

FOR RELEASE: MONDAY PM's
APRIL 24, 1967

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
TEXAS STATE LEGISLATURE
AUSTIN, TEXAS
APRIL 24, 1967

This is a very rare experience for me -- to be able to stand here and look out over all these fine Texas faces. Of course, I have had considerable practice looking into Texas faces -- sometimes, I get the feeling that **whoever** wrote "The Eyes of Texas" had me in mind. But what makes this experience so rare is that, this time, I am doing the talking.

And I don't mind telling you: You may be in for it.

But you don't need to worry. The point has already been made. One of your fellow Texans reminded me this morning that Austin was once the home of William Sidney Porter who wrote the O. Henry stories -- and he observed that O. Henry and I had much in common: O. Henry stories always have surprise endings and in my speeches, the end is always a surprise, too.

I am happy to be in Texas once again. As you realize, one of the duties of a Vice President is to visit the capitals of our friendly allies. Believe me, we are very grateful in Washington to have Texas on our side -- that is, whenever you are.

I am pleased today to bring to the members of the Legislature warm personal greetings from the President of the United States. He is on a sad mission today to pay the last respects of our nation to one of the great statesmen in the postwar world -- a man who visited Austin six years ago this month -- former Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of Germany. I know you join with me in grieving the death and saluting the life of this stalwart of freedom.

The President and the First Lady -- what a wonderful image she has throughout this land -- asked me to check on Luci while I was here. She's fine but her Secret Service men are getting circles under their eyes, staying up late to study Dr. Spock. It won't be much longer before Pat Nugent and I will have more in common than just our youth -- we'll both be No. 2.

The President also asked me if I would stop by HEW and pick up this week's grants for Texas, so I could deliver them to Governor Connally. I did stop there, John, but the grants weren't ready -- HEW was still tying around them. You can expect them in the mail -- sometime during the next few months.

Seriously, it is a privilege -- a personally moving privilege -- to come to this historic chamber. Here, when this century was young, there began the public service of two of the great public men of our Republic: One was the wise and strong leader who served so faithfully his country and his party as Speaker of the House in Congress and went on to serve faithfully a great American President in the office I am now privileged to hold -- John Nance Garner.

The other, of course, was the uncommon American who presided over this Texas House as Speaker and went on to preside longer than any other American as Speaker of the House in Washington, a man whose influence for good still radiates over the conduct of our nation's affairs -- Mr. Sam Rayburn.

You who serve here where these great men both served are inheritors of a proud legacy of public leadership and selfless devotion to the public good.

On occasion, I have heard some Texans of my acquaintance express regret -- quietly and with restraint, of course-- at how difficult it is for anyone from your state to achieve positions of influence at the national level. Certainly, I am sympathetic. Why, ever since Woodrow Wilson had three Texans in his Cabinet, Texas has been held down. Since 1930, you have had only two Attorneys General, only two Speakers of the national Congress, only two Vice Presidents. Only two men born in Texas have been elected President in all that time. Why, right now in Congress, Texans are only chairmen of the Appropriations, Agriculture, Banking and Currency, Veterans Affairs and Administration Committees of the House.

Far be it from me to take away anything from Texas -- certainly not while I am in this job. But I'll tell you, with a record like that, I wish some of those people, whoever they are, that are holding Texas down would get it in for Minnesota, too.

In the long course of history, this month of April has often been--as the poet once put it--the cruelest month. With nature at her loveliest, man has often chosen this season to show his ugliest.

Fifty years ago, our nation was brought into the conflict of the first World War. There have been other anxious Aprils for us and for the world since. But I am thinking now of April, 1941, when a young Congressman from Texas came to speak before this legislature.

Here in these chambers -- now as a member, but as a boy-- that young Congressman had first learned the legislative processes sitting by the desk of his father. Only four years before, he had followed his father into public service -- elected to represent this district in the Congress. For those four years he had worked. He had warred against poverty. He had led the effort to harness the Colorado and to place the poles and string the wires that would light the darkness in the homes of these Texas hills.

But on that April day -- San Jacinto Day of 1941 -- he came home with another message. Standing here, as the clouds of war darkened over Europe and gathered over the Pacific, that young Congressman told his Legislature: "It is later than we think."

It was, indeed, far, far later than many Americans would permit themselves to believe. I need not recite the tragic events that were so soon to come -- nor need I remind you that the young Congressman was Lyndon Johnson.

In recounting this, I do not come to repeat now those words Lyndon Johnson spoke then -- for the message of this moment of ours is not the same as it was then for Americans.

The world of 1967 is not the same as the world of 1941.

And that is precisely the point I believe needs to be far better understood: both by our own people and by others in the world.

Twenty-six years ago . . . fifty and one hundred years ago -- and back through history -- peace has always had its enemies. But never has peace had its lasting protectors and defenders -- never, until now in these postwar years.

The second World War brought home to all mankind -- if not to all their leaders -- the inescapable fact that we could not again pay the price of major war. It brought home the lesson that we could -- and must -- be always ready to pay the price for peace.

On the foundation of that decision, a new world has come into being -- a world of new values, new relations, new aspiration. It is a world that renders obsolete the old dogmas of world dominion by the use of force.

In Vietnam now, the struggle is essentially a struggle not between two doctrines, not between two cultures, not at all between East and West but, rather, a struggle between these old values and new.

And I say that it is the new world a-making -- the new world with which this nation stands -- that will prevail.

We have in our land many problems to be faced but I have heard President Johnson say, over and over, that for all the problems that beset his office, he would rather face those which come to him than those which come to any other leader of any other government on earth.

I think sometimes this is the perspective in which we should think of the prospects and choices facing the men who have chosen to wage aggression in Vietnam.

In the design of their aggression, they have followed the traditional precepts of their dogma. They have followed a design which in the past seemed to be a formula for success. But they should -- and must -- recognize that times have changed.

