

TO INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY



Hubert H. Humphrey



This pamphlet reprints statements of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey on the Report of the National Commission on Civil Disorders.

Letter of March 8, 1968 to Senator Fred R. Harris.

Excerpts from a Question and Answer Session, May 14, 1968, with Michigan precinct delegates.

Letter of June 15, 1968 to the Rev. Dr. Ralph Abernathy.

Excerpts of Speech of June 20, 1968.

*Letter from
Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey
to Senator Fred R. Harris,
March 8, 1968.*

THE VICE PRESIDENT
Washington, D.C., March 8, 1968.

HON. FRED R. HARRIS,
*U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.*

DEAR FRED: The results of the Commission's Report have surely achieved the President's mandate that you "find the truth and express it." Due to your diligence and energy, but especially due to your sensitivity in understanding America's racial crisis, we now possess a document of immense value and importance. *History will, I believe, come to view this Report as the turning point in America's longstanding commitment to achieve a just and open society for all her citizens.*

All of us now face the task of eradicating the injustices and inequalities you have documented so dramatically. The Commission's eloquence and honesty will be a crucial factor in the ultimate success of this effort.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink that reads "Hubert H. Humphrey". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style. The first name "Hubert" is written in a larger, more prominent script than the last name "Humphrey".

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY.

Excerpts from a Question and Answer Session, May 14, 1968.

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey and Michigan precinct delegates.

Q. MR. KEN HYLTON, Vice Chairman, Michigan Democratic Party: *The next question is: Many of us in the suburban area and in the inner city, are concerned about the racial crisis, and the recommendations of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders, the Kerner Report. What do you think of it and what would you do about it?*

A. VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: The so-called Kerner Report, or the Riot Commission Report, should be understood in this context: it is not an obituary of the American body politic, it is a health report on the social, political and economic condition of America.

The report gives warnings to a Nation that it has abused itself or permitted itself to be abused just as a doctor's report, when you go to a clinic, will tell you that certain things are wrong, that you have certain ailments, certain weaknesses and, then, the doctor or the clinic prescribes certain corrective measures.

This report is a very significant document and should be studied very carefully by every public official and understood.

It is a constructive report.

I believe that most of its recommendations, if not all, are essential for the economic and social health of this country.

I have been very close to the report.



The co-chairman of my campaign, Senator Harris of Oklahoma, was one of the members of the Kerner Commission, and one of its most dedicated, effective and alert members.

I consider that the President for the next four years has the principal responsibility to see to it that the recommendations of the Kerner Report are implemented and that they shall be implemented as soon as possible.

We cannot tolerate nor permit two societies, separate and unequal. It violates everything that this country stands for.

You cannot ask your children to go to school and repeat the pledge of allegiance to the flag and ask their parents to ignore everything that it means.

You cannot talk about one nation under God, indivisible with liberty and justice for all, and then permit conditions to prevail in your country that make it two nations.

You just cannot do that.

And remember this, that there is no liberty for anyone unless there is liberty for everyone and ultimately there is no justice for you unless there is justice for the other fellow.

It is just that simple and we have to understand it.



Q. *Mr. Vice President, what do you feel will be the future of the war on poverty?*

A. The greatest thing about the war on poverty is that it was started. And it has a good start.

The war on poverty in many ways is like a laboratory experiment, and we have been testing new techniques, new ways and means to combat a curse called poverty that is afflicting—that has afflicted—mankind since the beginning of civilization.

Even the Scriptures say, “The poor shall always be with us.”

We are trying to find a way not merely to alleviate the pain of poverty but to eliminate poverty itself, to eradicate its causes. Quite frankly, we have had to experiment. Sometimes we have succeeded and sometimes we have not.

I often wondered what people would say, what the medical profession would feel like if they had to take as much

criticism for the failures of experimentation in the laboratory of medicine as those of us who are in political life have to take for the failures of experimentation in the laboratories of social betterment.

For example, your nation spends billions on trying to find a cure for cancer.

I lost my brother from cancer last summer. I have a son who had cancer of the lymphatic gland. I would give anything if we could find a cure.

We have spent millions, millions and millions of dollars and, yet, we have not found the answer to cancer.

You do not go around and burn down the laboratories and you do not go around and say those doctors are no good and you do not call it a “boondoggle.”

