



FOR RELEASE

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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

REMARKS
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
REGIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

MARCH 22, 1968

I want today, as Adlai Stevenson used to say, "to talk sense to the American people."

I want to put in perspective -- and I think it needs to be done -- just where we have been...where we are...and where we are going.

Is the American dream lost in a deep pit of public and private immorality?

Are we a society drifting, without purpose and moving away from our higher instincts?

I say no.

I say this is a time of change...a time of ferment... a difficult time of growth and transition in America.

It is a time demanding much of us.

But it is above all a time when this nation, as never before, is on the verge of finally achieving democracy's full potential.

Almost two hundred years ago we dedicated ourselves to a new proposition -- that every single child should have the right, at birth, to free and equal pursuit of life, liberty and happiness.

We dedicated ourselves to the principle that men should not be divided king and servant...slave and master...rich and destitute.

We launched a peaceful, human revolution to achieve what had never before in the world been achieved.

Through blood and heartbreak, through failures and false starts, America has always kept its eye steadily on that goal.

And today, as we enter the final third of this 20th century, we have every right to ask: Where do we stand? Just what must be done to finally build democracy's house?

Where do we stand?

There is turmoil in America. But there is turmoil because there is progress.

There is turmoil because we are engaged in the greatest effort our nation has ever known -- to break through the old barriers of hate, injustice and inequity which have been a blight on our national conscience.

We are taking small children by the hand in our ghetto streets. We are giving them health and education and hope.

We are reaching out to young men without skills or jobs. And we are helping them get those skills so they can get those jobs.

We are pledged to rooting out the dirt, the ugliness, the congestion and the fear which fill America's cities and replacing them with clear sunlight and a new spirit of community.

And the banners under which we march are not those of wealth...comfort...or luxury for those who already have their established place in life.

Our banners -- new banners -- read:

Job Corps

Head Start

Upward Bound

VISTA

Work Study

Teacher Corps

War on Poverty

Jobs

Schools

Decent housing

And yes, Freedom Now.

By any measure, what we are doing is unprecedented in human society.

In three years alone: We have increased by three times our national investment in health and education... by 10 times the number of people in job training programs.

In the past four years alone, we have provided twice as much federal help for education as was provided in the previous 100 years.

We have won legal and tangible human victories that were thought impossible in 1960.

And there will be another victory this year when the Congress passes a national Open Housing Law.

And make no mistake about it: Despite setbacks and delays...despite opposition from the old Coalition of Retreat, a national Open Housing Law will be passed.

We have goals clearly before us -- goals set forth this year by President Johnson in historic messages to the Congress:

-- 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 Americans;

-- A comprehensive crime control program to provide Americans "the security that they demand and the justice that they deserve."

-- 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.

We cannot wait.

No single American -- living with anything less than an equal chance in this great society -- should be made to stand waiting for that chance while we possess the means to help him.

Yet none of this commitment...none of this progress can ultimately mean a thing unless this nation can remain free and safe in a peaceful world.

And that is why -- while we make this commitment at home -- we must also make our commitment to peace and safety in this world.

As President Roosevelt prepared for one of his fireside chats early in 1942, he said to members of his staff:

"I am going to ask the American people to take out their maps. I am going to speak about strange places that many of them have never heard of -- places that are now the battleground for civilization. I'm going to ask the newspapers to print maps of the whole world...."

The world has taken up the front pages of our daily papers ever since -- strange names...hungry children in far-off lands...threats and opportunities...the slow and halting story of men everywhere slowly awakening to their common interests.

And since World War II -- since the advent of terrible nuclear weapons -- we have known that this strong nation had to play a strong and active and responsible role or lose the peace by default.

In these postwar years, we have -- in Berlin, in Greece and Turkey, in Iran, in Korea, in the Straits of Formosa, in Lebanon and the Congo, in Laos, in Cuba, in the Dominican Republic, in the Mediterranean and Cyprus -- stood up and faced the challenges we had to face.

We have done so because we have known that the risk would be far greater if they were not faced.

At the same time we have, block by block, tried to build a world environment in which peace might grow.

We have waged war on hunger.

We have launched an Alliance for Progress and a Peace Corps.

We have joined with others in taking down barriers to world trade and economic growth.

We have dedicated ourselves to stopping the nuclear arms race.

We have put our commitment behind the United Nations.

We have sent our young people overseas, in uniform and in shirt sleeves, to help those who needed our help.

Oftentimes that work has been thankless. It has been frustrating. It has been costly.

It has been all of these things in Vietnam.

Yet, in Vietnam as in other places, the President of the United States has done what he thought was right to protect the peace.

President Johnson stood by our commitment there because he believes -- as other Presidents before him believed...as the leaders of Asia certainly believe -- that the success of aggression in Vietnam would lead to wider and far more dangerous aggression throughout all of Southeast Asia.

President Eisenhower said in 1959:

"Strategically, South Vietnam's capture by the Communists would bring their power several hundred miles into a hitherto free region. The remaining countries in Southeast Asia would be menaced by a great flanking movement....The loss of South Vietnam would set in motion a crumbling process that could, as it progressed, have grave consequences for us and for freedom."

President Kennedy in late 1963, in a television interview was asked: "Mr. President, have you any reason to doubt this so-called domino theory that if South Vietnam falls, the rest of Southeast Asia will go behind it?"

And he replied: "No, I believe it. I believe it. I think the struggle is close enough. China is so large, looms so high beyond the frontiers, that if South Vietnam went, it will not only give them an improved geographic position for a guerrilla assault on Malaya but would also give the impression that the wave of the future in Southeast Asia was China and the Communists. So I believe it.... What I am concerned about is that Americans will get impatient and say, because they don't like events in Southeast Asia or they don't like the government in Saigon, that we should withdraw."

What Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy said has been repeated to me, face-to-face, by the leaders of the independent nations of Asia and the Pacific. None of them has the least doubt about the stakes involved in the struggle in Vietnam.

They know their safety and independence are at stake.

President Johnson has held to a difficult middle course in Vietnam -- a course avoiding both appeasement and the risk of World War III.

It has been no pleasure ride.

Now there are those who say: "We must have peace in Vietnam."

I agree with that. President Johnson agrees. But I ask in reply:

What price are you willing to pay? What will you give for peace? For make no mistake about it, our objective in Vietnam is this:

Not the promise of peace as an election year gimmick.

But real peace for our children and ourselves.

Peace that will last.

A candidate of the other party says he has a plan for peace in Vietnam. But he can't unveil it until next year. What kind of cynical partisanship is this?

Others feel that more could somehow be done to bring peace today. Yet I must admit that their concern has yet to be matched by their specifics.

Over the past number of days, an intensive review has been undertaken within our government to find some better or more effective way to peace.

Yet I think most Americans know that there can be no true and lasting peace in Vietnam, or Southeast Asia, until militant and powerful Communist forces are convinced that aggression will not pay -- and that they must turn to honest negotiation.

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

That is how it is.

We Americans must ask ourselves: Are we willing to accept that?

Are we willing to make the sacrifices we will have to make?

Do we have the courage to face up to our own prejudices and shortcomings and imperfections in America?

Do we have the courage to match our noble words with often painful deeds in distant places?

Our answer can and must be yes.

* * *

Finally, let's talk sense about our party.

Our party will undergo a severe test in the months ahead.

I think it will be good for the party -- if the real issues and real alternative courses of action, not just the hopes and wishes -- are fully debated.

I think it will be good for the country -- as long as we remember that we Democrats are today responsible for the fate of this nation and, to a very large extent, the fate of the world. And the world is listening to us today -- not as the "outs" who will say whatever is necessary to get in, but as the policy-makers, statesmen and guiding spirit of America.

I think the Democratic Party is fully capable of meeting that extra responsibility, and the voter of America will recognize it.

Twenty years ago I stood in Convention Hall in Philadelphia and said the time had come in America for the full realization of human rights.

A good number of our fellow Democratic Party members walked out.

That same year others left our party because they placed more faith than we in the intentions of totalitarian forces in this world. They distrusted our President and opposed his policy.

Others didn't like President Truman's "style" -- the way he talked or the patterns on his shirts or the width of his trouser cuffs.

But those of us who had hope and faith and a willingness to see it through stood by our President.

We fought and we won.

In 1968, too, I stand by my President. And we shall fight and win.

President Johnson has done more, in the past four years, for the full realization of democracy in America than any American President in this century.

That is his record. That is the record on which he should be judged.

I am proud to be a part of that record.

I am proud to say that he has brought to reality causes we have fought for all our lives.

If we, as Democrats and Americans, will stand with him we will make it through these difficult times.

America has not lost its way.

America is on its way.

And that is why President Johnson deserves and needs your support today and every day until November.

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Unedited Manuscript

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
REGIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE
ROOSEVELT HOTEL
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

MARCH 22, 1968

Thank you very much Mayor Barr. I am taking off my watch. It doesn't mean anything, it is just reassuring to you. It hasn't been running for a long time.

Mayor Barr, my dear and wonderful friends, this lady of eternal youthful spirit, Emma Guffy Miller, and all the distinguished officers of the State represented here at this Regional Conference, John Bailey, who was able to share some of his time under these trying days, Clement Zablocki and John Criswell, ladies and gentlemen. I have had a wonderful day - I should say we have had a wonderful day in Pittsburgh - and I knew it would be that way when we came to Pittsburgh. Mayor Barr has given you a thumb-nail sketch of it. Every minute of it has been jammed with pleasure. We have met with top leadership, with the press of the State and other parts of the United States. We met with young people, hundreds of them and if you think the atom bomb has power, you should meet a thousand young people at one time. It was just great, the wonderful enthusiasm, they had me jumping and I had a fine time, but that is the way a Democrat is supposed to act. They had all sorts of enthusiasm and pep. I just want you to know I am perfectly content with being your Vice President for as many years as you want me. I cleared that statement with Representative Green and he said to go ahead and say it. I didn't have a chance to clear it with President Johnson, but we'll pass it unanimously and send it down. I wanted to come here today to talk to you a little bit about our party. Many people are talking about it and talking within and even talking around it. I think it is the proper form to consider the health and welfare and future of the Democratic Party. These Regional Conferences offer us this opportunity. I thought it would be better to come to you

and speak very candidly and frankly. We have our difficulties and problems, but it has ever been thus. One of the reporters said, "Don't you think Rockefeller not entering the primary might impair the possibility of President Johnson" and I said that the Republican's being a minority party can always use a little unity, it will just shake them up for a fight in the fall. I think one thing is evident, no matter what the new image, it is the same old candidate for the Republican party, so gird yourself for the battle, it looks like he is going to get the nomination and I can hardly wait.

