



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF VIRGINIA
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

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"The care of human life and happiness . . . is the first and only legitimate object of good government."

Those are the words of a great Democrat -- big "D" and small "d" -- Thomas Jefferson of Virginia.

What would he say of us today?

What would he say of the nation he tutored in democracy?

What would he say of the Democratic party which has taken "the care of human life and happiness" as its highest purpose?

You may remember what John Adams predicted in a letter to Jefferson:

"When people talk of the freedom of writing, speaking or thinking, I cannot choose but laugh. No such thing ever existed. No such thing now exists; but I hope it will exist. But it must be hundreds of years after you and I write and speak no more."

Today, just a century and a half after Jefferson received that letter, I think he would be encouraged . . . encouraged with what we have achieved . . . encouraged that we are forging ahead toward realization of the American dream . . . his dream.

But 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.

Every American needs that perspective today -- but particularly Democrats.

We are the majority party.

We are the governing party.

We are the party that has carried the torch of hope and social progress for millions of our fellow citizens.

So we have an extra responsibility. We speak for the nation, not just for the party. And the world is listening.

So what are the realities -- not the hopes . . . or the ambitions . . . or the crowd-pleasing slogans -- of this critical election year?

This is a time of change . . . a time of questioning . . . 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 thrid 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 the hard 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 in "the care of human life and happiness" 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.

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

Yet we must do more. We cannot wait.

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

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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.

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 post-war 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.

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 sleeve, 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 Presidents of the United States have done what they thought was right to protect the peace.

President Johnson has done it because he believed -- 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.

At the same time he has held to a difficult middle course -- 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. 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.

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.

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.

Are there any easy ways out -- at home, or in this dangerous world?

There are no easy ways.

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 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.

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 disagreed.

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" or the way he talked or the patterns of his shirts.

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 this year, we must ask ourselves: Are we up to our burdens?

Are we willing to make the sacrifices that democratic government imposes upon us?

Are we willing to win our rights by exercising our responsibilities?

More specifically, as Democrats, are we going to fall victim to division?

Are we going to imperil the work of these past four years and hand power, by default, to a party that lives in the nostalgic past. . . to a candidate we have defeated before?

We cannot.

And we will not if you will join with me in supporting the President who has done more in these past four years for the growth of democracy in America than any President in this century.

President Lyndon Johnson is that man.

President Lyndon Johnson is the man who has given all his waking hours to the search for justice in America and peace in the world.

President Lyndon Johnson is the man who deserves your commitment now and every day until November.

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Address of Vice President of the United States, Hubert H. Humphrey, and introduction by Mills E. Godwin, Jr., Governor of Virginia, on the occasion of the Young Democrats Convention, John Marshall Hotel, Richmond, Virginia, on March 30, 1968.

Mr. Vice President, Mrs. Humphrey, Mr. Perkinson, Mr. Diamonstein, distinguished guests at the head table and in the audience, Ladies and Gentlemen. We are honored tonight - all of Virginia is honored by the presence, in the capitol of our Commonwealth, of the Vice President of the United States and Mrs. Humphrey.

I would first extend to them the hospitality and the warm welcome that are so much a part of Virginia's tradition. This is in keeping with Virginia's contribution of so many of this nation's leaders and so many of the precepts of freedom that we have treasured now for more than two centuries. There was not always total agreement, Mr. Vice President, even among Virginia's most distinguished statesmen of the past. Through the years their debates have refined our own concept of freedom and our own fundamentals of government. For my part, I hope the time will never come when this nation, or this state, or the Democratic Party, reaches universal agreement on all things. For if we ever come to that point, we will have lost the very essence of democracy. But I hope that we can agree in the Democratic Party in Virginia on one issue within our own borders regardless of our differences over issues beyond the confines of the state.

In spite of its magnificent accomplishments, the session of the General Assembly of Virginia just ended left us one pressing item of unfinished business - the contract still to be ratified by the people of this state next November. And I am so glad to know that this great

Convention, by resolution, has gone on record in support of the bond referendum and the approval of the issue of next November for higher education and for mental hospitals of the Commonwealth. On its face, it is a fiscal issue, but far more is at stake - for in the balance brings no less than a decade, and perhaps more, of the future progress of our state. If the Young Democrats of Virginia need an issue, here is one they can try their mettle to the utmost. If the young people of our party need an incentive and an opportunity, they will never have a better cause to champion. If youth needs a challenge to use its energy and young ideas, it could wish for no more demanding task. So much for that - there is other business ahead tonight. We are here to hear speak one of America's foremost statesmen. He has honored Virginia with his presence many times. We are always delighted to have the Vice President and Mrs. Humphrey here in Virginia. It has been my opportunity to greet them on other occasions, which I was glad to do, and I am happy to be here tonight. The anticipation we feel as we await his words does not flow entirely from the office he holds. In his own right, and by his own efforts, he has become far more than the traditional shadow behind the Chief Executive of this great land. Interestingly, I think is the wisdom the framers of the Constitution of the United States showed when they devoted only three short paragraphs to the office of the Vice President.

One of them said that he shall be President of the Senate and it immediately qualifies that by stating that he shall have no vote except in case of a tie.

The second one establishes his principal function as a standby in case something happens to the President.

The third one establishes the procedure for his impeachment.

In other words, the Constitution, one might say, would seem to say, that the Vice President is a man with no vote, not much hope and a somewhat precarious future. (applause and laughter) It takes a great deal of talent and energy for any man to rise above these limitations, but the present incumbent of that high office has these qualities in abundance. (applause). This gentleman is a man of many facets. He went to public schools near his birthplace in South Dakota, he won his baccalaureate degree from the University of Minnesota and earned his Master's at the University of Louisiana. He holds honorary degrees, as of a year ago - and my information is not current - but at that time - from 22 colleges across the nation.