Their war of so-called national liberation against South Vietnam has not spread as their dogma tells them it should.

The peoples and the leaders of Asia are not turning toward that doctrine nor are they bowing before it.

At the Manila Conference a few months past, the leaders of a new Asia chose confidently and courageously to cast their lot with the free world of the future.

And at Punta del Este, just two weeks ago, there was again that same kind of choosing -- that same kind of confidence--manifested by the Republics of this hemisphere.

I believe this message should now be clear to those who would follow the old patterns: It is later than they think.

In barely the span of a generation, a new world has been brought to being and we ourselves, in America, need to understand this better than we do.

In this world of the 1960's, unlike the world before, all but a fraction of humankind govern themselves for the first time.

In these 1960's, unlike the world before, men and nations are meeting together, planning together, working together on peaceful pursuits for the betterment of life on all this earth.

Never before in all the years man has lived on this earth has there been such a great commitment of resources to education, to agriculture, to the feeding of the hungry and the housing of the poor, to the creation of useful employment and to the elimination of debilitating disease. And we mean to do more.

Yes, my fellow countrymen, this is a new world -- and it is in being in very large measure because one nation, built by the blood of many diverse streams of man, has committed its strength to the role no nation ever before undertook: The role of seeking peace for mankind.

That nation is your nation -- the United States of America.

And you can be proud today -- prouder than ever before -- to be Americans.

This is a point I want to make today.

The role America is occupying in the world today is a role destined for it inevitably by the very composition of our populace. For more than 100 years, there came to these shores men and women who were willing to sacrifice hearthside, family, heritage and possessions in search of peace.

Here in central Texas -- as much as any place in America -- you received those great waves of settlers from Germany and Poland and Czechoslovakia and Sweden -- from Lebanon and Greece and Italy -- from all the lands of the Old World. Whatever their origins, they shared in common a hatred of war and a love of peace. And those beliefs have become a part of the heart of America -- and of the policies the American government has pursued under all our leaders.

There is no greater American commitment than the commitment to peace.

The strength of America is committed firmly in Vietnam to protect the peace and to prevent the success of aggression.

I have been known, through my public life, as a liberal.

I believe with all the fervor of my heart and life, that it would be a betrayal of American liberalism for America itself to betray the hopes and confidences our strength has kindled among the peoples of the poverty-stricken, emerging two-thirds of this world.

The impulse that has propelled this nation toward greatness is that generous impulse of responsible and compassionate liberalism that marked the service of the young Congressman who spoke here twenty-six years ago.

Yes, we have at home great moral responsibilities to fight for equal opportunity for all. (as you are fighting for equal opportunity for Negro Americans and Mexican Americans)...to break the shackles of poverty...to combat crime and steady the even scales of justice.

But what would be the morality of a nation which devoted its riches only to itself, or regarded freedom in one part of the world as less precious than in another?

The world today is not the same as a generation ago. Nor is this the same America.

Our challenges, as well as our opportunities, are of a new order of magnitude...a new order of complexity... above all, a new order of promise.

In our public affairs, we must respond with originality. The old rhetoric, the old slogans, the old vocabularies of the past do not serve us now.

We can and we must lay aside the rhetoric of division--of workman against management, of labor against capital and capital against farmer, of haves and have-nots, of races and religions and regions. These divisions, kept alive within our politics, do not serve this society in which we see these divisions fading every day.

The great tradition of the public men of this great state--the tradition of the Garners and the Rayburns and the Lyndon Johnsons--is a tradition of channeling diversity into progress.

Texas--part East, part West, part North, part South, rich in the past and richer in the future--occupies a role unique in our nation.

It is your opportunity as Texans to lead, by your example, toward the creative and constructive relationship with the national government that will give America the strength she shall need for the tasks ahead in the last third of this century.

Thirty years ago, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, with John Garner at his side, turned this nation toward a new course of hope and opportunity for all its citizens.

We have moved forward on that course. And we are succeeding.

Now, we face an even greater task.

Wherever we serve--courthouse, statehouse or White House--we who serve the American people know today that we do not serve this land alone.

For now, as when our Republic began, the cause of America is, as Tom Paine put it, the cause of all mankind.

Where peace has its enemies, we shall meet them and we shall prevail.

Where hope flowers among men, we shall shelter it and tend it and encourage it to grow so that mankind shall stand to his full height and know the dignity and the freedom intended for him by his Maker.

REMARKS

Mr Speaker Barnes
Lt Gov - Smith

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

TEXAS STATE LEGISLATURE

AUSTIN, TEXAS

APRIL 24, 1967

Gov Connelly -
members of the
Legislature

In Washington
Sen Jankowski -
Cong Jack Brooks
Cong. Pickle.
Cong Eckhart -

Stevens in
Texas Legish

Jack Brooks
Cong Eckhart

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And I don't mind telling you: You may be in for it.

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and our first lady

Adenauer

of sympathy and respect

Champion

The President and the First Lady ^u what a wonderful image she has throughout this land -- asked me to check on Luci while I was here. ~~She's fine but her Secret Service men are getting circles under their eyes, staying up late to study Dr. Spock.~~ ~~It~~ won't be much longer before Pat Nugent and I will have ^{much} more in common ~~than just our youth~~ -- we'll both be No. 2.

2

The President also asked me if I would stop by HEW and pick up this week's grants for Texas, so I could deliver them to Governor Connally. I did stop there, ~~but~~ but the grants weren't ready -- HEW was still tying around them. You can expect them in the mail -- sometime during the next few months.

