



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

SATURDAY AM's
12/9/67

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY
BEFORE DEMOCRATIC FUND RAISING DINNER

St. Louis, Missouri - - Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey
Friday (December 8, 1967) called on the American people for
a responsible debate on the issues of U. S. involvement in
Vietnam.

"Let those who are 'concerned' stand up and tell us
which course they choose," he declared at a Democratic
Party fund raising dinner here.

The Vice President predicted that the people of
this country "will stand behind the Administration which has
courage to take the difficult middle path" of restrained but
firm resistance to Communist aggression in Asia.

He compared the situation in 1968 with that in 1948.
Harry Truman won re-election as President at a time of great
pessimism about the prospects of the Democratic Party,
Humphrey said, "because he had the courage . . .to tell the
American people that there was urgent, unfinished . . .business
before them -- even though many voices called for a pause."

Today, there is a similar mood of "disillusionment with
the often thankless burden of free world leadership" and of
disappointment that "unprecedented social and economic progress
at home has not brought an American millenium," the Vice
President said.



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

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He said the basic issue of 1968, as of 1948, is whether America will "advance or retreat . . . move forward or pause."

The Republican Party, Humphrey charged, has a clear record of pause and retreat. But, he said, the nation cannot afford to stop its forward motion. In the context of the rising and legitimate expectations in urban and rural slums, "a pause is a prescription for disaster."

The Vice President told his audience that the U.S. commitment to national security and national development in Asia has been upheld by four American Presidents.

"Looking ahead in Asia," he said, "we can predict that economic development will be painfully slow, but that without it there will be chaos."

"We can predict that mainland China will soon emerge as a nuclear power, still preaching and supporting the dogma of the cynically misnamed 'wars of national liberation.'"

"We can predict that Asian communism will continue for the foreseeable future to retain its militancy. We can predict that free Asian nations will continue to reach out to us for help."

Humphrey voiced the hope that the present U.S. policy of "containment without isolation" of China will bring about in Asia "the kind of peaceful coexistence that now exists between the United States and the Soviet Union."

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FOR RELEASE SATURDAY AM's, 12/9/67

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

REMARKS
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
DEMOCRATIC FUND RAISING DINNER
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI
DECEMBER 8, 1967

Almost 20 years ago, a Democrat from Missouri faced the national convention of our party in Philadelphia.

That party -- according to much of the press and even many of its own members -- was on its last legs. It was, to quote just a few of the professional judgements at the time: "torn by strife"... "split by factionalism"... "depressed, pessimistic and defeatist."

The man from Missouri didn't believe a word of it. Instead, Harry Truman declared before the convention of the Democratic party:

"I will win this election and make these Republicans like it -- don't you forget that!"

Harry Truman did not say he hoped to win... or that he expected to win... or that he might win.

He said: I will win.

He did win, but he never made the Republicans like it.

He won because he had the courage, the wisdom and the will to tell the American people that there was urgent, unfinished social and economic business before them -- even though many voices called for a pause.

He won because he championed the cause of civil rights, even at the price of the Dixiecrat rebellion.

He won because he told the American people the hard truth about America's new, inescapable role in world affairs, a role which necessitated Point Four and the Marshall Plan -- at a time when many people thought we could withdraw from our responsibilities.

He won because the American people saw that he would stand up for what was right, rather than what was easy.

1968 will be a different year. This is a richer, more advanced, more sophisticated America.

But the mood of America is not too different.

There is ~~discouragement~~ with the often-thankless burden of free world leadership.

There is disappointment that unprecedented social and economic progress at home has not brought an American millenium.

There is still unfinished business before us.

The basic issue is very much the same now as it was back in 1948 -- will America advance or retreat?... move forward or pause?

On the home front, now, as then, the Democratic Party says, "Let's move ahead." The Republican Party says, "Let's pause."

You all know the Ten Republican Commandments:

- 1 -- Thou shalt pause.
- 2 -- Thou shalt look back.
- 3 -- Thou shalt retrench.
- 4 -- Thou shalt relax.
- 5 -- Thou shalt think small.
- 6 -- Thou shalt impede.
- 7 -- Thou shalt have small faith in America.

8 -- Thou shalt not invest.

9 -- Thou shalt not propose.

10 -- Thou shalt not lead.

The recent record is clear:

In the months just past, the President and the Democratic Party came forth with a Model Cities program. The Republican Party, in Congress, voted 80 per cent against it.

The President and the Democratic Party proposed a rat control program. The Republican Party voted 87 per cent against it.

The President and the Democratic Party conceived and passed a program of rent supplements. The Republican Party voted 93 per cent against it.

The President and the Democratic Party developed and passed a new program of federal aid to elementary and secondary education. The Republican Party voted 86 per cent against it.

There have been other victories, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, Medicare -- programs that have meant greater opportunity for old people, for veterans, for children, for the poor.

President Lyndon B. Johnson and the Democratic Party are responsible for these victories. They were won over the objections and against the obstructionism of a Republican Party that speaks out not only for a pause -- but for retreat.

This nation can no more afford to pause or retreat in its quest for social and economic justice today than it could in 1948.

Rising and legitimate expectations in urban and rural slums...congested, unwholesome cities... lawlessness and crime that must be put down... in that context, a pause is a prescription for disaster.

That is the domestic half of the Democratic party's message to America for 1968.

* * *

What about foreign policy? Here the Coalition of Retreat is broad and bi-partisan. But the prescription hasn't changed much since Harry Truman's time: Curl up in your shell...isolate yourself from world affairs...try to survive as an island of opulence in an increasingly hungry world...let the fate of nations including our own be decided by others in this perilous nuclear age.

Let me remind you what kind of a world Harry Truman faced. Here are some actual headlines from December 8, 1947 -- just twenty years ago today.

"Communist Army Parades in Rome."

"Twenty Million Children Share Europe's Misery and Fear."

Greece was engaged in a mortal struggle with Communist guerrillas. Only within the last few days had it become clear that France would survive nationwide Communist strikes. The Cold War was well underway; Germany was about to be partitioned.

That is the context in which I found this headline -- same paper, same day:

"Truman Flies Back to Washington today..."

First Major Task is Writing Message to Congress on European Recovery."

America was in the grip of post-War inflation -- wholesale prices up 40 per cent in the previous 18 months. And still Harry Truman and the Democratic Party called for a foreign aid program of 6 billion dollars in a desperate effort toward European recovery.

That took political courage. And it took vision -- the kind of vision that could foresee the stable, prosperous, free Europe that exists today. It took a determination that those who had died in Europe and in the Pacific would not have not died in vain.

And Presidents since, of both parties, have followed the broad policy lines set down then.

What about 1968?

Will the Coalition of Retreat that is at work on American foreign policy today finally prevail?

Will the American voters agree to reverse the trade policies that have helped the whole Western world move into a period of unprecedented growth and have given America the greatest volume of export trade they have ever known.

Will they settle for a foreign aid authorization which comes to less than a third of one per cent of our GNP -- an authorization which, in the words of President Johnson, "reduces the margin of hope to the danger point?" Will they do this in light of the fact, as Pope Paul recently wrote in his historic Encyclical, that "development is the new name for peace?"

I doubt it.

And what will the American voters say about our role in Asia? -- I mean all of Asia, not just Vietnam. That is a pertinent question today -- on the day after the 26th anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor...an attack which plunged this nation into Asia to stay.

I recently returned from a visit to three Asian nations -- South Vietnam, Malaysia and Indonesia.

Each has its own character. But all share two vital common denominators:

- past and present resistance to Asian Communist subversion and aggression -- covert or overt;
- urgent and priority efforts toward constructive nation-building.

These are the common denominators, in fact among all the independent nations of that area.

Do we have any business there?

More American lives have been lost, since Pearl Harbor, in the Pacific than in Europe.

Since 1946 we have committed more than 25 billion dollars worth of loans, grants, food and technical assistance to countries in the arc between West Pakistan and Japan.

That commitment to national security, and to national development, in Asia has been upheld by four American Presidents.

It has been upheld -because they have seen it in our clear national interest -- in the interest of avoiding World War III -- that a continent at the strategic crossroads of the world...rich in resources...possessing more than half the world's people should not be nakedly exposed to Communist pressure.

