



Norman Holmes
FOR RELEASE

Friday PM's

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
DEMOCRATIC REGIONAL CONFERENCE
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

March 8, 1968

Americans last week found this stark challenge in the headlines: "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white -- separate and unequal."

On the same day other headlines reported a world in serious trouble beyond our shores. Hunger...the rich getting richer and the poor lagging ever farther behind... a distant war in which American boys are fighting and dying.

As we read these headlines, we must ask ourselves some basic and fundamental questions.

Can we finally build a society of full and equal opportunity for every citizen? Or will the American dream be lost as our 200th anniversary of nationhood approaches?

Is America prepared to play an active, vital role in the world? Or will the questions of peace and war in this nuclear age be decided without us?

John Kennedy once said: "Peace and freedom do not come cheap, and we are destined -- all of us today -- to live out most if not all of our lives in uncertainty and challenge and peril."

Do we have the courage to act in the face of uncertainty...to seize the opportunities in every challenge... or are we to be crushed in spirit and in body by the big questions that confront us?

I think I know your answers.

For why, after all, are we Democrats?

We are Democrats because we believe that a nation united, guaranteeing life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all, is not an empty promise but a clear and attainable goal.

We are Democrats because we believe that the fortunate have a clear obligation to the unfortunate -- both at home and in the world.

We are Democrats because we believe that problems created by men can be solved by men.

It is true, as Adlai Stevenson said, that "our objectives are not for the timid. They are not for those who look backward, who are satisfied with things as they are, who think that this great nation can ever sleep or stand still."

Make no mistake about it, however. The decisions this nation makes next November on the two basic issues -- national security and national development at home, and security and development abroad -- will determine the fate of America for years to come.

The people and party who believe in meeting those issues now and with determination -- our people and our party -- will be confronted by a Coalition of Retreat preaching The Pause.

"Enough for now."

"Go slow."

"Cut back."

We made pledges to the American people four years ago. We have kept those pledges.

Let us see America in perspective.

If we, as objective observers -- saw that Developed Country X on another continent, had tripled its investment in health and education in the last four years...had increased the number of people in job-training programs ten-fold...had established a new ministry of urban affairs...had passed sweeping new legislation to provide equal rights to all its citizens, I believe we would correctly conclude that Country X had dramatically committed itself to radically improving the life of its citizens.

A Democratic President and Democratic Congress have done those things and much more in our own country during the last four years.

But there is another part of the perspective -- the perspective of the mother in an inner-city tenement who still can't feed her child adequately or send him to a decent school...who still walks in fear in hallways and on the streets.

There is the perspective, too, of the left-out rural family living second-class in a first-class country.

Despite our progress, or even because of it, these inequities are all the more unacceptable -- not only to those oppressed by them but to this prosperous nation as a whole.

"The sufferings that are endured patiently as being inevitable," said de Tocqueville, "become intolerable the moment that it appears that there might be an escape. Reform then only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains oppressive and now all the more unbearable; the suffering, it is true has been reduced, but one's sensitivity has become more acute."

What not? What are the next constructive steps?

President Johnson's messages to the Congress this year are a declaration that the building blocks we have carefully set down -- building blocks of health, of education, of economic growth -- are to be used once and for all to defeat inequity in America.

Messages that propose:

-- decent low-cost housing for 20 million Americans still trapped in degrading, unhealthy, unnecessary tenements.

-- a partnership between government and private industry to provide training and jobs for 500 thousand hard-core unemployed workers -- "the last in line and the hardest to reach."

-- Full funding of the poverty program in the fiscal year ahead.

-- A comprehensive crime control program to provide Americans "the security that they demand and the justice they deserve." President Johnson has named 1968 the year when "the forces of law and order must capture the initiative in the battle against crime."

-- A civil rights proposal which is one of the strongest ever offered to any Congress, and which, I am happy to say, is already well on the way to enactment. That proposal declares: "America is a multi-racial nation. Racism -- under whatever guise and whatever sponsorship -- cannot be reconciled with the American faith."

Now there is a lot more to that program. And I hope you will learn it and use it between now and next November.

It says this to the American people: The Johnson-Humphrey Administration and the Democratic Party offer America concrete results by definite dates: 500 thousand men trained and employed by 1971; full pre-natal and post-natal care for every needy American mother and infant by 1973; 26 million new housing units by 1978.

When will the whole job be done? When will all the disabilities that afflict America's left-out citizens be overcome?

It will take time.

But you can start checking off the last hurdles on the path to full democracy in America in the very near future -- if you follow us into action now.

That is the challenge at home. And that is how we propose to meet it.

* * *

What about the challenges we face abroad?

No nation today can have either security or development at home without security and development in the world.

Peace in our cities will mean little without peace among nations.

Our wealth and our freedom will mean little if the vast majority of mankind is still oppressed by hunger and want.

No issue concerns Americans more deeply today than Vietnam.

And I can tell you that President Johnson spends most of his waking hours seeking a just and peaceful solution to the painful conflict there -- a solution that does not depend either upon nuclear risk-taking or on appeasement.