In fact, every year the Congress appropriates more, and every year private industry puts in more, and every year there are more doctors assigning their lives to more research to find the cure

for heart disease, for arthritis, and for cancer. Many of them we have not even come close to.

But you say "Try, keep at it."

Now, my dear friends, more people die of broken hearts and disillusionment and frustration and despair from poverty than from cancer.

And we are experimenting.

Some things work.

For example, Project Headstart. It works, we know it works and we ought to do more of it. We know that the greatest learning period in a child's life comes between the ages of four and seven and yet we know most children never have a school experience until after age six.

We know that with poor children diet means everything: Protein deficiency means intellectual deficiency.

We know these things. We have discovered it in the War on Poverty.

We know that we can take a hard-core unemployed person who never had a job, who has lost his sense of motivation and his self-respect, and, through training, through counseling, through all sorts of efforts that are made, literally bring back the spark of life and hope to that person. We know we can make him into a productive citizen. We have proven it.

If we know we can do it with a million, and we have, then we know we can do it with two, three, four, five million.

This is what I mean about the experimentation that is going on in the War on Poverty.

Q. **PRECINCT DELEGATE:** *Mr. Vice President, you speak in favor of expanding programs to solve our domestic problems and then you are in favor also now of cutting six billion dollars from our budget. How do you reconcile the two?*

A. **VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:** I was not in favor of cutting six billion dollars from our federal budget.

I doubt that the Congressmen who are here are in favor of it either.

I might say that these Congressmen vary uniquely from the coalition which has plagued this country for years—that Republican coalition with a handful of conservative Democrats.

The only way to offset that is to elect some more liberal Congressmen and a man like Humphrey President.

I might just say one thing further.

Your President did not ask for a six billion dollar cut either. The cut that we were willing to make consisted of half in the military and half from withholding projects that were not too urgent to our urban or social needs.

We were not going to cut back on poverty and education and urban programs, contrary to the attitude of the House of Representatives, which only a year ago was taking a dim view of these matters.



*Letter from
Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey
to the Rev. Dr. Ralph Abernathy,
President, Southern Christian
Leadership Conference
June 15, 1968.*

Dear Dr. Abernathy:

This letter is in response to your request for my views on the issues critical to the poor which have been submitted to me.

As one who has witnessed the effects of poverty and economic injustice at first hand, my long-standing involvement and concern for these issues is grounded in harsh reality. As mayor of a major city, as a U.S. Senator, and as Vice President of the United States, I have worked steadily toward the goal of overcoming

the blight of poverty, discrimination and human injustice. Indeed, no issue has demanded—and received—more of my energy, time, and concern during almost 25 years of public service.

Today these issues remain at the top of my personal agenda of action and I will be discussing them in detail during my campaign for the Presidency of the United States. I believe, moreover, that the overwhelming majority of Americans are firmly committed to the proposition that all men must have the chance to participate in the processes of democracy and to share in the bounty of this land.

This commitment, however, has not always been fully achieved. Despite the substantial progress of recent years, despite the declarations that poverty can be eradicated from America, millions of

our citizens still live in a nation apart, separated from the affluence and security which most of us today enjoy. This is not acceptable. We must take every possible step to remedy this denial of the promise of America. *The National Commission on Civil Disorders' report to the nation set forth an agenda that is both sensible and attainable. We must begin to act on that agenda now if we are to remain a free and united people.*

First, we must act to eliminate the spectre of hunger and malnutrition which for some people still stalks this land of plenty. Given our national wealth and prosperity, given our agricultural productivity and abundance, we cannot justify in America on any pretext whatsoever the fact of hunger, malnutrition or starvation. I refuse to believe that a nation which has with generosity fed large portions of the world's people is unable to provide adequate food for the relatively small number of needy Americans in our midst.

I support prompt administrative and legislative action to establish food stamp and commodity distribution programs in every county where severe problems of hunger exist. And I support the adjustments and changes that might be required in our food distribution programs to assure an adequate, wholesome and nutritious diet for those in need. School lunches on a year-round basis must be provided every needy child as rapidly as possible. Administrative arrangements must also be developed to insure that all eligible persons can, in fact, receive the benefits of these programs.

The time has come for a simple and direct declaration of national policy: *every American must be provided enough to eat.* This is not a matter for debate or argument; this is only a question of basic humanity and concern for our fellow man.

