

DES MOINES, IOWA

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
IOWA STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION
DES MOINES, IOWA
JUNE 29, 1968

This is an important year for America.

Americans will make basic decisions this year about the future of our country and the world.

But before we do, I think we must be sure to face the realities -- in our country and the world -- of the time in which we live.

Reality number one is this.

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 exactly the way it is. And to think otherwise is a dangerous illusion.

* * *

Reality number two: The answers to these uncertainties ... challenges and perils -- and you know them well -- are not simple answers.

The world is a complex, troubled place.

We should, by now, have reached the end of our Age of Innocence.

* * *

Which brings me to reality three: America is a grown-up nation. We must be able to act our age.

Young in spirit, yes. Young in hopes and ideals, yes.

But it is by the maturity of our judgment and our statesmanship that we shall be judged as we wrestle with the complex problems in the world around us.

Statesmanship involves steadiness.

With every age, we have been beset with gloomy, brooding prophets who would indict our entire history to fit our current ailments.

They have always failed.

On the other hand -- in every age there have been men and women of strong faith who have tried to build our future on what we have learned each year -- and I am proud to join this convention in sharing a claim of membership in that group of Americans.

* * *

Reality number four: We have more chance in America today to overcome the troubles that plague us than at any other time in history.

We have the power, the skill, the resources to do what needs to be done. We must put them to work.

Let no one sell America short. Let's build America strong.

* * *

We have come a long way in the last four years. Your Democratic Administration has kept its promises.

I won't list all the achievements. Just ask the people of America. They know.

Ask the retired couple who get modern medical care -- with dignity -- under Medicare.

Or ask their children, who are no longer burdened with their hospital and doctor bills.

Ask the worker who only a few years ago was unemployed and now has a job.

Ask the millions of workers who got job training and upgraded their skills.

Ask the man who is covered by a minimum wage for the first time -- and getting not less than a dollar sixty an hour.

Ask the mothers of 9 million American children who now have that all-important chance for a decent education because of a federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Four Administrations have struggled to get federal help to these youngsters. This Administration did it.

But what about tomorrow. What about the Humphrey Administration. What are some of my priorities. High on my list are civil order and civil justice.

The fact is that civil order and civil justice are twin imperatives ... that they are interdependent ... and that one without the other diminishes America.

It must be clear that violence, crime, looting, burning cannot be condoned and must be stopped.

It must be equally clear that the conditions that breed crime and violence have to be sought out -- and then rooted out.

This relationship between "law and order" on the one hand and "social justice" on the other hand should be made plain to every American.

I have spent a great deal of my life defending civil liberties and civil rights -- not just recently when they have become popular, but back over a long time when they weren't.

I know that today, more than ever before, violence is the enemy of civil rights and civil liberties. It is the ally of reaction -- and can be used as an excuse for not doing the things that need to be done in this country.

If we want civil order we must recognize the civil right of every citizen in this nation to have enough to eat.

There is no reason in America -- with its unequalled wealth and agricultural productivity -- for any one to go hungry. It is immoral to allow some babies to suffer from malnutrition, while others in our population are concerned about the dangers of over-eating.

If we want civil order we must recognize the civil right of every American to earn a living.

The richest society man has ever known cannot afford to permit the festering frustration of unemployment which can so easily erupt into violence. Jobs bring dignity to the individual and resources to his family -- and wealth to the nation.

The idea of guaranteeing decent jobs to everybody who will work at them makes sense -- with private employers providing job opportunities to the fullest extent possible, and with the government making whatever back-up or financing arrangements are necessary.

If we want civil order we must recognize the civil right to a full education -- from age four on through college -- and the civil right to grow up in a decent home and neighborhood.

Civil order and civil justice are not two goals. They are one.

And the future hinges on our realizing this oneness -- not only as a moral principle but as a matter, possibly, of our survival as a free society.

There is no choice today but to be tough-minded, hard-headed and fair-minded about stopping crime and violence in this country.

There is no alternative to being tough-minded, hard-headed -- and warm-hearted too -- about establishing social justice in this country.

We have to do both, and as rapidly as possible.

Lately, we've had so much talk and so much concern about the problems of our cities that you'd think we didn't have a rural population.

I believe we've neglected our rural and farm population and I expect to do something about it. Seventy percent of our population is now jammed onto 2 percent of the land, and I say the movement of millions of people from the country to the city is not in the national interest, is not inevitable and is not desirable.

It is time America made a national decision to provide more opportunity, in terms of both income and a better life, to farm and rural people. We must enable them to share, without moving to the city, in America's unprecedented living standard.

The most important step in making rural America more attractive -- and, indirectly, in slowing migration to the cities -- is providing economic equity for farmers and ranchers.

Existing public programs give agriculture an essential margin of income protection -- a price and income base to build on.