But perhaps more is possible. I noticed the other day that a well-known perennial spokesman for our opponents says he has a plan to end the war in Vietnam. "I pledge to you," he said, "the new leadership will end the war and win the peace in the Pacific -- and that is what America wants."

That is certainly what our President wants. That is certainly what the American people want. And we are, as always, certainly open to any such solution.

But I think we have a right to ask: "If you know how to end the war and bring peace to the Pacific, Mr. Candidate, let the American people hear your formula now. Why wait until next year?"

About that solution:

It's hard to keep from thinking that he may have taken a page from the book of his former boss who said, under other circumstances, "If you give me a month or two, maybe I'll think of one."

Where war and peace are concerned, the American people have a right to a full and clear expression of views.

I can tell you where this Administration stands on Vietnam. It stands for "peace and peace at the earliest possible moment" -- but peace without appeasement and peace without the risk of World War III.

Ever since World War II the American people have believed that a challenge accepted is safer than a challenge ignored...that perils recognized are safer than perils denied...and that peace and freedom are worth the sacrifices we may sometimes be called upon to make.

That reasoning lay behind the Marshall Plan for the re-construction of Europe.

It lay behind the Berlin Airlift.

From Korea and the Straits of Formosa to Labanon and the Congo, in Laos, in Cuba, in the Dominican Republic and Cyprus -- four American presidents, with the American people behind them, have taken a stand for peace and security -- even if they had to fight for it.

I doubt that we shall change now.

* * *

Adlai Stevenson, in a remarkable lecture entitled "America's Burden," said this:

"To act coolly, intelligently and prudently in perilous circumstances is the test of a man or a nation.

"The ordeal of our times is a challenge to American maturity and American responsibility....

"America's life story is the record of a marvelous growth of body and mind. Now, at maturity, we shoulder the heaviest burdens of greatness, for in the last analysis the epic struggle for our civilization, for government by consent of the governed, will be determined by what we Americans are capable of.

"In bearing burdens, in ennobling new duties of citizenship, is the greatness of men and nations measured, not in pomp and circumstance."

I predict that the American people will shoulder those burdens.

But they will not do so without leadership...leadership consistent with the maturity and greatness of America... leadership that looks forward and not back...Democratic leadership.

Now I have talked to a lot of Democrats around our country in the last few weeks.

Some of them are concerned about Vietnam -- and who is not, including the President?

Some of them are concerned about specific parts of the Johnson-Humphrey domestic program.

All of them, from the President to the youngest Young Democrat, are concerned about people -- people in cities and people on farms -- old people and young people...people in need all over America and all over the world, wherever freedom is restricted and opportunity blighted.

That is our Democratic hallmark -- concern...and action.

To those who think debate is a sign of weakness within our party...and to those who think discussion means dissension...let me say this:

You just don't know the Democratic Party.

We talk a lot. We love ideas. We enjoy debate.

But when it comes to that critical issue of advance or retreat, Democrats stand united.

And next fall, when America's future is in the balance, Democrats will stand united -- behind President Lyndon B. Johnson...the party...the platform...and the ideals that will move this nation forward to greater freedom, prosperity and safety.

#

Griffin Hi School
Band

John Barley
~~John Barley~~

✓ Gov Kerner
✓ Lt Gov ^{Sam} Shapiro
✓ Jim Roman
✓ Dorothy O'Brien
✓ Cal Arvey

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

DEMOCRATIC REGIONAL CONFERENCE

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

MARCH 8, 1968

✓ Illinois, Indiana
✓ Missouri, Wisconsin

atty Genl Bill Clark
Dick Daley

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Mike Hawlett Fannie Jones
Paul Simon
Paul Powell

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↳ Is America prepared to play an active, vital role in the world? Or will the questions of peace and war in

this nuclear age be decided without us? *- Will we give leadership - or will we withdraw?*

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*This is not for us!
 We move forward!*

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The San Antonio formula
Case - Force -
Geneva Conference

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ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, BEFORE A REGIONAL
CONFERENCE OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE
STATES OF ILLINOIS, INDIANA, MISSOURI AND WISCONSIN,
HELD ON MARCH 8, 1968 IN THE HOTEL ST. NICHOLAS,
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much,
Governor Shapiro. I waved all of you down because I
want you to get in practice for the paid television
time when we have to go into the campaign this year.
We can't afford to waste time, you know. We have
to get on with the message.

