, I know how to get it. Listen... I can be the biggest news that ^{I could make news all over this country if I'd} this country ever had if I'm willing to walk out this door right now and say, "I disagree with the President on this... I disagree with him on that..."

I know how to get the news. I've been at it a long time. And I know that all you have to do is ^{start a} to put yourself in controversy with the powers that be, ^{and} particularly if you can show any degree of disloyalty. I never ~~nk~~ knew there was such a premium on Benedict Arnold^s.

^{Um} Well, I have no intention as the Vice President of the United States... ~~not intention~~ of burdening the President ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ with any more difficulties than he presently has. I didn't become Vice President of the United States ~~n~~ to add to the President's burdens. I became Vice President of the United States in the hope that I might relieve him of some of his burdens.

↪ I became Vice President of the United States with your support, your nomination, and the vote of the American people so that I could work for you and for this country.

^{hiding} But there is a fight promoter every block in this town, and three ~~laying~~ behind every bush. And the questions are asked, "Do you disagree with this?" "Do you agree with that?" "Do you disagree with this?" "Do you agree with that?" And there isn't a day that I wake up ^{what} but ~~I've looked through~~ ^{without looking} through the ^{new} that paper quickly to see ^{they've} now what fight have they started. As if we didn't have enough tension in the world.

^{Now} ~~I want to repeat to you that~~ ^I it's time we started ~~a~~ to accentuate the positive. And we've got something to talk about. ~~Now~~ ^{you} you can find plenty of things in your personal life, your family life, your professional and life, your business life to ^{fill} make a gossip column every day of the week. ^{what} If ^{that's} you want ^{is}. There isn't a one of us ^{who} that can't. You can even find something wrong with your local minister or priest if you really want to ^{or your rabbit} ~~or your rabbit~~.

If that's what you feel is important. ~~And~~ I can do it, you can do it, and we can ^{gather for} just have ourselves just the greatest collection of newspaper clippings that any man ever had in his life.

^{our party =} Or we can start now to make up our mind that we're going to build, and build and build and ^{recognizing} recognize that a human being is fallible... ~~to recognize~~ that a political party is a human instrument... ~~to recognize~~ that the President of the United States is a human being... ~~to recognize~~ that the Democratic Party is not a monolithic structurexxx --that it's made up of a host of voices ^{and} forces, 50 states, and ^{all} hundreds and hundreds of smaller political units, and that out of this there is bound ~~to be~~ ^{to come} occasionally ~~to be~~ a discordant note. Even in the Philadelphia Philharmonic somebody once in a while hits the wrong note on the flute. But ~~I want to tell you~~ that isn't the way the Philharmonic gets its reputation. ^{People} They listen to the harmony and the beauty of the music and they speak ^{its} of its greatness and talent and its artistry, rather than having somebody going around that's handling the public relations, or is the spokesman for the orchestra, saying, "Oh, I know the concert was good last night, but did you hear the second violinist?" or, "Did you notice that the conductor had a spot on his suit?" That isn't the way they do it. ~~So I'm asking you now to -- listen~~ ^{of our party and get} let's tighten up -- tighten up the structure -- let's loosen up our powers and let's go to work.

^{Now} What have we got to go to work on? Well, let's just take a look. I want to tell you where we are. ^{And} ~~Then I want to tell you~~ where I think ~~we're~~ we're going to go.