But farmers need better ways to increase bargaining power, obtain long-term credit at reasonable interest rates, expand market demand both at home and abroad, and control rising land prices, taxes, and other production costs.

Our national commitment, however, must reflect the fact that rural America's problems go beyond dollars-and-cents considerations.

This means better schools and better hospitals for rural America. It means modern public services of all kinds that can attract new industry and job opportunities -- new sources of income.

Today, for every 175 rural young people reaching working age, there are fewer than 100 jobs in their home areas. This year, as a result, about 200,000 of these young Americans will leave home and go off to the city.

We must make it possible for young couples to stay on the farm, if that is their choice, and still look forward to a full and rewarding life.

The kind of rural America I have in mind has economic viability -- new investment, expanding job opportunities, and a growing tax base. It is modern America in the countryside.

We want a modern America in the countryside, a rehabilitated America in the cities and a peaceful America in the world.

* * *

Now, what is the business of the next President in that wider world?

The next President must use his power to slow down the

arms race.

He must get to the table as soon as possible with the Soviet Union to talk about mutual reduction of both offensive and defensive weapons.

He must join with our allies to talk to the Soviet Union and her allies about a mutual thin-out of troops in Central Europe.

He must build bridges to Communist China -- and do his best to break the Chinese people out of their unhealthy isolation.

Once Vietnam is over -- and if we have the courage to see these discussions in Paris through, I think it can be over -- the nations of Southeast Asia can get down to the work of peaceful development, without regard to ideology.

The next President must set as high priority the closing of the gap between rich and poor nations -- a gap that is growing larger every day, and one that I believe is far more a threat to our ultimate security than any other, with the possible exception of the arms race itself.

The next President must get on, too, with the work of building better peace-keeping machinery in the United Nations and in regional organizations so that the United States will not find itself standing alone as world policeman. We live in a changing world and our foreign policies must be geared to change -- not to outdated concepts that were part of another, simpler world. If I am the next President of the United States I will see to that change.

My friends, I believe with my heart and my mind that we are on the threshold of a great adventure.

I believe that this nation is now engaged in a massive confrontation -- with itself. We are facing our reality with its weaknesses as well as its strengths.

The greatness of America is its capacity for orderly change, for bending the institutions of government to serve even higher national purpose.

Self-confrontation is painful. But my friends, it is democracy's luxury -- a luxury denied to many countries. We have held the mirror up to ourselves and we have seen poverty as well as affluence,

racial discrimination as well as generosity, violence as well as justice.

We mean to brighten the image in that mirror and to realize those great goals for which this nation was founded. That has been the purpose of my public life. That is my pledge to you.

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#2 Reality number two: The answers to these uncertainties
... challenges and perils -- and you know them well -- are not
simple answers.

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#3 Which brings me to reality three: America is a grown-up
nation. We must be able to act our age.

↳ Young in spirit, yes. Young in hopes and ideals, yes.

↳ But it is by the maturity of our judgement and our statesmanship that we shall be judged as we wrestle with the complex problems in the world around us.

↳ Statesmanship involves steadiness - maturity, experience

With every age, we have been beset with gloomy, brooding prophets who would indict our entire history to fit our current ailments.

*America
Sick*

↳ They have always failed. *if they have always been wrong*

On the other hand -- in every age there have been men and women of strong faith who have tried to build our future on what we have learned each year -- and I am proud to join this convention in sharing a claim of membership in that group of Americans.

* * *

*Politics of fear & desperation
" of Hope & Inspiration!*

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L Ask the retired couple who get modern medical care -- with *Medicare*
dignity -- under Medicare.

L ~~Or ask their children, who are no longer burdened with their hospital and doctor bills.~~

Jobs

↳ Ask the worker who only a few years ago was unemployed,
and now has a job.

Training

↳ Ask the millions of workers who got job training and upgraded
their skills.

Min wage

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time -- and getting not less than a dollar sixty an hour.

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Education

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Tomorrow

Law and order + Social Progress

↳ The fact is that civil order and civil justice are twin imperatives ... ~~that~~ they are interdependent ... and that one without the other diminishes America.

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o o

Urban Crisis

- 9 -

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70%
2%

Hyperurban Crisis feeds on Rural Poverty

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Econ
Equit

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Schools Hosp. +

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↳ We must make it possible for young couples to stay on the farm, or remain in their Community, if that is their choice, and still look forward to a full and rewarding life.

↳ The kind of rural America I have in mind ~~is~~ is one of ~~viability~~ -- new investment, expanding job opportunities, and a growing tax base. It is modern America in the countryside.

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* * *

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The Relaxing of Tensions
at home + abroad -
Reconciliation -

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↳ Peaceful Engagement
Once Vietnam is over -- and if we have the courage to see these discussions in Paris through, I think it can be over -- the nations of Southeast Asia can get down to the work of peaceful development. without regard to ideology.