First, may I express my thanks to the dis-
tinguished Governor of this State, Governor Kerner,
for being with us today. I know that he had to be
at Drake University, and I know he had to travel far
and hurriedly to get back with us. We did arrange it
well, though, didn't we, Otto, so that you could get
here first and I could land later and still be here
when it says "The 3:00 o'clock Special Session", and
we are on time. (Applause)

There are so many people here that I should

like to acknowledge their presence and their work for the Democratic party, I will only take a moment to salute each and every one of you at this Regional Conference. We need not pick out any champions or heroes as such, because the way ^{you} really prove that is the results, and I can say that both the President and the Vice-President and, in the instance of these four States, some twenty-eight incumbent House members and the Governors - - how many Governor's do we have coming up, gubernatorial races in Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin, and we have six out of eight Senate seats, so we have a lot to put in your hands, and when you deliver all of that and we come around here right after that first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, we will hail every one of you as champions of champions. (Applause)

It is good to be with the Party leaders of the regional areas of Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Missouri, and it is good to be here alongside of Lt. Governor Sam Shapiro who is a very dear personal friend of mine, and I was very, very pleased to see that he is to carry the standard for the Party in Illinois. I know he will win. (Applause)

He is a man who has had his heart with the

people, his mind and his great talents for good, constructive, progressive public service all of his life, and, Sam, I know that the people of this State are going to respond to you and respond in a majority vote. (Applause)

I have had the privilege of being on the campaign stump with the Attorney General of the State of Illinois, and I know of his splendid record and background. He maybe doesn't know it, but wherever I have been in these recent weeks, I have taken a considerable amount of personal pride in telling people about my knowledge of his unique qualities, and I want to say to Attorney General Clark that you are the kind of a person who makes people very proud of the law, very proud of the State, very proud of the Democratic Party, and I want to wish you, as I do Sam Shapiro, every success, and you will have the wholehearted support not only of this great organization in Illinois, but of people everywhere that believe in progressive government for this State and for this nation. (Applause)

You will have a fine ticket, a fine ticket here with your State Senator Paul Simon, with Fanny Jones, with your incumbents that you have in the State

House, with Mike Howlett, Paul Powell and Adlai Stevenson, and, of course, with all of your great Democrats. My friend Colonel Arvey was out to meet us as we arrived here, and every time I go to Chicago, who do you think is at the airport? "Mr. Democrat", Mr. Dick Daley, and I haven't forgotten Jim Ronan and Dorothy O'Brien. I want to tell you, I just don't forget them, and I don't forget any of these Democrats.

If I have today, John Bailey, forgotten anyone, you started it all off by saying that somebody would louse it up, and it is most likely going to be me. At least you did have some way to get out of it. You had that extra chair if the Governor should arrive late. (General laughter)

Nobody put anything in my script at all except to say that there would be the finest people that you could find in the Democratic Party.

Now, I come here today for a very special purpose. I think most of you know that we could have a rather rousing meeting here. We could tell some jokes and some stories. We Democrats generally have a good time with our politics. We even have such a good time at times that some people think we are

fighting, and occasionally there is a grain of truth in it, and I want to say to the friends in the media, we most likely will be doing that right up to convention time and even during convention there might be a little bit of it, but don't mislead our opposition. Don't in any way mislead them, because once the President is renominated and once we go to the field, believe me, you are going to find a united Democratic Party that will take that crowd of the opposition to the cleaners, and we will do it quick.

We don't want any credibility gap here at all. We just want you to tell the opposition the truth; that really what we are doing is going through our spring training, getting ready for the main battle.

I want to talk to you about our country, and I want to talk to you about the role of this Party in the affairs of this nation, and indeed in the role of leadership in the world.

My fellow Democrats, you are not a minority party. You are a majority party. You are not on the outside - you are on the inside. You give direction to State government and to the Federal government.

You have a big majority in the Senate of the United States. You have a big majority in the House

of Representatives. It was your candidate for President that was elected President, and your candidate for Vice-President that became the Vice-President. We are the governing party of this country, and as such we have extra responsibilities and we must remember it at all times.

Whatever we say, whatever we do, whatever we propose, however we act has a great impact upon this country and, indeed, on the world.

I wish every one of us would keep that in mind. In a free society it is inevitable that there will be many voices clamoring for attention and it should be thus. We believe in the right of expression. We believe in self determination. We believe in self respect and dignity. We believe in every aspect of free speech, but we also must believe in responsibility.

When Lyndon Johnson was the Majority Leader of the United States Senate during a Republican administration, he taught the Democrats of that majority in the Senate one central concept of political life, and he reminded us time after time that we must be responsible. Even as an opposition we must be responsible - the emphasis upon responsibility, and I believe

that that emphasis during those years of Republican administration from 1953 to January, 1961 had a great deal to do with the ultimate success of the Democratic Party in the election of November, 1960.

We were not reckless, irresponsible. We did not indulge in undue doses of demagogery.

When the President of the United States needed help in the great problems of the world, we were there, and maybe that is why President Eisenhower tells President Johnson these days that when it comes to national security and foreign policy that politics stops at the water's edge; that he will fight us where he believes we are wrong on the domestic scene, but that he will stand by us in good weather or bad weather in international relations and in foreign policy and matters of national security.

It was only two weeks ago that President Johnson spent the day with the former President of the United States, Dwight Eisenhower, and he came back with the very message I am giving you now, and that message was one of cooperation in terms of the great needs of our nation in the world today.

