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FOR RELEASE

SUNDAY AM'S

48

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
YOUNG DEMOCRATS' NATIONAL CONVENTION
HOLLYWOOD, FLORIDA
NOVEMBER 18, 1967

Next year will be an important year for America.

We, the people, are going to do more than elect a President and a new Congress.

We are going to have to decide some basic and fundamental issues of this last third of the twentieth century:

Does this country want a successful War on Poverty — or not?

Do we want the best in education for every American child — or not?

Do we want the 70 per cent of the American people who live in our cities to have a clean, safe, rewarding environment — or not?

Do we want to continue our path toward responsibility and peaceful development around the world — or not?

Do we have the patience and courage to use our power with restraint, and our wealth with compassion — or not?

There have been elections in the United States where issues were secondary.

Not in 1968. Not in the nuclear age.

The American people want to hear fundamental issues responsibly debated.

They want the facts.

And they want to measure one man and his policies against another, asking this basic question: Which man has the capacity, the experience, the prudence and the political philosophy best suited to leading this country through the demanding years immediately ahead?

I look forward to that kind of a campaign. I think it will be healthy for America, and healthy for the Democratic party.

I have seen the polls.

I have read a thousand pessimistic reports. And I am confident.

I am confident because I believe the hard cross-fire of 1968 will expose the doubters....the nay-sayers....the people who think this country can afford A Pause, for what they are — people unwilling to face up to the fundamental challenges of this time and place.

I believe, before November 1968, the American people will come to know that second-guessing....that nostalgia....that wishfulness....that a show-business smile are not substitutes for the clear, forward-looking commitments of a party and a President dedicated to freedom and human dignity — at home and in the world.

* * * * *

The choice before the American voter on the home front is clear-cut — progress or retreat.

It is a choice between the party and the President that gave this country the Model Cities program, and the party that voted 80 per cent against it,

— between the President and the party that wanted a rat control program — and the party that voted 87 per cent against it,

— between the President and the party that conceived rent supplements — and the party that voted 93 per cent against it:

— between the President and the party that wanted a strong program of federal aid to elementary and secondary education — and the party that voted 86 per cent against it.

Most of that legislation is now on the books, along with the great Civil Rights Act of 1964...the Voting Rights Act of 1965...Medicare...a minimum wage soon to reach a dollar and sixty cents.

Some look at that record of achievement and call for A Pause. "Enough for now."

To pause is to turn back. And let me tell you that there is a Coalition of Retreat in Congress today that is moving us back.

They cut President Johnson's Model Cities request by half: three-fourths off the rent supplements request.

The appropriations bill for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is three times what it was when President John F. Kennedy came into office in 1961, and twice what it was when Lyndon Johnson became President.

But here again the cold wind of retreat was blowing.

The Teachers Corps was cut from 36 million dollars to 13.5 million. President Johnson wanted to see 25 hundred young teachers serving poor children in urban and rural areas of this country next year, but the Coalition of Retreat thought three hundred and fifty would be enough.

We have all followed that hair-raising new serial — The Perils of the Poverty Program — over the last few weeks. Will the poverty authorization be cut by a third? Will your Community Action center be strangled by lack of funds?

Will 60 Job Corps camps be closed down, and 20 thousand jobless, untrained youths sent home to live on welfare?

Can American cities make it through another hot, explosive summer with no federally-funded programs for disadvantaged youngsters?

Our program has survived its passage through the Authorization Swamp, but will it make it through Appropriations Gulch?

If the War on Poverty has a chance this year, it is for one reason: People all over the country have spoken up for it — and not only the poor ones who are waiting to see how this rich country means to treat their new-found hopes.

Certainly progress costs something. But so does hard-core unemployment...preventable disease... inadequate education that prevents a young man from earning — or hoping.

I don't think the American public is "penny wise and people foolish," to use Adlai Stevenson's words.

I think this rich nation, with its liberal traditions, is ready to bring those now excluded into the mainstream of American society. I think we are ready to tackle the complex economic and social disabilities our legal progress in civil rights has exposed.

I think we are ready to complete Democracy's House.

And it is going to be the party of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Baines Johnson that does it.

* * *

The Coalition of Retreat on foreign policy is non-partisan. It runs from far right to far left. And its objectives are not homogeneous.

The Retreaters will have trouble settling on one Presidential candidate who will suit all their divergent views of the world, but I think I can simplify their choice:

Those who think America is involved in the world for keeps, and who want this nation to play a role of firm and creative leadership will vote for President Lyndon Johnson.

Those who want to let the world settle the issues of war and peace, development and starvation, without American participation will find themselves another candidate.

I don't think a majority of the American people are ready to scrap liberal trade and economic growth around the world and return to the days of Smoot-Hawley protectionism.

I doubt if they will be satisfied with a foreign aid authorization, passed last week, that amounts to less than a third of one per cent of our GNP...which, in the words of President Johnson, "reduces the margin of hope to the danger point." So I am confident of support on these issues.

Then there is the issue of America's role in Asia... and I mean all of Asia, not just Vietnam.

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

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

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

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

Do we have any business there?

More American lives were lost in the Pacific than in Europe during World War II. Add to that our casualties in Korea and Vietnam.

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

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

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

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

What has our support for the efforts of free Asians achieved?

Japan is a prosperous, stable democracy.

South Korea is secure and on the verge of economic self-sufficiency.

Formosa has achieved economic self-sufficiency.

India and Pakistan have stable, progressive governments. They are making substantial progress in agriculture, population control and industrial development.

Indonesia, potentially the richest nation in Southeast Asia, gained time to throw off — for and by itself — a flagrant attempt at a Communist coup, and is now embarking on the long road to economic development.

All the nations of Asia have joined together in new regional cooperation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Make no mistake about it. Vietnam is a test that is being closely watched by our friends and enemies alike.

They have no doubt about what is happening in the field.

They see the best-trained, best-equipped American soldiers in our history standing firm against aggression.

They have seen five successive elections, free and fair, take place when the critics said it couldn't be done.

They have seen the South Vietnamese Army steadily improving just as the South Korean Army did 15 years ago.

They have seen the tide of battle turning from a seemingly inevitable victory for the Communists in 1965 to a situation where Communist victory is today impossible.

But they are also watching the situation here at home...and they are wondering: Can we win the war on the American home front?

As a long-time dissenter myself, I defend the right of any American to dissent in good conscience.

But I ask all Americans, before they dissent, to search their hearts...to examine the facts...to know the effect of what they say on our civilians and soldiers in Vietnam — and on our adversaries.

I ask them to face, before they raise their voices, the hard fact of cynical Communist-initiated aggression and terror in Vietnam.

I ask them to recognize that we face in Vietnam no peaceful reformer seeking power through parliamentary means.

We face not handbills but hand grenades.

I ask them to realize the importance of our stake in Vietnam as part of our historic commitment to a free Asia.

I ask them to understand that an honorable peace through negotiation can come only when all parties agree to talk.

I am ready to hear those issues debated responsibly by the American people.