After Vietnam

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My friends, I believe with ^{all} my heart and ~~my~~ mind that we are on the threshold of a great adventure.

Social opportunity

I believe that this nation is now engaged in a massive confrontation -- with itself. We are facing our reality with its weaknesses as well as its strengths.

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^{affirmation}
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1 Address of Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice-President of
2 the United States, delivered to the Iowa Democratic Convention on
3 Saturday, June 29, 1968, in Des Moines, Iowa.

4 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much,
5 Governor Harold Hughes. Thanks to the people of Iowa for
6 having the good sense to elect this man, Harold Hughes, as
7 your Governor.

8 (Applause)

9 And a very, very early thank you that I know you will
10 fulfill. Thank you for getting busy and getting the job of
11 sending to the United States Senate, Harold Hughes, United
12 States Senator from Iowa.

13 (Applause)

14 How good it is to know that there is a man who can fill
15 the great position of the Chief Executive of this State, do
16 it with great honor and dignity and ability, a gentleman
17 that is well known to the people of the State of Iowa, your
18 present State Treasurer and your next Governor, Paul Franzen-
19 berg.

20 (Applause)

21 I've been looking over this platform to see where my
22 colleagues from Congress were, that is those Democratic
23 colleagues -- those are the ones that count -- and I see
24 over here to my right, and to your left, the Dean of the
25 Democratic delegation in the Congress of the United States,

1 that is the Iowa Delegation, none other than that fighter
2 for social progress, Neil Smith from the Fifth District.

3 (Applause)

4 There is none better, none more reliable, no one that
5 has fulfilled his duties with greater ability, and he is
6 with you now -- I don't see him right here but I'm sure he's
7 in this audience, and I hope he is because he has surely
8 brought great honor to himself, his district and his State --
9 Congressman John Culver.

10 Now, my fellow Democrats, there was a time that you had
11 more Democrats in the House of Representatives. I suggest
12 you do it all over again and get some more Democrats back
13 there to help Neil Smith and John Culver.

14 (Applause)

15 I want to thank you, Governor Hughes, for permitting me
16 to have this privilege today in coming to this great assemblage.
17 I know that this is the convention that has as its primary
18 purpose the formulation of your platform and your policy.
19 No higher purpose is there being fulfilled by the elected
20 representatives of a political party.

21 This political party in this State, and every other
22 State, carries a heavy responsibility, a responsibility to
23 shape a platform and policy that meets the needs of our
24 people, meets the need here in your own State, and shares
25 in meeting the needs of our people throughout these

1 United States. I know that this is very serious business
2 with you, and I hope that today in my remarks I might be
3 able to contribute just a little bit to that business.

4 First of all, may I say in all good humor there is one
5 thing that we can be reasonably sure of right now, and I
6 hope my friends from Iowa won't take exception to this;
7 someone from the State of Minnesota is going to represent
8 the Democratic Party come August, 1968.

9 (Applause)

10 I hope that all of those good souls will save most of
11 their energy for the common foe, which is not a fellow
12 Democrat but which will be a Republican that we will need
13 to take to the cleaners in November, 1968.

14 (Applause)

15 I do not come here today to downgrade anyone, to attack
16 anyone. I do not come here to run down someone else in
17 order to make myself stand tall and look better. I come
18 here today to talk to you about our Party, but more impor-
19 tantly our Country, come to talk to you about what we might
20 do, as individuals, in this troubled world. This is an
21 important year. It's always an important year, but this is
22 a year of national decision, our election year, and Americans
23 are going to make decisions this year which will affect the
24 future of our Country, and I think the future of the world.

25 Whoever becomes the President of the United States in

1 this election will face a world situation that is drastically
2 different from that of any other time, and he will have to
3 help shape and fashion policies not only for his own time,
4 not only for our time, but at a minimum for this last third
5 of the Twentieth Century, and therefore that decision as to
6 where we will go and who shall lead us is a decision, if you
7 please, that affects our lives and the lives of children yet
8 unborn. Therefore, we need to take it seriously, and I
9 know that's what you are doing.

10 Before we make this decision, however, I think there
11 are certain realities, certain facts of life that we need
12 to face up to. In our Country, and in the world, we cannot
13 afford the extravagance of fiction and mythology. We must
14 face up to what is, and what may be.

15 What is Reality No. 1, at least as I see it? I refer
16 to the words of a late and beloved President, John Kennedy,
17 who said these words that told us more succinctly and more
18 directly the kind of world that we will live in and the
19 challenge that we face than any man in our time. John
20 Kennedy said this: "Peace and freedom do not come cheap,
21 and we are destined, all of us here today, to live out most,
22 if not all of our lives, in uncertainty and challenge and
23 peril." The statement of an honest man, and the honest
24 statement of a brave man.