Well, one of the great men of our party that did so much for this country and did so much for the good of politics, kept it with a sense of honor and purpose was Adlai Stevenson. I think you know he was one of my close personal friends. I even had the high privilege of going to London to bring his remains back to the shores. Adlai said, "Let's talk sense to the American People" and, my fellow Democrats, that is what this party has to do, just talk sense to the American people. We have to talk about where we are going to go, what we intend to do. We can't indulge in cheap demagoguery. We are the majority party, the governing party of this country and I want every Democrat in this room to know the record of this party and know the record of this President and know the record of these past seven years of Democratic leadership and I want you to know it like you know your faith, verse and scripture and take it out to the people and talk about it. You are not going to win any elections if you don't believe your cause and you can't win elections if you don't believe your candidate. You can't possibly get the American people to accept your program unless you believe that program and I am here as a true believer, as a part of the organization and the administration that helped make these things possible and so are you. You are involved, you helped elect us, you campaigned for us, you are as much a part of the government of the United States as the duly elected representatives. You elected

two of the congressmen here and when I go to Wisconsin tonight and go into the 4th District of Wisconsin, I travel there side by side with Clem Zablocki. We are going to carry this message of the administration to Milwaukee without fear or doubt and lay it on the line. That is the way you stand up and be counted - not with doubt, confusion and uncertainty - but make your stand now. Put up the flag, because if you don't, we'll be at half mast for the next four years as far as you are concerned. Put it up now and keep it up there high - see what your party has done and your President has done and has left to do. That is what I mean by talking sense.

I want to put things into perspective. I think we should know where we have been and where we are and where we are going. We need to ask ourselves very profound questions. You know this great nation of ours means a hope for mankind. You can get a little sentimental about it, but it doesn't prove less intelligent. So start traveling, see what the rest of the world is like compared to ours - my, my, my, I'll take ours any day. Is this American dream lost in the deep pit of public and private immorality as some people would have you believe? I don't think so. Is America drifting without purpose, moving away from our higher instincts? I don't think so, and I say no and I am going to address myself to this today.

I know this is a time of change. I have never been afraid of change, I have helped promote it and so have you. I know it is a time of ferment and I know it is a difficult time and so have all the days that I can remember been clouded with some difficulty and although it is a time of great growth and transition, you can't have these tremendous explosions of science and technology without change. You think there is only change in America - look what is happening in Britain, the Scandinavian countries. Look at the student revolt in Rome. Across the world the tides have changed, the winds have changed. Change within itself is not good unless

we can direct it for positive service. We want change, we seek to change the society with the least amount of difficulty that is humanly possible. These are times that demand a lot from us. I want to quote the words of Thomas Paine: "The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman." It doesn't really contribute much to things these days because these are difficult days, trying days, but I think we are on the verge, my fellow Americans, of finally achieving Democracy's full potential. Two hundred years ago, we were dedicated to a new proposition and, believe me, it was plenty new, of government by the consent of the people to the proposition that every child, every man and woman should have the right at birth to equal pursuit of happiness. Let me tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that is still the doctrine throughout the world and we are the possessors of it, and what we do and do not do proves whether this hope will be realized. We dedicated ourselves to the principle that man should not be divided king and servant, slave and master, rich and destitute. We launched a peaceful, human revolution to achieve what had never before in the world been achieved. Through blood and heartbreak, through failures and false starts, America has always kept its eye steadily on that goal of a human revolution for full opportunity and here we are at the last third of the 20th century, just 32 years before that year 2000. Those youngsters I talked to today will see practically all of it. What a different world it will be, and it is our duty to pass along a better world. And, as I told them, it is their job to take care of our medicare too.

We have a right to ask as we come to this great point in our history, so to speak, where do we stand, what must be done to finally build Democracy's house. Where do we stand. There is plenty of turmoil in America. That is right, there is turmoil, primarily because there is progress. There is

There is turmoil because we are engaged in the greatest effort our nation has ever known to break through the old barriers of hate, injustice, and inequity. Old habits and social patterns based on racial prejudice and segregation are being rooted out. New practices, new habits, and new policies of equal opportunity are being established and one of the reasons that there are those in America today who raise their voices against this is this President of yours, Lyndon Johnson, who has been the organizer of these efforts to root out immoral practices, bigotry, and segregation. He has lead this fight. Don't let him stand out there alone. Don't forget this battle. I want to hear some voices stand up and say well done faithful President, well done.

We divide our Democrats up into all kinds of groups - liberals, conservatives, all these, and I want you to know I have been a little of each. I have tasted all their so-called political wine and I don't think anybody has a monopoly on concern. When it comes to concern, I don't see anybody more concerned than the President of the United States to see hopes and aspirations achieved. We are engaged in the greatest effort our nation has ever known. We are really fulfilling the promise of Abraham Lincoln as to emancipation, and it won't be completed in our lifetime. We are breaking through the barriers of hate, injustice, and inequity, which have been a blight on America. There are those who are saying America has lost, America is divided, that America is immoral. I have heard those voices. Ladies and gentlemen, we as a nation can be concerned with a helpless child, we as a nation can be concerned with a retarded child, we as a nation can be concerned with crime, and we can be concerned with the hard core unemployed. Today, we are taking a small child by the hand in our ghetto streets. We are finding that child and trying to give them help and education, which means hope. And, we are reaching out to the young men and women without skills and jobs. I know, I am in charge of that program and we are helping them get these skills

so they can get those jobs. And, what does that job mean? It means dignity, self respect, and pride. We are not relying on churches and private services, we are not even relying on business or industry. The government and the government leaders are pledged to rooting out the dirt, the ugliness, the congestion, and the fear which fill America's cities. Just like my friend Joe Barr is doing here in Pittsburgh, which is an inspiration to this nation what has been done in this city. We are pledged to open space and sunlight, for a decent atmosphere to live in, and to take new spirit in the community. All over America, there community action committees, like today, I spoke to hundreds of business leaders. There is a new partnership. I hear those saying America is irreparably divided. I don't see division at this hotel. I don't see division today of race, color, and creed. Government officials are working together, planning together to do what has to be done to help the hard core unemployed, to help the needy and destitute. Don't tell me this country is hopelessly divided. If we will hold ourselves in check and our emotions don't get the best of us so that our judgment can prevail, we can make America a country that is working together in harmony as it never has before and that is our mission and that is why I am here today to try and hold the party together.