It has been upheld because we as a nation have believed -- or at least I think we do -- that peoples of all colors, races and religions deserved their chance to grow and develop free of coercion and tyranny.

Looking ahead in Asia, we can predict that economic development will be painfully slow...but that without it there will be chaos.

We can predict that mainland China will soon emerge as a nuclear power...still preaching and supporting the dogma of the cynically-misnamed "wars of National liberation."

We can predict that Asian communism will continue for the foreseeable future to retain its militancy.

We can predict that free Asian nations will continue to reach out to us and others for help.

We can hope that our policy of containment without isolation of China brings about the kind of peaceful coexistence that now prevails between the United States and the Soviet Union.

That is the broad context in which the American people must decide what they want to do about the immediate issue of Vietnam.

That is the context in which the Kennedy-Johnson and Johnson-Humphrey Administrations have made their decisions to stand fast against aggression and to help Asian nation-building.

That is the context in which President John Kennedy made his decision to increase our commitment of men and resource in Vietnam -- because he believed, and said so time and again, that the success of Communist aggression in Vietnam would endanger the security of other Asian nations.

That is the context in which President Lyndon Johnson has stood by that commitment. He believed it was right. And so do I.

Are we going to last it out until there is just and peaceful settlement?

Or are we going to withdraw, short of such a settlement...abandon the people of South Vietnam... and prove to the aggressors that might, after all, does make right?

Or -- at the other extreme -- are we going to reach impetuously for the weapons that would settle the issue in Vietnam by burying it in World War III?

I am ready to hear those issues debated responsibly by the American people. Let those who are "concerned" stand up and tell us which course they choose.

And I am ready to predict that the people will stand behind the Administration which has had the courage to take the difficult middle path -- to stand fast against aggression, to insist on the development of democratic institutions even under the most adverse conditions, and to show restraint when it has the power to do otherwise.

I am convinced that Americans -- now a richer, more powerful, more secure nation -- are prepared to continue building the house of peace begun by Harry Truman in the dark days after World War II.

* * *

My friends, the Republican Party and the Coalition of Retreat assume that the capacities of this nation are diminishing...that its commitments are wavering...that its responsibilities are declining...that its people are tired.

They tailor their thinking and their campaigning to that assumption.

They sell America short.

I have had the good fortune to travel the length and breadth of this land many times in the past few years.

Yes, I have been heckled by some people who bitterly oppose and malign the government I proudly represent. But I have also engaged in constructive and fruitful dialogue with tens of thousands of Americans who are seriously concerned with the good of this country.

Yes, I have seen some young Americans burn their draft cards or express in other violent ways their deep antipathy toward the policies and actions of their nation. But I have also watched tens of thousands of young Americans quietly and confidently serving their country in the armed forces, in the Peace Corps, in VISTA.

Yes, I have heard that some sophisticated political analysts state that America is locked in a racial frenzy of white backlash and black power. But I have also seen Negro-Americans -- for the first time in our history -- step into positions in the Cabinet, the Supreme Court, the United States Senate and the Mayor's offices of several major cities. I have seen polls which show that a majority of Americans believe that jobs and houses, not hostility and suppression, are the basic answer to turbulence in our urban slums.

This is a time of challenge and of ferment. But I am confident that once again, as in 1948, the American people will not embrace that part of ferment which means decay.

I am confident that they will respond to that part which means growth, progress, and hope.

I am confident...providing that the Democratic Party forthrightly and courageously pursues its historic role as champion of progress at home and responsibility abroad.

The American people will respond -- provided that this great party speaks out confidently and proudly of its record, of its goals...and for America.

We shall win in 1968 -- provided that we have the will to win, not for ourselves, but for the future of America.

Let me leave with you these words of Harry Truman:

"It is not our nature to shirk our obligations. We have a heritage that constitutes the greatest resource of this nation. I call it the spirit and the character of the American people."

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Paul Berra

~~City Ch. - Paul Berra~~

County Ch. Dick Dempsey

REMARKS

~~Thomas Engelton - H610~~

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

DEMOCRATIC FUND RAISING DINNER

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

December 8, 1967

~~Jim Cunningham~~
~~Sen Cunningham~~
~~Sen Long~~

Rev Cummings
Talk to you of our Party + Our Country!
Almost 20 years ago, a Democrat from Missouri faced

the National Convention of our party in Philadelphia.

[That party -- according to much of the press and even many of its own members -- was on its last legs. It was, to quote just a few of the professional judgments at the time: "torn by strife" . . . "split by factionalism" . . . "depressed, pessimistic and defeatist."

< The man from Missouri didn't believe a word of it. Instead, Harry Truman declared before the convention of the Democratic Party:

+ 8-7

~~Mayor~~
~~Al Cervantes~~
~~Warren~~
~~Doc Hearnes~~
~~Cong. Schord~~

The K. to Committee

“I will win this election and make these
Republicans like it -- don't you forget that!”

Harry Truman did not say he hoped to win . . . or that
he expected to win . . . or that he might win.

He said: “I will win.”

and He did win! but he never made the Republicans like it.

He won because he had the courage, the wisdom and
the will to tell the American people that there was urgent,
unfinished social and economic business before them -- even
though many voices called for a pause.

He won because he championed the cause of civil rights,
even at the price of the Dixiecrat rebellion!

He won because he told the American people the hard
truth about America's new, inescapable role in world affairs, *a*
role which necessitated Point Four and the Marshall Plan -- at
a time when many people thought we could withdraw from our
responsibilities.

*Truman
hard
to
Please!*

Whenev I get tired to
discourage a Go See!
President Truman!

He won because the American people saw that he would
stand up for what was right, rather than what was easy.

Shirley 2040
later and 1968 will be a different year. and This is a richer, more
advanced, more sophisticated America.

But the mood of America is not too different!

There is discouragement with the often-thankless
burden of free world leadership.

There is disappointment that unprecedented social and
economic progress at home has not brought an American
millenium.

and There is still unfinished business before us!

The basic issue is very much the same now as it was
back in 1948 -- will America advance or retreat? . . . move
forward or pause?

On the home front, now, as then, the Democratic Party says, "Let's move ahead." The Republican Party says, "Let's pause."

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- 7 -- Thou shalt have small faith in America.
- 8 -- Thou shalt not invest.
- 9 -- Thou shalt not propose.
- 10 -- Thou shalt not lead.

"think small
shift for yourself"

The recent record is clear:

In the months just past, the President and the Democratic Party came forth with a Model Cities program.

(Still have one of the 63 cities

The Hope
for
cities

∟ The Republican Party, in Congress, voted 80 per cent against it.

∟ The President and the Democratic Party proposed a rat ~~extermination program.~~
~~control program.~~ The Republican Party voted 87 per cent against it.

To those
needing

∟ The President and the Democratic Party conceived and passed a program of rent supplements. The Republican Party voted 93 per cent against it. - ~~Never Poverty - True to~~
~~Roll it~~

5 million
kids
helped

∟ The President and the Democratic Party developed and passed a new program of federal aid to elementary and secondary education. ∟ The Republican Party voted 86 per cent against it.

There have been other victories, the Civil Rights Act of

1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, Medicare -- programs that have meant greater opportunity for old people, for veterans, for children, for the poor. ~~As I said.~~
~~So to Truman~~ ~~Housing in 4 years all before~~

Head Start
nutraceutical

∟ President Lyndon B. Johnson and the Democratic Party are responsible for these victories. ∟ They were won over the

objections and against the obstructionism of a Republican Party

1 - These Programs - your Party, Democratic Congress, your President!

that speaks out not only for a pause -- but for retreat.

∠ This nation can no more afford to pause or retreat in its quest for social and economic justice today than it could in 1948.

∠ Rising and legitimate expectations in urban and rural slums . . . congested, unwholesome cities . . . lawlessness and crime that must be put down . . . in that context, a pause is a prescription for disaster.

∠ That is the domestic half of the Democratic Party's message to America for 1968. Opportunity - Growing

Economy - National Security

∠ What about foreign policy? Here the Coalition of Retreat is broad and bi-partisan. But the prescription hasn't changed much since Harry Truman's time: Curl up in your shell . . .

isolate yourself from world affairs . . . try to survive as an island of opulence in an increasingly hungry world . . .

Back away -- which is to

let the fate of nations including our own be decided by others
in this perilous nuclear age.