Before he began his political career, he was a Professor of Political Science and during World War II served as Assistant Director of the War Manpower Commission. In politics he moved from the Mayor of Minnesota to the United States Senate, where he served as the Majority Whip and over which he now presides, at least on occasions. Sometimes he finds time to serve, and quite capably, as President of an independent drug firm in Huron, South Dakota, operated by his brother. And with this background, he has impressed businessmen with his knowledge of their problems and a belief that competition is the life blood of private enterprise. I have had some personal experience with this side of this man because on several occasions I have accompanied delegations from the textile industry to Washington to discuss some of their tariff problems.

We could have not asked for a more sympathetic hearing or a more direct and frank discussion of both sides of this question. But, perhaps, his particular and personal concern has been with the young people of this country and so has it been for Mrs. Humprhey, with their hopes and their aspirations, and with the Governmental programs designed to meet

the needs of our youth. There can be no doubt that the Vice President is an untiring advocate, as he should be, of administration policy and very capably fills that post. Both in public appearances across this nation and around the world and inside the Congress, itself, where patience and persuasion sometimes transforms policy into reality. We can take the measure of any man from what he has accomplished, from what he says and from what he does. If he is sincere, and if he performs his appointed task superbly, people will know it and they will give credit where credit is due.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am happy to present to you, one who has grown in stature and favor in our Commonwealth and in the Nation, the distinguished Vice President of the United States, the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey. (heavy applause)

The Vice President:

Governor Godwin, the very first thing that I want to say to you is that after that introduction, like some others in our party, I am beginning to reassess my position. (applause and laughter) My old friend Adlai Stevenson once said after he had been so generously and graciously introduced, "after hearing what I just heard, I can hardly wait to hear what I'm going to say". And it is just about the truth tonight. Governor and Mrs. Godwin and our good friends of the Congressional delegation, Congressman Downing and Congressman Satterfield and Lt. Governor Pollard and Mr. Perkinson and Mr. Diamonstein and all the officers of the Young Democrats and all of those good democrats who have gathered here tonight. I have so many notes here that I am afraid if I start to really look at them, it will be another day before we leave here. Even

though the hospitality of Virginia is all that any one could ever hope for, or dream for, there is such a thing of you overdoing it and me overdoing it too.

I do want to make one or two comments, however, about some of the remarks of your Governor about the Vice Presidency. I think I must defend this noble office. The first thing I would say is - the Vice Presidency is the only office in this Government which has constitutionally enforced humility. (laughter) I once rightened a thoroughly good democratic audience by telling them that as Vice President, I had patterned my Vice President's life after another Vice President, by the name of Richard M. Johnson, Vice President under Martin Van Buren. I guess you thought I was going to say that other fellow. (applause) But I want to win. (heavy applause) There are some precedents that have been established tonight that are very interesting to me. I looked over the program of officers and I see that if you are the Executive Vice President, you have a mighty good chance of becoming President. (applause) I hope all Young Democrats will understand the full implications of that. (applause and laughter) I'm not trying to run, I'm not trying to do anything to Mr. Johnson - he's got enough trouble already. I don't want you to put the word to Washington that with all this beautiful spring weather, that a little more has sprung out of the soil - so to speak. But I am a patient man. (applause and laughter) You just don't realize how happy both Mrs. Humphrey and I are to be here tonight - how wonderfully happy you have made us. You have greeted us with such warm hospitality and generosity, that we will always remember it. You're the standingest-up audience I have ever been to. (laughter) By golly, you must have heard how long I speak. (applause and laughter). Well, you're right. You know, as Vice President, they don't let me say a word in the Senate. I think we

ought to amend our Constitution which would permit me to make a few short speeches in the Senate, then I wouldn't talk so long when I get away from the Senate. But it is a special joy to be with my young friends of the Democratic Party, and particularly to be here on the occasion of your Convention.

I always tell our Republican friends that our Conventions are peaceful, and nothing really ever goes wrong - that all the skirmishing they hear about ahead of time is just what I call our spring practice to get in condition for the main event in the fall. (applause)

The first thing I want to say to this audience tonight is that how good it is to be with your Governor. I think you know that all of us in public life today look upon Governor Godwin as one of the truly great Chief Executives of our 50 states. (applause) The President asked me to find out from Governor Mills Godwin how do you get along with the legislature like you do? We haven't been able to find that formula up there in Congress. We do pretty well, but not as well as you have. But it is a remarkable feat - a remarkable accomplishment - for this Governor, of this state, in changing times, very difficult times, to have such a splendid record of political performance - and I want to salute him for particularly this most recent session - for all that has come out of it, the Constitutional reform, and - while I'm not permitted to talk about these state issues, I don't think I need to tell these Young Democrats that you have not only an opportunity, but you have an obligation, to carry through on this request of your governor for what this state needs in the coming months. (applause)

I've had a wonderful visit with Mrs. Godwin tonight, and she's been very considerate of me as I have been jotting down notes. She said, "I'm an understanding politician's wife, I'm just not going to talk to you while you're trying to figure out what you can say." (applause) So if I

say something I should not have said, it is her fault - she left me alone.

Today, Virginia has gone out of its way to honor the Humphreys. Earlier today, my wife, Muriel, was privileged to go to Woodbridge, Virginia. She was accompanied by Senator Harry Byrd, Jr., and she was there in the presence of members of Congress and was honored by having a school named after her - the Muriel Humphrey School - and to have it happen in Virginia - I tell you, it makes us mighty, mighty proud - and it makes me a little jealous. (applause) We've both waited a long time to have anything named after us, except our children. Muriel has had a school named after her in Virginia, and I am happy to tell you about three weeks ago I had two bridges named after me in Florida. Things are picking up. (laughter) Tonight I'm going to talk to you about our party, about our country and a little bit about ourselves. We all like to quote Thomas Jefferson - what a remarkable man - he is the man for all seasons. He is, indeed, the real Democrat. I saw one day, over in the White House, in the President's private room - his own bedroom, a little card that he had up on the wall. And here's what it read: "The care of Human Life and Happiness is the first and the only legitimate object of good Government." (applause)

Now, that is not the phrase of a new dealer or a fair dealer or a new frontiersman or a great society's man, that's the phrase and I think that represents the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson and this party that we belong to. Those were his words, the words of a Democrat with a small "d" and a big "D". I kept thinking to myself that I have read that phrase, and by the way, I've taken that phrase off and put it in a little scrap book and keep it in my hip pocket, just to remind me. I keep saying to myself, "I wonder what Jefferson would say to us today?" I wonder how he would evaluate our work? What would he say of the Democratic Party?