^{it's} I don't think ~~there's anything~~ ^{about} wrong if you happen to be from Baltimore, to brag a little bit ~~of~~ the Baltimore Orioles. ^{I could} If you're a sports fan. They did win the World Series. Of course, then, ~~I want to tell you that~~ the Minnesota Twins won more games after the Fourth of July than the Baltimore Orioles; but we didn't come in first, we came in second, or third, or whatever

the number was. /I didn't go around as a Minnesota Twins fan saying that they ought to fire ~~Sam~~ ^{the manager.} And I didn't go around saying, ~~Well,~~ "It's a lousy baseball team." I went around explaining that the weather was bad in the early part of the year. ~~And~~ I said that we did have some misfortunes. ~~And~~ I spent ~~all~~ ^{most} of my time as a sports fan telling about the amazing record of the Minnesota Twins ~~xx~~ after the fourth of July. ~~And~~ If you'd listen ^{ed} to me enough, we'd have been in the Series, ~~not~~ ^{World instead of} the Orioles. ~~xxxxxx~~

I think this is something ^{that} we need to do right now. Let's find out what we've done. It doesn't mean that we've done it perfectly. It only means that everything is ^{relative.} in comparison. I don't happen to think the Baltimore Orioles were a perfect baseball team. They were better in that Series than the Los Angeles Dodgers. I thought the year before that the Twins were better, but the score didn't show it. The Los Angeles Dodgers were better. My analogy is somewhat appropriate. Because what we're really talking about is, on balance, what have we done? And what is more, ^W we are talking about comparisons. ~~And~~ as I said to my friend, ~~Billie~~, ^{I was} here--we were down in North Carolina the other night, and I was talking to some of our good friends there, and I said, "Look, it isn't going to be a choice between what you would like to have if you had your 'druthers,' and what you have. It's going to be a choice between Lyndon and ~~whoever is the Republican candidate, between the Johnson and the Democratic Party and somebody on that Republican ticket, and the Democratic Party and the Republican Party.~~ That's what your choice is going to be." ^{that,} ~~And~~ I think when that choice ^{faces you,} is there you won't have too much trouble bringing yourself around ^{do} to what you ought to ^{do} about it."

All right, let's just take a look. ^{we?} ~~so~~ ^{it} we take for granted now that we have prosperity. Well, why do ~~you?~~ I remember being in this same room only a few years ago when we ^{were giving the Republicans fits} used to be giving the Republicans literally ~~h-a-double what,~~ you know, because they had three recessions in eight years. That was our talking point. ~~Now~~ ^{my recessions, We've had} we haven't had them. ~~We've got~~ fabulous growth;

12-Vice President

Family incomes are up \$150 billion in three years; Real wages have increased for workers almost 25%. ~~And~~ ^W we go around saying, "Well, that's what we should have expected." ^{that is what we} ~~That's~~ maybe what you should have expected from John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.

But I'll guarantee ^{that} ~~you~~ ^{Barry} you wouldn't have got it from Richard Nixon ^{or} ~~and~~ George Romney or ~~Mr.~~ Goldwater. ~~XXXXX~~ ^{just} And ~~just~~ don't take it for granted. If your daughter wins the local beauty prize, ~~just~~ ^{just go} don't go around saying, "Well, of course I knew she ~~was~~ was going to." ^B Be proud of her. ~~And if she~~ ~~even~~ only comes in second place you might even be a little proud of her.

Let's ^{just take a} look at another thing. What's one of the big criticisms we've had about our Administration? The Poverty Program. ~~xxx~~ ^{to} I'm just talking ~~with~~ my friends and neighbors here, now. ~~The Poverty Program~~ They say it hasn't worked very well. Well, let me tell you ~~the~~ programs that ~~of~~ every Administration has had ~~from~~ ^{up to} up until this time from George Washington ~~and to~~ this date haven't worked very well ^{against} on poverty, ~~either.~~

Go back to your own home town. You've got a lot of poor people, you've had programs, you've been taxing yourself ~~half to death~~ to pay for welfare. It hasn't worked. What are we trying to do? We're trying to find some answers. We've been at it ^{only two and a half} ~~2 1/2~~ years. ^{history.} ~~And~~ The poor have been with us since the beginning of ~~time.~~ I know we haven't done as well as we should. But we've ^{done} done a whole lot better than the opposition ever intended that anybody should. ~~And~~ ^{In} three years, four million of your fellow Americans ^{who were} ~~that were~~ ~~literally addicted to poverty~~ ... ~~that were the victims of cruel and inhuman poverty~~ ^{mm} have been lifted out of ~~four million of them~~ that poverty by the programs that your congress, your President, your Administration and your political party fostered. That's not bad. Four million of them. ^{There}

^{have been on} Unprecedented 72 months of economic expansion. ~~And I know~~ I heard during the election, "Well, ~~it's~~ the main issue ^{is} is inflation." ^{Everybody} Inflation. ~~Nobody~~

knows...