↳ Let me remind you what kind of a world Harry Truman
faced. Here are some actual headlines from December 8, 1947 --
just twenty years ago today.

↳ "Communist Army Parades in Rome."

↳ "Twenty Million Children Share Europe's Misery
and Fear."

↳ Greece was engaged in a mortal struggle with Communist
guerrillas. ↳ Only within the last few days had it become clear that
France would survive nationwide Communist strikes. The Cold
War was well underway; Germany was about to be partitioned.

↳ That is the context in which I found this headline --
same paper, same day:

"Truman flies back to Washington today . . . First
Major Task is Writing Message to Congress on
European Recovery."

↳ America was in the grip of post-war inflation --
wholesale prices up 40 per cent in the previous 18 months.
And still Harry Truman and the Democratic Party called for
a foreign aid program of 6 billion dollars in a desperate effort
toward European recovery.

↳ That took political courage. And it took vision -- the
kind of vision that could foresee the stable, prosperous, free
Europe that exists today. It took a determination that those who
had died in Europe and in the Pacific would not have died in
vain.

↳ The American people were willing to support that kind
of a President and that kind of a policy in 1948.

↳ And Presidents since, of both parties, have followed
the broad policy lines set down then.

So - ↳ What about 1968?

Will the Coalition of Retreat that is at work on American
foreign policy today finally prevail?

*Will the Virus of isolationism
infect our national life?*

Will the American voters agree to reverse the trade policies that have helped the whole Western world move into a period of unprecedented growth and have given America the greatest volume of export trade we have ever known?

Will they settle for a foreign aid authorization which comes to less than ^{1/3 of 1%} a third of one per cent of our GNP -- an authorization which, in the words of President Johnson, "reduced the margin of hope to the danger point?"

Will they do this in light of the fact, as Pope Paul recently wrote in his historic Encyclical, that "development is the new name for peace?" - I hope not - I

I doubt it.

And what will the American voters say about our role in Asia? -- I mean all of Asia, not just Vietnam. That is a pertinent question today -- on the day after the 26th anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor . . . an attack which plunged this nation into Asia to stay.

(Should we be - we are!)

∟ I recently returned from a visit to three Asian nations --
South Vietnam, Malaysia and Indonesia.

Each has its own character. But all share two vital
common denominators:

∟ -- Past and present resistance to Asian Communist
subversion and aggression -- covert or overt;

∟ -- Urgent and priority efforts toward constructive
nation-building.

∟ These are the common denominators, in fact, among
all the independent nations of that area.

∟ Do we have any business there? - *We are a Pacific Power*

∟ More American lives have been lost, since Pearl Harbor,
in the Pacific than in Europe.

∟ Since 1946 we have committed more than 25 billion dollars
worth of loans, grants, food and technical assistance to countries
in the arc between West Pakistan and Japan. -

a fought a Terrible War in Korea.

↳ That commitment to national security, and to national development, in Asia has been upheld by four American Presidents. } X

↳ It has been upheld because they have seen it in our clear national interest -- in the interest of avoiding World War III -- that a continent at the strategic crossroads of the world . . . rich in resources . . . possessing more than half the world's people should not be nakedly exposed to Communist aggression. pressure, subversion, and pressure.

That commitment } X
↳ It has been upheld because as a nation we have believed -- or at least I think we have -- that peoples of all colors, races and religions deserve their chance to grow and develop free of coercion and tyranny. } X

↳ Looking ahead in Asia, we can predict that economic development will be painfully slow . . . but that without it there will be chaos. We can also predict that National Security, will be tested ag and threatened - But National Security and National Development

Go hand in hand. There cannot be one without the other.

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↳ We can predict that mainland China will soon emerge as a nuclear power . . . still preaching and supporting the dogma of the cynically-misnamed "wars of national liberation."

↳ We can predict that Asian communism will continue for the foreseeable future to retain its militancy.

↳ We can predict that free Asian nations will continue to reach out to us and others for help.

↳ We can hope that our policy of containment without isolation of China will bring about the kind of peaceful coexistence that now prevails between the United States and the Soviet Union.

↳ That is the broad context in which the American people must decide what they want to do about the immediate issue of Vietnam.

↳ That is the context in which the Kennedy-Johnson and Johnson-Humphrey Administrations have made their decisions to stand fast against aggression and to help Asian nation-building.

We are ~~determined~~ committed to National Security & National Development at home and abroad.

(cont)
That is the context in which President John Kennedy made his decision to increase our commitment of men and resources in Vietnam -- because he believed, and said so time and again, that the success of Communist aggression in Vietnam would endanger the security of other Asian nations and our own!

That is the context in which President Lyndon Johnson has stood by that commitment. He believed it was right. And so do I.

Are we going to last it out until there is a just and peaceful settlement?

Or are we going to withdraw, short of such a settlement . . . abandon the people of South Vietnam . . . and prove to the aggressors that might, after all, does make right?

Or -- at the other extreme -- are we going to reach impetuously for the weapons that would settle the issue in Vietnam by burying it in World War III?

⌞ I am ready to hear those issues debated responsibly by the American people. Let those who are "concerned" stand up and tell us which course they choose.

Concern

⌞ And I am ready to predict that the people will stand behind the Administration which has had the courage to take the difficult middle path -- to stand fast against aggression, to insist on the development of democratic institutions even under the most adverse conditions, and to show restraint when it has the power to do otherwise.

⌞ I am convinced that Americans -- now a richer, more powerful, more secure nation -- are prepared to continue building the house of peace begun by Harry Truman in the dark days after World War II.

* * *

⌞ My friends, the Republican Party and the Coalition of Retreat assume that the capacities of this nation are diminishing . . .

that its commitments are wavering . . . that its responsibilities are declining . . . that its people are tired.

↳ They tailor their thinking and their campaigning to that assumption. *- The wish is the father of the thought*

↳ They sell America short.

I have had the good fortune to travel the length and breadth of this land many times in the past few years.

↳ Yes, I have been heckled by some people who bitterly oppose and malign the government I proudly represent. But I have also engaged in constructive and fruitful dialogue with tens of thousands of Americans who are seriously concerned with the good of this country.

↳ Yes, I have seen some young Americans burn their draft cards or express in other violent ways their deep antipathy toward the policies and actions of their nation. But I have also watched tens of thousands of young Americans quietly and confidently serving their country in the armed forces, in the Peace Corps, in VISTA.

Yes, I have heard that some sophisticated political analysts state that America is locked in a racial frenzy of white backlash and black power. But I have also seen Negro-Americans -- for the first time in our history -- step into positions in the Cabinet, the Supreme Court, the United States Senate and the Mayor's offices of several major cities. I have seen polls which show that a majority of Americans believe that jobs and houses, not hostility and suppression, are the basic answer to turbulence in our urban slums.

This is a time of challenge and of ferment. But I am confident that once again, as in 1948, the American people will turn to the men of courage and faith ~~not embrace that part of ferment which means decay.~~

I am confident that they will respond to that Party and leadership ~~which~~ which means growth, progress, and hope.

yes I am confident ! providing that the Democratic Party forthrightly and courageously pursues its historic role as champion of progress at home and responsibility abroad.

∟ The American people will respond -- provided that this great party speaks out confidently and proudly of its record, of its goals . . . and for America.

∟ We shall win in 1968 -- provided that we have the will to win, not for ourselves, but for the future of America.

Let me leave with you these words of Harry Truman:

"It is not our nature to shirk our obligations.

We have a heritage that constitutes the greatest resource of this nation. I call it the spirit and the character of the American people."