Food is essential for life, but life is more than survival. We know that man only becomes whole when he has the opportunity to *earn* his daily bread. It is, moreover, clear that most persons prefer to work and earn their way rather than be passive recipients of welfare and relief.

The past several years have witnessed major breakthroughs in our capacity to provide able-bodied Americans the skills and opportunity to become productive and self-sufficient members of society. The striking success of the National Alliance of Businessmen, for example, in generating job opportunities for the hard-core unemployed is especially encouraging. As Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, I have worked intensively on the challenge of providing disadvantaged young people with meaningful jobs in the summer and during the school year.

We must, however, recognize that further steps are required. As a complement, *not* as a replacement, for our current manpower efforts, we should acknowledge the need for a program of selective public service employment. Numerous surveys have documented the social utility of additional workers in public service occupations such as hospital, school, library, recreation and sanitation aides and other para-professional

occupations. These public services are needed; so are the jobs. The Federal government should *not* become the employer of last resort; it should, rather, act to generate the maximum number of jobs for the disadvantaged in *both* the public and private sectors.

Since the early 1950's, when I held the first Congressional hearings on the subject, I have supported legislation to meet the special needs of migrant farm workers. Congress should act without delay to include farm workers under the National Labor Relations Act. The right of all workers to organize and bargain collectively is basic to our free enterprise system and the American labor movement.

We must also recognize that many millions of Americans are unable to work for a variety of valid reasons, such as age, physical disability, or family responsibilities. Society has long recognized its obligation to assist these persons through programs of public welfare, but the systems we have devised to provide this assistance have often been demeaning to the recipients, destructive of personal motivation and responsibility, and excessively costly to the nation.

It is generally recognized that considerable revision of the welfare system must be attempted in the near future. As a beginning, however, Congress should repeal this year the welfare amendments added to the 1967 amendments to the Social Security Act. The next Congress should receive comprehensive recommendations for basic reform of the entire welfare system and should be prepared to address itself to



the broad issue of income maintenance.

We must also expand urban and rural health centers so that persons in need can receive comprehensive medical care and health services in the neighborhoods where they reside. The striking success of the OEO program of Neighborhood Health Centers demonstrates the life-saving capabilities of these facilities.

I am most sympathetic to your request for greater participation by the poor in the planning and administration of Federal programs affecting them. As President I would support various ways for this participation to be achieved: for example, advisory and review panels in Federal agencies, hiring of the poor as consultants, and the employment of poor persons with demonstrated competence as Federal employees. Indeed, the most active participation of *all* citizens would be sought in the operations of the Executive branch.

As Chairman of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, I am acutely aware of the urgent problems of education, housing, employment and welfare

confronted by our Indian Americans. If I am permitted to serve as President, I would recommend to Congress comprehensive legislation and expansion of existing programs designed to give every Indian adult and child the chance to become full participants in American society or to live in dignity and security on Indian reservations according to his own wishes.

We must, of course, recognize that the severe and deep-seated problems of poverty and deprivation—problems generations in the making—cannot be solved in any one session of Congress or by any single Administration. We must also take account of the substantial progress which has been achieved in recent years; indeed, it is precisely this progress which makes the remaining poverty so unbearable and unacceptable. Yet these realities must not keep us from achieving those objectives which are now within our grasp.

In my view, the proposals outlined above are realistic and, if achieved, would constitute a significant step toward building a more just and humane nation. And these achievements, as with those of recent years, will provide additional incentive to complete the job.



HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

*Excerpts from speech of
Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey
June 20, 1968*

There must be an *Agenda for Social Justice*.

There is not time here today to set out all the detailed items on the Agenda for Social Justice. It is a longer agenda than the other. I outlined part of it last weekend in my letter to Reverend Abernathy. I will present it in detail during the next several weeks.

But its central elements—especially as they relate to civil order—must be made clear here and now.

Most important of all: Every individual must be able to play a meaningful role in his community—have a stake in what is going on . . . be “part of the action.”

John Stuart Mill said it: “Let a man have nothing to do for his country and he will have no love for it.”

ENOUGH TO EAT

The survival of democracy's community depends on *everyone* having a sense of community—or being part of it.

This means participating in

its decisions.

It means contributing to its progress.

And it means sharing in its benefits.

It means a man or a woman saying this is *my* neighborhood—*my* home—*my* country—*my* job.