Would he say that we had taken care of human life and happiness? Would he say that this was its highest purpose? Well, we have to ask those questions and that is what I want to ask about tonight. You remember that Thomas Jefferson's political enemy during the zenith of his life was John Adams, but in those final hours and years of his life, his closest friend became John Adams. They literally both died on the same day. They grew to respect and love one another. Adams predicted in a letter to Jefferson these words, "When people talk of freedom, freedom of writing, speaking or thinking, I cannot choose but to laugh. No such thing ever existed, no such thing now exists. I hope it will exist, but it must be hundreds of years after you and I write and speak no more." That was the prediction of John Adams to his friend Thomas Jefferson. Hundreds of years, after you and I write no more, before these great freedoms that they wrote about and spoke about, and about which they philosophized. Well, today, just about a century and a half after Jefferson received that letter, I think he would be encouraged - encouraged that we right here and across this land are forging ahead towards the realization of that American dream. And you know, fellow Democrats, this is a party of dreamers, it is the party of the young. Youth is really not a time on the calendar. Youth is an attitude. You know you are as old as your fears, and you are as young as your hopes. You are as old as your doubts and as young as your ideals. I've been a teacher, as was said tonight by Governor Godwin, and I've seen young people come into my class room at age 19 and they were really ready for medicare and Social Security, when it came to ideas - and yet, I've seen men who are in the twilight of life, as they would be by our calendar, that are vital and vibrant and filled with ideas. I have often told

that story which is so commonplace about Justice Brandis and Oliver W. Holmes and, as you recall, Brandis lived to the very ripe old age of the late 80's. As he was walking down the streets of Washington one day with Oliver W. Holmes at his side, who was in his late 70's, Brandis saw a very beautiful young thing going by, about as pretty as Mrs. Powell, and he looked over and said, "Boy, what I'd give to be 70 again." (laughter) I guess that is what we mean about as young as your hopes. As young as your ideals. But this is the party of public happiness. I have had many people say to me, "How is it that you can take this work, all of this constant moving and rushing around, and all the pressures of public life?" Because in public service there ought to be a sense of joy and as a Democrat - above all, you ought to have some fun. Leave that business of being an old grumpy grouch to the other side. Let them take care of it. They are experts at it. (laughter and applause)

You know, there was an old British conservative philosopher by the name of Aldous Huxley, He was a cynic and I sort of think he gave the slogan for the G.O.P. He said, "I've looked into the future and it won't work." (laughter and applause) Ah, those of little faith! But what I want to do tonight is to help us put this American dream - this dream that every man must have his chance - this dream of life - this dream of liberty and the pursuit of happiness. I am going to put it into perspective with you and I think this needs to be done because there is so much loose and easy talk today about our America and what's happening in it. I think we ought to ask the public where we are - and where we are going. Every American needs that perspective today, but particularly Democrats. We need to know where we are and where we are going and why. Why Democrats? Well, the first thing we need to

remember is that we are the majority party. The majority party in this country. We are the governing party in this country. And because we are the governing party, we have responsibility. The trouble with leadership is that it gives you no luxuries. All it does is impose upon you responsibilities, burdens and duties - and those of us that are entrusted today with public service and public responsibilities cannot afford the luxury of democracy, of easy promises, of instant solutions - we have to act responsible. Every word that we say, every deed that we perform, everything we fail to do, affects not only the life of this nation, but affects all other people. This is still, you know, the last best hope of earth - despite the cynics of our time. This still is what Woodrow Wilson wanted it to be; the flag and the nation for all humanity - and I don't think that we are overly sentimental if we just emphasize it a bit. So, I want to talk to you now about our responsibilities and our realities. The real realities, not these crowd pleasing slogans. My goodness, we do have a lot of amateur artists these days that are out there with all kinds of signs. By the way, I liked some of those I saw today - they were a little better than what I've been running into around the country. (laughter and applause) I would like to talk to you a little bit about the realities of this critical election year because, make no mistake about it, what happens in this election year, as in every other one, has a great deal to do with what the future of this country will be. And remember once again, that what happens to America happens to the world. Remember that more people depend on us than ever before and there is no way that we can shirk that responsibility.

What is reality number one?

Reality number one was stated by the late and beloved President

John Kennedy and this, if you remember nothing else tonight, I want you to remember this. Here are his words, "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, challenge and peril." That's exactly as it is, a perfect portrait, a precise description of the time and age in which we live. And to think otherwise, to act otherwise, is an illusion.

What is reality number 2?

The answers to these uncertainties, these challenges and these perils, that Mr. Kennedy spoke of, they are not simple answers. Everything is difficult and everything that we seek to do in terms of an answer will call for all that we can muster to the task. Government and private, individual and group. We won't end hunger because someone gets up and says that we ought to give one massive grain shipment to the hungry. It makes a good dramatic appeal, but it doesn't make any sense. And we won't end war by dropping the bomb or ending the draft - or just saying we want to end it.

Now what is reality number 3?