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TRANSCRIPT

Vice President Humphrey's Remarks, St. Louis Democratic Club

December 8, 1967

I once heard a Governor introduced by a Senator, a visiting Governor and a Home State Senator, and the Senator took an hour to introduce the Governor, and the Governor talked 15 minutes, and I am not going to do that tonight to our distinguished guest, but I would just like to take just a minute or so to clear up something that I keep reading about in the paper which bothers me a great deal. Ever since that fellow, who's name you all won't be mentioning too much tonight decided to run for the office which I now hold, ever since he's done that, they have had candidates from the other party file for the office of Congressman in the Second District. Every time I read an announcement they talk about the safe Republican District in St. Louis County, so this morning I just became somewhat curious, and I went back and got out the bill which the legislature passed, and took that Second District that they call safe Republican and took the votes that I had last time and took the votes that my Republican opponent had, and I carried that safe Republican district by some 6 or 8000 votes. I also looked up the Senior Senator's vote there and he carried it by more than I, so the morale to that story is to win the seat in Congress is to get the Senator to resign from the Senate and run for Congress. Now, he's just a little stubborn sometimes, and if you can't get him to do that, you may be able to get some of his close relatives. Our speaker tonight is a professional Pharmacist, he is a man who combined that with professional politics and who moved from writing prescriptions in his father's drugstore to positions where he would prescribe remedies for the ills of a Nation. He left his father's drugstore in South Dakota after he was sure he would survive the depression of the early 30's. He gained his Bachelors and Masters Degree in Political Science to accompany his earlier Pharmacy Degree.

During the time that he was in the United States Senate, he continued to write prescriptions. He was a liberal politician who was accused by some as being radical but the remedies which he proposed are realities today, and have gained widespread acceptance. For instance, the first bill that he introduced in the Senate in 1949 lead to what is known today as Medicare. Among his other Legislative accomplishments were Federal Aid to Higher Education, the Job Corps, the Peace Corps and the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. I have come to appreciate our our Vice President's deep beliefs in helping this Nation and its Citizens, and during several personal conversations I have become aware of his great intelligence, alertness and ability which characterize him as an outstanding example of leadership for the United States. He received a great deal of praise in one particular statement from his boss, and I speak now the President, and not of his wife. The President said, and I quote, "I've never known a public servant that I've worked better with or for whom I have more admiration or who I thought was more entitled to the public trust than the Vice President". And after hearing him speak tonight, I know you will have a better understanding of the full truth of that statement. So, the best that I can say in the words that I can say the best to you that I know so well. So many times in politics a man who is a picture in a magazine, the subject of an article in the newspaper, the man that is on TV, it is often very difficult to get to know him the way you would like to, so the best way I can describe him is that I've had a chance to talk to him in private. I know him, I like him, he talks our kind of talk, and I know that you like him too. Ladies and Gentlemen, it's an honor for me to present the Vice President of the United States, the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey.

Thank you very much, Governor Hearnese. First may I say you know how to make a man who is Vice President feel good, and that is quite a trick. I want to thank you, thank you very sincerely for your generous, flattering and gracious introduction. It always reminds me of what I say on many occasions when I am over-introduced, so to speak, of what our beloved old friend, Adlai Stevenson once said about introductions and flattery. He said flattery is all right if you don't inhale it, and I was sitting here breathing deeply. But I do want to thank our very good friend, and he is truly gifted, the great Governor of this fine state, for his presence here tonight and his words. And I want to thank you for bringing Mrs. Hearnese along tonight, Warren. I wish that Mrs. Humphrey could be here with us, but she, I talked with her on the phone a little while this evening before I came down for the reception, and she said you know I felt badly yesterday when we were together in New York, we came out of St. Patrick's Cathedral after the services for the beloved Francis Cardinal Spellman and we just sort of shook hands and said good-by. She said, I don't know if I'm beginning to like this or not. But she had some work to do, public work, and I had a meeting to attend to, get back to Washington, then go to Louisville, Kentucky. So, so is public life. I couldn't help but say a while ago to one of our friends who was talking to me about this that the good Mayor came up to me, Al Cervantes, and I said how pleased I was to see his beautiful wife here this evening and he said, well, Mr. Vice President, these ladies of ours have to put up with quite a lot. And I said, well, I don't know, maybe it's just as well we're not home so much, this may be better. I do want to say how happy I am to once again be in the presence of these fine, good Democrats of St. Louis County and this great state of Missouri.

I am very happy to be here in the Company of two of my good friends, esteemed gentlemen, fine United States Senators, your Senior Senator Stuart Symington and your Junior Senator, Edward Long. I don't know how a man could be more fortunate than I have been to have this gifted friendship. I feel this way very much because we learn in public life as we live through it the importance of friendship, and that this time of the season, the holidays, you appreciate gifts, and so I want to thank you. I want to thank you Stu, and I want to thank you Ed. And I want to thank every member of this great State Administration! Your Governor, your Lieutenant Governor, all your Constitutional Officers, and my firend Congressman Ichord, who is here tonight, and above all, I want to express a word of thanks to these two illustrious sons of two great Dads, Stuart Symington, Jr. and Jim Tom Blair for being co-chairmen of this Dinner. It's really wonderful when the next generation comes along and takes over, and don't do too good, you make us feel bad. But, I was so pleased when I saw the program tonight and saw Stu Symington, Jr. and Jim Tom Blair there, I knew Jim dad's very well, loved him very much, and I guess it goes with saying how much I think of Stu Symington, so we're having quite a time here tonight. And, I asked Jimmie to come along, but why didn't you bring the, you know, I thought I told Jim to come on out with me, I want you to come and join me, and he said, I can't get away when you leave, and I was going to take him on a little tour. I thought I'd have him play for those 15,000 farmers I had over at Louisville last night. I had 15,000 of them, Jimmie, and I'll tell you **what**, we gave them some good docterine, too. It was good.

And, if you don't mind my saying so, I think they liked it. Let me just say a word about Jim. I don't know what his plans are, I read something about you here, and if you leave Washington, I don't know what I'm going to do. Because, Jim Symington gets me through more trouble than any man I've ever known. I'm sort of the good-bye man for all the visiting heads of state that come in. The President greets them and I send them off. And, my part of the program is very well organized, I'll have you know. There is no one that lets me make a mistake and the President appoints Jim Symington to make sure that I not only say the right thing, but I stand the right place, look the right way, and shake hands the right way and do all the things that I am supposed to including hopefully to pronounce the names the right way. I don't know of a more difficult job, or a more arduous task and a more demanding responsibility than to be the Protocol Officer of this Government, the United States Ambassador in Protocol for the Department of State than Jim Symington has, and let me tell you my dear friends, and you good Missourians, that this man does it with class. He is really a nobleman, a gentleman, and I want to praise him. He didn't expect me to, and your pay is not going up, I want you to know that. And, between Jim and Sylvia the job that they do is something that Muriel and I will always love and respect, and I want to wish you the very best and I'll endorse anything that's been said here tonight about you, unless you think it will hurt you, then I'll take it back. Now, Governor, I didn't know anybody was even giving a thought of spending their money on such a futile enterprise as running against you. And, if they are, I think that you ought to advocate that they contribute it to their favorite charity.

But, you Sir, have done things for this State of which we are proud. Tonight I want to talk with you both seriously and in terms of our National Policies and I want to talk some good hard politics with you too. You know, when I got the invitation to come out here, I was mighty happy. In light of what I've been reading lately about the Administration, the President, and the Vice President, I wasn't sure anybody was going to invite us anyplace. And then I was told they had a meeting of the County Committee out here and they decided that they would do something **about** it and it reminded me about that story they tell about that industrialist that got critically ill. He went off to the hospital, nobody wrote to him, he didn't receive any cards, didn't get any letters, no sent him any flowers and finally the local Union had a meeting of the executives Committee of the Local 100 of the plant, and they sat down and they decided to consider the situation that pertained to their boss and after an hour or two of deliberation and debate, they made a decision and they decided to send him their good wishes. And, the card read something like this: The Executive Committee of Local 100 by a vote of 8 to 7 wishes you a speedy recovery. Dick Dempsey tells me that is how I got out here, and I want you to know I stuffed the ballot box. I am mightyly glad to come, and believe me it's just sort of like that girl that said she hadn't been doing too good, she had a little bad reputation, and she said to the Preacher, you know, Reverend, I prayed for you all night, and he said you needn't have done that, If you had just called, I'd have come right over. I know Reverend Cummings will forgive me for that. I have a feeling that sometimes we Democrats are beginning to act like Republicans. We're getting a little to dire, and too burdened, and too pontifical and overly serious in a manner which is unbecoming to us.