But, more importantly, this Democratic party is not the whole country. I'll never forget what the President said: "First I am a free man, second I am an American, and third I am a Democrat." We are first of all free men, secondly, we are Americans, and then comes our party. I happen to think if the Democratic Party does its job, according to its commitments and platform, it will go for America and free men everywhere. Let's see what banners we are marching under today, see what flags we carry. The banners under which I march are not wealth or comfort or luxury for those who already have established their place in life. We are not trying to make it better for those who already have too much.

Our banners are Job Corps for Americans in the Ghettos, Head Start for the high school student who can amount to something if he is given a chance, Upward Bound for the potential student who wants to become a teacher, Vista, Work Study, Teacher Corps, and the war on decent housing and yes, freedom now. Yes, those are the banners and I want you to take the banners out and unfurl them and talk to the people about them. Even one of those banners means a saved life, everyone dedicated toward human resources. As Thomas Jefferson said: "The only purpose of the government is the care of human life and happiness." Therefore, by any measure, what we are doing is unprecedented in human society and don't take it for granted. We have to fight every inch of the way to get it and fight now to hold the gains we have won. I want you to understand this, we are not divided as a nation. We are uniting it by insisting on one standard, one citizenship for all. This administration is the administration of reconciliation, not of division, of opportunity, not welfare, of a chance, not denial and the President of the United States heads this administration and he needs your help and your support at this crucial hour. Let me tell you now that the intemperate and irresponsible attacks we witnessed in recent days does not serve the cause of national unity. As old Sam Rayburn said: "A mule can kick down a barn, but it takes a hundred neighbors to raise a new one." Don't be a barn wrecker, be a builder and you are a Democrat.

Take home this little fact. We have increased our national investment in health and education by 10 times the number of people in job training programs. And everyone of those programs means life and opportunity, health and human benefit. In the past four years alone, we have provided twice as much federal help for education as was provided in the previous 100 years. And, some people say you need to do more. We have done more than anyone else ever dreamed possible.

If President Johnson and the Democratic Party never do more for the

American people than medicare, he would be worthy of your respect. At long last, the senior citizens of our country have been given a full measure of service. They do not have to beg, do not have to go on relief or welfare, and don't have to look around for somebody else to pay the bills in order to have decent medical care. By social insurance, prepaid insurance today, the mothers, fathers, grandmothers, grandfathers and those eligible for social security have the best hospital care the medical world can give. Over four million people were given that care last year and, ladies and gentlemen, we built more senior housing the last four years in this country than in the last one hundred. No longer are these people packed away, so to speak, in an attic tenement and back rooms. At long last, they can live in a decent apartment. We have only made the beginning, it is the beginning that counts. The first step is the longest part of the journey and we have made those steps. We have won great battles and human victories thought impossible in 1960. I speak about this with a little more feeling as I had a hand in it. I was the majority whip in the Senate for four years and I handled the Civil Rights Act of 1964. I was involved in the Federal Aid to Education Program, which was my first bill as a senator. I even introduced hospital care for persons over 65 and I waited six years to see it become law. All the speeches of the political persons together did not pass the law. It came from hard work and I'll tell you what else it came from, it came from a President who knew how to get things done. Lyndon Johnson has got more done in this Congress than any President for the cause of human rights and in making sure American citizens can live where they want to live. Let me tell you, you can't have an integrated bunker in Kaison when you do not have an integrated America back home. These are the goals we have and many other goals yet to be accomplished. We have the tremendous low cost housing program for 20 million Americans in the next decade. We started, as I told you, the great program of

the hard core unemployed, 500 thousand in the next three years. A comprehensive Crime Control Program to insure safety on our streets. After all, every American is entitled to safety in his community and the Federal Government has the responsibility to do this. Why don't you write to your congressman and see if we can't get that bill passed. We will have full pre-natal and post-natal care for every needy American mother and infant by 1973 - 26 million new housing units by 1978 for those Americans over and above a low income group. This is our program just to mention a few things and we can hardly wait for it. We shouldn't rest until every American has his rights and we possess the means to help them. That is part of the domestic program. Let me make it clear to you, there are two inter-related propositions both of which have to stand together or can't stand at all - national security and national development. You know, my dear friends, we can't build a better Pittsburgh if there is war in the streets and you can't put down war in the streets if you don't build a better Pittsburgh. Or, let's put it another way, safe streets require a just and wholesome neighborhood, but a just and wholesome neighborhood requires law and order in the streets. A safe world requires development - economic, political and social development - but this is impossible if the attacker, the aggressor, can come in and destroy everything you try to create. None of this great domestic commitment can mean a thing unless the nation can remain free and safe in the peaceful and dangerous world we live in.