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

For I believe that, under a few inches of American topsoil, there lies determination and strength of solid rock.

* * *

My friends, our President and our party can stand before the people in 1968 with a proud record of accomplishment at home, and a record of patient, untiring building for a better tomorrow in the world at large.

But we can offer them even more — a Manifesto of Freedom consistent with the strength and vision of America in the last third of the twentieth century:

Freedom from poverty...for all;
Freedom from ignorance...for all;
Freedom from discrimination...for all;
Freedom from fear...for all.]

That is the Democratic Party's promise to America —
and America's promise to the world.

And with that message — working for it and
believing in it — we can make America stand for
the best that is in it.

We can keep America strong and free — and
the center of man's peaceful revolution toward a
better chance...a fuller dignity...a life of freedom.

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Invitation

Congressman

Virgil Muller

REMARKS

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YOUNG DEMOCRATS' NATIONAL CONVENTION

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or not?

Do we want the best in education for every American
child -- or not?

Do we want equal opportunity for
all - or second class citizenship
for some

ADLAI -

Stalling

Din Bev
Bunny

Self if
that's
just
father

L Do we want the 70 per cent of the American people who live in our cities to have a clean, safe, rewarding environment -- or not?

L Do we want to continue our path toward responsibility and peaceful development around the world -- or not?

L Do we have the patience and courage to use our power with restraint, and our wealth with compassion -- or not? (X) (Adlai)

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L The American people want to hear fundamental issues responsibly debated.

L They want the facts.

L And they want to measure one man and his policies against another, asking this basic question: Which man

~~Our job is to keep people
up there~~

has the capacity, the experience, the prudence and the political philosophy best suited to leading this country through the demanding years immediately ahead?

L I look forward to that kind of a campaign. I think it will be healthy for America, and healthy for the Democratic party.

L I have seen the polls. — (JFK 1960)

L I have read a thousand pessimistic reports. And yet, I am confident.

L I am confident because I believe the hard debate in cross-fire of 1968 will expose the doubters... the nay-sayers...

Oppose them or Back away from leadership —
for what they are -- people unwilling to face up to

the fundamental challenges of this time and place.

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* * *

LBJ quote

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the party that voted 86 per cent against it.

Most of that legislation is now on the books, along
with the great Civil Rights Act of 1964.....the Voting
Rights Act of 1965.....Medicare....a minimum wage soon
to reach a dollar and sixty cents.

I Some look at that record of achievement and
call for A Pause. "Enough for now."

To pause is to turn back. ~~but~~ let me tell you
that there is a Coalition of Retreat in Congress today that

is moving us back. ~~It came into being after~~
~~the Election of 1966 for 47~~
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House -
+
Senate Difference

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your Community Action center be strangled by lack
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Attack on cities, Teacher Corps
Poverty Program,

Will 60 Job Corps camps be closed down, and
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spoken up for it -- and not only the poor ones who
are waiting to see how this rich country means to treat
their new-found hopes.

Certainly progress costs something. But so does

The Sea View

ON THE OCEAN

9909 COLLINS AVENUE

BAL HARBOUR, MIAMI BEACH 54, FLORIDA

OUR Job is to keep People in this
PARTY, not to drive them OUT.

The FIRST duty of a RESPONSIBLE
POLITICAL LEADER is to LEARN to RESPECT
the other FELLOW's POINT of VIEW.

If you don't believe in yourself, your
PARTY OR your President, how do you expect
others to believe in you?

Never PUT poison in the well from
which you WILL have to DRINK.

A RESPONSIBLE POLITICAL PARTY ENCOURAGES
DEBATE, ACCEPTS dissent, WELCOMES DISCUSSION
and HAS THE COURAGE TO MAKE decisions.

FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT REMINDED US THERE IS
ONLY ONE WAY TO STAND STILL, BUT THERE
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hard-core unemployment.... preventable disease....

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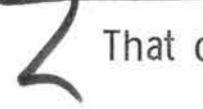
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They are making substantial progress in agriculture *and industrial development.*

Thailand, Malaysia, Philippines,
Australia New Zealand are
~~joined together in Regional
Cooperation~~ Strong + better.

~~population control and industrial development.~~

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L But they are also watching the situation here at home.....and they are wondering: Can we win the war on the American home front? — They are

JFK
= Asking - Do we have the Will, the determination, the necessary unity to persevere - to stay and defend our goals.

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But we can offer them even more -- a Manifesto of Freedom consistent with the strength and vision of America in the last third of the twentieth century:

- Freedom from povertyfor all;
- Freedom from ignorance....for all;
- Freedom from discrimination.....for all;
- Freedom from fear.....for all.

That is the Democratic Party's promise to America -- and America's promise to the world.

And with that message -- working for it and
believing in it -- we can make America stand for
the best that is in it.

LWe can keep America strong and free -- and
the center of man's peaceful revolution toward a
better chance....a fuller dignity.....a life of freedom.

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5 YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF AMERICA

6 35TH ANNUAL CONVENTION

7 DIPLOMAT HOTEL

8 HOLLYWOOD, FLORIDA

9 NOVEMBER 18, 1967

10
11
12 KEYNOTE ADDRESS

13 BY

14
15 HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

16 VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

1 MR. HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, my obviously
2 very good and dear friend, Claude Pepper; Virgil Musser, the
3 distinguished president of the Young Democrats; the officers
4 of this fine organization; our fellow Democratic friends and
5 neighbors. You know how to make a Vice-President feel good.

6 You gave me such a good welcome, I am going to tell
7 the President about it, and I will sure tell him that is the
8 way it ought to be every day in Washington.

9 I said to Virgil when I arose to speak to you, I
10 said, you know, if I had really good judgment, I think I would
11 just say, "Amen."

12 I would ask you to adopt the resolution to say that
13 everything that Congressman Pepper has said is true, spread it
14 upon the record, put it in public print, and send it to all my
15 doubting friends and say, "There you have it, right there."

16 Claude, I am very grateful to you, and you are overly
17 kind and seemingly extremely generous and most gratifying.

18 You remember what our dear friend Adlai Stevenson
19 used to say about flattery. He said, "It is all right if you
20 don't inhale it."

21 But I gather that some of you have watched me up
22 here, and I was breathing deeply all the time. I inhaled every
23 last word of it, truth or fiction.

24 And sometimes these days it is hard to know just what
25 you are getting.

1 Well, Claude, after listening to your introduction,
2 I was reminded of this rather corny story, but it does come to
3 mind, of the chap that passed away that had a rather, well, his
4 life hadn't been exactly an exemplary one. He would occasionally,
5 he would stop by the local tavern when he got his check, and
6 didn't bring the money home, and had forgotten his family on
7 occasion. And he had occasionally lost his job through being
8 absent from work.

9 But he passed away, and on the day of the funeral,
10 the little family sat there in the front row, and the reverend
11 got up to preach.