Public life ought to be what John Adams once said of it, there ought to be a sense of public happiness about it. A happiness in the knowledge that you are doing something that is important for the common good. And, I don't believe that we further our cause by appearing as if somehow or another, everything has gone wrong. I am one of the few optimists left in this country, I gather, and I always feel this way, particularly when I'm down in Washington because the competition in the fields of pessimism is so hard and so difficult in order to be known as a pessimist in Washington, you have got to be very, very pessimistic. But, in order to be known as an optimist you just have to smile occasionally, and I looked around and I felt that no sense in over doing things and I looked over and saw so many pessimists that I said I'm going over to that field of optimists, there were only three or four wandering around over there, and I think a couple of them have left since I came, but I am an optimist about this country. And, I'm an optimist about our cause. Not a foolish optimist, but a realistic one, and I want to tell you why. It was almost twenty years ago that a very famous Democrat from Missouri faced the National Convention of our Party in Philadelphia. I want you to think back now of those important days. That Party, according to much of the Press, and even many of its own members, was on its last legs. As a matter of fact, I think sometimes the boys are running the same headlines now. They just ran out of print. It was, to quote a few of the professional judgements at that time, and I quote exactly from one of the leading newspapers in the Eastern Seaboard. "Torn by strife that's our party, split by factionalism, and depressed pessimistic and defeatists, Now, those are three very impressive words. Depressed, pessimistic and defeatists.

That was the description of the Democratic Party. That was the prescription and the description of the Democratic Party, described by those that didn't want it to succeed. Those that never had any intention of ever supporting it. And, some of our own people bought it. Now, the man from Missouri didn't believe a word of it. Instead, Harry Truman declared before the Convention of the Democratic Party these words, and listen to them and let them be seared into your living soul. He said, I will win this election and make those Republicans like it, and don't you forget that, end of quote. Now listen to what he said really, 'tho. Harry Truman did not say that he hoped he would win the election or that he expected to win, or that he might win, maybe, he said in very simple direct language which had a great impact I will win, and he did win. He made one mistake, however. He never made the republicans like it. They are hard to please, I can tell you. I think so many times of my Dad, who was a great Democaat. And, the greatest inspiration of my life. My Dad used to tell me in the drugstore that we ran, in which I literally was reared. He said, I want to tell you something, son, you'll never sell any merchandise unless you think it's the best in town. He said you have to believe in yourself and believe in what you have before anybody else will believe in you. I was brought up that way. Well, I think Harry Truman had that same attitude, in fact, they were cut out of the same colth. Truman won because he had the courage and he had that simplicity of thought that brings great wisdom and he had the will to tell the American people that there was urgent unfinished social and economic business before them. Even 'tho many voices hesitated, many voices expressed doubt and fear and even more voices said stop, halt, pause, don't go to fast. Harry Truman won because he championed the cause of Civil Rights even at the cost of a Dixiecrat rebellion, and he had parties to the left of him

and parties to the right of him. The Progressive party on his left, and the Dixiecrat party on his right, and the Republican Party in front of him and in back of him, and he swept them all. What a man! What a man! And, he won because he told the American people the hard truth. He told the American people the hard truth about America's new inescapable role in world affairs. A role that would be costly, a role that would take sacrifice, a role that was dangerous, a role that would necessitate vast expenditures, including a Marshall Plan, a Point Four and the resistance of Communistic expansion in Europe. I think he understood the American people very well. The American people do not really want it easy. They like to be tested. They want to be, in a sense, faced with reality. And, I believe that is the kind of message we need to take to the American people now. I find our young people this way. I am fortunate to have three fine sons and a lovely daughter, grandchildren, wonderful young friends. And, what do they tell me. They tell me many times, Dad, if some of you older ones would just tell us that we ought to shape up, that there is something important to do. And, I sit and talk with them, they want to be men, and they want to be women, not to be coddled. I think that when we take our politics to the American people we ought to start just laying it on the line. I've often said that if you are going to win, you ought to win with flying colors. You ought to win in a way that you can be proud, and if you have to lose, go down like a champion, not like a weakling. But, we're not going down. The reason we're not going down is because our opposition hasn't anything to win with, if we carry this battle to the American people.

I believe that Harry Truman won because the American people saw that he would stand for what was right, rather than what was easy. And, whenever I get tired and blue and discouraged, and depressed, and it happens to all of us, I find some excuse to get out to Kansas City and get over to Independence and just to look at him I feel better. I like to go over there, and as I said to him the other day, I come out pumped up, inspired, I come out knowing what made America great was because we could do the impossible, and we can do what is impossible. Now, it's twenty years later, and history does not necessarily repeat itself, but here are lessons to be learned from it. I know that 1968 will be a different year, as everybody does here. The times are different, the world in which we live is different. This country of ours is far richer, fantastically so. Stronger, and it is a much more sophisticated America, and it faces very, very sophisticated and difficult problems. But, the mood of America is not very different, and you know it. Some of you that have been out just with the folks, you know that you hear the same kind of rumblings, the same kind of noises, and there is the same kind of political atmosphere. There is discouragement with the often thankless burden of free world leadership. It is very difficult to be appreciated over a long period of time as a Nation or even as a person. There is disappointment that the unprecedented social and economic progress here at home has not brought the American melium. There is, as you and I know, still a whole mountain of unfinished business. And, because there is so much to be done, some people weary at the thought of it. But, let me leave this thought with you. The greatness of a nation is not determined by its ultimate accomplishments, but more importantly but by its significant beginnings, and we have made the

beginnings. Our work will never be done, as some of them have said, the great authors, the American Revolution is an unfinished chapter of human history, and it always will be thus because the purpose of this Country is Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. The founding fathers did not say you had it wrapped up, signed, sealed and delivered. They did not say it was Life, Liberty, and Survival, they didn't say it's Life, Liberty, and a perfect life, They said it's Life and Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness, which means a constant challenge. Now, the basic issue is very much the same now as it was back in 1948. Will America advance or retreat? Will America face the future with confidence or will it look back with doubt? Will it move forward or will it stop, pause, reflect, and turn around. Well, on the home front now, as then, the Democratic Party says let's move forward. I always think of what Franklin Roosevelt said in those final words of his as he was at Warm Springs, Georgia, and if you haven't read them, you must. They are inspiring words for every American and particularly for every Democrat. He was getting ready, as you will recall, to deliver his Jefferson Day message and he was writing that message at Warm Springs, Georgia when the Good Lord took his life. He was a war casualty, and the pen literally fell from his hands, and the last words from his pen, that he wrote, were these: The only limit to the really realization of our tomorrows are our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith. The only limit upon a realization of tomorrow is our doubt of today. And, my fellow Americans, not just a Democrats, but as a Citizen of this Republic the only limitation on this Nation today or any other time is the doubt and the fear that some of us may have. We are blessed as no other

people with incredible resources, with unbelievable talented people, with all the tools in physical and spiritual quantity and quality that a great people ought to have. It's just the questions whether we have the will to use them, and use them for just causes. So our Party has always stood for, at least in this century, as the forward looking party, so let us move forward said Franklin Roosevelt, let us begin said John Kennedy, let us continue said Lyndon Johnson, let us have a new deal, a fair deal, let us have the Great Society. One after another, great slogans, great forward movements. And, what do the Republicans say, well, back to normalcy. Back, Back. You know they ought to take as their slogan pin, stop, look, I wish they would put on there listen, but they don't hear. If they do stop, they look, but they look the wrong direction. Now, I want to give you the Ten Republican Commandments. I think you ought to get them tonight in this rather secular meeting. Commandment Number One. Thou shalt pause. Thou shalt look back. Thou shalt retrench. Thou shalt relax. Thou shalt think small. Thou shalt impede. Thou shalt have small faith in America. Thou shalt not invest. Thou shalt not propose. Thou shalt not lead. As somebody said of one of the prospective candidates, of the Republican Party, who was once associated with what they call the compact car, that his slogan is think small and shift for yourself. And, instead of saying, thou shalt love thy neighbor, thou shalt be suspicious of your neighbor. Well, the record is pretty clear, at least the recent record is clear, and that's the one we ought to be talking about. These two Senators that are here tonight can tell you about it, and your Congressmen and other Congressmen here can tell you about it. In the months just passed, the President, your President, you helped elect him, your Congress, the Democratic Congress, and your party came forth with what we call a model City's Program. Now, the City of St. Louis and East St. Louis