Responsibility, ladies and gentlemen - responsibility; not necessarily popularity - responsibility.

popularity can be a very, very seductive toxin. What is important today is for a government, a President and the political leaders to understand their responsibilities of public office.

The Governor of this State, Otto Kerner, understands the meaning of responsibility. He understood it as Chairman of the Commission on Civil Disorders. He undertook an assignment that would have frightened off other men, and he did it without partisanship, without prejudice. He did it fearlessly and brilliantly.

His Co-Chairman was a man of another political party, the Mayor of New York, and they labored together for the good of the nation.

These are good examples, my fellow Americans, of what needs to be done in times of trial.

Well, Americans last week found this stark challenge in the headlines: "OUR NATION IS MOVING TOWARD TWO SOCIETIES - ONE BLACK, ONE WHITE - SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL." That was the challenge of the Commission on Civil Disorders. It didn't say that it would necessarily happen. It said it was the trend, the danger, the challenge, and we are here to do something about it, to see that it doesn't happen.

On the same day headlines reported a world

in which serious trouble was beyond our shores - hunger - the rich getting richer and the poor lagging ever further behind; a distant war in which American men are fighting and dying.

Those were the headlines, and if we read them, I think we have to ask ourselves some basic and fundamental questions, and a political party that does not search for answers to questions has forfeited its right to political leadership.

Can we build a society of full and equal opportunity for every citizen, or will the American dream be lost as the 200th anniversary of our nationhood approaches?

Is America, is your and my America prepared to play an active, vital role in the world, or will the questions of peace and war in this nuclear age be decided without us?

Will we give leadership with all of its burdens and attendant responsibilities, or will we withdraw into the luxury of our own affluence only to see our position in the world eroded and our very character destroyed?

John Kennedy once said, "Peace and freedom do not come cheap, and we are destined --all of us today -- to live out most if not all of our lives in uncertainty

and challenge and peril."

Ladies and gentlemen, you should take that quote from John Kennedy and put it in your office, your home, and carry it with you and look at it every day, because what that great President told you was, there are no easy days ahead. There are no easy answers.

There is but trouble, challenge and danger and peril. But he also went on to say that this nation was made of the stuff that could face up to these challenges.

Well, do we have the courage to act in the face of uncertainty? Do we have the courage to seize the opportunities that are in every challenge, or are we to be crushed in spirit and in body by the big questions that confront us - - and they are big questions, momentous questions.

Well, I think you know the answers. At least you know what we must respond or you wouldn't be here, for after all, why are we Democrats?

I am very proud of my Party. I think we have a right to be.

Oh, I know when I say what I am about to, there are always those sophisticates that say, "Well, here we go again reciting the great names."

Well, you should be proud of your family. You should be proud of your religion. You should be proud of your ethnic origin. You should be proud of your citizenship, your country, and you ought to be proud of your country particularly when it gives you names in your lifetime - - at least of the lifetime of some of you in this room - - of a Woodrow Wilson, of an Al Smith, of a Franklin Roosevelt, of a Harry Truman, of an Adlai Stevenson, of a John Kennedy, and of a Lyndon Johnson. I think those are rather important names. (Applause)

And every one of those names stands for emancipation and how right it is to speak of emancipation in the State of Lincoln.

Every one of those names stands for social progress. Every one of them stands for peace and security. Every President faced terrible problems, complex problems. Every one faced dangers, and indeed four of them - five of them faced war.

So we live in a troubled time, but we have produced from our midst the leadership that young men and women study in their history books, and we have a heritage of which we can be proud, and which imposes upon us a responsibility second to none to even be

worthy of the heritage, much less to add on to it.

But we are Democrats because we believe that a nation united and dedicated to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all is not an empty promise, but it is a clear and attainable goal.

Yes, we reach for the stars. That is why we are able to have vision. We are Democrats because we believe that the fortunate, the lucky ones, the fortunate have a clear obligation to the unfortunate, both at home and in the world, and we are Democrats because we believe that the problems created by man can and must be solved by man.

Every problem that we face today is of our own making. Adlai Stevenson said: "Our objectives are not for the timid. They are not for those who look backward, who are satisfied with things as they are, who think that this great nation can ever sleep or stand still."

And in the State of Adlai Stevenson, it is good to remember that what we face and the objectives that we seek and the goals that we pursue are not for the timid or the weak or the fearful. They are for the daring and they are for the brave and the strong.

Make no mistake about it, that the decisions

that this nation makes next November on two basic issues - national security and national development at home, security and development abroad, will determine the fate of America - your children and your children's children for years to come.

I told the people of the labor movement not long ago in their meeting in Miami, that once you have signed the contract of November as to who will be your leaders; once you have cast that vote, it is not renegotiable.

For four years, the President that you elect will serve you, and the Governor and Legislators and Congressmen for two years and Senators for six years. There is no turning back once the die has been cast, once the ballot has been counted, so we better think very, very carefully.