12 And the reverend started talking about this fine,
13 wonderful, God-fearing, loving husband, faithful and true; this
14 man that was a hard worker, that always took care of his family,
15 that was diligent and prudent and ambitious to a point of almost
16 physical exhaustion in his work, and he went on praising this
17 departed soul. And finally, the mother said to the oldest son,
18 "John, would you mind going up and looking in the coffin and
19 see if it is your father."

20 It is an old story, but when you start to flatter
21 these people in public life, sometimes there are those that
22 wonder if it is true.

23 But I want to tell you today, true or not, it was
24 nice - true or not.

25 I am grateful for the opportunity to be here with you,

1 and I want to just visit with you today.

2 I am particularly grateful to get invited to almost
3 any kind of Democratic meeting these days.

4 I think I should tell our friends on the outside,
5 however, what Will Rogers reminded us of. He said he didn't
6 belong to any organized party, he was a Democrat. If we just
7 sort of keep that in mind, maybe some of the trouble that we
8 seem to have for the moment will be put in proper prospective.

9 But being invited and being grateful is like that
10 industrialist, you know, who got very sick and went to the
11 hospital and was there for two or three weeks with not a single
12 message, not a telephone call, not a bouquet of flowers, not a
13 card. And finally, the local union had a meeting, and they had
14 a meeting of the Executive Board. And they had a vote. And
15 they decided to send a get-well card to their boss.

16 And the card read like this, "The Executive Committee
17 of Local 246 has met and deliberated, and we send you a message
18 of greetings and get well by a vote of eight to seven."

19 I sometimes feel that that is about the way it is.

20 But since I did have a chance to interpret the
21 majority, I shall proceed with my remarks.

22 I come to you today to talk to you about the most
23 important business of this Nation, the business of its public
24 service and of its politics.

25 Next year, when the people of this great republic

1 are going to do more than just select and elect a President and
2 a Congress, we are going to have to make some decisions.

3 We are going to have to decide some of the basic and
4 fundamental issues of this last third of the 20th century, and
5 we are about now at the time where every one of us has that
6 supreme obligation of talking sense to one another, a dialogue
7 and not a monologue, a dialogue and not a diatribe.

8 I come to the Young Democrats to ask you to exemplify
9 in your words, your conduct, your performance and your activity
10 the highest quality of responsible leadership. The issues that
11 we are going to talk about are right at the very heart of your
12 lives, because they all deal with the tomorrows.

13 There isn't a single thing that you can do about the
14 yesterdays except either to deplore them or to praise them.
15 They are gone. The hour that you now live is yours, and the
16 tomorrows can be yours.

17 Now, here are some of the issues, as I see them.
18 Do we want to continue to pursue the goal of full equal
19 opportunity for every American, or are we willing to settle
20 back into a kind of second-class citizenship for a minority,
21 while most of us enjoy the benefits and the profits of first-
22 class citizenship.

23 Does this country really want to escalate and wage
24 a renewed war on poverty, or does it not? Do you want the
25 best education that is possible for every American, or not?

1 Do we want the 70 percent of the American people who live on
2 that one percent of the land in our cities to have a clean,
3 safe, rewarding environment, or are you going to leave it as it
4 is?

5 Do we want to continue our task toward responsible
6 leadership with all of its penalties, with all of its burdens,
7 with all of its trials and disappointments? Do we want to
8 continue that path of responsible and peaceful development
9 around the world, or shall we forget it, give it up, relax,
10 and withdraw?

11 Do we have the patience, do we have the patience
12 and the courage, the will to use our unbelievable power with
13 restraint, and our wealth with a sense of compassion and equity,
14 or do we not?

15 Now, I think these are the fundamental issues, and
16 there are more, of course, but I give you these few.

17 And let me give you a word of encouragement now.
18 You know, I think one of the great things that has happened to
19 our country in the period of this party's defeat was the fact
20 that we had as our titular head, as our leader, even in our
21 hours of defeat, one of the truly great men of all times, a
22 noble man in the best sense of the word, Adlai Stevenson.

23 Adlai Stevenson gave this country, of course, and
24 this party of ours, character. I was honored by his friendship.
25 And when I speak of him, my heart is heavy.

1 Well, here is what he said, and I think the words
2 are more relevant today than when he spoke them and more
3 meaningful.

4 He said our objectives are not for the timid. They
5 are not for those who look backwards, who are satisfied with
6 things as they are, who think that this great Nation can ever
7 sleep or stand still.

8 Let those words be seared into your minds and souls,
9 because what he is saying to us is that everything that needs
10 to be done requires an unusual quality of courage, of bravery,
11 of confidence and faith.

12 And I speak to you today in that frame of mind and
13 frame of reference, because while there is much joy in politics,
14 and sometimes sadness, and while I sincerely believe that you
15 ought to enjoy political life, it ought to be in the best sense
16 of the word a wholesome experience. And it ought to be fun.
17 But let us never forget for a moment that it is the most serious
18 business of a free people.

19 So let us talk about these elections that are going
20 to come. Now, there have been elections in our country in other
21 years in which issues were secondary, but not in 1968, not in
22 this space age, the nuclear age, the age of danger, and yet
23 the age of promise.

24 I think the American people want to hear fundamental
25 issues reasonably debated. I think the American people understand

1 the importance of debate and discussion and dissent, and they
2 also understand the absolute imperative of a responsible
3 political party and political leader to make decisions.

4 Will you ponder it but a moment. It is so easy for
5 us to debate, so easy for us to discuss, and so joyful and
6 so interesting at times to dissent. But the moment of truth
7 comes when you have to make a decision, and it is then when
8 you are really tested. It is then when quality of faith and
9 loyalty are put to the test.

10 I think the American people want the facts, and I
11 believe it is our duty to present those facts. And they want
12 to measure one man and his policies against another; one party
13 and its policies against another; and they are going to be asking
14 this basic question, and we have to be prepared to help find
15 the answer: Which man has the capacity, which man has the
16 experience, the prudent and the political philosophy best suited
17 to leading this country through the demanding years immediately
18 ahead. That is the question. That is what people are concerned
19 with. That is the life and death issue.

20 I want us to formulate that issue and bring it to the
21 attention of the people, because America deserves the best, and
22 I look forward to that kind of a campaign, and I want this
23 party, our party, to keep the level of the campaign high enough
24 so that that issue is always obvious and paramount.

25 I think that that kind of a debate on that issue will

1 be healthy for America, and it will be healthy for the Democratic
2 Party. And I have no fear as to the outcome. I welcome the
3 day of decision, that first Tuesday in November, 1968. I know
4 what is going to happen.

5 Now, I will let you in on a secret. I have seen the
6 polls. And I will let you in on another secret. Some, I like.
7 The ones that look good. Some, I don't like, the ones that
8 aren't looking so good.

9 But I will tell you one other thing. I have also seen
10 the people. And I have read a thousand pessimistic reports, and
11 I have even heard words of pessimism coming from the lips of
12 those who ought to be optimistic and who ought to have faith
13 in their party, in their leader, and in their country.