We must make our commitment to peace and safety in the world and I want to talk to you about it and the sooner we talk it out, the better and I want to take a little of your time today to talk about it. History doesn't repeat itself, there are lessons to be learned from history, there are no identical developments from history, there are patterns. As President Roosevelt prepared for one of his fireside chats early in 1942, he said to members of his staff: "I am going to ask the American

people to take out their maps. I am going to speak about strange places that many of them have never heard of - places that are now the battleground for civilization. I'm going to ask the newspapers to print maps of the whole world..." Franklin Roosevelt, 26 years ago, asked us to accept the fact this is one world and in 26 years, this world is shrinking in size. What is happening in the Middle East now may effect your life and the well being of your family more than anything happening in the Middle West, Northwest or Northeast America. What is happening in Southeast Asia can be more important to you than anything that happens in your immediate area. The world is your neighborhood and you can't stop the world and get off. We haven't been able to work that out and only a few are going to make the trip to the moon and we don't know what it is going to be like when we get there. The world has been taking up the front pages of our daily newspapers ever since World War II. There are strange names that we have a difficult time pronouncing - hungry children in far-off lands - threats and opportunities - the slow and halting story of men everywhere slowly awakening to their common interests.

This world that was once a story book tale is now on television. I want to ponder that tube. It is one of the most revolutionary things ever invented by the mind of man whether for good or evil. I am sure if every citizen in the world could see what we see on television and it could be brought into their living rooms and shown as it is in ours, there wouldn't be a war. You can't look at men being shot down in battle and have the blood literally running on the floor in color from your own sets and not be touched and moved and know how cruel and ugly this business called war really is. My fellow Americans, you get it and it tears you apart. They don't get it in North Vietnam, they don't see it in Russia and they don't see it in Communist China unless it is censored the way they want it. I will never forget what the Swedish Foreign Minister told me when he came back from Hanoi and we were talking and I said, "Mr. Foreign Minister

I wish you would tell our side of the story" and he said, "We do". I said, "How do you mean" and he said, "We take 15 minutes of film handed us by China and Hanoi and take 15 minutes of your film and, I hope your friends from your networks will forgive me, the trouble is, Mr. Vice President, at least 10 minutes of the 15 minutes of your film shows what is happening to your American boys, shows the destruction of your air force and boys and it is 15 minutes against you, it is not our fault." I ask not for censorship, but I ask for an opposite side of the war as the sum total of man's madness. It is evil at its worst and yet here we are facing a powerful enemy and facing this enemy for a long period of time and I want to talk to you about it.

Since World War II, since the advent of terrible nuclear weapons, and those weapons are terrible and you never hear much about them lately but, believe me, they can obliterate all creation. We both have enough to kill everything God ever created with an over-kill of a factor of three. Does that make you feel any better? It doesn't make me feel better. There will be nothing left if we go into nuclear war, it will be the final chapter of civilization. We have tried to prevent a nuclear conflict and, so far, we have done so and since World War II, since the advent of terrible nuclear weapons, we have known that this strong nation has to play a strong and active and responsible role or lose the peace by default. In these postwar years, we have, in Berlin, in Greece and Turkey, In Iran, in Korea, in the straits of Formosa, in Lebanon and the Congo, in Laos, in Cuba, in the Dominican Republic, in the Mediterranean and Cyprus stood up and faced the challenges we had to face. We have done so because we have known that the risk would be far greater if they were not faced. Not long ago, your President sent his special emissary to Cyprus, Greece. The Greek forces were ready to move, the air force was ready to attack. The Turkish forces and Greek forces were ready to come to the defence of our allies over a historic question that had long embittered these people.

Who prevented it? Who was the man of peace? Who was the peacemaker? I'll tell you who, it was President Lyndon Johnson. We don't try to be the policeman of the world. We don't send our forces into battle, we just use the fine art of diplomacy. They are allied nations that would listen to reason and would listen to our counsel. I have never seen one single banner unfurled saying, thank you, Mr. President, thank you, for saving us from a holocaust of a terrible war that could have broken out. Your President, in the difficult days of May and June this past year, when war broke out in North Africa, your President used his good office, his prestige, and the power of this nation to say to the Soviet Union, don't enter this conflict, saving the world from that major conflict. I don't hear anybody saying, thank you. All I hear are the raucous voices, the loud voices condemning our President for the situation he found at his desk when he became President of the United States and which was not a situation of his making, but one he inherited. We have dedicated ourselves to building and developing and, as Pope Paul said recently, "Development is the new name for peace and peace, as John Kennedy put it, does not come cheap. At the same time, we have, block by block, tried to build a world environment in which peace might grow. We have waged a war on hunger as no other nation has. We have launched an Alliance for Progress and a Peace Corps, and I am its author. I had the idea of the Peace Corps in the Senate of the United States. I was privileged to introduce the legislation when it became public law. I am the chairman of the Peace Corps Counsel. We have joined with others in taking down barriers to world trade and economic growth. We have dedicated ourselves to stopping the nuclear arms race. How many of you remember Adlai Stevenson and Hubert Humphrey when we went across the country and said we must have a nuclear test ban treaty. I was one of the members of the disarmament commission in the Congress of the United States that negotiated the Nuclear Test

Ban Treaty. We have signed a treaty for the banning of weapons of mass destruction in outer space and we are the proposers of the new Proliferation Treaty on Nuclear Weapons.

I am telling you, ladies and gentlemen, this is not a war administration, but a peace administration. We have put our commitments and our resources behind the United Nations. We have sent your youth overseas in shirt sleeves to help those who needed our help. Oftentimes that work has been thankless. It has been frustrating and costly. In Vietnam and other places, the President of the United States has done what he thought was right to protect the peace and security of this land and rather than be criticised and condemned, he should at least be treated with respect as the President of the United States for his courage.