Everybody knows, of course, that inflation is as distasteful as a toothache. Or, at least it's distasteful, may I say, as a bit of a stomach ache.

But there's a great deal of difference, my dear friends, between what was a very modest price increase in this country, with unprecedented, continuous economic growth, and the

than having three disastrous economic recessions in eight years. They brought the State of Michigan -- as I see Neil Staebler practically to its knees. The automobile industry half closed down. The

mining industry half down, Appalachia not only a pocket of poverty, my dear friends, a desert of poverty. And in three years... since 1963... in six years,

since John Kennedy -- I think that's where we ought to start -- that's where we came in -- the whole picture has changed. A young President said, "Let's get this country moving." Another man that succeeded him said, "Let us continue."

And, my fellow Democrats, we've taken it for granted. You have forgotten and, what things were like before -- and And, my goodness, if you forget, you can rest assured that the Republicans are

going to help you forget. And everybody else forget. But I'm not going to forget. I want you to go on out of here and be the salesmen for this Party. I want you to stand up and say "This is my Party. This is my family.

This is MY President. This is MY Administration. This is MY government. This is MY Congress." And it is. And I have some reason to be proud of it.

Not everything is as good as I would like. Some things I would have done better. You can say, everybody has the right to want to play President except the Vice President -- he has no right to do that. EXXEXXEXX Everybody

knows how to be Secretary of State. Almost everybody knows how to be Secretary of Defense. And all the other positions. But when you take a good look at it, just put it down this way... and I'll just run down there are six EXXEXX

million more people at work in the United States today than there were three years ago. At better wages, better working conditions. They have

With a greater

14-Vice President

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of employment and
security ~~in job~~. With more fringe benefits than they ever had in any of the
history of this country. And those six million are there not only because of
your government. But because of the policies of this government in cooperation
with private enterprise, the labor movement in this great economy. But, since
we're getting blamed for every mistake, may I suggest that those six million
that are there today are a part of the record of this Administration. And
they're there because ~~it was~~ your President, your Administration, and the
majority of Democrats in your Congress and your political party that had the
courage to stand up ~~and~~ for economic and social policies that made possible
the expansion of this country. So why don't you talk about it?

This is your program. There were these four million million
that I spoke of that came out of poverty. Let me give you just a classic
example: There are 35,000 young men and women from the most abysmal slums of
our cities today, selected because they had ~~some intelligence~~ ^{shown intellectual} capacity
in testing ~~in schools~~ ^{tests of their}. They were ~~disadvantaged youth~~ ^{from} poor schools but God-given
intellect. They were going to waste.

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~~This may be found there and~~ I submit to you that those 35,000 could have never ^{have come up} gone, never gotten out of those conditions under the alternatives ^{was} of leadership that have been offered this country. So when I see those 35,000 and I have met with many of them, I say that they are in the universities today and they have been lifted out of the slums because your President and your Administration and your Congress and your political party helped give them a ^{chance in} good life and you ought to be proud of them. (Applause)

There are ^{8 or 9} 8 to 9 million more workers covered by minimum wages. And they are getting a minimum of \$1.40 an hour, which lifted ^{them} these people out of poverty faster than ^{could do} this government has ever done. To some people this was too fast, ^{thought} to others it was too slow, ^{and} too little. But I submit that it was accomplished by your President

and your Administration and a majority in your Congress and under the auspices of your political party. There are ^{eight} 8 million children in disadvantaged ^{today} youths that are receiving aid under the Elementary Secondary School Act. ^{families who are} Now listen my dear friends

Every aid to education bill that I ever knew ^{before} and I have been here for now let's see, I'll be here 18 years. This is my 18th year. I spend 16 of those years in Congress.