That this young America, and it is young, vital, vigorous, growing, expanding. This young America is a grown up nation with all of the responsibilities of maturity - and we have to act our age. Which means we have to be able to take it when the going is rough. Which means we cannot flinch and run just because we are criticized. Now the mass media tells us every day that half of our nation is under the age of 28. That is a statistical fact and it helps a lot if you're selling Fresca - (applause) Just to know that regardless of the calendar age, how mature are we? That is the question. That is how we shall be judged as we

face the big problems.

Now, reality number 4.

Almost two hundred years of experience - experience which started right here in this great Commonwealth, in the Old Dominion, in Virginia, tells us that the American political system works - not perfectly, but it works and within that system our two party system works. It's the fuel, the machine, that makes the governmental structure work. Now Winston Churchill once said - and I think he knew as much about government as any one did, "Democracy is the worst possible form of government, except all others that have been tried." So when we look at our limitations, just remember one thing - that what we have, works - and I don't think that you prove yourself to be either an intellectual or a knowledgeable student of government by being a carping critic and cynic about a system that has produced more benefits for more people in the shortest period of time than any system ever conceived by the mind or hand of man. (applause)

Which leads me to reality number 5.

We have more chance in America today to overcome the troubles that plague than any other time in history. Early this morning at 10:00 o'clock I spoke to three or four thousand teachers of Science; About the wonders of this age of Science and Technology, but reminded them that a civilization is not judged by the goods that it produces, but by the kind of men and women it produces. The character of the people. Well, we have all the material skills and all of the resources with which to work - and let me just put it this way - all over the world people are concerned, good people are concerned about the hunger of God's children, the sickness, the illiteracy, in fact, we are a very privileged minority in this country. Most of the people of this world

are sick, illiterate, unemployed, poverty stricken, disease ridden. That is a fact. And yet it is fair to say that right here in our own midst we have the means to demonstrate that we know how to conquer these ancient enemies. Let me put it this way. If we can't conquer illiteracy, disadvantage, frustration - if we can't conquer unemployment, poverty, in America with what we have to deal with, with our wealth, with our know how, with our universities, with our knowledge - what makes you think they will ever conquer it in Asia? Or Africa, or Latin America?

The vast areas of the world that I have been privileged, and some of you have been privileged to visit, where you see the incredible abject misery of most of the children of this earth and then come home to this nation. You have to ask yourself this simple question. Is there any hope for anyone unless we can demonstrate that hope is here? This is why Lincoln kept repeating to us that this is the last best hope of earth. And he told us that we either lose it or nobly save it and every generation has to make its decision on that question. So I ask you not to sell ourselves short here tonight. And I ask the Democratic Party not to sell itself short. It has been a good steward of America. It is understood that the forward thrust of this Country - it has grown with this republic. It has, as Governor Godwin said tonight, had plenty of room for disagreement. We ask no party to have a unanimity of view, we want no monolith. We do seek a unity around a common purpose. We enjoy the privilege of disagreement, but let's not do it too disagreeably. Dissent, discussion and debate, the most precious rights of a free people, but after it is all said and done, my fellow Americans, after the talk, the debate, the dissent and the discussion, which we cherish so much, you have to come to a decision. And that's where the President comes

in. And that's where the Congress comes in. When you have to make the decisions. I am sure that Congressmen Downing and Satterfield tonight would agree with me that if you could vote "maybe" in the Congress rather than "yea" or "nay", we sure would be a lot happier and we might be a little more popular. But you can't - you, sooner or later, have to make a decision.

Now the final reality of all is the one that is closest to your hearts. It is the ultimate reality. We must find peace or perish. (applause) Peace or Perish. And I speak not merely of peace on the international scene. I speak of the kind of constructive, vital peace right here at home. Remember the search for peace is a lonely effort and it does not come quickly or easily. It's not news to tell people that this is a time of change. You don't have to be very wise to observe that. It's a time of questioning, it is a time of ferment, it's a difficult time in growth and transition in America, and you could lose your faith unless you understood the purpose of this nation. The art of progress, the philosopher said, is to preserve order amidst change, and to preserve change amidst order. That's a great task, that's the great job - not just to have change that may come with revolution - that may come with all sorts of destruction, but to have change with order, preserve change amid order and preserve order amid change. Order and Change, the great requirements of a mature democracy. Change and Order. You can't have one without the other. Just exactly as you must have for your own independence, security and development. You can't have security without development and you cannot have development without security at home or abroad. Independence means nothing if it is the hollow shell of violence and abject poverty. Independence requires security and development - and democracy requires change and order.

Now yesterday, the President called upon all Americans as I call upon you tonight, to strive in this Country to use the processes of freedom and democracy and preserve this nation from violence. To prevent it by your own individual deeds, acts, and words. To obey the law and to preserve conditions of social stability which are essential to progress. He declared that order must be preserved and that mindless violence will never be tolerated in America. The extremist whoever they are, black or white, reactionary of the right or of the left, the extremist are not going to govern this Country and they are not going to dictate the terms of our survival and our progress. (applause)

That very same principal must apply to the international scene. I will never forget the words of Harry Truman, in the Truman Doctrine, when the Communists were moving into Greece and Turkey. He said that we must stand firm against those armed minorities that seek to subjugate a people through subversion or aggression. It is only another way of describing violence at home or abroad. To be sure law and order is the first and foremost responsibility of government, and particularly of state and local government, where the Constitution has placed that responsibility. But I came here tonight as your federal representative will tell you that the President, as the Commander-in-Chief, has pledged the full support of the Federal Government whenever this nation is in peril, whenever aid is needed to maintain order. It is absolutely essential. Social progress with order, order making possible social progress. Now above all, this is a time when this nation of yours and mine is on the verge of literally achieving the greatest and the full dimension of democracy, and that is why we must protect it and guard it so well. You know we launched the only real revolution, and it is a continuing one - the revolution of a Jefferson and of a Madison, the revolution of a Washington and a Franklin. It's the greatest revolution