The people in the Party who believe in meeting those issues of development and security now and with determination - - and those people are our people and our Party - - they are going to be confronted with the same old coalition of retreating that has been preaching that bewitching and enticing doctrine; that's been preaching the pause, the "Take it easy" melody, "Enough for now", "Go Slow", "Cut back".

This is not for us. That is what they are going to be talking about, and that coalition of retreat will be pounding into the ears of the American people as they are right now, and they will be at it relentlessly, telling the American people if we will only take it easy what fun we can have; asking us literally to "Live it up" in our own prosperity and our own affluence; asking us to withdraw from the areas of difficulty; asking us to go soft.

Well, this is the Party of a man who said "The only doubts of tomorrow are the uncertainties of today", and this is the Party of Franklin Roosevelt, who said, "Let's move forward with a strong and active faith."

We are not going to take it easy. We are not going to cut back and we can't slow down.

We made some pledges to the American people four years ago and I was there when the pledges were made, and I told the convention assembled that we would keep those pledges. Your President told you that.

Ladies and gentlemen, I can come here and tell you that never in the history of this country has an administration that you elected more faithfully carried out the pledges on which we ran our campaign, than the

administration of President Lyndon Johnson.

(Applause)

- - And, if you will permit me, and Hubert Humphrey. (Applause)

We never promised you to be easy. Like Franklin Roosevelt said, we knew that we had a rendezvous with destiny.

One can never predict the tomorrows. The only thing you ought to be able to predict is those in whom you have placed your trust, that they will not violate that trust. You ought to be able safely to predict that the two mandates of the Constitution will be carried out - to provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare. These points the Constitution requires, and I took my oath to uphold the Constitution and to defend it against all enemies - foreign, at home and abroad.

We have done just that, because we have enemies abroad. We have vicious enemies abroad, and we even have enemies at home, enemies to the democracy of this country, to the meaning of full democracy, and if we are to be criticized because we kept faith with our oath, then I consider it an honor to be the subject of that criticism. (Applause)

Now, let's take a look at our wonderful America in perspective, and, by the way, it is a wonderful country. You don't need to downgrade it to prove that you are intelligent - not a bit. I think some people - - (Applause)

You don't need to go around and talk about America as if it was a sick society. A society who seeks to better itself, a society that is concerned with the poor, a society that is concerned with inequity, a society that is concerned with the moral crisis of discrimination is not sick. It is showing every sign of health - physical, economic, political and moral health.

As a matter of fact, ladies and gentlemen, one of the reasons that the President of the United States faces the difficulties that he does is because he has taken a moral stand. He has had the courage to stand out against segregation. He has had the courage to stand for equal opportunity. He has had the courage to speak of America as one nation, and he has had the courage to resist the oppressor, to resist the Communists, to resist the militant abroad.

That's why he is unpopular in some circles,

and because of that unpopularity in some circles, I love him all the more. (Applause)

A little more of that spirit in this room that I heard a moment ago, and you will all be better off. (Applause)

Sometimes it is better to be known by the enemies you make than the friends you have.

Oh, yes, I will never forget one time my sister, when she was going to have her first vote, she wrote to my Dad and said, "Daddy, I am confused." She was living down east and she was going to the University, and she was hearing all kinds of things and she was worried about whether she ought to vote for Franklin Roosevelt or whether she shouldn't.

She had been brought up in a good Democratic family too, but she was wavering. She was getting a little over educated there for a moment and she was wobbling some. (General laughter)

She said, "Daddy, will you please tell me why I ought to vote for Franklin Roosevelt," and I have never forgotten the letter he wrote back.

He said, "Dear Daughter: Your father is a busy man trying to earn enough money to help you through college. I do not have time to list all the reasons you

ought to vote for Franklin Roosevelt, but one thing I'll tell you: Just notice the enemies he's made, and you will see why you ought to be voting for him." (General laughter and applause)

Well, there is a more positive way of looking at it and I am generally a positivist.

Let's see this America of ours through some perspective. You are students of government. If we as objective observers saw that a developed country - - and we are a developed country and there are others - - let's call that developed country, Country X, on another continent, had tripled its investment in health and education in the last four years; had increased the number of people in job training programs ten-fold; had established a new ministry of urban affairs; had passed sweeping legislation to provide and guarantee equal rights to all of its citizens, I believe we would correctly conclude that Country X had dramatically committed itself to radically improving the life of its citizens.

Yes, ladies and gentlemen, if you read that about a country that was not named the United States and you read what they were doing in the fields of education,

of health, of conservation, of consumer protection, of equal rights, you read the dramatic story of what is happening here, you would shake your head and say "What a miracle! What wonderful things are happening!"

Well, let me tell you something: A Democratic President and a Democratic Congress that you helped elect have done just those things that I have been talking about, and we have done much more in our own country during these last four years.

Poverty was here long before we became your leaders. The poor were amongst us by the millions. Our negro citizens, our black citizens, were denied their rights for two centuries and yet, ladies and gentlemen, all too little had been done.