Every aid to education bill was ^{was} either ^{either} killed on the basis of race or religion. Finally, ^{of} Now we have ^{who} you have a President that said, "let's take a look at the children." Let's take a look at the needs of our children, ^{it} and we passed a Federal Aid to Education program. It has weaknesses, it involves and has ~~some~~ problems. I do not deny it. I am not at all sure that it is being administered as well as you think it could be administered.

But I'll tell you this, there are 8 million boys and girls today in America ^{who} that were disadvantaged, ⁱⁿ that were living conditions that were ^{below} beyond really what you will call really decent ^{who} human conditions that were in schools that were inadequate ^{and today} that today they are getting a first-class education in 17,000 school districts in America. Why?

Because your President and your Administration and your Congress ^{through} and your political party proposed a program and had what it took to put that program to help 8 million children in the United States of America. You

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You ought to be proud of that. There are 16,000 graduates of the Job Corps and 13,000 ~~men~~ have jobs paying ~~at~~ an average of \$1.71 an hour. There are still 31,000 in the Job Corps Training Centers and I have heard ^{about} all the mistakes of the Job Corps. And ^{had} there isn't any doubt that it has its troubles. ^{Bot} Well let me tell you something ^{who} every boy or girl ^{ever} ~~that~~ went to the Job Corps was a problem before ^{he or she} they arrived. I read about the rate of drop-outs of the Job Corps ^{for} about 35%. ^{from} That's lower than the great universities. As a matter of fact, the rate of drop-outs of our great universities of ~~the~~ children from upper and middle-income families is greater than ^{from} ~~out~~ of the Job Corps. And yet out of these Job Corps kids, 13,000 went out ^{to jobs} with a salary of \$1.71 an hour on the average. ^{Few of them} They were working but ~~few~~ had had ^{previous} in work - only 5%, and they had averaged only 70¢ on any experience and about 5% of them had work experience at an average of 70¢ and hour. ^{went into} And what is more 3,000 of them volunteered ^{They qualified} for military service. ^{Volunteered} because they ^{received} finally had enough education and enough basic health care so that they could serve their country, both in jobs and in the defense establishment. Now maybe ~~this is not important to you, but~~ I was brought up to believe that, if you could, ^{you} ~~help somebody make a new life.~~ ^{people to make something out of their lives.} If there was something that you could do to enrich a person's life ~~that~~ this was important. And I submit to you that a program that can help thousands of young men and young women get on their feet is a program worthy of your support and worthy of your interest ~~and worthy of your defense~~ and your President and your Administration and your Congress and your political party ^{have} made this possible.

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Let me just ^{say a} mention another word about ~~another group~~ the Elderly. ^{Do} You think we got Medicare because we whistled? Do you think that it came because it was easy? I introduced the very first Medicare bill ever introduced in Congress, May 17, 1949. I was one of ^{the} ~~those~~ early pioneers on a lot of this legislation. I took all the brick baths. I know how they feel. Today ^{Medicare is} ~~that's~~ the law of the land, it was signed ¹ a few months ago. It went into effect on July ^{Five} 1966. 5 million of our senior citizens have had aid under that program. ^{Five} 5 million have had the care of fine doctors, ^{Three} ~~the~~ doctors of their choice.