Listen to this record. President Johnson stood by our commitments in Vietnam because he believes, as other Presidents before him believed - as the leaders of Asia certainly believe - that the success of aggression in Vietnam would lead to wider and far more dangerous aggression throughout all of South East Asia. President Eisenhower said in 1959: "Strategically South Vietnam's capture by the Communists would bring their power several hundred miles into a hitherto free region. The remaining countries in Southeast Asia would be menaced by a great flanking movement. The loss of South Vietnam would set in motion a crumbling process that could, as it progressed, have grave consequences for us and for freedom." So said President Eisenhower. Let's go further, President John Kennedy in September of 1963, less than 25 days before his assassination, in a television interview was asked, "Mr. President, have you any reason to doubt this so called domino theory that if South Vietnam falls, the rest of Southeast Asia will go behind it?" and he replied: "No, I believe it, I believe it. I think the struggle is close enough. China is so large, looms so high beyond the frontiers, that if South Vietnam went, it will not only give them an improved geographic position for a guerrilla assault on Malaya

but would also give the impression that the wave of the future in Southeast Asia was China and the Communists. So I believe it - what I am concerned about is that Americans will get impatient and say, because they don't like events in Southeast Asia or they don't like the government in Saigon, that we should withdraw." The then-attorney general said, "We are going to win in South Vietnam. We will remain here until we do. I think the American people understand and fully support this struggle. The American people have great affection for the people of Vietnam and I think the United States will do what is necessary to help a country that is trying to repel aggression with its own blood, tears, and sweat. The American people will see Vietnam through these times of trouble, through a period when the Vietnamese people will find a long sought after opportunity to develop this country in peace, dignity, and freedom."

Ladies and gentlemen, what has changed since that statement. The aggression, and even more important, the terrible ingrowth of Communism is more powerful. If we could say we are going to win in Vietnam and will remain there until we do win in late 1962, I think you can say the same thing early in 1968.

These are not my words, they are the words of those who have been advisors when Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy said what they said and have been repeated to me face to face. The stand taken by America in Vietnam brought significant victories you never seem to hear about. Let me list them for you. Nations that for centuries have stood apart are now in danger of being taken over by Communism, aggression and subversion. Indonesia, which I visited less than four months ago, the third largest nation in the world was on the verge of being taken over by the Communists completely. In July of 1965, hundreds of thousands of Communist weapons were on their way to Djakarta, Java, and other areas of Indonesia and

Indonesia has unburdened itself of Communist control behind the seal of the American standard in Southeast Asia. We didn't do it for them, but they are the first to recognize our presence there. It gave them the hope and chance to save themselves from the scourge of Communist domination. I know, I have seen them, been there and talked with them. It always appears to me that those who have spent the least time in the area have the most time to mis-represent what is going on.

President Johnson has held to a difficult middle course in Vietnam - a course avoiding both appeasement and the risk of World War III. It has been no pleasure ride. There are those who say we must have peace in Vietnam. Ladies and gentlemen, your President agrees with that, your Vice President agrees with that. Do you think it is easy for the President of the United States to send men into battle. Do you think it is easy for the President of the United States to read the casualty lists. Ladies and gentlemen, no man has had a greater stake of peace in Vietnam than the President of the United States. If the President of the United States could get peace in Vietnam, all the so-called opposition would fade away, there wouldn't even be a political contest on this point of view.

Once again, let me read it to you. Here is what your President said, "Let no one mis-read our purpose. Peace is our goal in Vietnam. Let no one mistake it, our resolve of peace will be won, a peace of honor, a lasting peace that the people of South Vietnam will be free and lead the lives they chose to lead." These are the words of President Johnson. Not the peace of the umbrella or appeasement, but the peace of a strong persevering spirit of a Winston Churchill. You know Chamberland said, "Peace in our time" only to have the terrible conflagration of World War II. Churchill warned his people of the dangers of aggression. We don't want the promise of peace as an election year gimmick, but a

real peace and a peace that will last.

A candidate of the other party says he has a plan for peace in Vietnam. After I asked him what it was he said he can't unveil it until next year. Ladies and gentlemen, it is both laughable and pathetic. What kind of cynical partisanship is this? I want to say what I said at the press conference, anybody that knows how to get peace in Vietnam has a sacred obligation to outline that plan and not play politics with the issue of peace. There are others who feel we could do more to bring peace today and I must say their concern is not quite matched by their specifics. Over the past number of days an intensive review has been undertaken within our government - I should say over the past several weeks within our government - to find some better or more effective way for peace. As the Secretary of State said before the Senate Committee, "we are re-examining every aspect of our policy from A to Z, we do it continuously." I think most Americans know there can be no true or lasting peace in Vietnam until militant and powerful Communist forces are convinced that aggression will not pay and that they must turn to honest negotiation.

I sum up this by saying that peace is not the product of wishful thinking, campaign oratory or appeasement. Peace does not come to the timid, weak or uncertain. Peace is the lonely struggle of the strong, courageous, and determined and some of the great peacemakers in the world had to be leaders in a nation in war. Lincoln was a peacemaker and he had to be a commander-in-chief during the most horrible war in our history. Franklin Roosevelt was a peacemaker during World War II. Woodrow Wilson, the founder of the charter, wept as he signed the declaration of World War I was a man of peace. Sometimes the real peacemakers are the warriors that have to stand determined and strong. John Kennedy said it: "Peace and freedom do not come cheap, and we

are destined - all of us here today - to live out most, if not all of our lives in uncertainty and challenge and peril." I think there is only one peace candidate in this campaign seeking a lasting peace, a meaningful peace and that peace candidate is none other than the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson.