is one of the 63 metropolitan areas, the first to come under the purview of this program. The Model Cities Program, which has within its possibilities the rebirth of your great community here, of every neighborhood that needs to be revitalized of the rehabilitation of physical obsolescence and the rescuing of people who have lost hope. Now the Democratic Party proposed that, fought for it, authorized it, got some money for it. The Republican Party voted 80% against it. And, when they come out telling us about how we ought to rebuild our cities and about crime in the street, ask them where they were when the roll call was made in the congress of the United States. Why, even on a program that was kicked around so much and gained such headlines, at least down in Washington, on that rat control program, and it's not a laughing matter for children in the tenements, the rat that has carried more disease and infected more people than any other animal. That little program, just to help at least protect the health of little ones, 87% of the Republicans voted against it, and it was bad enough that they voted against it, but they laughed doing it. And, we laughed them right out of it the second time around. Sensing and knowing the need of decent homes for more of our people, there your President, and I repeat, your President, you elected him, the Democratic Party, your party, and your Congress, conceived and passed a program, and a modest program of rent supplements. Not a revolutionary Program, in fact, as President Johnson has said, one that had its inception back in the Chamber of Commerce to promote private housing so individuals could have their own home in which they could live, in a decent neighborhood, rent supplements. And yet, 93% of the Republicans in Congress said no. Now, they are going to tell you they didn't think we could afford it. They are going to have 101 excuses, but the simple truth is that the choice between a decent home for a family

to call its home and no home at all was the rent supplement program. The republicans in Congress, Leadership and their followers with the party line said no. The President of the Democratic Party developed and passed a vast program of Federal Aid to Elementary and Secondary Education. The Republican Party voted 86% of its membership against it. Now, ladies and gentlemen, that program is helped elevate the educational life of eighth and one-half million disadvantaged youngsters in this country. And, every American ought to be a bit ashamed that we haven't been able during the 200 years of our National existence to provide real equality of education. I think of all the things that this Administration has done of that which I am most proud is the fact that we have been willing to invest in the lives of our young people. We've been willing to help strengthen education, and we broke through all of the arguments of education. We directed our educational funds to the child, why, I remember when I first came to the congress of the United States, the first bill I ever voted on was Federal Aid to Education. We passed it in the Senate, and they killed it in the House. Then, they pass it in the House and kill it in the Senate. It was sort of like a tennis match, with a net ball every other serve. And, it was killed either on racism or religion, and nobody seemed to care about the child. The Democratic Party does care. I read about concerned Democrats well, I'll tell you who is the most concerned Democrat, President Lyndon Johnson in the White House, he is really concerned about this country. We all ought to be concerned, America's concerned about many things. We have not only been concerned, we've acted. And, it was this party that won other

great victories and these Senators that are here and others have had a hand in these victories. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, why Stu Symington and Hubert Humphrey stood in the Senate year after year trying to get a hearing on Civil Rights and finally we got a Democratic Administration starting with John Kennedy followed up by Lyndon Johnson and with tremendous effort going to the people and working literally our hearts out we were able to pass that comprehensive Civil Rights Act of 1964. The promise of Abraham Lincoln in the Emancipation became a reality. It's no small achievement and I weary that some of my fellow Democrats say "What have you done?" and I weary that some of them say to me "Well, what is a Liberal Program?" and then some of my good friends say to me "Whatever happened to the Liberal Program?" and I say we passed it. Does that bother you? We passed it. It's public law. And it doesn't make you any less liberal because you passed it. You don't prove yourself to be a good Democrat, a good Liberal or a good Progressive, by being unhappy over success. I don't think so at all. Nor do you prove yourself to be a great intellectual by being in constant intellectual and gastronomic pain. Not at all. You can be an intellectual and be happy. You can be an intellectual and be successful and you can be a liberal Democrat and be proud of the fact that you passed legislation like I've talked about. Things that we've fought for for a quarter of a century and on which we are building even now, even as these Senators and Congressmen came to you tonight they stayed in Washington, they doubted that they could come. Why? Because they were there fighting for what? The War on Poverty, for Elementary and Secondary Education, for Higher Education, for better Social Security Benefits. Well, you see, it's

beginnings that count and then you build on them. Democracy is never a fully consummated human development. It's built generation after generation and it's like a mighty cathedral. It takes generations of work, building block by building block. Medicare was mentioned here tonight. We just now sorta go around and say well you know, I guess we got it. Why do you think that the life expectancy of the American people improved this last year? Because of Medicare? For the first time elderly people of this country that were the poorest of the poor, the victims of abject poverty and neglect, more than anybody else, without regard to color, for the first time they received decent hospital, nursing home, and medical care. Four and one-half million of them. And they could do it by right. You're not going to find Hubert Humphrey running around apologizing for this. I'm out here, not bragging about it, but I'm out here saying that it happened and what the Democratic Party stands for is not to retreat from that achievement, but to refine it, to make it better, to make it more just. To make it work a little better. We know it has its limitations, but we seek to move ahead, not to pause, not to turn around, not to regret. Oh, these are the programs that have meant greater opportunity for old people. Listen, we built more senior citizen housing in the last four years than in the preceding two hundred. We have passed more health acts in the last three years than in the preceding one hundred. We put four times as much money in aid to education in 1967 as we had in 1963. We've been at work. And I think it's just about time, my fellow party workers, that you started out blowing the bugles and telling people about it. Things have been happening for children. I visited your Head Start Program here in St. Louis today. Wasn't any Head Start under Republicans, and yet there were poor children and lots of them.

It started under this Administration. I saw Job Corps girls today when the Mayor and I were over at the Municipal Conference. Ladies and gentlemen, a hundred thousand young people have gone through Job Corps Centers. Some people say it costs too much to put them through there. It costs more not to. Some people say, well, a lot of them are drop-outs. They drop out. They were all drop-outs before they started. It costs a whole lot less to put a young lady or a young man through a Job Corps Center than it does through a University. And these young people desperately need help. One hundred thousand of them have graduated. Seventy thousand of them are gainfully employed. Twenty thousand young men joined the Armed Services. Ten thousand of them went back to high school or to a trade school. A hundred thousand lives saved. Saved. I think it's a real test of morality when a nation is willing to invest in the life of a person who has literally lost his life. When you're willing to put thousands of dollars in training one person in order that that person may become productive. In order that that person may break out of the bondage of his fear and his neglect and his bitterness and of his frustration and of his ignorance. We're doing it. We're making inroads in progress. And we've been helping the poor. There are better than a million fewer poor this year in America than there were a year ago. We're cutting in, we're making progress. Oh, we haven't done nearly enough. You know, we've been trying to find a cure for cancer for a hundred years, at least fifty in research. Haven't found it. I lost a brother with it this summer. But you don't go around scolding the doctors. You know what you do? You come down and say give them some more money, build a new laboratory. We've got to find a cure. You ought to

be interested. One out of every three in this room will die of it. One out of five will have it. So cancer's a very important problem to us. Well, one-seventh of the entire population of America has another form of malignancy and it's known as poverty. And that one-seventh is a drag on all of us. Worse, it's a drag on themselves. They're unproductive, unhappy. They represent trouble for themselves and everybody else. And we're out to do something about it and our opposition says you're not succeeding. Throwing brickbats rather than trying to come up with constructive answers. Well, I want to say that we've had some victories. I'm not here to tell you that the war for a better world is won, I'm not here to tell you that we have come to the milinium or Utopia. I'm here to tell you that we've been climbing up the staircase of progress and those victories have been won and those steps have been taken under the leadership of Democratic Presidents. And those leaders, those steps have been gained, those victories as they are have been won under the leadership of a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President, President Lyndon Johnson. And he deserves the credit for it. Just let me put it to you plainly that it isn't just in Africa and Asia that you have rising expectations. You have them here at home. And rising and legitimate expectations in urban and rural slums, congested and unwholesome cities which are part of our pattern today, lawlessness and crime that must be put down. In that context a Republican retreat and pause is a prescription for disaster. That's why I'm out talking to people. I travel all over this country and I see a lot of people. I see young people by the hundreds and thousands. And I see older people. I've been with the richest of the rich and the poorest of the poor. I've been in the filthiest slum that you can find and the most beautiful penthouse that