Not any socialized medicine, the doctor of their choice. 3 million of them have had hospital and nursing home care. The hospitals of the United States have received almost 1½ billion dollars in cash payments. The doctors have received over 150 million dollars in cash payments. Much more important, ^{five} 5 million people have had for the very first time in their lives the kind of hospital and medical care that a citizen of the United States ought to have. How did that happen? Do you think you got that from Ray Bliss? Do you think you got that out of the Republican National Committee? Do you think you got that ^{from} that a Republican President? ~~They had 8 years~~ Out of a Republican Congress? You surely did not. You have ^{Five} 5 million of our senior citizens ~~that~~ have enjoyed the benefits of ~~the healing of~~ a modern medicine because your President and your Administration and your Congress and your party fought for it, fought for it. And what about the tomorrows? What are we doing? We are trying to ^{see} look at what we can do for our cities.

I have heard all the arguments ^{why} about we ought to do more, and you know what ^{are} they the arguments are. That we are not doing enough. I know we're not doing enough, but we're doing more than anybody else ^{ever dreamed of doing} dream do. And it doesn't take a great deal of wisdom or courage to say we ought to do more. What's important is ^{that} what we are ^{now} doing is ~~now~~ effective. My fellow Democrats what we are going to need from you is ^{Model Cities} the help to get the program through Congress that we have up their for the model cities program. ^{and} For our slum clearance program, ^{and} for our rent ^{supplements} subsidies for the poor, ^{We need your support} for our water pollution control, ^{and} for our air pollution control, ^{programs} You know, I have always seemed to me that any nation that could put a man on the moon ought to be able to ^{design} create a bus that didn't spill out nauseous poison gases. ^{and} We think we can. ^{in thinking} We think we can have a program like that and I want your help to think about these tomorrows. ^{What} What kind of a tomorrow do you want? My fellow Democrats, we have never won any elections talking about the yesterdays and we're not going to. I want this party issue-oriented. I want you to talk about what you ^{intend} want to do in your state, whatever your state may be. What kind of a political program, what kind of an economic ^{and} social program do you need?

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Let's have the nix again. Let's start pouring/our ideas. All these ideas
can't come out of Washington. Even though may I say that the President has sent
to the Congress 16 magnificent messages. I want ^{say to} the Democratic National Committee
— and I say it here for the first time in the presence of the officers of this
Committee. I want every one of those messages to be ^{published} prepared in pamphlets with
pictures and ~~charts~~, graphs, because everyone of them represents a program for
tomorrow. ^{Most} Much of those programs will not be ^{enacted} passed in this 90th Congress, but
they represent a platform for progress ⁱⁿ for the days ahead. Our Republican friends
are going to ^{them} will be against it. They are going to fight us at every turn. ^{And} Let's think
^{how} about we are going to get people back home excited, organized and inspired ^{about} to
do ~~for~~ something about it.

^{is} What/wrong with your country ^{being} interested in youth development? ^{our youth}
W ^{we} must be interested in it. What's wrong with us improving the health of our people?
N ^{not} a thing. ^{And} the President's Health message, the President's Youth message,
the President's Consumer message, the President's ^{Environmental} message on pollution — ^{air and water}
of ~~water and air~~, these are messages for tomorrow. I want you to take them ^{and} study
^{and organize} them, ^{get} your seminars your workshops, ^{and} your political groups, ^{go} to the meetings
of people who are not in our political party and talk about them. ~~Talk about them~~
^{about our} ^{for} as ~~the~~ programs of tomorrow.

^{A lot} Now I'm going to conclude on this note about the National Committee. ^{lots}
^{this:} has been said about ~~them~~, or will be said. At least we know we have one. Much has
been written. ~~The National Committee~~ what is its relationship with this Administration?
~~Now~~ The President of the United States is the chief spokesman of this party. ^{He} is
the chief executive of this land, ^{he} is the chief of state. The Vice President ^{and} ~~of~~
~~the United States~~ is the President's friend, ^{and he is} his right hand, ^{and} ~~he is~~ not here
because he was told not to be here by the President. To put it bluntly, I am here
at this noon luncheon, because the President of the United States said: Mr. Vice
^{our} President I want you to go and talk to ~~my~~ fellow-Democrats and bring them our
message. I'm not in charge of the National Committee whatever you may have read.
^{and} The National Committee is my partner. I'm their partner. I have my own identity, —