14 And I am confident, of course. I know many people
15 say, well, this fellow Humphrey is a perennial optimist, and I
16 guess I am.

17 I will let you in on that secret, too.

18 You know, in Washington, there are so many well-
19 developed pessimists, that whole area is so crowded, the com-
20 petition is so sharp, that in order to really get known as a
21 good pessimist in Washington, you almost must be unbelievably
22 pessimistic.

23 I looked around, and because I do believe in freedom
24 of choice, I looked it over and I saw pastures of optimism
25 practically uninhabited, and I moved over there. Now, I found

1 two or three others, like Claude Pepper. He is over there most
2 of the time.

3 And then I found another fellow that is always there
4 when I am there, and that was the President. He was over there
5 in the pasture of optimism.

6 But I will tell you really why I am confident and
7 why I am optimistic, because I believe that the hard crossfire
8 of debate, when we really get at the mighty debate of these
9 politics, when we really find out who those Republicans are
10 going to select from those less than chosen people that they
11 have, when we really find out who their candidates will be,
12 I have reason to be optimistic.

13 The crossfire of debate will expose the doubters.
14 It will expose the nay sayer. It will expose the people who
15 think this country can afford to stop, take a pause, turn
16 around and look back.

17 It will expose those who want to back away from our
18 responsibility of leadership, the kind of people who have no
19 faith either in themselves or in our destiny.

20 It will expose the people who are unwilling to face
21 up to fundamental challenges and changes, and there is plenty
22 of change in this time and place.

23 Now, I believe that before 1968 November, the American
24 people will come to know that all of this second guessing, that
25 this longing for the good old days, this nostalgia, this

1 wishfulness, this show business smile are not substitutes for
2 the clear, forward-looking commitment of a party and a President
3 that are dedicated to freedom and human dignity at home and
4 abroad. That is why I am confident.

5 You know, I heard somebody say the other day that
6 the slogan of one of the potentials in the Republican Party
7 who used to make a small compact car was to think small and
8 shift for yourself.

9 You got it.

10 I don't necessarily believe that, but that is what
11 I heard.

12 Now, the choice before the American voter, and you
13 are going to be talking and working with that voter, on the
14 homefront is clear-cut. It was referred to by Congressman
15 Pepper. Progress or retreat. It is the same choice that
16 Adlai gave us.

17 Are we going to be timid, or are we going to be brave?
18 It is a choice between the party and the President that gave
19 this country the concept of the Model Cities Program to help
20 rebuild our cities.

21 And it is a choice between that party and the party
22 that voted, 80 percent of the membership, against it.

23 I want every Young Democrat to start to take a look
24 at the alternatives.

25 It is like the fellow who had the question put to him,

1 "How is your wife?" He said, "Compared to who?"

2 When you start to think of a political party and
3 its candidates, you had better ask yourself, "Compared to what
4 and to whom?"

5 The party and the President, your party and your
6 President that had the vision, that had the courage and had
7 the political decisiveness to present to the people of the
8 United States and the Congress a whole new concept of rebuilding
9 the inner city, of helping to make our cities inhabitable and
10 livable, and a decent place for humans to reside free and alive.

11 That party was the Democratic Party. The leader
12 of that party that presented it was the President of the United
13 States, Lyndon Johnson, and the opposition of the Republican
14 Party.

15 No matter how they want to gloss over it, 80 percent
16 of them said to the city dwellers, live as you are, there will
17 be no change.

18 It is a choice between the President and a party that
19 gave us Medicare, and a party that tried to kill it a hundred
20 different ways. And don't you let the American public forget
21 it.

22 A party and a President, your Party and your President,
23 and your majority in Congress that said, we want peace and
24 hospitalization and nursing homes and medical care for our senior
25 citizens, and a Republican Party that said, they have it good

1 enough. There will be no change. And they voted against it.
2 Don't let the public forget it.

3 It is a choice between the President and the party
4 that conceived of rent supplements so low income families could
5 have a decent home rather than to live in rat-infested tenements,
6 and a party that voted 93 percent against it.

7 It is a choice between the President and the party,
8 your President and your party, that wanted a strong program of
9 Federal aid to elementary and secondary education, and a party
10 and its leadership that voted 86 percent of its membership
11 against it.

12 A party that said every child should have the best
13 education humanly possible, and a party that said, by 86 percent
14 of its members, it is good enough now.

15 I want you to take that message.

16 You know, every once in a while, I hear one of my
17 liberal friends say, "Whatever happened to the liberal program,
18 Mr. Vice President?"

19 I will tell you what happened to it. We passed it.
20 Is there anything wrong with that?

21 The things that some of us have worked for for a
22 generation are a fact, the law of the land and things we never
23 dreamed possible have come into reality. Why? Because in 1964,
24 in the election of that year, the people of the United States
25 had the good sense and judgment to elect a President, a Democratic

1 President and a Democratic Congress. Lyndon Johnson and a
2 Democratic Congress gave the American people new vision, new
3 hope, new progress such as they never dreamed possible before.

4 Now, most of all this legislation that we talk about
5 is on the books. The great Civil Rights Act of 1964 was
6 mentioned here today. Well, I can remember when it wasn't very
7 popular to introduce civil rights legislation.

8 You know, every once in a while I would go to a
9 meeting where somebody gets up and walks out. And I really
10 don't blame them. But I had to say to a group not long ago,
11 to a few of them that walked out, you just joined that crowd
12 in Philadelphia that walked out on me, Dixiecrats that walked
13 out on Philadelphia. I remember that.

14 I remember the people that didn't want to move ahead.
15 But I am here to tell you that a man born in Texas, and a
16 Democratic Party representing all 50 states of this union
17 joined together and we were able to proceed to the Congress and
18 pass through the Congress the most comprehensive program of
19 civil rights legislation ever designed by the hand of man.

20 But there is a lot more and I shan't burden you with
21 just a recitation of achievement, Voting Rights Act of 1965,
22 Medicare, Minimum Wage, et cetera.

23 But some look at this record of achievement. Yes,
24 some of our people look and say, well, really that is enough for
25 now. Hold on. No more.

1 But let me tell you, that to pause, to stop, and to
2 stop in this changing world is to lose ground.

3 Let me also tell you that there is a coalition of
4 retreat at work in this country and in this Congress that would
5 like to move us back and in all too many cases have retarded
6 our progress.

7 That coalition of retreat came into being in the
8 election of 1966 when the Democratic Party lost 47 seats in the
9 House of Representatives, and from that day on we have had an
10 upward-hill battle.

11 And you lose some more elections, my fellow Democrats,
12 and you really have something to cry about and dissent about.

13 You will have something to mourn about, the likes of
14 which you haven't dreamed possible, because there are forces
15 at work in this country that do want to stop the clock of time
16 and the clock of change, that do want to pause, and they have
17 candidates. They have money. They have propaganda, and they
18 have the will to win if they can.