Ladies and gentlemen, let me leave you with this. I know a good number of your Democratic party members are distressed and discouraged. Twenty years ago, I stood in Convention Hall in Philadelphia and said the time had come in America for the full realization for Human Rights. A good number of our fellow Democratic Party members walked out. That same year, others left our party because they placed more faith than we in the intentions of totalitarian forces in this world. They distrusted our President and opposed his policy. Others didn't like President Truman's style, the way he talked or the patterns on his shirts or the width of his trouser cuffs or the way his daughter sang. But those of us who had faith and hope stood by him. We not only stood along side of him, but we fought along side of him and won a tremendous victory in 1948. And now in 1968, I want again to stand by my President and, ladies and gentlemen, together we shall fight and we shall win as I stand by you today. Let's get on the job.

Transcript by:
Gwen Mitchell
Hearing Reporter for
Register of Wills
City-County Building
Pittsburgh, Pa.

① Bill Austin
Pittsburgh Steelers) Laggett

Reassured my position -

① United Synagogue
Youth of
America

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

REGIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE

PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

MARCH 22, 1968

I want today, as Adlai Stevenson used to say, "to talk sense to the American people."

↳ I want to put in perspective -- and I think it needs to be done -- just where we have been... where we are... and where we are going.

Is the American dream lost in a deep pit of public and private immorality?

Are we a society drifting, without purpose, and moving away from our higher instincts?

I say no.

I say this is a time of change...a time of ferment... a difficult time of growth and transition in America.

It is a time demanding much of us.

But it is above all a time when this nation, as never before, is on the verge of finally achieving democracy's full potential.

Almost two hundred years ago we dedicated ourselves to a new proposition -- that every single child should have the right, at birth, to free and equal pursuit of life, liberty and happiness.

We dedicated ourselves to the principle that men should not be divided king and servant... slave and master... rich and destitute.

↳ We launched a peaceful, human revolution to achieve what had never before in the world been achieved.

↳ Through blood and heartbreak, through failures and false starts, America has always kept its eye steadily on that goal.

↳ And today, as we enter the final third of this 20th century, we have every right to ask: Where do we stand? Just what must be done to finally build democracy's house?

↳ Where do we stand?

There is turmoil in America. But there is turmoil

because there is progress. *Old Habits and Social Patterns based on Racial prejudice and Segregation, ~~and~~ are being rooted out. New practices and policies of equal opportunity ~~and human~~ are being established.*

Yes There is turmoil because we are engaged in the greatest effort our nation has ever known -- to break through the old barriers of hate, injustice and inequity which have been a blight on our national conscience.

We are taking small children by the hand in our ghetto streets. We are giving them health and education and hope.

We are reaching out to young men without skills or jobs. And we are helping them get those skills so they can get those jobs.

We are pledged to rooting out the dirt, the ugliness, the congestion and the fear which fill America's cities and replacing them with clear sunlight and a new spirit of community. —

And the banners under which we march are not those of wealth...comfort...or luxury for those who already have their established place in life.

Our banners -- new banners -- read:

Job Corps

Head Start

Upward Bound

VISTA

Work Study

Teacher Corps

War on Poverty

Jobs

Schools

Decent housing

And yes, Freedom Now.

By any measure, what we are doing is unprecedented in human society. We are not dividing a nation, we are exposing it to a full measure of self-examination, self-help - and self-respect. We are not dividing a nation, we are uniting it by insisting on

Intemperate, highly emotional,
~~self-serving~~ irresponsible
attacks such as we've
witnessed in recent
days, do not serve the
cause of national unity
and reconciliation.

One Standard - one citizenship for all.

Rootless - yes - (Example - airplane flights - weather -
One Nation, ⁻⁶⁻ under God, Indivisible -

⌞ In three years alone: We have increased by three

times our national investment in health and education...

by 10 times the number of people in job training programs.

⌞ In the past four years alone, we have provided

twice as much federal help for education as was provided

in the previous 100 years. -

*Senior Citizens living in
Past 4 yrs more than ever
before!*

We have won legal and tangible human victories

that were thought impossible in 1960.

~~And there will be another victory this year when the~~

~~Congress passes a national Open Housing Law~~

*and Civil Rights Act
7/1968.*

~~And make no mistake about it: Despite setbacks
and delays... despite opposition from the old Coalition of
Retreat, a national Open Housing Law will be passed.~~

⌞ We have goals clearly before us -- goals set forth

this year by President Johnson in historic messages to
the Congress:

*Elderly
Medicare
Housing*

-- 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 Americans;

-- A comprehensive crime control program to provide Americans "the security that they demand and the justice that they deserve."

-- 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.

∟ We cannot wait.

No single American -- living with anything less than an equal chance in this great society -- should be made to stand waiting for that chance while we possess the means to help him.

- National Security
National Development
8-

* * *

Yet none of this commitment...none of this progress can ultimately mean a thing unless this nation can remain free and safe in a peaceful world.

And that is why ~~-- while we make this commitment at home --~~ we must also make our commitment to peace and safety in this world.

As President Roosevelt prepared for one of his fireside chats early in 1942, he said to members of his staff:

"I am going to ask the American people to take out their maps. I am going to speak about strange places that many of them have never heard of -- places that are now the battleground for civilization. I'm going to ask the newspapers to print maps of the whole world...."

The world has taken up the front pages of our daily papers ever since -- strange names...hungry children in far-off lands...threats and opportunities...the slow and halting story of men everywhere slowly awakening to their common interests.