~~Seriously~~ It is a privilege -- a personally moving privilege -- to come to this historic chamber. ^u Here, when this century was young, there began the public service of two of the great public men of our Republic:

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Garner

The other, of course, was the uncommon American who presided over this Texas House as Speaker and went on to preside longer than any other American as Speaker of the House in Washington, a man whose influence for good still radiates over the conduct of our nation's affairs -- Mr. Sam Rayburn.

Rayburn

You who serve here where these great men both served are inheritors of a proud legacy of public leadership and selfless devotion to the public good.

??

Poor Texas

On occasion, I have heard some Texans of my acquaintance express regret (quietly and with restraint, of course)-- at how difficult it is for anyone from your state to achieve positions of influence at the national level. [Certainly, I am sympathetic!] Why, ever since Woodrow Wilson had three Texans in his Cabinet, Texas has been held down. Since 1930, you have had only two Attorneys General, only two Speakers of the national Congress, only two Vice Presidents. Only two men born in Texas have been elected President in all that time. Why, right now in Congress, Texans are only chairmen of the Appropriations, Agriculture, Banking and Currency, Veterans Affairs and Administration Committees of the House.!

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X
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April

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50 yrs ago

Here in these chambers -- not as a member, but as a boy -- that young Congressman had first learned the legislative processes sitting by the desk of his father. Only four years before, he had followed his father into public service -- elected to represent this district in the Congress. During for those four years he had worked hard. He had warred against poverty. He had led the effort to harness the Colorado and to place the poles and string the wires that would light the darkness in the homes of these Texas hills. REA

San Jacinto

↳ But on that April day -- San Jacinto Day of 1941 --
he came home with another message. ↳ Standing here, as
the clouds of war darkened over Europe and gathered over the

Pacific, that young Congressman told this Legislature:

"It is later than we think."

*He Pleaded for America
to be prepared to face
up to the war.*

↳ It was, indeed, far, far later than many Americans
would permit themselves to believe! I need not recite the
tragic events that were so soon to come -- nor need I
remind you that the young Congressman was Lyndon Johnson.

↳ In recounting this, I do not come to repeat now
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On the foundation of that decision, a new world has come into being -- a world of new values, new relations, new aspiration. It is a world that renders obsolete the old dogmas of world dominion by the use of force.

Force and aggression are the agents of tyranny and brute power. They belong to the ~~the formula for conquest and power.~~ the formula for conquest and power.

∟ In Vietnam now, the struggle is essentially a struggle not between two doctrines, not between two cultures, not at all between East and West but, rather, a struggle between these old values and new.

∟ And I say that it is the new world a-making -- the new world with which this nation stands -- that will prevail.

We have in our land many problems to be faced but I have heard President Johnson say, over and over, that for all the problems that beset his office, he would rather face those which come to him than those which come to any other leader of any other government on earth.

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↳ At the Manila Conference a few months past, the leaders of a new Asia chose confidently and courageously to cast their lot with the free world of the future. !

↳ And at Punta del Este, just two weeks ago, there was again that same kind of choosing -- that same kind of confidence -- manifested by the Republics of this hemisphere!

↳ I believe this message should now be clear to those who would follow the old patterns: It is later than they think. !!

↳ In barely the span of a generation, a new world has been brought to being and we ourselves, in America, need to understand this better than we do.!

↳ In this world of the 1960's, unlike the world *before*, ~~before, all but a fraction~~ *most* of humankind govern themselves for the first time.

↳ In these 1960's, unlike the world before, men and nations are meeting together, planning together, working together on peaceful pursuits for the betterment of life on all this earth.

↳ Never before in all the years man has lived on this earth has there been such a great commitment of resources to education, to agriculture, to the feeding of the hungry and the housing of the poor, to the creation of useful employment and to the elimination of debilitating disease. And we mean to do more. |

Yes, my fellow countrymen, this is a new world --
and it is in being in very large measure because one nation,
built by the blood of many diverse streams of man, has
committed its strength to the role no nation ever before
undertook: The role of seeking peace for mankind. - *The role of*

Nation Builder,
That nation is your nation -- the United States
of America.

And you can be proud today -- prouder than ever
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~~This is a point I want to make today.~~

The role America is occupying in the world today is one
~~role~~ destined for it inevitably by the very composition of
our populace. For more than 100 years, there came to these
shores men and women who were willing to sacrifice hearthside,
family, heritage and possessions in search of peace.

*(We pledge our lives, our fortunes, our
Sacred Honor)*

↳ Here in central Texas -- as much as any place in America -- you received those great waves of settlers from Germany and Poland and Czechoslovakia and Sweden -- from Lebanon and Greece and Italy -- from all the lands of the Old World. Whatever their origins, they shared in common a hatred of war and a love of peace. And those beliefs have become a part of the heart of America -- and of the policies the American government has pursued under all our leaders!

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~~I believe with all the fervor of my heart and life, that~~
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young Congressman who spoke here twenty-six years ago.

Yes, we have at home great moral responsibilities
to fight for equal opportunity for all (as you are fighting
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Americans) ... to break the shackles of poverty ... to combat
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Nor is this the same America.

Our challenges, as well as our opportunities, are of a new order of magnitude ... a new order of complexity ... above all, a new order of promise. !

~~In our public affairs, we must respond with originality.~~

The old rhetoric, the old slogans, the old vocabularies of the past do not serve us now.

We can and we must lay aside the rhetoric of division -- of workman against management, of labor against capital and capital against farmer, of haves and have-nots, of races and religions and regions. These divisions, kept alive within our politics, do not serve this society in which we see these divisions fading every day. — "one Nation under God, indivisible - with Liberty & Justice for all."

The great tradition of the public men of this great state -- the tradition of the Garners and the Rayburns and the Lyndon Johnsons -- is a tradition of channeling diversity into progress.

"The only limit to our realization of tomorrow
will be our doubts of today. Let us move
forward with a strong and active faith."