19 I suggest that we buckle down to the task of giving
20 them a good sound trouncing in the election of 1968.

21 The OEO program move that we have had comment about
22 here today, the poverty program, the teacher corp, rent supple-
23 ment and so forth; it has been authorized. It has survived
24 its passage through what I call the authorization swamp.

25 But the next question is, will it make it through

1 appropriations gulch, to put it in the language of the Western?

2 If the war on poverty has a chance this year, it is
3 for one reason. Well, for three reasons, because men like Claude
4 Pepper had the courage to stand up and fight for it, and many
5 more like him. That is where you start. And because the
6 President of the United States was relentless in his efforts
7 to get achievement and accomplishment, and because people all
8 over this country spoke up for it.

9 They wanted the Job Corps. They wanted Project
10 Headstart. They wanted Project Upward Bound. They wanted
11 Community Action Agency.

12 And we are the ones that have defended that desire.
13 And I want you to take this message back into your precincts
14 and your communities and select the battleline.

15 Our Republican friends feel that the war on poverty
16 is a failure. Let them stand up and fight it out on that
17 issue. We will take them on, because we happen to believe that
18 when you bring a little child into the Project Headstart, it is
19 good for America.

20 When you give young men and women training for a
21 job, it is good for America.

22 When you get young people through college education
23 and high school, it is good for America.

24 When you destroy a system of welfarism and bring in
25 the system of opportunity, it is good for America.

1 And that is what we are trying to do.

2 Oh, I know progress costs something. It costs a lot
3 of money. It costs heartache. But so does hard core unemploy-
4 ment cost something, preventable disease, inadequate education
5 that prevents a young man or woman from earning or even hoping.

6 I don't happen to believe that the American people
7 or American public is penny wise and people foolish, to use
8 Adlai's words.

9 I think that this rich nation with its liberal
10 traditions is ready to bring those now included into the main
11 stream of American society, and that is what we are trying to
12 do.

13 We are not only trying to open up the gates of
14 opportunity, we are extending the hand of fellowship, help people
15 walk through those gates.

16 Might I remind you that many people who have been the
17 victims for years of discrimination and of poverty, not only the
18 poverty of the purse, but poverty of the spirit, the poverty
19 of despair, of hopelessness, of frustration; that those people
20 sometimes need more than just to be told that the law has been
21 changed. Sometimes they need the helping hand of a good neighbor.

22 Sometimes they need the encouragement of a friend.
23 And above all, they need the acceptance, the acceptance of the
24 people of the United States.

25 Civil rights and law is one thing, and human rights

1 and law is another thing. But civil rights and human rights
2 in practice, in thought and deed is the only hope that the poor
3 people of this land have to become a part of the first class
4 citizens in this republic, and I ask you to help them again in
5 that noble objective because, you see, I think we are ready to
6 complete or move ahead with democracy's house, and it is going
7 to be done by the party of Franklin Roosevelt, of Harry Truman,
8 of John Kennedy and Lyndon Baines Johnson.

9 They know how to build this house of democracy, with
10 your help.

11 Now, what is your job? I want to talk a little
12 practical politics to you for a moment. Our job is to keep people
13 in this party, not to drive them out. That is where you start.

14 The first duty of a responsible political leader is
15 to learn to respect the other fellow's point of view, both
16 points of view.

17 And here is a political axiom that you ought to
18 remember. "If you don't believe in yourself, your party, your
19 president; how do you expect to convince others to believe in your
20 party, your president or yourself." Take your stand.

21 Or shall I put it more simply, and I have done it in
22 one hundred and one places, "Don't put poison in the well from
23 whence you are going to have to drink." I hope you understand
24 this.

25 Leave it to the opposition. They have got bags full

1 of that kind of political poison. Take your stand for what we
2 fight for and what we work for. This is our job as a party and
3 as political leaders.

4 Now, this coalition of retreat that has threatened
5 the homefront, but is not being successful, thank goodness, is
6 also threatening the international front.

7 And may I make it crystal clear there is not the
8 possibility of a successful foreign policy without a successful
9 domestic policy.

10 Your foreign policy is a project of the vitality,
11 the purpose, and the philosophy of a people and a nation. Now,
12 the coalition of retreat on foreign policy is, in a very real
13 sense, bipartisan and non-partisan. It runs from the far right
14 to the far left. And its objectives are not at all homogeneous.

15 The retreaters will have trouble settling on any
16 one Presidential candidate who will suit all the divisional
17 feuds of the world. They are going to have some difficulty. But
18 I think I can help them simplify their choice.

19 Now, those who think that America is involved in the
20 world for keeps, and who want this nation to play a role of firm
21 and creative leadership, they have a candidate. He is on the
22 job. And his name is Lyndon Johnson, President of the United
23 States.

24 By the way, how did you like the way he took care of
25 things yesterday at that press conference?

1 Those who want to let the world settle the issues of
2 war and peace, of development and starvation without full
3 American participation will have to find themselves another
4 candidate.

5 But I don't think the majority of the American people
6 are ready to scrap liberal trade policies and economic growth
7 around the world and return to the days of isolationism. I
8 doubt if they will be satisfied, for example, with the foreign
9 aid authorization passed last week that amounted to less than
10 one-third of one percent of our gross national product which,
11 in the words of President Johnson, reduces the margin of hope
12 to a danger point.

13 No, I don't think the American people want that.
14 I think the American people agree with that late and beloved
15 Pope John XXIII who said, "Where there is constant want, there
16 is no peace." Or maybe with Pope Paul VI who said, "Development
17 is the new word for peace."

18 You see, the cry for peace is more than just a parade
19 or a march or a placard. The scriptures say, "Blessed are the
20 peacemakers," not the talkers, the walkers or the marchers, but
21 blessed are the peacemakers and that comes through the hard
22 work of developing an American society that is just, that is
23 productive, that is based upon equity and equality.

24 That comes through the hard work of a Peace Corps,
25 of a foreign aid program, of a technical assistance program, yes,

even of collective security.

You see, they are the issues of national security and national development which are one and inseparable.

Then there is the issue of America's role in Asia which, I know, is foremost in your thinking and concern. And I mean all of Asia, not just Vietnam.

I have been to that part of the world as your Vice-President four times.

Much of my background as a teacher, a student, and a man in public life was oriented, like most of us. It is from Europe that most of our families come. We are the children, in many instances, of Europe.

But there is also the reality of what a very famous Republican said, "One world," and we are a part of it.

Oh, I know there are those that would like to stop this world and get off, and I have a few that I would like to accommodate. But I regret to say it is not possible.

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

I have been to sixteen of the free nations of Asia in my service as Vice-President. Now, some of these nations have their own character. There isn't any such thing as just Asia. They are the nations and the people and the cultures of Asia.

But all of these nations, and indeed, the three that I visited this time in particular, share two vital common

1 denominators.