And now came a new man, a new administration starting in 1961 with John Kennedy, continuing in 1965 with Lyndon Johnson, and we have struck mighty blows against these ancient evils of disease and illiteracy and inequity and inequality.

Why, my fellow Americans, you ought to be out cheering what has been done, proud of it, humbly grateful that you lived in a country that it could be

done, proud to live in a nation where it is being done.

No nation on the face of the earth is doing so much, committing so much of its resources to human development as the United States of America, and it is under a Democratic administration and a Democratic President. (Applause)

Yet we are not satisfied, nor are we going to be until our work is completed, and it will not be completed in my lifetime or possibly yours, because there is another part of this perspective of America, the one that Governor Kerner's Commission brought so vividly and dramatically to our attention - - the perspective of a mother in an inter-city tenement who still can't feed her child adequately or send him to a decent school, and who still walks in fear in the hallways and on the streets.

There is the perspective too of that left out rural family living second class in a first class country.

So we have our challenges. Despite our progress or even possibly because of the progress that I have cited to you, these inequities are all the

more^{uh} acceptable, not only to those oppressed by them, but to this prosperous nation as a whole.

You know, when there is no light at the end of the tunnel, all you can see then is darkness and hopelessness, but when that flicker of light comes, letting you know that there is a chance that there can be a better day, you become anxious, restless. You want to move and move fast.

It was stated so beautifully by a French philosopher in the early 1800's. His name was Alexis De Tocqueville. He is known by the students of every course in political science. He wrote more vividly of America than most Americans, and here is what he said:

"The sufferings that are endured patiently as being inevitable become intolerable the moment that it appears that there might be an escape. Reform, then" said De Tocqueville, "only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains oppressive, and now all the more unbearable. The suffering, it is true, has been reduced but one's sensitivity has become more acute."

Rising expectations are not unique to Latin

America and Africa and Asia. Rising expectations are amongst our own people, amongst our young, amongst those who have been deprived, against the hopeless and the frustrated and the bitter.

We are going to have to deal with rising expectations here and now and make the great national commitment that Governor Kerner has called for and which President Johnson has called for, the committing of the nation's resources - not only its money but its will; not only the government, but the people, to repair these inequities.

So, what now? What are the next constructive steps?

Well, President Johnson's messages to the Congress this year are a declaration that the building blocks we have carefully set down, the building blocks of health and of education and of economic growth, can and are to be used once and for all to defeat inequity, to defeat inequality in America.

These are powerful messages and I hope every Democrat at least will read them and study them. They represent a charter of hope for this nation. They represent a manifesto of progress for our people.

Those messages propose decent low cost housing for twenty million Americans still trapped in the degrading and unhealthy and unnecessary tenements.

Speak to your people about these messages - a message that represents a partnership between government and private industry, to provide training and jobs for five hundred thousand hard core unemployed workers - the last in line and the hardest to reach.

A message for the full funding of the poverty program in the fiscal year ahead, and to those that say we are not doing enough - well, help us get this much.

Oh, I hear so much that we ought to do more. Ladies and gentlemen, I live with the Congress of the United States. I live in the nation's capital. I have been there twenty years.

I fought sixteen years of that twenty years for one civil rights act, and there are people in this room that remember how difficult it was even to get a pledge from a political party for civil rights, much less to get votes in the Congress.

How easy it is to be critical. Somebody said

to me the other day in criticism, "Mr. Vice-President, what has ever happened to the liberal program?"

I said, "I hope it won't upset you, but we passed it."

(General laughter and applause)

Gentlemen, that is not in the text. I just brought that up for extras. (Laughter)

Of those messages of the President, one of the most important ones, particularly in these days, is the comprehensive crime control program to provide Americans the security that they demand and the justice they deserve. President Johnson has named 1968 as the year when the forces of law and order must capture the initiative in the battle against crime, and we have laid down the program.

A civil rights proposal which is one of the strongest ever offered to any Congress and which I am happy to say is already well on the way to enactment. I venture to say very few of you ever thought that we would make it.

I am sure most of you, if you were betting people, wouldn't have given very good odds that we would ever be able to get cloture to stop the filibuster.

It wasn't easy and it didn't come because some of ^{us} sat around and ~~sarled~~ ^{us} snarled and griped and criticized

and ran down the President and had a few nasty things to say about the Vice-President.

I'll tell you how we got it, because we worked day and night. Because we went to Senator after Senator. Because we pled the cause of human equality. Because we urged, we begged, we asked, we persuaded.

I know - I helped do it. I had to do it in 1964 too, and we are going to pass in Washington, D.C. another building block in the program of equal opportunity for the American people. We are going to pass an open housing law. We are going to strengthen our civil rights. (Applause)

Let me just say this, as I will be saying this coming week - - I just as well tell you, because I have these things on my mind. These are the things that keep me in public life. Sometimes I wonder if it is all worth it, but not often. I come right back quick. (Laughter)

Have you ever stopped to think that the most democratic institution in America today appears to be the United States military, where a man is truly judged on the basis of merit - - democracy upside down. The civilian economy, you have to fight

to be treated fairly, but in the military of the United States, there is open housing - - same mud, same blood. (Applause)

In the military of the United States there is equal opportunity. You are judged on merit, not on the basis of who is your cousin or your uncle.