My own particular office that you made possible. ~~But~~ the President of the United States has many responsibilities over and beyond this political party. ~~And~~ while I haven't been asked, ~~nor~~ have I been ordered, let me make it crystal clear I intend to take a very active interest in the Democratic National Committee. (Applause)

~~And~~ I think you have every reason to believe and know this Committee is on the march. You are the Committee. ~~It's not just this crowd up here. You are the~~

~~Committee~~. This party will be as strong as you make your party ⁱⁿ ~~and~~ your state. ^{that}

This party will be as weak as the number of divisions/you tolerate in your state and can't patch up. [I told the President after the election in Minnesota, I said

Well Mr. President, I know everybody ^{is saying} ~~around is telling~~ you lost the election. But I

want you to know you weren't a bit of help to us out in Minnesota, we lost it all

by ourselves. We didn't need your help one bit. ~~Now~~ we didn't lose everything, it

wasn't a rout, it wasn't a disaster, but we lost ~~2 or 3~~ ^{today} offices which we ought to have

held. [This National Committee has/the active, militant, aggressive, wholehearted support of the President of the United States, of the Vice President of the United

States and I hope ^{of everybody who} ~~that anybody that~~ amounts to anything ⁱⁿ ~~within the ranks of~~ this

government. ^{When} It has that support. ~~So~~ you go home, remember that and tell your people

~~will you~~ that's where we start. [We are rebuilding this political party, ~~or should~~

^{or rather we are} ~~I say we are just~~ adding some more strength to it. ^{Here's} It is at this table: Charlie

Weltner, ~~down here to our right to your left, if that man can't~~ ^{-if he} represent the spirit

of progressive socially-conscious, highly-motivated youth in this country, I have

never met a man ^{who} ~~that~~ could. (Applause) ^{Here's} Bill Philips, who has a record in the

Congress of the United States as a researcher as an organizer ^{and as the sparkplug of} ~~as an advisor, with~~

the Democratic Study Group ^{He} ~~and others who~~ has been brought into this National

Committee establishment ^{to take} ~~in~~ charge of research, program materials, getting the

information that you need. ~~Listen~~ I don't care who the Republican's look for, you

will not find anyone who can do a better job than Bill Philips ~~right down here at~~

this table.

Now I speak of one ^{who} ~~who~~

One of the finest men ~~that~~ ^{whom} has ever served in the Congress of the United States. ~~A man that I had the privilege of talking to only a little while ago on the telephone a few days ago, but he wasn't going to come with us to the National Committee, and gave me some funny ideas on private enterprise and all that sort of business, going out and getting rich.~~ I said, "Billy, you just can't do it. We need a man like ^{YOU} Billy to help ~~us~~ ^{us} with Registration and organization. We need a man ^{who} ~~that~~ commands the respect of the people in the Congress ^{who} ~~that~~ has the respect in his own state, ^{who} ~~that~~ has a real ^{stature} confidence in his own right, ^{who} ~~that~~ is a highly-educated, politically-sensitive human being. And he is ^{now} on your Democratic National Committee ^{staff} - Billy Farnum ~~right down here.~~ (Applause).