Franklin D. Roosevelt

yes Texas -- part East, part West, part North, part South,
rich in the past and richer in the future -- occupies a role
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example, toward the creative and constructive relationship
with the national government that will give America the
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third of this century.

↳ ~~Thirty~~ Thirty years ago, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, with
John Garner at his side, turned this nation toward a new
course of hope and opportunity for all its citizens.¹

↳ We have moved forward on that course. And we are
succeeding. — *a new Era of opportunity!*

FDR
Now, we face an even greater task.

Wherever we serve -- courthouse, statehouse, congress,
White House -- we who serve the American people know
today that we do not serve this land alone.

↳ For now, as when our Republic began, the cause of America is, as Tom Paine put it, the cause of all mankind.

↳ Where peace has its enemies, we shall meet them and we shall prevail.

↳ Where hope flowers among men, we shall shelter it and tend it and encourage it ~~to grow~~ so that mankind shall stand to his full height and know the dignity and the freedom intended for him by his Maker.

Thomas Wolfe Quote

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

Handwritten signature

ADDRESS
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
JOINT SESSION OF THE TEXAS LEGISLATURE
AUSTIN, TEXAS
APRIL 24, 1967

[GAVEL]

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR PRESTON SMITH: The Senate will come to order. A quorum is present.

[GAVEL]

SPEAKER BEN BARNES: The House will please come to order. All members present will please register. [GAVEL]

A quorum is present. To introduce our very distinguished speaker today, it is my very high honor to present to you this morning, the very distinguished Governor of our state, the Honorable John Connally. Governor Connally.

GOVERNOR CONNALLY: Speaker Barnes, Lieutenant Governor Smith, Mr. Vice President, distinguished escort committee, Mrs. Humphrey, distinguished members of the Senate, the House, ladies and gentlemen. It's a great personal pleasure for me today to present to you the distinguished former mayor of the city of Minneapolis, former distinguished United States Senator, a man who is fearless in the pursuit of justice, a man who has great courage in seeking progress for the people of this nation, an eloquent spokesman in articulating the aims of America in all of the lands of the world, the distinguished Vice President of the United States.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you, thank you. Thank you very much my friend, Governor Connally, and his very lovely wife, Mrs. Connally.

Mr. Speaker and the distinguished Lieutenant Governor, my colleagues in the Congress of the United States, Congressman Brooks and Congressman Eckhardt, and my colleagues in the legislative pursuits of the House and the Senate of the great legislative body of the State of Texas. I guess you know that despite the many times that I speak before audiences, and that is far too many for my friends and even more so for those that are not so kindly disposed, I always feel just a little sense of nervousness--of disquiet--and of excitement whenever I come before an audience of this quality and of this magnitude.

First of all, let me just say how nice it is to see Pat and Luci. I bring you greetings from Dad and Mom. Pat, it won't be long before you will know what it means to be number two. It's a great experience.

Members of the distinguished court of this state, and public officials, and friends, and fellow citizens, this is a rare experience for me and one that I will always cherish. It's a rare experience to stand here and look at all of these fine Texas faces. Of course, I have had some experience, as you know, of late in looking into Texas faces and sometimes I get the feeling that the person who wrote "The Eyes of Texas" was thinking about me and had me in mind all the time. But

what really makes this experience rather rare and unique is that, this time, I am going to do all of the talking.

So you may be in for it as I have indicated that one of your fellow Texans, I think it was Congressman Brooks, reminded me that Austin was once the home of William Sidney Porter, who wrote, as all of you know, with such pride, the O. Henry stories--and he observed that O. Henry and the Vice President had a great deal in common. He said O. Henry stories always had surprise endings, and then he went on to say with that characteristic sympathy and friendship that he has for me, he said: "Mr. Vice President, your speeches too are that way--the end is always a surprise."

That's what you get for being a Senator.

Well, I am happy to be in Texas once again. I love to come here and my Muriel loves to come with me, and we have visited your state on several occasions and, as you know, we have been visiting other places too. Now one of the duties of the Vice President is to visit the capitals of friendly allies. And in this day when it is so difficult to really keep up with the change of events and just who's on your side, let me tell you that we are very grateful in Washington to have Texas on our side--that is whenever you can be and whenever you are.

I'm pleased, in all seriousness, to bring to the members of this Legislature a personal message and a personal

greeting from the President of the United States and his very lovely lady, our First Lady. Muriel and I had Saturday evening with them, just prior to the President's departure on a rather sad and sympathetic mission. As you know he left Sunday and he is today paying the last respects of our nation to one of the truly great statesmen in this postwar world, a man who visited this capital city of Texas, Austin, six years ago this month. The former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Konrad Adenauer--and I know that you join with me in grieving his loss and the loss to the people of Europe, and saluting the life of this stalwart champion of freedom and democracy in the Federal Republic. And I am happy that on this day I can stand at this podium and bring you that note because I know that it expresses the sentiments of the people of this state.

Now it's a very great privilege and a moving one, may I add, to come to this historic chamber, where, when this century was young, there began the public service of two of the great public men of this Republic. You've had many illustrious public men, but I refer to two today. One was the wise and the strong leader who served so faithfully his country and his party as Speaker of the House of Representatives in Congress and then went on to serve faithfully a great American President in the office which I am now privileged to hold--and you know, of course, I refer to the former Vice President, the former great Speaker, John Nance Garner.

That other great Texan that I refer to was that uncommon American--and what a unique character he was and lives on--who presided over his Texas, this Texas House, as Speaker, and then he went on to preside longer than any other American in our history as Speaker of the House of Representatives in Washington, a man whose influence for good and for progress still radiates over the conduct of our nation's affairs. What a privilege it has been in my life, and I know in the lives of many Texans, to have known and then to have served with none other than Mr. Sam--Speaker Sam Rayburn.