In the military you eat together, live together, sleep together, fight together, die together, and let me tell you something, my fellow Americans, when they come home, no matter how they look or who they are, or how they spell their last name or what color they may be, fat or slim, short or long, black or white, you better be ready to give them an equal opportunity in every facet of American life. (Applause)

And we are doing something about it. The program is under way. Every man that is mustered out of the service is being given that extra care, that extra help, that extra helping hand so he can find his way back into civilian life.

Why? Because we care, that's why; because they are Americans, that's why.

You don't need to be known by any other title. You shouldn't even be asked to describe yourself any other way - just put down yourself, your name and say, "I am

an American. Open up the country. Here I come.
This is my country."

Now, there is a lot more in this program that I have mentioned, and I hope that every one of you will learn about it. I want you to talk about it when you go home.

You are the leaders. You are the group leaders. You are the teachers. If all we are here for is just to hear the Vice-President and tonight another speaker and tomorrow another speaker, then you can really ask yourself if your trip was necessary.

But you should go home from these conferences, my fellow Americans and fellow Democrats, and become the group leaders, the teachers in your community about great things that are under way.

This program says to the American people more than generalities. It even puts datelines on it.

We are not making generalized promises. We say there will be five hundred thousand hard core unemployed to be trained and employed by 1971.

We say there will be full pre-natal and post-natal care for every needy American mother and infant by 1973.

There will be twenty-six million new housing units by 1978. We have made a pledge. We have made a commitment and we have not been extravagant.

Now, when will this job be done? When will all of these disabilities that afflict America's left out citizens be overcome? Immediately, instantly? The answer is no. Tomorrow? Answer no.

It will take time. There are no instant solutions to problems that are of centuries in age or at least generations, but it will be done and we are starting checking off the last hurdle on that path to full democracy in America, and if you will help us, if you will follow us into action now, we will be on the road.

Now, that is the challenge at home. I tried to elaborate it to you, to detail it, to give you some feeling of the challenge and the tools, the means that you have to meet that challenge.

Now, what about the challenges we face abroad? And the question of peace and war is at the very heart of every issue. No nation today can have either security or development at home without security and development in the world.

Peace in our cities will mean very little without peace among the nations.

But might I say with equal candor, how do we ever expect to get peace among the nations if we can't restore peace in our cities? We must set the example. We cannot abhor violence abroad and permit it here. We cannot resist lawlessness in international relations and condone it here. We cannot condone rioting, aggression and subversion at home and expect to successfully resist it abroad.

Our wealth and our freedom will mean very little if the vast majority of mankind is still oppressed by hunger and want, and the victim of the aggressors.

No issue concerns Americans more deeply today than these issues of peace and war and, indeed, Vietnam itself.

I can tell you that President Johnson spends most of his waking hours - - and there are too many waking hours - - seeking a just and peaceful solution to this painful and ugly conflict, a solution that does not depend either on nuclear risk taking or appeasement.

But perhaps more is possible. We search

every day for new answers. We search every day for the path to peace.

I noticed the other day, a day or two ago, that a well known perennial spokesman for our opponents says he has a plan to end the war in Vietnam. Let me repeat his words. He said, "I pledge to you the new leadership will end the war and win the peace in the Pacific, and that is what America wants."

Indeed, my fellow Americans, that is what America wants. That is what the President wants. That is what the Vice-President wants, and that is what every American certainly wants, and we are always, always open to any such solution.

But I believe I have a right as a member of this government, a member of the National Security Council of this government, to ask this simple question. If you know how to end the war and bring peace to the Pacific, Mr. Candidate, let the American people hear your formula now. Why wait until next year? We need answers as quickly as we can get them. Don't keep your secret, Mr. Candidate! (Applause)

Now, just a passing thought about that solution. It is hard to keep me from thinking that he may have taken a page from the book of his former

boss who said, concerning what Mr. Kennedy had done during those years - and you may remember this quote - "If you give me a month or two, maybe I will think of one."

Where war and peace are concerned, the American people have a right to a full and clear expression of views.

I can tell you where this administration stands on Vietnam. It stands for peace, and peace at the earliest possible moment. We spelled it out in the San Antonio formula. We spelled it out when the President said he would stop the bombardment of the north if it would produce prompt and productive talks.

We can't have any secret about this, but we want peace without appeasement, and so do you.

(Applause)

And we want peace without the risk of World War III. Men who have responsibility do not have the luxury of flippant rhetoric or easy promises about issues of war and peace.

When you are burdened with the responsibility of decision making in this government; when the life of

a nation hangs in balance; when the life of thousands of your men rest on every word and every deed, you must speak carefully; you must decide wisely; you must think clearly. We cannot afford to play politics - politics - with the issue of peace and war, and you know it. (Applause)

Ever since World War II, the American people have believed that a challenge accepted is safer than a challenge ignored; that perils recognized are safer than perils denied, and that peace and freedom are worth the sacrifices we may sometimes be called upon to make.