↳ And since World War II -- since the advent of terrible nuclear weapons -- we have known that this strong nation had to play a strong and active and responsible role or lose the peace by default.

↳ In these postwar years, we have -- in Berlin, in Greece and Turkey, in Iran, in Korea, in the Straits of Formosa, in Lebanon and the Congo, in Laos, in Cuba, in the Dominican Republic, in the Mediterranean and Cyprus -- stood up and faced the challenges we had to face.

↳ We have done so because we have known that the risk would be far greater if they were not faced.

"Development is the new
name for Peace"

-10-

{ Building Blocks
for Peace -

↳ At the same time we have, block by block, tried to
build a world environment in which peace might grow.

↳ We have waged war on hunger.

↳ We have launched an Alliance for Progress and a Peace Corps.

We have joined with others in taking down barriers to
world trade and economic growth.

↳ We have dedicated ourselves to stopping the nuclear
arms race. ↳ *We have extended Economics +
Technical assistance -*

↳ We have put our commitment behind the United Nations.

↳ We have sent our young people overseas, in uniform
and in shirt sleeves, to help those who needed our help.

↳ Oftentimes that work has been thankless. It has been
frustrating. It has been costly.

and It has been all of these things in Vietnam.

Yet, in Vietnam as in other places, the President of
the United States has done what he thought was right to
protect the peace.

President Johnson stood by our commitment there because he believes -- as other Presidents before him believed...as the leaders of Asia certainly believe -- that the success of aggression in Vietnam would lead to wider and far more dangerous aggression throughout all of Southeast Asia.

President Eisenhower said in 1959:

"Strategically, South Vietnam's capture by the Communists would bring their power several hundred miles into a hitherto free region. The remaining countries in Southeast Asia would be menaced by a great flanking movement....The loss of South Vietnam would set in motion a crumbling process that could, as it progressed, have grave consequences for us and for freedom."

President Kennedy in late 1963, in a television interview was asked: "Mr. President, have you any reason to doubt this so-called domino theory that if South Vietnam falls, the rest of Southeast Asia will go behind it?"

And he replied: "No, I believe it. I believe it. I think the struggle is close enough. China is so large, looms so high just beyond the frontiers, that if South Vietnam went, it will not only give them an improved geographic position for a guerrilla assault on Malaya but would also give the impression that the wave of the future in Southeast Asia was China and the Communists. So I believe it...What I am concerned about is that Americans will get impatient and say, because they don't like events in Southeast Asia or they don't like the government in Saigon, that we should withdraw."

See Back Page

They also know that the stand of America in Vietnam has brought significant victories already to free Asia. For the first time in history, regional cooperation is underway in Southeast Asia.

Nations that for centuries have stood apart are now working together. Nations which were in danger of being taken over by Communist aggression and subversion only a few years ago are today free and gaining in strength. ~~the Philippines~~ Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia are all the more secure and free because we have met the Communist foe in Vietnam. Indonesia, the fifth largest nation in the world, has purged itself of Communist control behind the shield of the American stand in Southeast Asia.

What Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy said has been repeated to me, face-to-face, by the leaders of the independent nations of Asia and the Pacific. None of them has the least doubt about the stakes involved in the struggle in Vietnam.

They know their safety and independence are at stake.

President Johnson has held to a difficult middle course in Vietnam -- a course avoiding both appeasement and the risk of World War III.

It has been no pleasure ride.

Now there are those who say: "We must have peace in Vietnam."

I agree with that. President Johnson agrees. ~~but~~

~~I ask in reply:~~

~~What price are you willing to pay? What will you give for peace?~~

President Johnson spelled out this Administration's objective in Vietnam once again just yesterday:

↳ "Let no one misread our purpose: Peace is our goal.

↳ "Let no one mistake our resolve: Peace will be won.

↳ "It will be peace with honor. It will be a peace in which the people of South Vietnam will be free to live the lives they choose to live."

↳ Not the promise of peace as an election year gimmick.

↳ But real peace...peace that will last.

A candidate of the other party says he has a plan for peace in Vietnam. But he can't unveil it until next year. What kind of cynical partisanship is this?

↳ Others feel that more could somehow be done to bring peace today. Yet I must admit that their concern has yet to be matched by their specifics.

Over the past number of days, an intensive review has been undertaken within our government to find some better or more effective way to peace.

Yet I think most Americans know that there can be no true and lasting peace in Vietnam, or Southeast Asia, until militant and powerful Communist forces are convinced that aggression will not pay -- and that they must turn to honest negotiation.

Peace is not the product of appeasement or withdrawal - Peace does not come to those who ~~are~~ timid, the weak or the uncertain. Peace is a lonely struggle for the strong, the courageous and the determined.

Finally - Let me say that there
is only one genuine peace
Candidate in this Campaign -
the one who is committed to
seek a lasting peace -
an enduring peace - and
that is the President of
the United States.

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy

News Conference at Saigon airport (February 18, 1962)

“We are going to win in Vietnam. We will remain here
until we do win....”

“I think the American people understand and fully support
this struggle. Americans have great affection for the people
of Vietnam. I think the United States will do what is necessary
to help a country that is trying to repeal aggression with its own
blood, tears and sweat.”

“Hanoi may deny its responsibility, but the guilt is clear.
In a flagrant violation of its signed pledge at Geneva in 1954,
the North Vietnamese regime has launched on a course to destroy
the Republic of Vietnam ... The American people will see Vietnam
through these times of trouble to a period when the Vietnamese
people will find a long-sought opportunity to develop their country
in peace, dignity and freedom.”

What has changed !



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