Now that I have mentioned the new ones, don't sell ~~short~~ the old ones, ^{short}. I hear a lot of things about a lot of people, I said to a reporter the other day, "I said, what's wrong with John Bailey?" I know a little bit about him. I remember when he took me to task, I remember when he took my measure. I have great respect for him. I know John Bailey is a good Chairman. He is a good man, ^{and} he is a solid Democrat. ^{and} If every state in the union had done as well as Connecticut in the last election, the Republicans would ^{have been} ~~be~~ out of existence except ²⁵ for an exhibit ~~and~~ ^{Some museum.} ~~in~~ exist as only an institution. (Applause). What John needs is your help and mine. What he needs is the confidence of the President and he has it, Or he wouldn't be sitting here today and he wouldn't be where he is going to be tonight and the President wouldn't be where he is going to be tonight. We are in this business together. ^{I know you hear people say:} Oh you can have folks come around and say, "I understand that the Vice President is for somebody else." Well, let me tell you that wouldn't make a great deal of difference anyhow, ^{so} don't get excited about that. ^{or} ^{might} ~~or~~ somebody can come around a little bit later and say, "I am not sure that the Administration's really for Bailey." Well, let me just set the records straight--the Administration is for Bailey, Bailey is for the Administration, President Johnson is for Bailey, John Bailey is for President Johnson, Hubert Humphrey is for Bailey, and Bailey darn you, I gather you're for Hubert Humphrey. (Applause)

Price

Now ~~we have been doing a little work around~~, I said to Margaret ~~here~~ just a few moments ago, I had ~~many~~ ^{that} letters from some of you in this room, and I did something I suppose I shouldn't have. I always get myself into trouble, ~~but~~ after the election was over, I wrote to some of you, ~~your're right here~~. I said "Tell me, write to me honestly, ~~tell me~~ what happened, I'm not going to divulge your name." The President has always said a man's judgment is better than his information, ~~and~~ ^{so} I thought ~~well~~ why don't I write to the people ~~that~~ ^{no} ~~our~~ ^{who are} out where the votes are cast. ~~Well~~ ^{the journalists} some of these folks who are writing about it ~~right~~ ^{in Washington} here, ~~they~~ haven't been any where near where the votes were cast. ~~So~~ ^{back} I got a lot of letters ~~in~~ ^{just} and I want to say right now that I told Margaret ~~right~~ before I got up ~~and~~ I might as well make it public that I had compliment after compliment about Margaret Price in those letters, ~~and many of your sent those compliments right on in.~~ ^{and the} The work that Margaret did, she didn't have a lot of staff, she didn't have ~~much~~ money, she didn't have all the resources to do it with. But she never gave up, she never gave up and Margaret I salute you! (Applause) ~~And if you ever get a little downhearted, all you need to do is have breakfast with Louis Martin.~~

~~Believe me, I have been with Louis,~~ whenever I feel a little blue, I just call up Louis Martin, ~~and Louis~~ ^{He} brings together a few of the faithful and we get together and we talk things up a little bit, ~~and~~ I can tell you this, the luckiest thing that ever happened to the President of the United States, the Democratic National Committee and the Democratic Party is to have that fellow Louis Martin. ~~He is right there with us.~~ (Applause).

I sure don't have to tell you a great deal about our friend Dorothy Bush, Dorothy and I have been friends together ~~for~~ ^{a long time. must have} a long time. She has been active in this party. ~~She did get~~ started when she was about 9 or 11, since she is such a young lady. Dorothy, we are forever indebted to you. What I like best about Dorothy is her ~~unflin~~ ^{unflin} flagging, unfailing loyalty to the Democratic party and to the candidates of the party. (Applause)

I'm going to mention we

~~Now~~ the next two ~~that I want to mention to you about~~, we are going to have to expect ~~them~~ to do much better because we do need money. But I can tell you this, ~~it isn't~~ ^{it's not} only how much money you have, it's what you do with it. ~~Now~~ ^{Let} me just share a little intimate thought with you. I'm not one for wasting money, I have to work too hard, ~~And I just raise arm-chested~~ ^{to get it, I} cain in my office with some of my people when they get to thinking that this money ~~that~~ we get for the Democratic Party ^{Party is like} isn't like ~~it's~~ our own personal money. ~~And~~ ^{Every} so often I will say to one or more members of my staff; well not listen, I just you ^{I want} to personally pay that bill yourself. ^{had better} You will damn well take another look at whether you are spending too much money. We have to go out and get this money the hard way. We have to raise this money in dinners, ~~we~~ ^{we} have to raise this money in sustaining funds. ~~We~~ have to go out and ~~pan~~ ^{handle} to get this money. And I want to make sure that every dollar ~~of money~~ that comes into the Democratic National Committee is guarded ~~like~~ ^{as if} it were part of ~~it was~~ your own personal funds. ~~Of course, if you are a waster yourself, we don't want you around to be Chairman of the Finance section of the party. But I can't think of anyone who has been harder at it, more constantly dedicated to this assignment difficult/of trying to provide the where with all for us to do our job, and a wonderful friend who will just goes day in and day out then Arthur Krim. And Arthur I want to congratulate you.~~ (Applause).