the world has ever known, and it continues on. The revolution of Government of the people, by the people and for the people. Regrettably some of the people have termed this revolution primarily just for the people. A kind of paternalism, but the time is at hand now and I think young Americans above all appreciate it when you must have participatory democracy when everybody in this land, rich or poor, black or white, wherever they may live, in the city or rural, must have a chance to be in the decision making processes of this government. There could be nobody left out any longer. The left-outs must be brought in. The mainstream of American democracy must literally be at flood tide. We are going to have this Country of ours with order and progress. So you see it's good to ask ourselves where we stand. We know that there is turmoil, and I think that there is some turmoil in America because there is progress. Now I am going to burden you another minute to read a quotation from a very famous sociologist that has always been a sort of guiding light to me, and he had more insight in America, about America, a hundred and 25 years ago than most Americans do today, and he was a Frenchman besides. Not necessarily a Gaulist, but a Frenchman. Here is what he had to say and his name was Alexis De' Tocqueville. If you haven't read Tocqueville's writings, you ought to do it. He was almost prophetic about the United States and the Soviet Union. He said, "the sufferings that are endured patiently as being inevitable, become intolerable the moment that it appears 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 sensibility becomes more acute." Put in a capsule phrase, that's what we mean by rising expectations and rising expectations, ladies and gentlemen, are not just for the Asians and the Africans or the Latin Americans, they are right here in America. The sufferings that were once patiently endured now that they become at least somewhat

manageable, become - well, they become unbearable. I think that is what has happened in many of our cities. We are engaged in the greatest effort that this nation has ever known - to break through the old barriers of hate and injustice and inequity which has been a blight on our nations' conscience. We are taking little children literally by the hand these days, right out of our rural areas of poverty and the ghettos of our cities and for the first time we are giving them an experience in American citizenship. In all of its meaning, they are getting an education, they are getting a chance for help, and we are reaching out to the hard core unemployed that all of their life have been to themselves worthless and we are putting that into a new context. Taking human waste and making it human worth. And we are helping them get skills and get jobs. I hear those who attack this administration and this country, saying we are in a moral decline, that there is a kind of national immorality. I do not agree. And I rebuke those who say so. When a nation at the zenith of its wealth and power, when it could literally live it up, is willing to dig deep into its social structure and to find those who are helpless, to find those who are sick, to find those who are embittered and to help them live a new life; I submit that this is the highest morality. And this government today in its war on poverty, this government today in its vast programs of education and health, this government today in its programs of training with industry, has created a whole new moral concern in America. A moral concern for everyone. Franklin Roosevelt once said that it is not the duty of government today to help those that already have too much to have more, but it is the duty of government to help those that have too little, to have enough. (applause) And then there are those who always say "unhuh", another one of those WPA programs, another one of those welfare programs. No, my friends,

let's get it clear. The new democracy, the new liberalism, is not welfareism. The new democracy, the new spirit of the democracy is opportunity - opportunity in partnership - opportunity in partnership of government and the people. Opportunity of people participating in this partnership. The purpose of this government today, and of this administration, of which I am proud to be a member, is not to create a welfare state, but to create a state of opportunity for every citizen within this land, if he wants it. (applause) And we are marching under some new banners these days. Some that you agree with and some that you may not. Banners of Job Core, Head Start, Upward Bound, and Work Study and VISTA and Teachers Corps and the War on Poverty and Jobs and better schools and decent housing. We ask full freedom. By any measure of what we are doing is what Jefferson told us to do. We are busily engaged in the care of human life and happiness. And in doing so in an unprecedented manner in this Society. In three years alone, we have increased three times our national investment in health and education. In three years alone we have ten times the number of people in job training and a man without a job has no dignity, and soon loses self respect. If you really believe in what you say you believe in, then you add real meaning to dignity and self respect by a job. So that people can earn their own way. And we have opened up the doors of job opportunities by the millions, by the millions - and America is the better and the richer. Now none of this is going to long be possible, however, unless this nation can be made strong and free and safe. As I said to you earlier, national security and national development are one and inseparable - that is why we make this commitment to our own people, why we make this vast commitment to human development here at home,

we have to make our commitment to peace and safety in this world. And the building of the peace is the finest act of statesmanship. Since World War II that has been our business. This nation's business is nation building. This nation's business has been peace making. And we have had to play a strong and active role because peace does not come to the weak or the timid or to the helpless. It comes to those who are willing to work; it comes to those who are willing to sacrifice, it even comes to those who are willing to fight for it. In those postwar years in Berlin and Greece and Turkey and Formosa and Lebanon and the Congo, in the Dominican Republic, in Laos and in Cuba, in Cyprus, and now in Viet Nam; we have had to stand up to the challenges of international leadership and in every one of these instances, there has been a dangerous one. Everyone. And in most of them, our cause of peace has prevailed. We have done what we have done because we have known not to do it would be a greater risk than to do it. And at the same time, my fellow Americans, so we may keep things in perspective we have built peace block by block like a mighty cathedral. And I think the description of peace as a cathedral is appropriate. You do not build a great cathedral overnight. It has to have the master plan of an architect and the work and labor of many. And we build this peace with our war on hunger throughout the world.