I submit that the recommendations of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders are right—and that as they are carried out civil order—as well as social justice—in America's cities will be served.

I submit that those proposals of the Poor People's Campaign relating to food, jobs and human dignity are reasonable—that acting on them constructively will contribute greatly to law and order, as well as to social justice.

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 anyone 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 overeating.

TO EARN A LIVING

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.

We must act now to secure these rights.

It won't come free. It isn't cheap. It will not come without change.

It will require federal, state, local, and private resources—not just in dollars but in commitment.

But we know that every dollar we put into the full education of those who are now denied it . . . every dollar we put into the building of homes for those who now live in hovels . . . every dollar we put into the training of man or woman to perform a job will be repaid. And it will be repaid partly in the reduction of crime and violence.

United Democrats for Humphrey
1100 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

THE FULFILLMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS



*Excerpts from a speech by
Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey
to the African Methodist Episcopal
Church Conference,
Philadelphia, Penna.,
May 2, 1968*

I am an old hand at Methodist meetings, I should tell you. My father was a Methodist layman. He was preparing to give the layman's service on the day he was stricken and taken from us. I know what it means to attend a good Methodist camp meeting too.

Today I think of the earlier conventions held here in Philadelphia.

One, I only know from the history books: the first convention of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. That was in 1816, a half century back, in the night of slavery before the daybreak of emancipation. Richard Allen, your first Bishop had been born here, a slave who later bought his way out of bondage. And it was here in Philadelphia in the St. George Methodist Church that Richard Allen and Absars Jones, kneeling in prayer were asked to move to a special seat in a section set aside for Negroes. They left that service along with their brothers and sisters and the formation of this great body the African Methodist Episcopal Church resulted from that action.

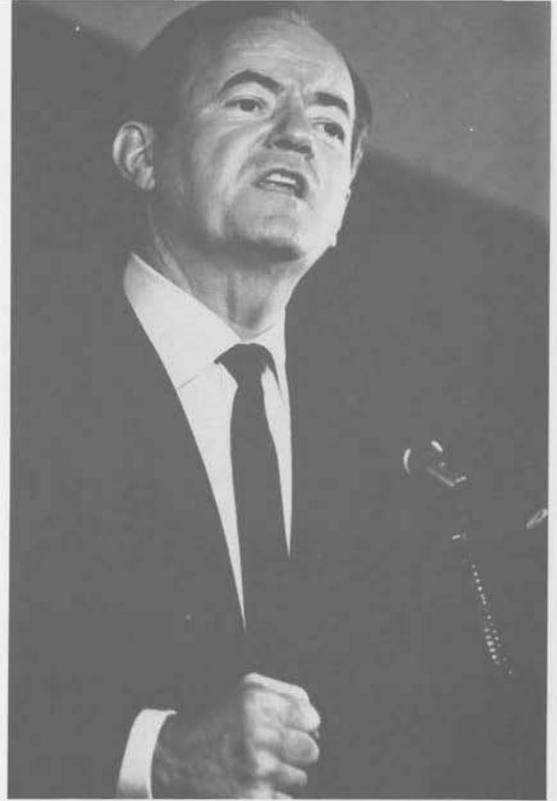
A PROUD HERITAGE

So we speak of your heritage and you can be proud of it. Your heritage is from men and women who stood up for freedom before most people knew what it meant and from those who sustained it through a century and a half of its loneliness.

A hundred and thirty years later at another convention in Philadelphia, this time of the Democratic Party, the issue was strangely the same. A group of us, a small group at first, demanded at that convention that humanity be placed above politics.

We could not clear Richard Allen's courage. It was more than a century too late for that. Only our convictions matched his. The demands we made then seem mighty timid now. We asked for platform planks in the political party's program that the poll tax be abolished; that lynching be made a federal crime; that segregation by race in the Armed Forces be stopped. And that a Fair Employment Practice Commission be established.

What modest requests. And yet, what results! I was privileged to lead this fight to protest before that convention this nation's too little faith in the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God and to answer when they said that we were rushing the issue of Civil Rights. I said we are already 172 years late.



CIVIL RIGHTS TURNING POINT

We won that fight. Those who disagreed left the convention. It was the turning point in the history of Civil Rights. And we not only won the fight at the convention, we won the election in November. But more importantly, we passed eventually those very laws that we asked for and others far beyond them.