Of course, much is expected of you. You have great things to do because you who serve here where these great men both served are inheritors of a proud legacy, a legacy of public leadership, and, indeed, of selfless devotion to the public good. How good it is to have such standards.

Now let me say just a word more about Texas. Everybody does that comes here, and most Texans do when they leave here. And we love to have you come to visit us. On occasion, I've heard some Texans of my acquaintance express regret--quietly and with restraint, of course--at how difficult it is for anyone from your state to achieve positions of influence at the national level. Now certainly, I am sympathetic. Why, ever since Woodrow Wilson had three Texans in his cabinet, Texas has been held down. Since 1930, you've had only two Attorneys General, only two Speakers of the National Congress,

only two Vice Presidents, and only two men born in Texas have been elected President in all that time--since 1930.

Why, right now in Congress, Texans are in a terribly difficult position, with little or no recognition, of course. They're only Chairmen of Appropriations, Agriculture, Banking and Currency, Veterans Affairs, and Administration Committees of the House. While not chairmen of many in the Senate, they run it from behind the scenes.

I don't want to be misunderstood. Far be it from me to take anything away from Texas while I'm on this job. But I'll tell you with a record like that, I wish some of those people--whoever they are--that are holding Texas down would get it in for Minnesota. We could use a little recognition these days.

Now in all seriousness--and I come here in both seriousness and good humor, I hope--let me just speak to you about the times in which we live.

In the long course of history, this month of April has been--as a poet once put it--the cruelest month. It's hard to think of April as the cruelest month. With nature at her loveliest as the spring dawns upon us, man has often chosen this season to show his ugliness--and we witnessed it in the acts of nature itself with terrible storms, with unbelievable pain to many of our people only this past few days.

Fifty years ago, our nation was brought into conflict of the First World War in the month of April. There have been other anxious Aprils for us too, ever since that time. But I'm thinking now, particularly, of April 1941--and there are men and women here that remember that day when a young Congressman from Texas came to speak right here before this Legislature.

And here in these chambers--not as a member, but as a boy, like I met here as we came into the chamber--the young Congressman had first learned the legislative processes sitting by the desk of his father. Only four years before he arrived here in 1941, he had followed his father into public service--elected to represent this district in the Congress. And during those four years, he had worked--and worked hard. He had worked for a new America. He had worked as a partner of a great President. He had warred then--long before now--against poverty, against discrimination and the lack of opportunity. He had led the effort, as you recall, to harness the mighty Colorado and to place the poles and string the wires that would light the darkness in the homes of these Texas hills. And I know of no man that is more proud of rural electrification than that young Congressman who spoke here in that April of 1941.

But on that April day in 1941 he came home with another message. Standing here, as the clouds of war darkened

over Europe and gathered over the Pacific, that young Congressman told this Legislature in prophetic words: "IT IS LATER THAN WE THINK." And he stood here and he pleaded for an America to awaken to the challenge that faced it. He pleaded for an America to stay strong and to gear itself for the storms ahead--to be prepared. It was indeed, far later, far later than many--indeed most--Americans would permit themselves to believe. I need not recite the tragic events that were soon to come--the bloodbath that was soon to engulf the world--nor need I remind you today that that young Congressman was Lyndon Johnson.

In recounting this, I do not come to repeat now those words of our President--and then your Congressman--for the message of this moment is not the same as it was then for Americans.

Yes, I suppose it is later than many think. But, more importantly, this world of 1967 is not the same world as 1941. And many of you know, as Mrs. Humphrey and I traveled these past weeks in Europe, that we brought back to you the message that the Europe of 1967 is not even the Europe of 1947 or 1957 or 1960: a vastly changed Europe--revitalized, invigorated, independent, modern--and yet a Europe that is our partner and we its partner. And the hope of world peace depends upon that partnership.

And it is because this is a different world in every way that I believe that we Americans and others need to understand it all the better.

Twenty-six years ago--and back throughout all of history--peace has always had its enemies. But never has peace had its lasting protectors and defenders. Never, until now in these postwar years.

The Second World War, to which the Congressman referred, brought home to all of mankind--if not all of its leaders--the inescapable fact that we could not again pay the price of a major war. It brought home the lesson that we could and we must be always ready to pay the price for peace. And it was this very message that the illustrious and distinguished Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, brought to this assembly: the building of the peace; the organizing of the peace; the costly, painful, difficult process of trying to bring a world to its senses--a painstakingly, block-by-block, year-by-year, program-by-program, decision-by-decision, organizing the peace. And every effort of this beloved land since 1945--indeed since the very hour that we were catapulted into World War II--every effort has been directed toward peace. We did not go to war just to make war. We went to war to end war. We did not come out of the sacrifice of World War II only to make more war but rather to build a world order in which war would be obsolete--in which it would be hopefully impossible. An organizing of the peace; the building of the

United Nations; the Greek-Turkish Aid Program; the Truman Doctrine; NATO; the Marshall Plan; our steadfast support of Berlin; our unwillingness to let Communist militancy roll over Europe; our stand in Korea that took over 50,000 dead and a 160 some thousand casualties; our facing up to Khrushchev and his missiles in Cuba; and, even now, as we stand firm in Southeast Asia. All of it has had but one purpose--to organize the peace and to have protectors of the peace. And it's on that foundation of that decision that we feel that peace is the minimum requirement of civilized mankind. A new world has come into being, and it's a world of new values. It's a new world of new relationships and of new aspirations. It is a world that renders obsolete the old dogmas of world dominion by the use of force.

Force and aggression, my fellow Americans, are the agents of yesterday. They are the agents of tyranny and brute power--the formula for naked conquest--and they have no place in the affairs of nations or men in the last third of the 20th Century. And it is because of this profound belief and commitment that we take our stand. And, oh how I wish all could see that our purpose is not force, but that our purpose is to repel the use of force--to show its naked indecency and to make it clear for once and for all that political decisions can no longer be made by conquest . . . and force . . . and aggression, that political decisions

must be made in reason . . . in negotiation . . . and in peaceful pursuit.