25 This is exactly the way it is, and to gloss over it

1 would be to insult our intelligence; to think otherwise is
2 a dangerous illusion, a period of uncertainty, a period of
3 challenge, and a period of peril, but may I say to this
4 audience that this land has not gained its greatness because
5 we were a people of fear and doubt. This is not the land of
6 the fearful and the timid. This is the home of the free
7 and the brave.

8 (Applause)

9 It is because the history of our Country so determines
10 this that I believe that this Reality No. 1, challenging
11 as it is, is not beyond our grasp.

12 What is Reality No. 2, as I see it? The answers to
13 these uncertainties, these challenges, and these perils
14 that President Kennedy spoke of. You know them very well,
15 because they fill your lives. Those answers, my friends
16 and neighbors, are not simple. There are no instant
17 solutions to problems of centuries and ages and generations
18 in the making. The world is a very troubled and complex
19 place. We ought to know by now that we have reached the
20 end of our age of innocence. Instant solutions, no; but
21 beginnings to those solutions, yes. I remind you once again
22 of the words of a fallen President who said: "Let us begin,"
23 and those words still stand true today. Let us begin.

24 (Applause)

25 Which brings me to Reality No. 3, the reality that we

1 as responsible citizens of the governing party of this
2 land must understand. Reality No. 3 is simply this;
3 America is a grown-up nation, and we must be able to act
4 our age. Young in spirit, yes; young in hopes and ideas,
5 yes. As it has been said, youth is not a time of life for
6 a nation or a person, it is an attitude of mind, of spirit.
7 You are as young as your hopes, and as old as your doubts.
8 You are as young as your confidence, and as old as your
9 fears. You are as young as your ideals, and old as your
10 despair.

11 Well, ladies and gentlemen, this is not a nation of
12 fear and despair and doubt. As Franklin Delano Roosevelt
13 once said to us, the only limitations upon our realization
14 of tomorrow are our doubts of today. Then, in his way of
15 challenging this nation, he said "Let us move forward with
16 a strong and an active faith." That's what is required now,
17 even as in his time.

18 Statesmanship, which is the minimum requirement for
19 this nation, requires steadiness. It is nourished in
20 experience. It is brought to fruition by maturity, and it
21 comes as the end product of wisdom.

22 Now, with every age there have been those prophets of
23 doom and gloom. In fact, there seems to be a sort of
24 special clique that enjoys pointing out relentlessly and
25 persistently our weaknesses, our limitations, our inadequacies

1 They are the prophets who would indict our entire history
2 to fit our current ailments. They are the prophets who say
3 that America is sick, when I say to you that America is
4 but growing up through a period of turbulent change, not
5 having lost its way but, my dear friends, searching for a
6 better way, and we will find that better way.

7 (Applause)

8 Those prophets of doom and gloom have always waited
9 and they have always been wrong. They were wrong every
10 time in the crucial period of our history. There are two
11 kinds of politics, friends, and we have to make up our minds
12 which we want to embrace. There is the politics of fear
13 and desperation, which I think fits the opposition party;
14 they know it well. Then there is the politics of hope and
15 inspiration, which fits the Democratic Party and I think
16 fits it well.

17 (Applause)

18 Now, what is Reality No. 4? It is the hope that we
19 have. We have more chance in this Country today with our
20 resources, with our technology, with our people, despite all
21 of our tremendous problems and challenges, we have more
22 chance in this America to overcome the troubles that plague
23 us than any nation at any time in history. We have the
24 means. We have the capacity. We have the ability. The
25 only question before this assemblage is do we have the will?

1 I submit to you that we have the will if we will it, and if
2 you will give this Country the leadership that it needs to
3 inspire America, to lead it on as the last best hope of the
4 world.

5 Let no one sell America short. I don't intend to.
6 I don't intend to make myself stand tall in your eyes by
7 cutting this Country of ours down because I have doubt and
8 fear about it. Let this Country stand up on its feet.

9 (Applause)

10 My fellow Democrats, neither political party has a
11 monopoly on virtue or wisdom. We are human beings, fallible
12 and not infallible, human and not devine. We make mistakes,
13 but we also make progress. I do not intend as the candidate
14 of this Party for the nomination for the Presidency to run
15 down my Party and its leadership in order to somehow or
16 another make it appear that I am all-wise. The opposition
17 has that responsibility, and they love it. They will do a
18 good job of it, make no mistake about it.

19 (Applause)

20 But I can say this; that despite whatever shortcomings
21 we may have, all these last some 35 years, with the exception
22 of a period of eight years, we have had Democratic leadership,
23 and I am proud of that leadership. I know that that leader-
24 ship has been under terrific attack both within and without
25 our Party throughout those 35 years. I am proud of the

1 leadership from a Franklin Roosevelt. I am proud of the
2 leadership of that man from Independence, Missouri,
3 Harry S. Truman.