The late, beloved parish priest, Pope John XXIII, said that "where there is constant want there is no peace." And we have been waging war on want as no other people ever have in the history of this world. We have launched an alliance for progress in this hemisphere. It has helped lift the standard of living for millions of our fellow citizens and fellow human beings, and we have joined others in taking down trade

barriers in order to expand commerce so that nations might live in peace. We have dedicated ourselves to stopping the nuclear arms race and it is this administration that has advanced to the United Nations in recent days the non proliferation treatment of nuclear weapons. It is the Democratic Administration, starting with President Kennedy through President Johnson, that signed the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Might I say that as a senator I had my hand in some of this. When I think of the Peace Corps, the disarmament agency, the food for peace program, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, I hope you won't think it immodest of me if I say that I have spent a lifetime of public service trying to make some little contribution to these great gains in the cause of peace. You see, peace does not come to the loiterers, or the walkers, or the paraders - blessed are the peace makers, the makers - the doers, the workers and the genuine peace president, and the president that takes his stand building the cathedral of peace, block by block. Test ban treaties, alliance for progress, foreign aid, food for peace, Peace Corps, standing firm in Cuba, fighting in Korea, resisting the communists in Turkey and Greece, standing up against the kind of subversion that was about to take place in the Dominican Republic. Sometimes you stand with armed force, sometimes you stand with food, sometimes you stand with economic assistance. But every stand is a block in the cathedral of peace. That is why I am proud of this Government, and that is why I think you Democrats, and all of us, must take this message to the American people. We sent our young men out in shirt sleeves and uniforms across this world and we haven't sought to conquer anyone. We have sought no dominion, no domain or special interest-and we have done it all in the name of nation building and peace. Everything that I have said tonight applies to Southeast Asia and to Vietnam, every bit of it. The fact that it is difficult does not deny its importance,

nor does it deny the logic of the case. In Vietnam as in other places, presidents, and in this instance, three presidents, have done what they have thought was right. Not to fight, not to conquer, but to protect the peace. President Johnson has done it because he believes, as other presidents have believed, as Dwight Eisenhower believed, as John Kennedy believed, as the leaders of all free Asia believe, that the success of aggression in Vietnam would, and could, lead to a far wider and far more dangerous aggression throughout all of Southeast Asia. Ladies and gentlemen, what we are doing in there is in our national self interest. What we are doing here is in the interest of the whole structure of peace in this world which is a tedious, fragile structure. A structure today that hangs by a thin thread of a delicate balance of power between the free world and the totalitarian world. If that balance of power is adjusted in favor of the totalitarian world, the life of the people in this nation and every other free nation will go through dramatic change; and not for the good. This is why we take our stand, dangerous as it may be and costly as it may be. We do not believe in armor getting by the installment plan. We don't think you should wait for the avalanche and for the flood of disaster. I know there are those that say we must have peace in Vietnam. But let me say this - no one believes in it more than the President of the United States - and no one believes in it anymore than the Vice President of the United States. (applause) But I think we have to ask ourselves, what kind of peace? Do you want an election year peace, a gimmick peace, a Neville Chamberlain "peace in our time", a fraudulent peace - or do we want a peace that will be lasting or a peace that will endure? That is the problem that your President has to wrestle with. This is the problem that your Government faces day in and day out, and I will simplify it for you tonight by putting it on the line.

The road block to peace that you want and that I want - the road block to the peace that President Johnson wants, needs, and prays for and works for, that road block to peace is not in the Capitol, it is not in the White House, it is not in the President of the United States. He will not only walk the extra mile, but many a league and many a mile. Fellow Americans, it is about time we had a voice go out throughout this country to make it manifestly clear to the whole world that peace is our business, but the road block to peace is not in Washington - it is in Hanoi and in the Communists. (heavy applause)

And I think most Americans now know that there can be no true and lasting peace any place until militant, powerful, aggressive forces, Communist forces are convinced that aggression will not pay, that it is too costly and they must turn to honest negotiation. John Kennedy said, "Peace and Freedom do not come cheap." And we are destined, all of us here today, to live out most of our lives in uncertainty, challenge and peril. That is how it is - that is how it is. How easy it is to shout Peace, Peace, but in the words of Patrick Henry "There is no peace until those who make war, those who aggress, those who obtain to seek political solution, solutions to political problems by armed force and until those understand that aggression is too dangerous for the nuclear age. So we have taken our stand. We have sought to restrain our power, difficult as that might be, as we relentlessly pursue every hope and opportunity for a negotiated settlement. And let it be clearly understood we will not retreat, we will not relent until that peace is obtained. (heavy applause)

I want to ask this audience tonight to help our country. I do not ask you to hush your tongue. If you disagree with your government you

are not only entitled and privileged, but you are in a sense obligated to speak your minds. But for those who disagree, I do not think it is asking too much that they could present us with plausible alternatives. One candidate, and apparently he is the candidate of the opposition party, said recently, "I know how to get peace in Vietnam." I was surprised to hear him say it - and more surprised, may I say when I asked him, "Will you please tell us then." Because believe me, if anybody knows how, you have a sacred, solemn duty to tell us. The pain, the anguish and the suffering of this struggle is not something to be used on the political hustings. If anybody knows the answer to peace in the Southeast Asian Vietnam, he ought not to act as the candidate of the opposition party who says, "I'll tell you next year." What kind of political nonsense is that? I don't think we American people are going to accept that kind of an answer. I ask you now to help your President. He is your President, he is your Commander-in-Chief; there are over 500,000 young men of this nation in battle. They are not there to conquer anybody, they are not invading anybody, they are not there to seek an empire. They are there for the right of self determination and the right to resist aggression, which is the duty of the charter of the United Nations. I have seen your President tired and weary, and I have seen him under unbelievable attack all throughout this land, accused of everything - of everything, of not knowing how to handle an international situation, to the hippies, and dope addiction, to violence in our streets. Might I say a rather ridiculous, extreme type of description? Of either the duties or the operations of the presidency. What does your President need from you tonight? First of all, he needs your word of assurance. He needs to know that in this nation, at least as Commander-in-Chief and as President of the United States, he needs to know that there are people who will stand with him. He needs to know this so that the enemy will know it. He needs to know this so our armed