Yet, I speak of this today in more humility than pride. For even now, another 20 years later, words spoken at that convention in 1948 are still true. People, human beings. This is the issue of the 20th century.

I count this fulfillment of human rights, along with peace, the central issue of our time. And I expect in the months ahead to contribute the best that is in me to the formulation through democracy's essential process of new and complete national commitment to human rights—a commitment to meet and to meet now the hard, tough problems two centuries of the indecent denial of human equality in this country has created. I know the task is great. I know the difficulties are many. All the more glorious our victory when we attain it.

What I say means meeting the problems of the hard-core unemployment.

It means meeting the problems of rats and roaches and rotten houses.

It means meeting the problems of disease in the poor people of the ghetto and ignorance in America's slums and in her rural areas.

It means listening closely as I have this week to the demands of the poor people's marchers in Washington, for theirs is an authentic voice of the America which has been left out, cast aside.

It means dealing squarely, honestly, effectively, with those who defeat their own cause by violence and riots, and civil disorders. For those who engage in such acts undermine the determined efforts of all of us who are trying our hardest to make equal rights into equal results.

It means doing everything possible to serve the ends and to use the means set out in the report of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders.



WE SHALL ACT

And I propose at the same time—and here today—to call upon the forces of good and decency that are at work in this society to correct these inequities and this social injustice, and I call upon you for your help.

I believe there are great forces of good and decency in our country. I also believe with that great English statesman, Edmund Burke, who once said: "Evil triumphs when good men fail to act." So as good people, we shall act.

Now I did not mention idly either your history or mine. I know what the African Methodist Episcopal Church stands for. I think you know, too, what I stand for. We know each other. We can say to one another what might be and what would be misunderstood if others, either black or white, were to say it.

We can say just this: that the vast majority—I repeat—the vast majority of the people in this country who are white are not racists.

The overwhelming majority of the people in this country who are black are not rioters.

And most of us, black and white, are praying today and working today for the same things for our children. We want the same things. We want an education for those children, we want a decent home in which to live, we want a good income to provide a good standard of living, we want to be treated as men and women, all of us, black or white. That's what this country stands for.

TIME IS RUNNING OUT

In all candor, we haven't done our job well. But most of us are trying mighty hard to do our job well and to do it right. We know that time is running out on us now for meeting a crisis which has been building up for two centuries. But we know too, that there has been more gained in the last five years than in the hundred years before. And we know that action, hard action, prompt action has to be taken.

We know that the costs are high for doing what has to be done, and we know that the costs are even higher for failing to do what has to be done. We know these costs have to be paid; that the worst mistake will be to rely on words when deeds, national deeds, individual deeds, are called for.

But it is high time for that great work-

ing majority of Americans who do believe and believe deeply in each other, who do think of people as people who love each other without the stain of prejudice, or the stain of self-consciousness to say so and to let our voices be heard.

It's time to let our voices be heard above those who teach division, who preach despair, who advocate violence and destruction, and who prophesy chaos and catastrophe. That's not what we want.

LET US UNDERSTAND

The sense that I find in this conference today is the sense not of a Negro spokesman, or a white spokesman, but of American leaders, every one of you here.

We are here not as white moderates or black moderates, but responsible people; not as racial militants, but social militants, not for black power, or white supremacy, but for social justice for every American. I sense in your commitment in this conference not what they call the other America, but the only America, our America.

Soul brothers, yes. Soul brothers in the brotherhood of man. And remember, it was God Almighty who gave to man—not the beasts in the field—to man soul, spirit. And he gave it to every man.

Of course we're soul brothers. We worship the same God, we live in the same country, we want the same things. Of course we belong together. And let

no one divide us, my friends. Remember what Benjamin Franklin said once in this city: we either hang together or we'll hang separately.

It's vitally important that we understand our unity. It's vitally important that we be clear about the basic elements in the essential understanding among us. We find no satisfaction in the superficialities of opportunity that is equal in form but not in fact. Jobs are important, but they aren't enough if they mean only the right of the person who is black to work for a person who is white.

FREEDOM TO WORK

The Freedom to work has to include also the opportunity to own, to be the proprietor, to be the boss as well as the employee.

That means developing an active working partnership between Government and business to make financing, insurance, and training and business techniques available in the inner-city neighborhoods where private enterprise has too often meant the exploitation of the people there by somebody else.