4 (Applause)

5 I might add that no President in modern times has ever
6 been so castigated, has ever been so abused, has ever been
7 so maligned, and no President in the history of our Country
8 has stood any greater. He is known not only for his
9 achievements, but for the enemies he made, thank God.

10 (Applause)

11 I am very happy and proud to tell you that he is the
12 Honorary Chairman of ^{the} National Committee for Hubert Humphrey
13 for President. I am mighty proud of that.

14 (Applause)

15 Then after those days of Harry Truman's courageous
16 and determined leadership, this Country turned away from
17 our Party, but this Party didn't turn away from principle.
18 This Party stood its ground, and indeed plowed new ground.
19 While Adlai Stevenson did not become our President, it is
20 a fact that Adlai Stevenson gave a new dimension of decency,
21 of integrity, and of nobility to the Democratic Party which
22 has served us well. I am proud that today his son, Adlai
23 Stevenson, III, is a prominent member of my committee for
24 the Nomination for the Presidency of the United States.

25 (Applause)

1 Then came a brilliant, attractive, decisive young man
2 to lead this nation once again. I knew that man, and knew
3 him well. I contested with him in the primaries. I
4 supported him in the general election. The State of
5 Minnesota carried for John F. Kennedy in 1960, solidly.

6 (Applause)

7 One of three States: Missouri, Illinois and Minnesota
8 between the Appalachians and the West Coast; and I became
9 John Kennedy's Majority whip in the United States Senate,
10 enjoyed a chance to serve him and this Country, a chance
11 to see things I had worked for all of my life from Civil
12 Rights to the Peace Corps to the Disarmament Program to
13 the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty to the Food for Peace Program,
14 to see those dreams and those ideas become law, and I
15 worked with him as a partner.

16 (Applause)

17 Then as the tragic and terrible moment came, as it has
18 only recently again, to this brilliant, good man.

19 He had many traits, many of them. How well I remember
20 reading one of the leading publications in November of 1963,
21 and the headline was "Kennedy Has Lost The Campuses." Not
22 really, but they said so. "He Has Lost The Young." Not
23 really, but they said so.

24 Thank goodness he never lost his faith in this Country,
25 and thank goodness he never lost his sense of direction,

1 his sense of ideals, and he left a heritage for us that we
2 have a solemn duty to protect and to nourish and expand, and
3 I intend to help get it done.

4 (Applause)

5 Then when he was taken from us, the then Vice-President
6 of the United States assumed that high office of President.
7 He didn't turn his back on the program of yesterday. He
8 didn't repudiate his fallen leader. He exemplified qualities
9 of steadfastness/ and loyalty, and then the new President, Lyndon Johnson,
10 said to the Congress and the people, "Let us continue," and
11 that's exactly what we have been trying to do, continue on.

12 (Applause)

13 We have come quite a ways these last few years. I
14 won't go over the list; you know it, but I do think there
15 are some things that we might mention. I see in this
16 audience young and old, and let me say I see in this audience
17 white and black. I fought for Civil Rights when it was
18 unpopular, and I lived to handle the bill under Lyndon Johnson's
19 administration as the Majority whip of the Senate to make
20 Civil Rights legislation no longer a topic of discussion,
21 but a statute, a law of the Government of the United States
22 of America.

23 (Applause)

24 Three massive pieces of civil rights legislation have
25 been laid on our statute books, the comprehensive Act of '64,

1 the Guaranteed Right to Vote Act of '65, the additional
2 Acts to the Civil Rights Commission of '67, and the Open
3 Housing Law of '68. Progress. Let us move forward with
4 a strong and active faith.

5 Ask that retired couple today who is receiving benefits
6 under Medicare, and might I say, ladies and gentlemen, a
7 good idea is not worth much unless you put it into action.
8 I introduced the first bill for Medicare on May the 17th,
9 1949, stayed with it for 15 years, and it became law and
10 was signed in the presence of Harry S. Truman in Independence,
11 Missouri, and last year over seven million people received
12 care under Medicare.

13 (Applause)

14 Ask the worker who was unemployed and had no job, the
15 million more today who are in job training for new skills.
16 Ask the youngsters who went to the Job Corps. Ask those who
17 were in Vista. Ask the mothers who put their children in
18 Project Head Start.

19 Ladies and gentlemen, Project Head Start, the Job Corps.
20 the War on Poverty, these are the banners under which this
21 party marches, the banners of today and tomorrow.