forces will know it. He needs to have the comfort, if you please, and the reassurance and the strength that comes from that reassurance, that you, the American people, and we, the Democrats, the governing party - we, the Democrats, the majority party, that we will stand behind our President and help him win this peace. (applause) And I am going to go back to Washington tonight and Muriel and I will go to Mexico City tomorrow. We will go back to Washington tonight and tell the President of the United States that he has your help, that he has your strength, and I believe that I can tell him that he has your support. (applause) Now just remember this. When you really get down to thinking through this politics, remember one thing. That come August, the Democratic Party is going to select its nominee and the Republican Party will make its selection in July. That is the first time - and the only time in this year - that they are going to be first. (laughter and applause) And we better make up our minds right now and start to adjust ourselves accordingly - in word and deed as to whether or not you want to have as the next President of the United States the man who is, today, in the lead and is apparently the only avowed candidate of the Republican Party. Because if we continue to divide our ranks, if we continue to have people heap scorn and abuse upon the President who will unquestionably be the nominee of this party if he wants it (heavy applause) - if we continue to act that way, we are going to find out that we have forfeited the power of government. Literally by default we have placed it in the hands of the opposition. And I don't think Virginia, a forward moving state - I don't think young Democrats in Virginia in a forward moving state - I don't think America, a vital, vigorous young nation wants to have a Republican as President of the United States. I think you want to have a Democrat and I have the man for you. (applause)

And if you give me your help tonight, I'll go back to Washington tonight and tell the President of the United States that we can hardly wait until we can see at the head of the list on that ballot in November the name of Lyndon B. Johnson for President of the United States.

Thank you very much. (heavy applause)

V.P.
"constitutionally designed
Humility"

Program

Frank

Richard M. (John)
V.P. -
Underneath Van Buren

Presiding:
FRANK N. PERKINSON, JR.
President

"Star Spangled Banner"
MRS. R. CAMPBELL POWELL

Organist:
EDDIE WEAVER

Invocation:
REV. W. COLEY COSTIN, SR.
Richmond Baptist Association

Presentation of Distinguished Guests

Presentation of Awards
by
SHIRLEY JACOBS
Awards Program Chairman

Mrs Powell

Entertainment
by
MRS. POWELL
and
EDDIE WEAVER

Introduction of New Officers

Presentation of Speaker
by
His Excellency, MILLS E. GODWIN, JR.

Address by
The Honorable HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
Vice President of the United States

Menu

HALF GRAPEFRUIT AMBROSIA

OLD DOMINION POT ROAST OF BEEF, JARDINIERE

BAKED POTATO

BROCCOLI POLONAISE

HEARTS OF LETTUCE

CREME DE MENTHE PARFAIT

COFFEE

Richmond, Virginia
March 30, 1968
Young Democratic Clubs of Virginia

Amputation
8 to 7
"Reassuring my Protection"

Headtable Guests:

Governor and Mrs. Mills E. Godwin, Jr.
Lt. Governor and Mrs. Fred G. Pollard
Congressman and Mrs. Thomas N. Downing
Congressman and Mrs. David E. Satterfield III
Congressman Watkins M. Abbitt
Mrs. John Garland Pollard, Democratic Nat. Committeewoman
The Hon. and Mrs. Sidney S. Kellam
Mr. Frank N. Perkinson, Jr., President of YD's
The Hon. Allen A. Diamonstein, Executive Vice President
(incoming president YD's)
Myron C. Smith, YD National Committeeman
Miss Shirley Jacobs, YD National Committeewoman
Mr. Robert E. Shephard, YD Treasurer
Mr. Arthur M. White, Secretary YD's
Mr. William M. Phillips, Co-chairman of Convention
Taylor Grizzard, Permanent Chairman of Convention
Andrew T. Miller, General Counsel YD's
Miss Janetta Alder, Co-Chairman Convention
Mr. James F. Gay, College Chairman YD's

Sidney Kellam
+ Mrs. Pollard

Allen A. Diamonstein
Pres. Elect

Incoming President
member of House & Delegates

✓ Alan Diamonstein - Pres. elect

✓ President Frank Perkins of
Y.D.S

✓ Gov Mills Godwin
of Katherine

✓ Sen Byrd

✓ Sen B. "B" Spong

✓ Gov Pollard
(Redd Lane)

Tom
Congressman Downing
Cong David Satterfield

~~Gov Watten Abbott~~

⊗ Cong ^{Vaugh} Gary (Retired)

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF VIRGINIA

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

MARCH 30, 1968

Mills Godwin
Legislature

Legislature
and Reform

met Mr. Nichols
The Senator
Senior Uncle

"The care of human life and happiness . . . is
the first and only legitimate object of good government."

Those are the words of a great Democrat --

big "D" and small "d" -- Thomas Jefferson of Virginia.

↳ What would he say of us today?

↳ What would he say of the nation he tutored in
democracy?

↳ What would he say of the Democratic party which
has taken "the care of human life and happiness" as its
highest purpose?

1 God
Looked into future - It won't work
Obama (husky)

You may remember what John Adams predicted in a letter to Jefferson:

"When people talk of the freedom of writing, speaking or thinking, I cannot choose but laugh. No such thing ever existed. No such thing now exists; but I hope it will exist. But it must be hundreds of years after you and I write and speak no more."

Today, just a century and a half after Jefferson received that letter, I think he would be encouraged: *Yes very* encouraged with what we have achieved . . . encouraged that we are forging ahead toward realization of the American dream . . . his dream. *Life, liberty, & Pursuit of Happiness*

But 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.

Every American needs that perspective today --
but particularly Democrats.

↗ We are the majority party.

↙ We are the governing party.

↗ We are the party that has carried the torch of hope
and social progress for millions of our fellow citizens.

↙ So we have an extra responsibility. We speak for
the nation, not just for the party. And the world is
listening.

So what are the realities -- ~~not the hopes . . .~~
~~or the ambitions . . . or the crowd-pleasing slogans~~ - *not* ~~but the~~
realities of this critical election year?

REALITY NO. 1:

JOHN F. KENNEDY: "PEACE AND FREEDOM DO NOT COME CHEAP AND WE ARE DESTINED -- ALL OF US HERE TODAY -- TO LIVE OUT MOST, IF NOT ALL OUR LIVES IN UNCERTAINTY AND CHALLENGE AND PERIL."