In Viet Nam now, therefore, the struggle is essentially a struggle not just between two doctrines . . . not between two cultures indeed . . . and surely it is not a struggle between the East and the West, as some would have you believe. But rather it's a struggle between old values and new. The old values of the tyrannies--that force and conquest and aggression shall be the pattern of conduct for the achievement of political objectives--and the new values of self-determination--the right of a people to decide their own future; the right to be left alone; and the right to live and the compelling necessity of civilized man or mankind to work out its problems in consultation, in negotiation, in understanding.

And I say that this is the new world in the making. And how I wish that some of our people could see that we are charting a whole new day. That in this nuclear era--in this time of unbelievable power at the disposal of mankind for destruction--that all of that power can be used for good. All of it can be directed for the betterment of mankind . . . if men would but listen . . . if they would but permit what we have to be put to good purpose. I want to make it clear that this nation intends to pursue this new course. And it will pursue it with the same courage that it has for every

bit of its conduct and its efforts through history. And I happen to believe that this new world for which this nation now stands, that's the new world that will prevail. We have in our land many problems to be faced. I would be the last to tell you that anything is easy. There are no instant solutions to any problem. Every single measure and problem before us demands the greatest of resources. In fact, it demands the pooling of public and private resources. It demands federal, state, and local governments to work together as never before. And it demands that public bodies work with private industry, with the private sector as never before. But I've heard President Johnson say many times, that for all the problems that he faces and that beset his office--and they are tremendous--he would rather face those which come to him than those which come to any other leader of any other government on the face of the earth.

Oh, we are a lucky people--blessed by a great nation; a great history; but, more importantly, blessed by a great spirit . . . the spirit that believes in human dignity . . . the spirit that believes in freedom with responsibility . . . and the spirit that believes that there is truly a brotherhood of mankind.

I think sometimes this is the perspective in which we should think of the prospects and the choices facing the men who have chosen to wage aggression in Viet Nam. They must face up to this new world.

In the design of their aggression, they have followed the traditional precepts of their outmoded obsolete dogma. They have followed a design which in the past seemed to be the formula for success. And how well we know that whenever people wanted to enrich themselves in days gone by, or leaders, supposed leaders, wanted to expand their power, what they would do was to indulge in force or aggression. But these men now of this time must and should recognize that times have changed. Their war of so-called national liberation against South Viet Nam, for example, has not succeeded. It has not spread as their dogma tells them it should. It has not caught on. This doctrine and dogma of force and materialism, and collectivism has no recruits--except by the sheer use of force.

It is not the wave of the future. It is the backwash of an obsolete past.

And let me tell you--as one who has visited Asia three times last year to fourteen of the free countries of that area--the peoples and the leaders of Asia are not turning towards the doctrine of Communism or collectivism or materialism, nor are they bowing down to it. In fact, if nothing else has happened--and much more has because of our presence in Viet Nam--there is a new spirit of life and liberty in Asia. As the Prime Minister of Singapore--who does not classify himself as any particular friend of the United States, surely no ally--

as he said, only recently, that America's presence in Viet Nam permits free Asia to have time to build freedom. That's the kind of thinking that is going on.

At the Manila Conference only a few months ago, the leaders of this new Asia--and there is a new Asia just like there is a new Europe--chose confidently and courageously to cast their lots with the free world of the future. They didn't hedge . . . they didn't back up . . . they were unequivocal in their support.

And at Punta Del Este, only the past few days--just two weeks ago--there was again that same kind of choosing--the choice between freedom and individualism . . . or the choice between collectivism and Communism. And the men at Punta Del Este had no hesitancy in making their choice. They chose freedom . . . and they chose it with the same kind of confidence as those who were at Manila. It was manifested in every document and every speech . . . in every action of this hemisphere.

Now I believe this message should now be clear to those who would follow the old patterns. I think it can be said once again from this platform: It is later than they think. Not later than we think, but later than they think.

In barely the span of a generation a whole new world has been brought into being, and we ourselves in America need to understand this better than we do.

In the world of the 1960's, unlike the world before, most of mankind now seeks to govern itself . . . and most of it does govern itself for the first time.

In the 1960's, unlike the world before, men and nations are meeting together even as we meet now. They are planning together, and I witnessed them with my own eyes. In Saigon; in Seoul; in Tokyo; in Bangkok and Canberra; in Paris; in Swiss Geneva; in Rome, wherever I go, I see men and nations that in the years past would hardly speak to each other except in hostility, who are now partners working together on peaceful pursuits for the betterment of life on this earth. Never has there been such a surge of mankind for his own emancipation . . . for his own betterment. As we see in this the last third of the 20th Century, never before in all of the years that man has lived on this planet has there been such a great commitment of resources to education . . . to health . . . to agriculture . . . to the feeding of the hungry . . . to the housing of the poor . . . to the creating of industry . . . to the creation of useful employment . . . and the elimination of every form of bigotry and intolerance and discrimination.

Let me say that this is happening not only in America, but it is happening elsewhere. But here in America we mean to do even more. We'll never be content in this country until every American knows the blessings of first-class citizenship and full opportunity for every person that salutes the flag

of this Republic and claims to be its citizen. That's the only standard we have.

Yes, I am happy to say--and I am accused of being an optimist and I make no apologies for it--this is a new world. And it is in being in a very large measure because one nation--one nation built by the blood of many diverse streams of men--has committed its strength to the role no nation ever before undertook: the role of seeking peace . . . organizing peace for mankind. The role, if you please, not of nation-destroying, but of nation-building . . . not of domination but of cooperation . . . not of conquest, but of helpfulness. And that nation, my fellow Americans, is your nation--the United States of America. That's what we're doing.