22 (Applause)

23 Ask the more than nine million mothers today, mothers
24 of the poor children, mothers of the deprived whose babies,
25 whose sons and daughters for the first time are getting a

1 fair chance for a decent education. Why? Because a
2 Democratic President and a Democratic Congress cared, because
3 the Federal Aid to Elementary and Secondary Education is a
4 fact today. Over thirteen millions of dollars of Federal
5 funds are being plowed into education from Head Start to
6 college to make America a better and a freer land. They
7 know it's good, but that's yesterday, a prologue. What
8 about tomorrow? That's what counts.

9 The yesterdays are only important from the lessons we
10 can learn, the foundation on which we can build, to learn
11 from the mistakes that we have made and to learn, if you
12 please, from the achievements thus far accomplished. I
13 think the question before any audience today, as we seek
14 your cooperation and your support, is what will this new
15 administration -- in my instance what will the Humphrey
16 administration -- do? What are my priorities? What do I
17 want us to do first?

18 (Applause)

19 The highest item on my agenda, and I hope it is on the
20 agenda of every candidate for this high office, is to find
21 the ways and the means and to pledge one's life, body and
22 soul, to the reduction of the tensions that grip us here
23 at home and abroad, to restore peace in our Country and to
24 restore peace in this world; that's the highest order of
25 business today.

1 (Applause)

2 Let me first speak of this in our own land. High on
3 my list under that broad framework for reducing tensions
4 is civil order and civil justice, one and inseparable. The
5 fact is that civil order and civil justice are twins, twin
6 imperatives. They are inter-dependent, and one without
7 the other diminishes America. Yet, it is a fact that through-
8 out this land there are people concerned and worried. There
9 is anxiety over lawlessness and violence and crime, and
10 rightly so.

11 The first duty of Government, therefore, is to put
12 our house in order. It must be clear that violence, crime,
13 looting, burning cannot be condoned, No. 1, and every
14 conceivable legal effort must be made to stop this constant
15 violence and rioting.

16 (Applause)

17 I do not speak of this in theory. I served as the
18 Mayor of the City of Minneapolis. I saw crime and I saw
19 violence, and I was the Mayor of that city and it was my
20 duty to suppress it. I also saw discrimination. I saw
21 injustice.

22 I stand before this assemblage of Iowans to tell you
23 that the first Human Rights Commission of any city in
24 America was in Minneapolis under Mayor Humphrey, and the
25 first Fair Employment Practices Board was in Minneapolis

1 under Mayor Humphrey. We fought even then for justice.

2 (Applause)

3 Just as we must stop this violence, it must be equally
4 clear that we must have this same spirit, the same relentless
5 determination to clear up the conditions that breed this
6 crime and this violence, to seek out those conditions and
7 to root them out lock, stock and barrel.

8 (Applause)

9 Let me make it crystal clear to those who believe in
10 militancy that violence is not the partner of progress; it
11 is the enemy of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties. It is
12 the ally and the partner of reaction, and it has been used
13 and it will be used as an excuse on the part of some for
14 not doing the things that need to be done in this Country.
15 If we want civil order, and I think we do, we must recognize
16 the civil rights of every citizen, black or white, young
17 and old, in this nation to have such an elemental right as
18 enough to eat in a land of abundance.

19 (Applause)

20 I suggest to this audience that it is immoral to allow
21 some babies to suffer from malnutrition while others in
22 our population are concerned about the dangers of overeating.
23 There is something wrong. I say to this audience that if
24 permitted to be President of these United States, I will see
25 to it that wherever there are hungry people in any county in

1 this land that there will be food, there will be food
2 stamps, and there will be food distribution.

3 (Applause)

4 If we want civil order we better recognize the right,
5 the civil right of every American who wants to work, who is
6 capable of working, to have the right to work in order to
7 earn himself a living and stand in dignity and self respect;
8 that's the least that we can do.

9 (Applause)

10 Jobs bring dignity. Jobs bring resources to this
11 nation and benefits to those that earn. The idea of
12 guaranteeing decent jobs for everybody who will work makes
13 good sense. I think the American people will accept this.
14 Of course, we want the private industrial group, the private
15 sector and the private employers to provide every job
16 opportunity of which they are capable, but then it comes
17 down to the fact if there is a need of Government help, the
18 Government must back up whatever financing arrangements are
19 necessary to see that men and women who want to work can
20 earn their living as decent people, and get off of relief.

21 (Applause)

22 So let me summarize it. There is no choice today but
23 to be tough-minded, to be hard-headed, and to be fair-minded
24 about stopping crime and violence in this Country, and there
25 is no alternative to being tough-minded and hard-headed and

1 indeed warm-hearted too about establishing social justice
2 in this Country. These are companions, not enemies. These
3 are one goal, not two. I call upon the Democratic Party to
4 take a stand for law and order and to take a stand for social
5 justice and social progress, and let's be willing to stand
6 up and fight for it in this election.