2 First, there is past and present resistance to Asian
3 communist subversion and aggression; covert and overt.

4 Might I say in all sincerity and in kindness,
5 communist subversion and aggression to Asia is not a subject of
6 academic discussion. It is a hard, cruel fact of their
7 lives. They have been facing it for a quarter of a century, on
8 the battlefields, in their villages, in their political apparatus,
9 in every hour of their day. It is not an esoteric subject for
10 intellectual diatribe or dialogue alone. It is a cruel fact of
11 their existence.

12 Maybe that is why, without exception, the leaders
13 of free Asia hope and pray that America will not abandon them,
14 will not forsake them; because I have talked to these men and
15 women, and they recognize the importance, not only the importance,
16 but the imperative necessity of American cooperation, American
17 power, American science, terminology and resources in Asia if
18 they are to regain freedom.

19 The second common denominator is the urgent and
20 priority effort toward constructive nation building. First,
21 they have the priority of resistance to the communist subversion
22 and aggression to national security.

23 Secondly, the common denominator of constructive
24 nation building.

25 Now, these are the common denominators among all of

1 the independent nations of Asia. The question comes, do we have
2 any business there? Because I think it is a legitimate question,
3 and it ought to be dealt with in a sensible responsible manner.

4 Most of us feel that we have business in Europe. I
5 have yet to hear a voice raised in this country that says we
6 should not keep our commitment to Berlin, one hundred miles
7 inside of the communist regime of East Germany, a commitment
8 that was made by four Presidents of the United States, five
9 Presidents starting with Franklin Roosevelt, a commitment that
10 constantly tests the vitality and the strength and courage of
11 this nation.

12 And three times within the last fifteen years it
13 has required mobilization on the part of our country, partial
14 mobilization three times, the possibility of nuclear war, and
15 yet I have not heard one responsible voice raised in America
16 that says we should abandon them. And I hope we don't.

17 But can I say to you in all candor, what is more
18 precious about a life in Berlin than in Vietnam or Korea? What
19 is it that makes it so much more precious? Do we have any
20 business there in Asia?

21 Well, more American lives were lost in the Pacific
22 than in Europe during World War II. So if it is on the basis
23 of loss of blood and treasury, we have business in the Pacific
24 and in Asia, and add to that our casualties in Korea, over
25 55,000 dead, 250,000 casualties. I guess we have some business,

1 some interest in the Pacific and in Asia.

2 Since 1946 we have committed over twenty-five billion
3 dollars in loans and grants, food and technical assistance in
4 the country, in the arc between West Pakistan and Japan.

5 That commitment to national security and to national
6 development in Asia has been upheld by four American Presidents,
7 without doubt or without hesitation. And national security and
8 national development are commitments that go hand in hand.

9 So many of my friends say, oh, I am all for foreign
10 aid. I am all for technical assistance. I am all for the
11 Peace Corps. I am all for this and that, but I am not for a
12 commitment that may require power.

13 Well, ladies and gentlemen, unless you are willing
14 to play both parts of this struggle, be involved in both parts,
15 then there is success for neither part, because military
16 security alone will not assure the independence and freedom of
17 the nations of Asia.

18 And economic development alone will not assure the
19 independence and freedom of the nations of Asia.

20 But military security, national security and national
21 development together add up to independence and freedom.

22 You know, I found some words here the other day that
23 I thought were rather reassuring. I don't necessarily agree
24 with every line, but they were the words of a very great man,
25 and a beloved man, and one that inspired every young American.

1 John Kennedy said in an interview with Mr. Brinkley
2 in 1963 September, the following: "We cannot make the world
3 over, but we can influence the world. The fact of the matter
4 is that with the assistance of the United States, SEATO, South-
5 east Asia and indeed all of Asia has been maintained independent
6 against a powerful force, the Chinese communists. What I am
7 concerned about is that Americans will get impatient and say
8 that because they don't like events in Southeast Asia, or they
9 don't like the government in Saigon that we should withdraw.
10 That only makes it easy for the communists. I think that we
11 should stay."

12 And then he went on to say, in no uncertain words,
13 his opposition to any form of withdrawal. He even went so far
14 as to answer Mr. Brinkley in these words;

15 MR. BRINKLEY: Mr. President, have you had any reasons
16 to doubt the so-called domino theory," -- No, I don't underwrite
17 the domino theory, per se -- "that if South Vietnam falls, the
18 rest of South Asia will go behind it?

19 PRESIDENT KENNEDY: No, I believe it. I believe it.
20 I think that the struggle is close enough, China is so large,
21 looms so high just beyond the frontier that if South Vietnam
22 went, it would only give them improved geographic position for
23 assault on Malaysia, also, I am impressed that the way of the
24 future in Southeast Asia was communism, so I believe it."

25 A President can be wrong, but I think that Presidents

1 who have access to vast amounts of information and advice and
2 counsel of hundreds of prominent and learned citizens may be
3 right. And I happen to believe when our nation is deeply
4 involved as it is all over this world in providing a shield for
5 protection for people today who aspire to freedom and yet are
6 weak that we might give the benefit of the doubt to a President
7 Truman, to a President Eisenhower, to a President Kennedy, and
8 to a President Johnson, because it may be that they are right.
9 I think so.

10 So we made a great commitment in national security
11 and national development, and that commitment has been upheld
12 because four Presidents have seen it in our own national
13 interests that a continent that is so strategic, that is at
14 the crossroads of the world, rich in resources and possessing
15 more than half of the world's people should not be nakedly
16 exposed to communist pressure. That is what Mr. Kennedy spoke
17 about.

18 And we as a nation have believed, or at least I
19 thought we did, that peoples of all colors, races and religions,
20 even though their names are not spelled like ours, even though
21 their cultures and religions may be different than ours, deserve
22 their chance to grow and develop free of coercion and tyranny.

23 You see, nation building, national security and
24 national development has been our business, and it is an
25 important business to know what our support of the efforts of

1 these free Asians has achieved because people do like to have
2 an accounting.

3 Well, Japan is prosperous and is a stable democracy.

4 South Korea is secure and on the verge of economic
5 self-sufficiency, and yet I can refer your minds back to fifteen
6 years ago when people said that Korea would never be anything.

7 In fact, the headlines of the press of this nation
8 read in the year 1957, "Korea, America's mess."

9 And President Truman saw a popularity poll, a public
10 opinion poll in June, 1951 where 66 percent of the American
11 people demanded our withdrawal.

12 I ask this audience of brave young Americans, what
13 kind of a world do you think it would be had we withdrawn from
14 Berlin; had Mr. Truman not had the courage to stand firm in
15 Greece and Turkey; had we not had the vision and courage to
16 develop a NATO?

17 What kind of world do you think it would be if John
18 Kennedy had not had the courage to face up to Mr. Khrushchev
19 and tell him to get his missiles out of this hemisphere?

20 What kind of world do you think you would be living
21 in if President Truman had not had the courage to face communist
22 aggression in Korea?

23 What kind of world do you think this would be if the
24 communists thought all they had to do was to threaten to subvert,
25 and that the rule of brute force and law of the jungle would

1 prevail?