man ever knew. I've been to the most extravagant parties and I've watched little children that were the victims of malnutrition. I've seen this country and I think I have some feeling of what America wants. America doesn't want a handout. Americans, however, that are down and out would like the hand of friendship and fellowship to help them stand on their own feet. As I put it many times, we're not trying to build a welfare state in America. We don't want a welfare state. We want a state of opportunity for every American. Every American his chance. That's the promise of this land. That's what we're trying to do. And we're making progress. Well, now let me talk to you about another aspect of our policy. Because a nation is no stronger abroad than it is at home and really a nation's foreign policy is reflected by it's domestic achievement policy. What we do here will condition what we do elsewhere. How we treat our own people tells other people more than anything else how we will treat them. If we're interested in the poor and the sick and the needy here, then we'll be interested in them some place else. If we believe in the expanding, growing economy here, if we believe in capital and labor here, then people will believe that we believe in it elsewhere. That's why I think you have to put together in a synthesis foreign policy and domestic policy. They're one and inseparable. Well, what about that foreign policy of today? What about our national security? The senior Senator of this state is one of the experts of our nation in national security. Thank goodness. Your junior Senator has made vast contributions in terms of the great domestic programs of our nation. But there's a coalition of retreat that's been formed once again and it's broad, and it's bipartisan. But the prescription hasn't

changed much since Harry Truman's time. Same old philosophy. Curl up in your shell, isolate yourself from world affairs, try to survive as an island of affluence and opulence in an increasingly hungry world. Back away, which is just to let the fate of nations, including our own, be decided by others in this perilous nuclear age. Now let me remind you once again of the kind of world Harry Truman faced in 1948, 47. Here are some of the actual headlines. I looked these papers up. I got ready to come out here to Missouri. I should have brought them along, but they're too thick. But here were the headlines that appeared in a leading newspaper in the eastern seaboard on December the 8th, 1947, just twenty years ago today. COMMUNIST ARMY PARADES IN ROME. TWENTY MILLION CHILDREN SHARE EUROPE'S MISERY AND FEAR. Those are two major headlines. Greece was engaged in a mortal struggle with communist guerillas. Only within the last few days had it become clear that France would survive a nation-wide communist strike. The Cold War was well underway. Germany was about to be partitioned. Now that is the context in which I found this headline that I'm about to read in the same paper on the same day. TRUMAN FLIES BACK TO WASHINGTON TODAY. FIRST MAJOR TASK IS WRITING MESSAGE TO CONGRESS ON EUROPEAN RECOVERY. America was in the grips of a post-war inflation with prices up forty percent from the previous eighteen months. Still Harry Truman and the Democratic Party called for a foreign aid program of six billion dollars. Six billion dollars. We just fought a war. We just bled ourselves white literally, economically. And he called for six billion dollars in a desperate effort toward European recovery. He faced the communist hordes and armies in Iran and Greece and Turkey. I want to remind you what he told Joe Stalin when Joe Stalin decided to leave his armies in Iran, old

Persia. He said I'll give you five days to make up your mind to get them out or you know what's going to happen to you. I don't want to spell out how Truman said it because I'm already in trouble. Mr. Stalin understood it and the great Truman Doctrine was enunciated by a President who didn't have much support for it. The Doctrine that said that this country would not stand idly by and see communistic expansionism engulf Europe or any other free country. That Truman Doctrine is still as much a part of the foreign policy of this nation as the Monroe Doctrine. Well, all of this took political courage and it took vision, uncluttered vision, the kind of vision that could foresee the stable, prosperous, free Europe that stands today. And it took determination that those who had died in Europe and the Pacific would not have died in vain. Oh, what we owe this man. And my fellow Americans, I pray the Lord God Almighty we haven't forgotten the lessons prior to World War II and after World War II. I hope we haven't forgotten the lessons of appeasement and isolationism and the terrible price we've had to pay. I hope we haven't forgotten that the aggressor has an insatiable appetite, that there's nothing that you can give him that will satisfy until you give him everything. I hope that we have not forgotten that lesson of collective security and the necessity of world leadership for those that have been spared from destruction. Well, the American people were willing to support that kind of a President and that kind of a policy in 1948. And the Presidents since, every President since, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson, have followed the broad policy lines set down by Harry Truman. Now what about 1968. Here we are again in the area of foreign policy and national security. Will that coalition of retreat that is at work on the American foreign policy and national security today finally prevail? Will

this new strain of virus of isolationism affect our national life. Will the American voters agree to reverse policies that have helped the whole western world move into a period of unprecedented growth and have given America the greatest volume of trade that we've ever known? Will we settle for a foreign aid authorization that comes to little less than one-third of one percent of our gross national product? Which President Johnson said reduced the margin of hope to the danger point? Will the American people do this in light of the fact that the great churchman, Pope Paul VI recently wrote in his historic encyclical that development is the new name for peace? And his predecessor said that in a world of constant want there is no peace. I hope not, but I want to be like Truman. I don't believe they will, no they will not. And what will the American voters say about our role in Asia? I mean all of Asia and not just Vietnam. I've been to Asia five times in the last three years. I don't claim to be an expert, but I do say that you can learn a little in those visits. Now this is a very pertinent question today, what will our role be? Because we are just one day beyond the twenty-sixth anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor, an attack which plunged this nation into Asia. Many people say, well I wonder if we should be there. We are there, the bodies of our sons are there. Our ships are there in the bottom of the sea. Our dead are buried there. We've been a Pacific power ever since this country became a nation, in fact. And what kind of academic nonsense is it to ask whether or not we should be involved in Asia. Of course we're involved. This is a smaller world every day. It takes less time to fly from St. Louis to Saigon now than it did to fly from St. Louis to London in 1940. This is a smaller world and getting smaller every day. I recently returned from a visit to three Asian nations, South Vietnam, Malaysia and Indonesia. Now I wouldn't want you to think that they were all alike because

they're not. Each has it's own character, but they share two vital common denominators that we must understand. First is past and present resistance to Asian communist subversion and aggression, covert and overt. Now let's understand right now that communist aggression to an Asian is not a subject of theoretical discussion. It's life and death. In Malaysia they've fought them for twelve years. In Indonesia they saw their country literally ravaged by the communists and a blood bath of almost a half a million people has resulted as this country has tried to save itself and now looks to us for help and to others as well. What's the second common denominator? An urgent and priority effort towards constructive nation building. These countries are desperately trying to lift themselves now. These are the common denominators among all the independent nations in that area. Do we have any business there, you have a right to ask it. And my answer is yes. More American lives have been lost since Pearl Harbor in the Pacific than in Europe. We have given to date in the Korean War alone and this war in Vietnam over seventy thousand dead. And over three hundred thousand casualties. And hundreds of thousands of our finest sons never returned from the Pacific. Of course we have business there. We have very big business. Since 1946 we've committed more than twenty-five billions of dollars in loans granted and foods. Technical assistance to the countries in the arc between Japan and Pakistan. We fought that terrible war in Korea and I haven't forgotten what people said about that. I haven't forgotten that in August of 1950 over eighty percent of the American people praised Truman for standing up against communist aggression in Korea. And six months later sixty-six percent of the American people in this same poll said we ought to withdraw. If Mr. Truman had listened to the popularity polls today, Japan and Asia would be a communist empire. But he didn't listen. He stood firm and the Korean troops weren't much good in those days, either.