7 (Applause)

8 Now, a word about our urban crisis. The urban crisis
9 is like a flood. The urban crisis is the result of flooding
10 upstream, as well as downstream. The urban crisis is due
11 partly in fact to the in-migration of the ^{rural}poor to the areas
12 of urban poverty. The urban crisis has its roots in the
13 rural crisis, just as the flood has its beginning in the
14 watershed upstream.

15 Ladies and gentlemen, the best and the first answer
16 to the urban crisis is to do something about the rural
17 crisis, about rural poverty and about the problems of
18 rural America.

19 (Applause)

20 Your distinguished Governor has addressed himself to
21 this repeatedly, as few others, brilliantly, knowingly.
22 Seventy per cent of the people of this land live on less
23 than two per cent of the area, and in another 25 years
24 there will be another hundred million. Where are they to go?
25 To the already overcrowded, traffic-choked, smog-ridden

1 cities? Or are we to try to develop this America between
2 the Alleghenies and the Rockies, to open up this vast hinter-
3 land of Iowa, if you please, and the States in this area for
4 new cities and, if you please, for an even more modern
5 and economically developed countryside? I think it's time
6 that America made a national decision to provide opportunity
7 both in terms of income and better life to our farm and
8 rural people. We must enable them to share, without moving
9 to the cities, in America's unprecedented living and
10 cultural standards. The most important step in making
11 rural America more attractive is providing economic equity
12 for farmers and farm producers.

13 (Applause)

14 The existing public programs provide a base, a price
15 base and an income base, but they are not adequate. Farmers
16 need better ways, and the farmers in Iowa and other places
17 have pointed the way. Farmers today need bargaining power,
18 yes, an increase in bargaining power so that they can
19 compete in this competitive economy of ours, and I will
20 help them get it.

21 (Applause)

22 These are not recent thoughts on my part. I have been
23 to the great farm organizations of this Country to lay out
24 this program. What we need is the help of you people in
25 some of the cities. We need a better understanding in

1 America of our inter-dependence. We need to understand
2 there is no long-term industrial prosperity if there is
3 depression in rural America; that's one of the basic
4 concepts of our lives.

5 (Applause)

6 New opportunity in rural America means more dollars
7 and cents, and you know it. If our young are to remain
8 there, if people are to live there, there must be jobs,
9 investment, hospitals, schools, good schools, colleges,
10 community colleges. In other words, there must be a
11 national decision made that we are going to see to it
12 that the benefits of American science and technology and
13 American production and living are spread throughout this
14 land, and that decision will be made in this election by
15 whom you elect to the Congress of the United States and
16 whom you elect to the Presidency of the United States.
17 I ask your help to get this job done.

18 (Applause)

19 Now then, what is the business of the next President
20 in that world that John Kennedy spoke of where peace and
21 freedom are not cheap, where there are no certainties, and
22 where there are challenges and perils? What will be the
23 next President's responsibility in the wider world? The
24 first thing we must know is it is a different world. It
25 is not the world of 1948 with Joseph Stalin and the

1 Communist Monolith. It is the world now of 1968 and it
2 will soon be a different world, for the Communist Monolith
3 has been shattered, a world where the winds of restlessness
4 and discontent are making their way across the eastern
5 world and the Soviet Union itself, a world where there is
6 a rising expectation of things to come in Latin America
7 and Asia, and the President and people of this land must
8 understand it. When you speak of relaxing tensions, you
9 cannot relax them unless you understand them.

10 The next President of the United States must first of
11 all use his authority and his prestige. He must use the
12 power and majesty of his office, first of all to slow down
13 this dangerous and costly and perilous arms race that grips
14 this world of ourstoday.

15 (Applause)

16 We must understand that war, as an instrument of
17 national policy, has become obsolete.

18 (Applause)

19 We must understand, above all, that we need to concen-
20 trate our tension not only upon the security of our land
21 as ^{we}/traditionally think of it, but to concentrate our
22 attention on the peace keeping operations of the great
23 international bodies like the United Nations. We must
24 understand that peace is a new name, as Pope Paul the VI
25 said, peace is the new name for development, and development

1 is the new name for peace. He who would be President must
2 understand that where there is constant war there is no
3 peace. Ladies and gentlemen, I think I understand that from
4 a lifetime of public service.

5 (Applause)

6 The next President must have the courage and must
7 have the willingness to get to the table of negotiation as
8 soon as possible with the Soviet Union, to talk about
9 mutual reduction of both offensive and defensive weapons.
10 Already, my friends, the seeds of this possibility are
11 planted. The Soviet Union has just responded to President
12 Johnson's request that we talk now and negotiate now about
13 the reduction of the anti-ballistic missile system so that
14 we will not have to pour our treasure and our resources into
15 weapons systems which, at their best, have limited security
16 within them. The next President must be willing to complete
17 these negotiations.