That was the reasoning behind the Marshall Plan, behind NATO, behind the Berlin airlift.

From Korea to the Straits of Formosa, to Lebanon and the Congo, in Laos, in Cuba, in the Dominican Republic and Cyprus - - four American Presidents with the American people behind them, have taken a stand for peace and security, even if they had to fight for it.

And I don't think those four American Presidents with the American people behind them have taken a stand for peace and security, even if they had to fight for it, and I don't think those four Presidents, one Republican

and three Democrats, have been wrong. I think they have been right for the American people. (Applause)

I doubt that we are going to change now. Adlai Stevenson again can be brought to our minds in a remarkable lecture entitled "America's Burden". I was reading what Adlai said last night about 3:00 A.M. I got home from the Radio and Television Correspondents Dinner about 1:00 or 1:15 and tried to get ready for coming out here. These are long days, and I had a group at my home at 8:00 o'clock for breakfast this morning, but at 3:00 A.M. I was reading some of the writings of Adlai Stevenson and I found this little bit here that I want to bring to your attention.

I had read it before and asked to have it incorporated in my remarks. He said:

"To act coolly, intelligently and prudently in perilous circumstances is the test of a man or a nation.

"The ordeal of our times is a challenge to American maturity and American responsibility.

"America's life story is the record of a marvelous growth of body and mind. Now, at

maturity, we shoulder the heaviest burdens of greatness, for in the last analysis the epic struggle for our civilization, for government by consent of the governed, will be determined by what we Americans are capable of."

He didn't advocate withdrawal. He was no "soft liner", no appeaser. He went on to say:

"In bearing burdens, in ennobling new duties of citizenship, is the greatness of men and nations measured, not in pomp and circumstance."

I predict the American people will shoulder those burdens, but they need your encouragement. They will not do so without leadership, leadership that is consistent with the maturity and the greatness of America; leadership that looks forward and not back, and I think this means the leadership of the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, who has stood the test.

Let me leave you now with this thought about concern. I know we are concerned. We are concerned about Vietnam. There are all kinds of Democrats these days. There are dissident Democrats and concerned Democrats. There are the conservative Democrats and the liberal Democrats. I hope we got all kinds of

Democrats, and I hope that all of them vote Democratic in November. (Laughter and applause)

I know there are all kinds, but none of us have a monopoly on any of these titles.

Many of our people, as I have said, are concerned about Vietnam and who is not? Including the President.

Let me leave this thought with you: When I hear people say that the President ought to seek peace in Vietnam - - who do you think wants peace? Ladies and gentlemen, let me tell you: If this war could be brought to a conclusion between now and November, the opposition would fold up their tents and fade away into the night. You know it.

If the only issue was peace for political purposes, the President has the greatest stake in it of any man. This President of the United States not only works for peace, he prays for peace, he plans for it.

I know. I am with him, and if I sound a bit angry at times, it is because of people who say, "Mr. President, we want peace in Vietnam". All I can say is - amen.

The road block to peace in Vietnam is not in Washington. It is not in Lyndon Johnson. It is in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh, and every American knows it. (Applause)

Now, some of our fellow Democrats are concerned about specific parts of the Johnson-Humphrey domestic programs. Some think we have gone too far. Some think we have not gone far enough.

However, all of them are concerned about people - people in the cities and the farms; people that are old and that are young; people in need all over America and all over the world, wherever freedom is restricted and opportunity blighted.

The Hallmark for the Democratic party is concern - concern and action, not just wringing our hands in agony and pathos, but working at the problem and mobilizing our resources for action.

And to those who think that debate is a sign of weakness within our party, to those who think discussion means dissension, let me just say this: You just don't know the Democratic Party. They have got too many Republican interpreters.

Also, we talk a lot. We enjoy talking. That's why we are in politics. We love ideas. We enjoy debate.

We even enjoy being against each other once in a while, but when it comes to the crucial issue of retreat or of advance, of retreat or progress, I think you find most of the Democrats standing united, and they are for progress and they are for advance.

And when it comes to a choice between decisive action and temporizing with the security of America at home or abroad, you are going to find Democrats being what you expect of them - good citizens.

You are going to find them concerned about the security of this nation, and next fall when America's future is in the balance, I will make a prediction from this platform right now.

With all of the fuss and the fury of the primaries, with all of the argument and dissent of the campaign, you are going to find Democrats once again uniting, and I will tell you why: Not only because they are going to be for the President, but they are going to have to take a look at the opposition, and when they take a look at the opposition and see what it doesn't have to offer and they see what the President has to offer - our party and our platform, I submit they are going to stand behind the President of the United States, and on this date in March in Springfield,

Illinois, I say confidently, I say optimistically
and with confident optimism, that the next President
of the United States is already the President of the
United States - Lyndon Baines Johnson. (Standing
ovation)

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