In most of our cities, it means helping to build a whole structure of new locally-owned businesses that communities will value and protect because they are their own. One sure way of preventing destruction of property is when the people themselves own it.

A great British philosopher, John Stuart Mill, once said, "If a man has



nothing to do for his country, he shall have no love for it." Let me put it another way: if a man has something to do with his country, if he has a stake in it, he will love it, he will defend it and he'll take care of it.

You know about open housing. I fought for it, this Congressional delegation fought for it, your Mayor Tate has taken a magnificent stand for it.

But open housing doesn't count unless it is in an open neighborhood and in an open economy. It has to be open all the way. And it doesn't count unless it is in a neighborhood in the fullest sense—a neighborhood of neighbors—not strangers, a neighborhood of friends—not enemies. I think our cities must once again become clusters of neighborhoods where a good life is really possible for all.



REAL OPPORTUNITY ESSENTIAL

An integrated school is of little good to a child who comes there with an empty stomach or who comes from an environment of insecurity and tension or is taught by inferior teachers.

Equal opportunity is a fraud unless it includes the full opportunity to develop everything that contributes to self-respect and human dignity.

The true measure of opportunity in this land of ours is what it permits of pride—pride in yourselves, pride in your people, pride in your name, your family, and your country, humble pride in being an American. That's what we want.

Be a participant, be in on it. We need not only Government for the people but

Government of the people and by the people—all of the people.

We need not only the arousing of people's emotions but also *responsibility*—responsibility such as this beloved Bishop and the others who are with him represent in this country.

Through his work and his prayers he has done more for social justice in this country than many people who shout from the housetops. I didn't have that written in here, Bishop, but I sure feel it in here, I'll tell you that. And it came out honestly and sincerely.

MORE INVOLVEMENT NEEDED

The trouble with most of the Government programs today is that they are all too often based on somebody's doing something for somebody else.

But the programs that show the greatest promise are those that permit the largest *participation* of the people and *responsibility* on the part of those who are principally involved. In other words, programs to help you help yourself.

This is proven by the OIC program of my good friend, Dr. Leon Sullivan, right here in Philadelphia, established here in this city by the Urban League's recruitment and training programs and by such projects as Pride, Inc. in Washington, D.C.

The Negro community should have, and should take, a far larger part than it has up to now in the operation of the necessary machinery of law and order. We must move swiftly and imag-

inatively to give Negroes a major share in the protection of their neighborhoods and other neighborhoods as well. We're making progress but we need to make it faster.

Let me tell you a little story. You know I moved into southwest Washington. Northwest Washington was pretty much an all white community. Southwest Washington is where the slums used to be and they cleaned them out under an urban renewal plan. We have high-income housing, medium-income housing and low-income housing all within three blocks.

The little fellows from the public housing units only three blocks down the street come to see me on Sunday morning. I take them up into my apartment and we have Coca-Cola together.

And I want to show how things work. Now I moved into that neighborhood which was predominantly Negro and, you know, the property values didn't go down one nickel. And the folks haven't told me to leave. We're getting along just beautifully. As a matter of fact, it can be that way in every city in the United States of America.

PROTEST AND PROGRESS

You know there is much more than amusement in the recent proposal of one Civil Rights organization to start an "Adopt a Cop" program—adopt a police officer, to become acquainted.