2 What kind of world do you think you would be living
3 in? Answer your own question. I think you know. Our efforts
4 have not been in naught. Europe stands proud and free today,
5 prosperous and independent. Korea is on the verge of great
6 economic breakthrough. Japan is strong and prosperous. Formosa,
7 long a state receiving our aid, has achieved economic self-
8 sufficiency. India and Pakistan have reasonably stable and
9 very progressive governments. They are making substantial
10 progress in agriculture and industrial development. Thailand,
11 Malaysia and the Philippines represent forward progress.
12 Australia and New Zealand definitely are friends and strong
13 allies. They are better today than ever.

14 Why? Not only because of their great efforts, which
15 were really great, but because they knew they had a partner.
16 They knew they had a friend. And they knew that that friend
17 was present, near them, helping them, guarding them, strengthening
18 them, and that friend was none other than the United States of
19 America.

20 And if you don't know it, then you owe it to yourselves
21 as citizens of this country and as leaders of this party to go
22 there and find out. You will learn more in Asia than you will
23 learn from reading a periodical printed on the East Coast or
24 the West Coast or the Midwest. Go and learn. Seek, and ye
25 shall find. It is there for you.

1 I just came back from Indonesia.

2 I saw they have suffered the ravages of self-indulgence
3 of a leader, mismanagement, and have been victims of communist
4 ideology and practice. And Indonesia is in poverty and in
5 shambles.

6 But I also saw an Indonesia, potentially the richest
7 nation in Southeast Asia gaining time, gaining time to throw
8 off, and by itself, a flagrant attempt at a communist coup, and
9 is now embarking on a long road to economic development.

10 I went into that country and into the heart of it.
11 I went into Central Java. I wonder how many of your critics
12 have been there?

13 I went into Central Java where the Communist Party
14 PKI have an interest.

15 In Demak, I was told that it was not safe, and I went
16 there to see thousands of young men cleaning out irrigation
17 ditches with shovels and hoes.

18 I saw them receiving pay, nothing more than cornmeal
19 from the surplus stocks of America. They work for food.

20 I came in lightly, unannounced in the morning, for
21 ~~thence~~ security reasons. There were thousands of people then, even
22 then.

23 When the word spread along the road that I would be
24 there, there were thousands even then.

25 ~~open~~ When I left that area at 4:00 o'clock in the afternoon,

1 ladies and gentlemen, over one million and one-half Indonesians
2 were on the highway shouting, "America; mordika (phonetic);
3 freedom; America;" without any organized demonstration, and no
4 flags and no signs, but grateful to America.

5 General Suharto, the President of Indonesia, acting
6 President, told me that Indonesians needed American help.

7 The Prime Minister of Malaysia, a country that has
8 fought the communists for twelve years, twelve long years of
9 communist subversion, communist aggression, said, "Mr. Vice
10 President, if America is going to abandon us, there is no hope."

11 Every single leader said that their only hope was
12 if we would stay and see it through.

13 Now, all of the nations of Asia, free nations are
14 doing better these days. They have joined together in new
15 enterprises and regional cooperation.

16 And I submit that looking ahead we can predict that
17 economic development will come, even though painfully slow; but
18 that without it, there will be chaos.

19 We can predict that Mainland China will soon emerge
20 as a nuclear and space power still preaching, however, in support-
21 ing the dogma of the cynically misnamed war of national liberation.

22 We can predict that Asian communism will continue
23 for the foreseeable future to retain its militancy and
24 expansionist tendencies.

25 We can predict the free Asian nations will continue

1 to reach out to us for help, and I want you to be ready in mind
2 and in spirit to understand it.
3

4 Now, that is the broad context in which the American
5 people must decide what they want to do about the immediate
6 issue of Vietnam.
7

8 Are we going to last it out until there is a just and
9 peaceful settlement, or are we going to withdraw short of such
10 a settlement, or settle on less than an honorable basis, abandon
11 the people of South Vietnam and prove to the aggressors that
12 might, after all, does make right, or to the other extreme?
13

14 Are we going to impetuously reach for the weapons
15 that would settle the issue in Vietnam by burying the world in
16 World War III? Make no mistake about it. Vietnam is a test
17 that is being closely watched by friends and enemies alike.
18

19 They have no doubt, these friends and enemies,
20 about what is happening out there. I have been there twice,
21 so I have some basis of prospective.
22

23 They see the best trained, the best equipped American
24 soldiers in our history standing firm against aggression. I saw
25 those soldiers, my fellow Americans. I was there in Da Nang
and Chu Lai. I was there with your marines and your soldiers
and airmen. I saw the Koreans. I have seen the Australians,
the Philippines, the Thais, and the New Zealanders. I have been
with it.

26 Ladies and gentlemen, I heard not one single word
27

1 of complaint. But I did have the question asked of me one
2 hundred times, "What is wrong at home? Why don't they understand?"

3 These are the daughters and sons. And already many
4 of our young ladies are there working in their hospitals and
5 offices. These are the young men and women who are on the
6 firing line. If anyone had a right to complain, it is them,
7 they above all others, because they are making the sacrifices.

8 Yet, the only question they asked is, "What is wrong
9 at home?"

10 The enemies and the friends, they have seen five
11 successive elections in Vietnam, free and fair, take place when
12 the critics said it couldn't be done. And if you will bear with
13 me, may I say that there has been a lot of criticism.

14 When I first went to Vietnam in February, 1966 there
15 had been no elections. Your President had been at Honolulu
16 with General Ky and General Thieu. They had just taken over
17 in one of a series of coups, military takeovers in Vietnam that
18 was on the precipice of disaster.

19 Our President asked those leaders to commit themselves
20 to an election of constituent assembly to write a constitution
21 for free and representative government. They promised they would.

22 My assignment from your President was to encourage
23 them to fulfill that promise, which I tried to do. The critics
24 and the cynics said it will never happen. And I guess they had
25 good reason, in light of the past, to believe that it wouldn't,

1 but it did happen. A constitutional assembly was elected in
2 a free election observed by the media and the press of the
3 world. A constitution was written, a free constitution, in the
4 light of public opinion.

5 Your Constitution was written in secret. There wasn't
6 a camera, a pressman, or a photographer present. The doors were
7 closed in Philadelphia, and even old Ben Franklin had two men
8 assigned to him so he wouldn't talk after he had a glass of
9 wine.

10 Village elections were held. Presidential elections,
11 Senatorial elections, House of Representative elections. There
12 were five elections in less than two years, under conditions
13 of war, subversion and terrorism.

14 Oh, I know there were some abuses, my fellow
15 Americans, but who are we to cast the first stone. Those
16 who live in glass houses, you know.

17 Considering their experience and their background,
18 constitutional development has been significant.

19 The enemies and the friends have seen a South Vietnamese
20 army steadily improving. There is still much to be improved,
21 but it is steadily improving; just as they saw a South Korean
22 army fifteen years ago.