The men that fought those battles will tell you. They were reserves from World War II. The men that fought World War II had to fight two wars. And it appeared that we would lose for a long time. And we've learned some lessons out of that war, including about negotiations. Because more Americans were killed after the communists started to negotiate than before. We also learned something else, that we didn't have much help even though it was under the mantle of the United Nations. There are more foreign troops today helping the Vietnamese in Vietnam by far than there were in Korea helping the Koreans and helping the Americans. Well, this commitment to national security and national development in Asia has been upheld by four American Presidents. I don't think they're all wrong. It has been upheld because they have seen it in our clear national interest and they have seen it in the interest of avoiding World War III. They have realized that a continent at the strategic crossroads of the world, rich in resources and possessing more than half of the world's people should not be nakedly exposed to communist subversion and communist aggression. We're talking about over fifty percent, in fact sixty percent of the people of this earth. Now that commitment has been upheld because as a nation we believe, and I, at least I think we have, the people of all colors, races and religions, not just white men, in Europe deserve their chance to grow and develop free of coercion and tyranny. We've kept our commitment because we signed a charter called the Charter of the United Nations that committed us, as it did others. Regretably, others haven't taken it as seriously, but committed us to resist, as it puts it, suppress aggression. And it's there as a solemn treaty and to promote self determination. Now looking ahead in

Asia, and we need to look ahead. I think we can predict that economic development will be painfully slow. There'll be no dramatic improvement, but that without it there will be chaos. We can also predict that national security will be tested again and again in Asia. As a leader of an Asian country told me just a month ago tonight, you never conquer communism, you merely cut it back. It's like a weed growing in your yard. You think you cut it out and then there it appears again. Relentless pressure upon it, constantly having to be on guard. So our program is one at home and abroad of national security and national development. They go hand in hand and many people say, well, the way to do it is just to have foreign aid, just develop the countries. What good does it do to develop a city if there is violence and riots and lawlessness on your streets and there's no one to put it down. What good does it do to have the world's biggest police department if all you have is poverty. National security and national development are one and inseparable. You can't have development without security and you cannot have security without development. So we wage a war on two fronts. At home and abroad. Against those that are the oppressors and attackors, against the evil virus of poverty. Now what else can we predict my fellow Americans, and we better think of it. We can predict that mainland China will soon emerge as a nuclear power. Still preaching and supporting the dogma of cynically misnamed wars of national liberation. And I can remember as a young man when people laughed at Hitler. I can remember when people read Mein Kampf and said the fellow that wrote this must be crazy. And he was, but he was also Chancellor of the Reich. Do you remember? And there are people today who say, oh, you don't have to worry. It's a long ways off.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have underestimated every enemy we've ever had. We've underestimated every threat to our national security and at least two or three times by the Grace of God and geography we've been spared, given time. What makes you think there'll be any time next time? Your Senators know better. They know that they live in the world of the instant push-button nuclear war. They know that we're talking fifteen minutes, not fifteen months. They know that national security is no longer something to be debated with the design to see that it be weakened, but only to be debated in the hopes that it can be improved. We can predict that Asian communism will continue for the foreseeable future to retain its militancy and be a threat to its neighbors. And we can predict that free Asian nations will continue to reach out to us and to others for a help until they can stand on their own feet. And we can hope that our policy of containment without isolation of China will bring about the kind of at least liveable, peaceful coexistence that now prevails between the United States and the Soviet Union. Now this is the broad context in which the American people are going to be called upon to decide this next election. They're going to have to decide what they want to do about the immediate issue of Vietnam. This is the context in which the Kennedy-Johnson and the Johnson-Humphrey Administrations have made their decisions. To stand fast against aggression and to help Asian nation building. For those of you that long for peace as I do, and my goodness if any man doesn't long for peace there's something wrong for him, wrong with him. Let me tell you that if you think you want peace, think of how much the President wants it. Think of the political liability that this war is to him. Think of the

unbelievable burden upon his conscience, his mind, his soul, his body, of having to order into battle half a million men. And yet I hear people go around accusing our President as if he didn't even want peace. I hear people in the name of dissent, if you please, speaking with such utter disrespect for their nation and the office of the Presidency that it makes me wonder. America has never been an aggressor. No nation has ever given so much for so many. No nation has ever asked so little. And I think it's about time to blow the whistle on some people that can only downgrade what this nation stands for and what its commitment has been in the past, now and in the future. Well, it's in this context that President Kennedy made his decision to increase our commitment of men and resources in Vietnam because he believed, and I know, and said so time and again that the success of communist aggression in Vietnam would endanger the security of America and the security of the Asian nations in Southeast Asia. That's why he raised the ante from six hundred American men to twenty-five thousand before the assassin's bullet had taken him. Now this is the context in which President Lyndon Johnson has stood by that same commitment. And this is why Dwight Eisenhower speaks as he speaks. President Johnson believed that what he was doing is right. And so do I. And I stand foursquare with him. So we ask then, are we going to last it out until there is a just and peaceful settlement. Are we going to withdraw short of settlement, abandon the people of South Vietnam and prove the aggressors, to the aggressors, that after all might does make right, or are we going to just go the other way and trigger the weapons that would settle the issue for Vietnam for once and for all by burying all of humanity in World War III? I don't think we want

to do either. I'm ready to hear these issues debated responsibly by the American people. Let those who are concerned stand up and tell us which course they choose or what are their alternatives. I'm ready to predict tonight that the people who will stand behind this government, this Administration which has had the courage to take the difficult path just as Truman did, to stand fast against aggression, to insist on the development of democratic institutions, even under the most adverse conditions, and to show restraint when it has the power to do otherwise. When I hear that this is an immoral struggle I think of how the President of the United States exercises every day of his life restraint upon the unbelievable power that this nation possesses. And you know it. You know it. I am convinced that Americans, now richer and more powerful and a more secure nation than ever before are prepared to continue building the house of peace begun by Harry Truman in the dark days after World War II. Now my friends, the Republican Party and the coalition of retreat assume that the capacities of this nation are diminishing, that it's commitments are wavering, that it's responsibilities are declining, that the people are tired and weary and you can talk yourself into that, too. They tailor their thinking and their campaigning on that assumption. The wish is the father of the thought. But I'm here to tell you they sell this country short. I've had the good fortune, as I've told you, to travel the length and breadth of this land. I've been heckled by some people who bitterly oppose and malign the government that I'm proud to represent. But I've also been engaged in constructive and fruitful debate and dialogue with tens of thousands of Americans who are seriously concerned with the

good of this country. Yes, I've seen some young Americans burn their draft cards or express in other violent ways antipathy towards the policies and actions of this nation. But I've also watched tens of thousands of young Americans serving their country in the Armed Forces. And, by the way, the best that this nation has ever had. Our forces in Vietnam today are the pride of every commanding officer. I hope some of you the other night saw that great NBC feature of Frank McGee, "Same Mud, Same Blood." And if you didn't, you should see it. I watched these thousands of young Americans serve in the Peace Corps and volunteer by the thousands for it and serve in Vista. I've watched them work in communities so I know there's a healthy America. Yes, I've heard that some sophisticated political analysts state that America is locked in a racial frenzy of white backlash and black power. But I've also seen Negro Americans for the first time in our history step into positions in the Cabinet, the Supreme Court, the United States Senate, The Congress of the United States, and the Mayor's offices of several of our major cities. School Boards, City Councils, State Legislatures. I've seen the polls which show that the majority of Americans believe that jobs and houses, not hostility and suppression, are the basic answers to further turbulence and trouble in our urban slums. So I end by saying this is a time of challenge, this is a time for people of optimistic faith. And I'm confident that once again as in 1948 the American people will turn to the men of courage and to the Party of faith and confidence. And I'm confident that they will respond to the Party and the leadership which means growth, progress and hope. Yes, I'm a confident man. As a matter of fact, I kinda

can hardly wait for the election process to really get underway. I've got a lot of scores I want to settle. I'm confident providing that the Democratic Party forthrightly and courageously pursues its historic role as the champion of progress, unafraid at home with responsibility abroad. The American people will respond, my fellow Democrats, provided that this great Party speaks out, proudly, of its records, proudly of its goals and for America. You don't need to tell about our weaknesses. The opposition is well prepared to do it. And they have a nicer way of doing it. I mean if not nicer, they get the message over a little better. So I leave you with these words -- the words of the man I started talking about -- your own fellow citizen, Harry Truman, you know what he said? "It is not our nature to shirk our obligations. We have a heritage that constitutes the greatest resource of this nation. I call it the spirit and the character of the American people." My fellow Democrats, those of you that are in leadership positions, and each of you are, don't you underestimate the spirit and the character of the American people. Don't you do it. Don't you, Don't you treat these Americans that you are going to take our message to as if they're powerless. Don't you treat them as if somehow or another they're bigots. Treat them as men that understand the destiny of this nation. And they know what that destiny is. They know with Lincoln that we'll either meanly lose or nobly save the last best hope on earth. Every American, with few exceptions, is a patriot. Wants to be one. And Americans today realize for the first time that their dream can be a reality of one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice

for all. They really believe it can be. And I do, too. Let's help it make that way. Thank you very much.

We are indebted to the Vice President for his presence here this evening, but even more indebted for his very inspiring words. It was a magnificent speech. We'll close this evening with a benediction by Reverend Cummins.



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