And Johnny Criswell, well, I'm his number one nemesis! I cause him all kinds of trouble. Whenever I can't find anybody whose shoulder ^{I can} cry on, I call up John. ~~And all I can tell you is Acting or not Acting, I am never able to understand all those titles, all I can tell you is simply this--that John Criswell, in the months that I have known him, not only gained my respect and admiration but my sincere affection. I think he has done a great job and I want to salute him here publicly in the presence of his team. So will my fellow members of the National Committee, and I kinda feel like I, I have never been National Committee/darn it, I missed living I know that but I have been associated with National Committeeman and National Committee women for a long time.~~

~~I just really think that~~ ^W ~~what this group up here~~ ^{Committee staff} needs more than anything
 else is your confidence ~~and I want to say to this group at this table, that what~~
~~this group out here needs more than anything else today is your inspirational~~ ^{and your}
~~enthusiastic dedicated effort~~ ^{and if you give ~~us~~ ^{them} your confidence} ~~and if you make~~
^{so that they can do what is needed,}
~~up your mind that we can do what we want to do~~ knowing that the tasks will be
 difficult, knowing that we have to make tough decisions. There is no doubt in
^{about} my mind ~~at~~ what the outcome is going to be. ^{with} ~~And I leave you this thought -- I~~
 know you watch the polls ^{and} so do I. Let me be very frank with you, no one is more
 vain than a man in politics. You can't help ^{feeling} but feel hurt ^{if} you don't look
^{feeling cheered} good. You can't help but feel up, if you look a little better. It's just the
 way things are. I have gone through both victory and defeat and I would like to
^{say sincerely -} ~~make a very very sincere and concise statement,~~ there is no substitute for
 victory. ~~No let me tell you there isn't a thing that can happen to your character~~
~~that you can't do with victory better than defeat.~~ ^{with} But I ~~also~~ think that I ^{also}
^{We have the} ought to tell you this. ~~That when you are a responsibility of governing in the~~ ^{one of}
 most difficult times ^{once} of history. Somebody said the most hopeful times are the
 most dangerous times. ^{it} The time of the greatest opportunity and ~~the time of the~~
 greatest threat. When you are the helm of government ~~or whatever your position~~
~~is in government at that time.~~ You have to ask yourself this question: ^{"Is it}
 better to seek personal popularity or to ^{your} stand by purpose? ^{?"} ~~And let me tell~~
 you they always don't go together. They don't always go together. ^{I mentioned}
^{to you -} ~~to you Medicare,~~ you can't ^{who} hardly find anybody ^{that} is against it, now. When I ^{first}
^{it,} introduced I was called everything from a Communist to a Socialist to a Radical -
~~to everything mean, dirty, nasty name anybody could think of.~~ Now I wasn't the
 final author of that bill. ~~I was the co-sponsor. Senator Anderson and Congressman~~
^{with} King ended up the Anderson-King bill. I know the difference between being popular
^{a little} and unpopular. I have suffered both ways. ~~And I want to take you to remember this~~
^{some of} Harry Truman, let him be your guiding light. Harry Truman had to make the toughest
 decisions that any President in our time has had to make. ~~And there are people~~



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