We need to understand this--with all of the trials and all of the troubles; with all of the headlines of disaster and difficulty, pain and death--let me tell you that there is good news . . . good news for hundreds of millions of people. And the good news is that this America--without our ever seeking one inch of any other land . . . without ever seeking a single area of domination or sphere of influence . . . without ever seeking even to chart out conquest, whatever its magnitude--that this one nation has devotedly, unselfishly, given of its men and its resources so that mankind could have a better life. I'm proud of it--and if it seems to be a little old-fashioned to be a proud patriot, then I stand committed and guilty of being an old-fashioned American patriot.

May I add--just an aside--that I do not think that one proves himself to be unusually intelligent, or even classified as an intellectual, to just find fault. Where fault is let us recognize it. But where good is, let us herald it. Let us have some sense of respecting it, and some sense of balance in our utterances, and in our statements and pronouncements of our country.

The role that America is occupying in the world today is one that was destined for it inevitably by the very composition of our populace. For more than 100 years, there came to these shores men and women who were willing to sacrifice--sacrifice hearthside, family, heritage, and possessions in search of peace and freedom. Why our forefathers made that statement, which we should never forget, as they struggled for our independence, and they went the whole way. They were totally committed--that is, the patriots were. We pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor. That's what they said. But if you're a bit discouraged on occasion when you see some that are unwilling to make those pledges, even now, remember that even as we fought for our independence, that one-third of those, who inhabited what was then the colonies, left us--were Tories. And even in the midst of those that stayed, there were those of little faith. Have you forgotten those moments of anguish and heartache of George Washington at Valley Forge? Have you forgotten

the instability of our own country in those early days? If you have, refresh your memories . . . because the only way that Americans can understand what others are going through now, is to know what we went through then . . . to know that it requires tremendous leadership and courage and dedication on the part of many and, always, on the part of a few, to accomplish anything that is great and noble.

But here in Central Texas, as much as any place in this land, you received these great waves of settlers who were seeking peace and freedom--settlers from Germany and Poland, and Czechoslovakia and Sweden, just to mention a few; from Lebanon and from Greece and from Italy; from all the lands all over the Old World. And whatever their origins, they shared some things in common--a hatred of war . . . a love of peace . . . a dedication to liberty. And those beliefs have become a part of the spirit and the heart of America . . . and they have also become a part of the policies the American Government has pursued under all of its leaders through all of its history. A nation is not what its printed word may be. A nation is what its heart is . . . what its soul is . . . what its spirit is. And to understand America, you have to understand her music . . . you have to understand her people . . . you have to understand her history . . . and then you will begin to understand what we mean when we say, "America the Beautiful."

Now, there is no greater American commitment than these commitments I have mentioned to peace and freedom.

The strength of America is committed firmly in many areas of the world today--firmly in the Atlantic Alliance . . . firmly in the Alliance for Progress . . . firmly in Southeast Asia and Viet Nam . . . to protect the peace and to prevent the success of aggression and to permit self-determination and to allow an adventure in freedom.

Now I've been known all of my public life as a liberal. Let me say that it would be a gross betrayal of American liberalism--yes, of America itself--if we were to betray the hopes and the confidences that our strength has kindled among the peoples of the poverty-stricken, emerging two-thirds of this world. I would consider it a betrayal of liberalism and all that America stands for--if we did not understand that freedom needs protection wherever it may be. And that when free men reach out and ask for our help, that as a blessed people and a blessed nation . . . a strong people and a rich nation . . . we have a moral obligation to extend a hand of fellowship . . . to extend a hand of help and assistance.

The impulse that has propelled this nation toward greatness is that generous spirit of responsible and compassionate liberalism that marked the service of that young Congressman who spoke here twenty-six years ago.

Yes, we have at home a great--yes, I should say, great--moral responsibilities . . . moral responsibilities to fight for equal opportunity for all, just as you are

fighting for equal opportunity for Negro Americans and Mexican Americans; to break the shackles of poverty, and not just the poverty of the purse, but the poverty of the spirit . . . the poverty of frustration . . . the poverty of not being wanted, and, sometimes, not even being needed.

We have a great moral responsibility to combat crime, to insure law enforcement, to engender law observance, and to steady the even scales of justice. These are the priorities of America. Conservatives or liberals? What difference does it make? These are the priorities that all Americans must have.

But what would be the morality, may I ask, of a nation which devotes its riches only to itself, or prides itself upon its strength only to use it for itself? What would be the morality of a nation which regarded freedom in one part of the world as less precious than in another? This is why I have never been able to understand how some who today claim that heritage of liberalism and liberal philosophy can be so fully removed--if you please--and not only removed, sometimes so openly opposed, to what America seeks to do to help little people in far away places as they fight the most ancient of man's enemies, tyranny itself . . . and dictatorship . . . and aggression. I cannot understand it, and I speak out.

I warn this land that any nation that indulges in its own luxury, that saves unto itself only its own riches, that

uses its power only for its own enhancement, that that nation will have a sad future. America has never grown weak by extending the hand of help to others. America has never lost its freedom by standing firm in the defense of freedom for others, and it's been that way in our history and it will continue to be that way in our future. The world is not the same as a generation ago, I said. Nor is this the same America. Our challenges, as well as our opportunities, are of a whole new order of magnitude, a new order of complexity. That's why it's more difficult to be in government today than ever before . . . or in education . . . or the professions. It's a whole new order of promise too. Everything is bigger. The possibilities for total disaster are here. The possibilities for a whole new world are here. It just depends upon what man wills to do with that which he has. The old rhetoric, therefore, and the old slogans, the old vocabularies of the past do not serve us well now. We can and we must lay aside the oratory, the demagoguery if you please, the rhetoric of division--of workman against management, of labor against capital, of capital against farmer, of North against South, of white against black, or black against white, of haves and have-nots, the division of races and religions and regions. This one world, has no room for such divisions. And these divisions, kept alive regrettably at times within our politics, do not serve this society in which we see these divisions thankfully, gratefully fading every day.