THAT IS EXACTLY THE WAY IT IS. AND TO THINK OTHERWISE IS AN ILLUSION.

REALITY NO. 2:

THE ANSWERS TO THESE UNCERTAINTIES, CHALLENGES, AND PERILS ARE NOT SIMPLE ANSWERS.

WE WON'T END HUNGER BY ONE MASSIVE GRAIN SHIPMENT.

WE WON'T END WAR BY DROPPING THE BOMB OR ENDING THE DRAFT.

REALITY NO. 3:

AMERICA IS A GROWN-UP NATION. WE MUST BE ABLE TO ACT OUR AGE.

THE MASS MEDIA TELL US EVERY DAY THAT HALF OUR NATION IS UNDER AGE 28.

THAT HELPS IF YOU ARE SELLING FRESCA! BUT REGARDLESS OF CALENDAR AGE, HOW MATURE ARE WE? THAT IS HOW WE SHALL BE JUDGED AS WE MEET THE BIG PROBLEMS IN THE WORLD AROUND US.

REALITY NO. 4:

ALMOST 200 YEARS OF EXPERIENCE TELL US THAT THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM WORKS. AND WITHIN THAT SYSTEM, OUR TWO-PARTY SYSTEM WORKS.

*Churchill
democ
won't for
that all
other*

REALITY NO. 5:

WE HAVE MORE CHANCE IN AMERICA TODAY TO OVERCOME THE TROUBLES THAT PLAGUE MAN THAN ANY OTHER TIME IN HISTORY. WE HAVE MORE MATERIAL SKILLS AND RESOURCES WITH WHICH TO WORK.

MORE IMPORTANT, WE HAVE A GROWING MORAL CONCERN IN OUR SOCIETY -- AND ALL OF THIS IN THE MIDST OF AFFLUENCE.

LET'S NOT SELL OURSELVES SHORT.

FINALLY, THE ULTIMATE REALITY: WE MUST FIND
PEACE OR PERISH.

*now lets talk Sense about
these matters!*

H 2-

L THIS IS A TIME OF CHANGE ... A TIME OF
QUESTIONING ... A TIME OF FERMENT ... A DIFFICULT
TIME OF GROWTH AND TRANSITION IN AMERICA.

"THE ART OF PROGRESS," AS WHITEHEAD SAID,
"IS TO PRESERVE ORDER AMID CHANGE, AND TO PRESERVE
CHANGE AMID ORDER."

L ORDER AND CHANGE ... CHANGE AND ORDER --
YOU CAN'T HAVE ONE WITHOUT THE OTHER. AND THOSE ARE
THE GOALS OF OUR PRESIDENT and His Administration

L YESTERDAY ^{the President} HE CALLED UPON ALL AMERICANS TO
STRIVE TO PREVENT VIOLENCE -- TO OBEY THE LAW AND
TO PRESERVE CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL STABILITY WHICH ARE
ESSENTIAL TO PROGRESS. HE DECLARED "THAT ORDER MUST
BE PRESERVED," AND THAT "MINDLESS VIOLENCE ... WILL
NEVER BE TOLERATED IN AMERICA."

to be sure

~~PRESIDENT JOHNSON BELIEVES THAT~~ LAW AND ORDER

ARE FIRST AND FOREMOST THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE STATES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS WHERE THE CONSTITUTION HAS PLACED THIS RESPONSIBILITY, ^{*the President*} BUT ~~HE~~ PLEDGED AGAIN THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WHENEVER AID IS NEEDED TO MAINTAIN ORDER. !!

ABOVE ALL, THIS IS A TIME WHEN OUR NATION IS ON THE VERGE OF FINALLY ACHIEVING DEMOCRACY'S FULL POTENTIAL. ~~unlike~~

WE LAUNCHED A PEACEFUL HUMAN REVOLUTION TO ACHIEVE WHAT HAD NEVER BEFORE IN THE WORLD BEEN ACHIEVED — *Govt of, by - + for the People*
(Participation)

"THE SUFFERINGS THAT ARE ENDURED PATIENTLY AS BEING INEVITABLE, 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."

~~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? - well,

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.

Delog — 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 the hard ~~young men~~ ^{Core unemployed} 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 in "the care of human life and happiness" 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.

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

Yet we must do more. ~~We cannot wait.~~

~~No single American -- living with anything less than 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.

↳ 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 post-war 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.

Build Peace

↳ We have waged war on hunger.

↳ We have launched an Alliance for Progress.

↳ 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 sleeve, 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 Presidents of the United States have done what they thought was right to protect the peace.

President Johnson has done it because he believed -- as other Presidents before him believed . . . as the leaders of ^{Free} Asia certainly believe -- that the success of aggression in Vietnam would lead to wider and far more dangerous aggression throughout all of Southeast Asia.

At the same time he has held to a difficult middle course -- 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.

~~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.~~

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.

* * *

∠ Are there any easy ways out -- at home, or in this dangerous world?

There are no easy ways.

Repeat

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 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.

* * * *

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 disagreed.

↳ 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" or the way he talked or the patterns of his shirts.

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 this year, we must ask ourselves: Are we up to our burdens?

Are we willing to make the sacrifices that democratic government imposes upon us?

↳ Are we willing to win our rights by exercising our responsibilities?

More specifically, as Democrats, are we going to fall victim to division?

Are we going to imperil the work of these past four years and hand power, by default, to a party that lives in the nostalgic past . . . to a candidate we have defeated before?

We cannot.

And we will not if you will join with me in supporting the President who has done more in these past four years for the growth of democracy in America than any President in this century.

President Lyndon Johnson is that man.

President Lyndon Johnson is the man who has given all his waking hours to the search for justice in America and peace in the world.

President Lyndon Johnson is the man who deserves your commitment now and every day until November.

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