18 (Applause)

19 The next President must be willing to join with our
20 allies, to talk to the Soviet Union, and with her allies,
21 about a mutually agreed upon -- and I repeat a mutually
22 agreed upon -- thinning out of our troops in Western and
23 Central Europe. The time is at hand.

24 (Applause)

25 Ladies and gentlemen, he must dare, even at the expense

1 of popularity and public opinion, he must dare to build
2 bridges to Communist China, through trade and commerce and
3 cultural exchanges, and strive his very level best to break
4 the Chinese people out of their dangerous and lonely isolation.
5 He owes that to peace.

6 This next President of the United States must think of
7 a peaceful engagement. He must exemplify what this nation
8 stands for, such as reconciliation. He must exemplify that
9 this nation is unafraid, that we are willing to pioneer,
10 that we are willing to venture, to dare in the cause and
11 the work of peace.

12 I have dared in my life, early, with the Nuclear Test
13 Ban Treaty proposal, early with the Disarmament Agency
14 proposal, early with the Peace Corps proposal, early with
15 the Non-proliferation Treaty proposal, early, if you please,
16 with the Nuclear Test Ban in Latin America proposal, and
17 only recently in the Non-proliferation Treaty on Nuclear
18 Weapons. But we must dare even more, dare to win the peace,
19 and I submit to you that we can, if we will it.

20 (Applause)

21 I know that the most staggering and the most perplexing
22 and the most agonizing question before Americans on our
23 security and foreign policy is Vietnam itself, and I think
24 those who are the historians of this Country and this period
25 know that this was not started recently, but it will do us

1 no good to live over the past except to learn the lessons
2 of the past, and one of the lessons of the past is the
3 danger of violence any place; violence in our streets,
4 aggression in the world, and one of the lessons that we must
5 learn is the importance of helping people to help themselves,
6 to help/with national development in order to build their
7 national security, and one of the things that we ought to
8 remember, as we as Democrats consider our differences, is
9 that there has never been any difference between most of us
10 about our objective. Our objective has not been a military
11 solution in Vietnam. Our objective has been a political
12 solution and a negotiated, honorable peace.

13 Ladies and gentlemen, as I speak to you now the
14 possibilities of that objective being achieved are there in
15 the conference and the negotiations taking place in Paris,
16 France. Let us hope and pray that we can be successful.
17 Let every word of ours and every deed of ours aid those
18 negotiators, Ambassador Harriman and Ambassador Vance.
19 Put your faith and trust in them, and say nothing and do
20 nothing -- and that goes for candidates as well as other
21 citizens -- say nothing or do nothing that will jeopardize
22 those talks.

23 (Applause)

24 May I assure you that the business of peace making is
25 delicate business. The business of peace talking is easy

1 business. The business of peace boeing is ridiculous
2 business.

3 (Applause)

4 Ladies and gentlemen, the greatness of this nation,
5 throughout its history, has been in its ability and its
6 capacity for orderly change, to make the decisions that needed
7 to be made. We are a pragmatic people, not a docttrinary
8 people. We are a people of understanding and reason. We
9 believe in mending and shaping the institutions of our
10 society to the needs of the people.

11 Self-examination is painful, we all know that. It is
12 difficult to admit mistake and error. We have held the
13 mirror up to ourselves, and we have seen our limitations
14 and we have seen our strengths. We have seen poverty, as
15 well as affluence. We have seen racial discrimination as
16 well as generosity. We have seen violence as well as
17 justice.

18 I ask you, as fellow Americans, to help all of us to
19 brighten that image in that mirror and to realize that
20 those great goals for which this nation was founded, those
21 great goals are attainable in our time.

22 Now, that's been the purpose of my public life, and
23 that is my pledge to you. I believe that this Country has
24 a great destiny, and I believe that the business of democracy
25 is the great unfinished business of civilized man. As

1 Winston Churchill put it, democracy is the worst possible
2 form of Government, except all others that have ever been
3 tried.

4 I know that democracy represents beginnings, and I
5 know that it requires the faithful loyalty of people who
6 are willing to stick with it.

7 What then is the goal of this land? Not two societies,
8 separate and unequal; not a divided America; not an America
9 torn apart in emotion and frenzy; not an America of blacks
10 and whites; not an America of rich and poor; not an America
11 of urban and rural. I think that the goal of America, and
12 indeed its promise, was summarized in the most simple and
13 yet the most profound message/has been given to us as
14 citizens, a message that our children know and a message
15 that adults should live by. It is not a message that we
16 have realized fully, but a message, may I say, that is
17 like a sermon of challenge to us. What is it? What is
18 our duty? To seek and build that better America, to
19 build that one nation under God, that one nation under God
20 indivisible, and that one nation under God indivisible with
21 liberty and justice for all. It is to that I pledge my life,
22 and it is to that I recommend my nomination.

23 (Applause)

24

25



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