You know we ask our children in school to repeat that pledge of allegiance--and I think that everyone of us that are in public office, and those of us that have private responsibilities would do well to remember it too and not leave it just to our children. It's both a prayer and a commitment. One nation--not two; under God--not under man; indivisible; united; with liberty and justice for all. To speak it is to believe it--unless you are a hypocrite. And to speak it and to believe it is the least that anyone worthy of the title of American should ever hope or could ever hope to have.

So I say the great tradition of the public men of this great state--and Texas is a great state--the traditions of the Garners and the Rayburns--oh, yes, of the Sam Houstons too, and of Lyndon Johnson--is a tradition of channeling diversity into progress. Yes, Texas--part East, part West, part North, part South; rich in the past and richer in the future--I think occupies a role unique in our nation. And how great it must be and how challenging to be a political leader in this great commonwealth, in this great state--to be the governor; to be the speaker; to be the presiding officer of your Senate; to be a judge; or a legislator; or whatever position it may be. What an honor . . . what a unique opportunity . . . and thank goodness you are making the most of that unique opportunity. It is your opportunity

as Texans to lead and to lead, not only by your great words but by your great examples towards creative and constructive relationship with the national government that will give America the strength that she will need for the tasks ahead in the last third of this century. This does not mean that we are always marching in the same step. It means that we are talking together in the same forum . . . working out our differences . . . recognizing that no one area of government has a monopoly on either virtue or wisdom, but seeking by consultation and by reason to work out policies and programs that are mutually beneficial.

Thirty years ago Franklin Roosevelt, with John Garner at his side, turned this nation toward a new course of hope. He called it his New Deal--a new course of hope and opportunity for all of its citizens. That was the great breaking point of the past. And we've moved forward on that course and we are succeeding. As I traveled throughout Europe speaking to our friends there, I said there is a new America--an America that has a new exciting adventure . . . an America that is dedicated to the richness of humankind with all of our troubles, with all of our dissent, with all of what seems to be at times our errors and our mistakes. We're marching ahead. Great things are happening to people here. And I can't help but recall what Franklin Roosevelt wrote in that last message which he was denied giving because death took him

from us. He said the only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. And then this man--crippled, weary of war, four times President of the United States--said, "Let us move forth; let us move forward with a strong and an active faith." He didn't say, let us stand still. He didn't call for timidity. He didn't say, let's just roll with the punches. He said, "Let's move forward, with a strong and an active faith." And wherever we serve, therefore--courthouse, statehouse, legislature, congress, White House--we, who serve the American people, know today that we do not serve this land alone.

There are so many things to remind us of it. For now, as when our Republic began, the cause of America is--as Tom Paine put it--the cause of all mankind. Lincoln said it was the last best hope on earth, and he said we would either meanly lose it or nobly save it. And I think that question is yet to be answered. So let us make sure that we nobly save it.

Where peace has its enemies, we shall meet them and we shall prevail. Where there are those that would stifle and kill this noble spirit of freedom, let the world know that America stands by the side of free men. And where hope flowers among men, we shall shelter it and tend to it and encourage it so that mankind shall stand to his full height--like a tall Texan--and know the dignity and the freedom intended for him by his Maker.

Thomas Wolfe told it so succinctly (I use this many times--it's like secular scripture for me--this is my political faith): "To every man, regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity; to every man the right to live and to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and vision can combine to make him--this is the promise of America." That's what America means to me, and I have a feeling traveling over this world that this is what America means to all of God's children--an opportunity . . . a better life . . . a happier day.

Thank you very much.

SPEAKER BEN BARNES: Mr. Vice President, I think it should be obvious to everyone, and I hope to you, how deeply we appreciate your presence here today and how even more importantly we appreciate those words of hope, courage, determination and vision you have just given to each of us. And I know that I can speak for everyone here and, hopefully, for every Texan when I say to you as you stand shoulder-to-shoulder with President Lyndon Johnson, as you two men provide the leadership not only for this nation, but for the entire free world, that you have our support and our prayers and most of all our appreciation for such an outstanding job you're both doing.

To even add to the honor of this occasion today we have the very lovely and gracious Mrs. Hubert Humphrey. Mrs. Humphrey, we're very honored to have you here today. I assure

you, Mr. Vice President and Mrs. Humphrey, that we will never forget this day. You have honored us so much by being here.

Also, today we're very honored to have our first lady, the very lovely Nellie Connally.

Mr. Vice President, I can assure you we are also aware of the somewhat adequate position that Texas is in in Washington, and in the National Congress, and we're particularly proud of our Congressional delegation. We're very honored to have two members of the Congress who represent Texas with us today. Two men that both served in this chamber as members of the Texas House of Representatives--Congressman and Mrs. Jack Brooks, and Congressman Robert Eckhardt, Bob.

Also a couple that we're all very proud of--that the Vice President acknowledged--Pat and Luci Nugent. Would you please stand?

[GAVEL]

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR SMITH: Mr. Vice President and Mrs. Humphrey, as you depart--I know that I can do this because I'm speaking in the capacity as you do as the number two man in the state government--that all those of us associated with this wonderful state government are deeply grateful for this privilege. Now as you leave, we wish you Godspeed.

The purpose for which this joint session was called having been accomplished the Senate will return to its chambers.

[GAVEL]

SPEAKER BEN BARNES: The purpose for which this joint session was called having been completed, the House will stand at ease pending the departure of the Vice President and his party.



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