23 Have you forgotten what we said about the Koreans
24 fifteen years ago? Have you forgotten what they were called?
25 Have you forgotten that they were, well, that they were judged

1 as being not very good on the battlefield; and yet today, there
2 are no better combat troops anywhere in the world than those
3 that Korea has put in the fields of battle in its country and
4 in South Vietnam.

5 Progress. Enemies and friends alike have seen the
6 tide of battle turn from seemingly inevitable victory for
7 communism in 1965 to a situation in which a communist victory
8 today is impossible.

9 And they are also watching the situation here at
10 home, and they are wondering, can we win the war on the American
11 front? They are asking, do we have the will, the determination,
12 the necessary units to persevere and to stay?

13 Let me be frank about it. I have been among the
14 dissenters plenty of times in my life. I am a long-time
15 dissenter, and I defend the right of any American to dissent,
16 to debate, to discuss in good conscience. That is what the
17 struggle is all about.

18 I was at the camp of the Revolutionary Development
19 Department in Vietnam asking Major Bhea (phonetic) of the
20 Revolutionary Development Program what he thought his problems
21 were.

22 By the way, that program years ago was but a thought.
23 Today, 30,000 of the Revolutionary Development Calvary have
24 been trained and sent in villages. 9,000 of them were in that
25 training program while I was there. The head of it is Major Bhea,

1 a man who fought the communist for sixteen years, and who was
2 once himself a member of the Viet men fighting the French.

3 I said, "Major Bhea, what is your problem?" He
4 said, "It is twofold; communist attack and subversion, and
5 corruption." Corruption in his own government. He had the
6 right to dissent.

7 And when I was asked by an American reporter,
8 "Mr. Vice President, what do you have to say about that, when
9 Major Bhea said he faces corruption at the province level?"
10 I said, "The fact that he can say it and still be the man in
11 charge of this school proves that our mission here is a success."

12 Because we are there for the right of free speech,
13 representative government, the right of an individual to have
14 his say, and Major Bhea is still in charge. And since then,
15 a province chief has been sentenced to execution for
16 corruption. There is progress.

17 So I defend the right to dissent, but I ask all
18 Americans before they dissent to do this. Search your heart,
19 examine the facts, try to know the effect of what you say on
20 your civilians and soldiers in Vietnam, and what you say on
21 our adversaries because, make no mistake about it, Hanoi thinks
22 that we will not persevere.

23 Hanoi believes that this country is torn apart over
24 this issue.

25 Hanoi won its last struggle from the French in Paris.

1 It thinks it can win this struggle from the Americans in
2 Washington. I think they are wrong. And I think you think
3 they are wrong.

4 So I ask those who are our sharp critics, before
5 they raise their voices, to face the hard fact that cynical
6 communism-initiated aggression and terror in Vietnam is a
7 reality. I ask them to recognize that we face in Vietnam no
8 peaceful reformer seeking power through parliament, and I ask
9 them to remember that Ho Chi Minh is no Robin Hood that seeks
10 to take from the rich in order to help the poor.

11 We face in Vietnam not handmills, but hand grenades.
12 I ask them to realize the importance of our staying in Vietnam
13 as a part of our historic commitment to a free Asia.

14 And I ask them to understand that an honorable,
15 peaceful negotiation, which is our prayer, our hope and our
16 commitment, can come only when all parties agree to talk.

17 And when the enemy refuses to talk to the Holy Father,
18 to U Thant, to the British Prime Minister, to the Chairman of
19 the Counsel of Ministers, refuses to meet with our President or
20 any officer of our government, then I submit to this intelligent
21 audience that the roadblock to peace is not in Washington, but
22 it is in Hanoi, and you know it.

23 Thank you.

24 Let me conclude with these final words of respectful,
25 I trust respectful and thoughtful comments.

1 I am ready to hear these issues debated responsibly
2 by the American people, and I am ready to predict here and now
3 that when they are debated, the people will stand behind the
4 administration which has had the courage to take the difficult
5 middle course, to stand fast against aggression, to insist on
6 the development of democratic institutions even under most
7 adverse conditions, and to show restraint when it has the power
8 to do otherwise, for I believe that under a few inches of
9 American soft top soil, which is what some people see, there
10 lies determination and strength of solid rock.

11 My friends, our President and our party can stand
12 before the people in 1968 with a proud record of accomplishment
13 at home, a record of participation and untiring courageous
14 building for a better tomorrow in the world at large.

15 But we can offer them even more, and we want to.
16 We offer them a manifesto of freedom consistent with the
17 strength and the vision of America in the last third of this,
18 the twentieth century, a manifesto of freedom, freedom from
19 poverty for all, freedom from ignorance for all, freedom of
20 discrimination, from discrimination for all, and freedom from
21 fear for all.

22 Now, that is the Democratic Party's promise to
23 America, and it is America's promise to the world.

24 And it is with that message and working for it and
25 believing in it that we can make America stand for the best

1 that is in it, that we can keep this America strong and free,
2 and the center of man's peaceful revolution toward a better
3 chance, a fuller dignity and life of freedom.

4 I am reminded, as I leave you, of the words of
5 Franklin Roosevelt as his last breath left his soul and spirit.

6 Recall for a moment, if you can, in your mind's eye,
7 this man, the victim of war as much as any combat soldier, sitting
8 in the bright sunlight in his little retreat in Georgia at Warm
9 Springs, and writing what was his last message, a message to
10 the American people for the Jefferson Day dinner of that year
11 of 1945, a message that never was completed.

12 And the final words of that message as death took
13 him, and as the pen fell from his hand, were these--and I think
14 that these are the words that should be our guiding light from
15 here on out:

16 "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will
17 be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with a strong and
18 enacting faith, my fellow Democrats, my fellow Americans."

19 If a man that was a cripple, if a man who was a
20 casualty of the war, if a man who served this Nation faithfully,
21 diligently and tirelessly could pen those words even as life
22 left him, what less can you do?

23 It seems to me that if one who could not walk could
24 tell us that we needed to move forward, it seems to me if one
25 who had every reason to doubt could tell us that we must

1 erase our doubts, it seems to me that that kind of a man ought
2 to be our inspiration.

3 So I ask you, in the memory of a Roosevelt, in the
4 knowledge of a Truman, in the memory of a blessed one that
5 was taken prematurely from us, of a Kennedy, and in the memory
6 and in deed, may I say, in the living reality of the strong
7 leadership of a Johnson, let us move this country forward under
8 a Democratic banner.

9 Thank you.
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1 CERTIFICATE
2

3 I, JEANNE W. FOGAN, Certified Shorthand Reporter,
4 do hereby certify that I was authorized to and did report in
5 shorthand the proceedings of the 35th Annual National
6 Convention of the Young Democratic Clubs of America on
7 November 16th, 17th and 18th, 1967; and that the foregoing,
8 pages from 1 to and including 39, contains and is a true and
9 correct transcription of excerpts of my shorthand report of
10 said proceedings.

11 IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereto affixed my seal
12 this 1st day of December, 1967.

13 _____
14 *Jeanne Logan*
15 Certified Shorthand Reporter

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25



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