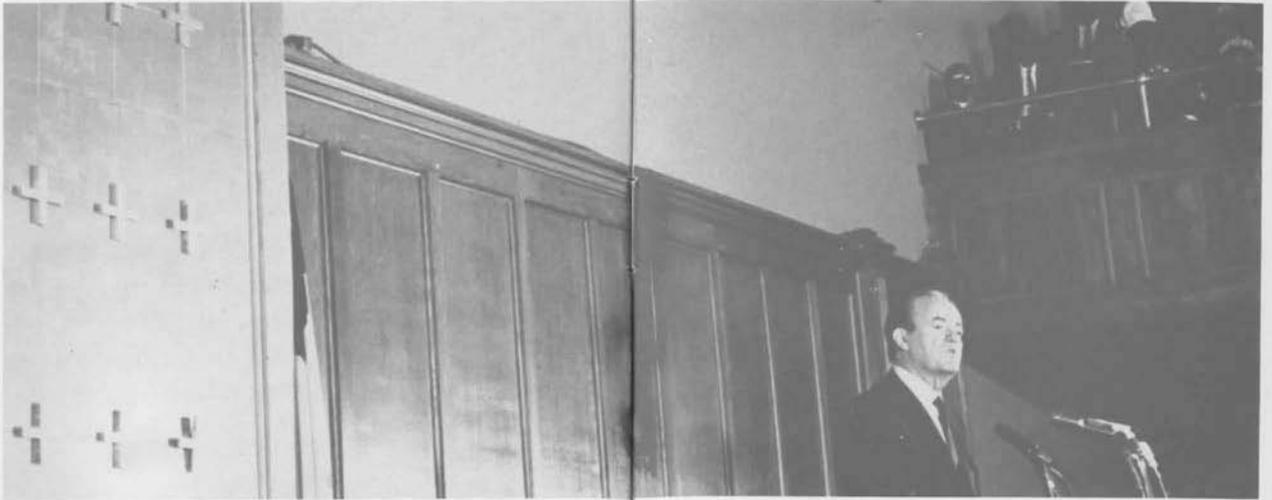
It is especially with the younger generation that there must be joint participation and responsibility in meeting today's situation.

Our appeal must be to our young, above all others. We must have the patience to talk with them, the patience to work with them, and we must have the performance to show them that we are honest men and women and that we keep our word.

Every major industry is today recruiting talent, and many are giving special consideration to the hard core, the minority group unemployed.

Opportunities are expanding, things are changing. We're moving from protest to progress and we're moving faster than most people ever dreamed.

You right here in this audience can best find the young men and women who are still angry, estranged, and hostile. You can match them up to the right program and then provide them with that encouragement and aspiration that is missing and without which the case is lost.



A ROLE OF SALVATION

Iwant you to be the missionaries for opportunity. Get that old religious spirit and get on out and find a young person and help him find his way to decency.

You didn't build this great church by sitting on the laurels of yesterday. Not one bit. You built this church, you created this church by a determination to save souls. Well, there are souls to be saved by the thousands and some of those souls can be saved if you talk to them and help them find a job, bring them back to school, get them to be proud. You can do it better than I can do it and I come to you to ask you to make this conference a conference of dedication, a conference to help the youth of America, your youth, to become proud of their country, to become part of it and to have a place in their country. This is your tradition.

In 1856, before the Land Grant Act, you bought a building and 13 acres, in Green County, Ohio to open up the door of opportunity to the slaves who found their way across the Ohio River. You named it Wilberforce University after that great British foe of the slave trade. For over 100 years you have been guiding your young through the fog and the mist of ignorance to the marvelous light of knowledge and opportunity.

Today, more than ever before, when the prophets of despair would divide our country into warring camps, our young people need the assurance that education pays, that jobs are available to the prepared mind and that America needs them desperately and needs their skills and their productivity as much as they need a job and a meaningful career. The nation needs them and they need the nation. Let's help them find it.

THE TASKS AHEAD

I have said that fulfillment of human rights is one of the two central issues of our time and asserted plainly that it requires *action* going beyond what is being discussed here and that good will among good people is just not enough.

I have sought at the same time today to assert the essential importance of recognizing fully the elements of community that we have established.

I have proposed to face squarely every weakness we have—not to run from a single one—and to face up to every mistake that we have made.

I propose also to lead from the strength that we have. This includes the moral and the spiritual imperatives that have been generated by the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

And my dear friends, if you will but let me, I propose to marshal the spirit of that great working majority of all Americans who believe firmly that among the rights of man none is more important, more fundamental, more essential than the right to be respected because a man belongs to the human race.

And now I leave you with these words: And the eye hath not seen, nor the ear heard what things we can do together united, determined and unafraid.

United Democrats for Humphrey
1100 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

**A
LIFETIME
OF
DEDICATION**



Herbert H. Humphrey



I am going to talk to you a little bit about why I believe you ought to make the right decision as to who ought to be the nominee of this party. Now, some of you have different points of view. We believe in freedom of discussion, freedom of debate, freedom of dissent, and after we believe in all that I want you to believe in Hubert Humphrey as well. And I'm going to speak very directly to you.

The first thing I want to tell you is that I need you. And I'm proud to say so and I say it with both humility and with pride. I need your help. In fact there is no man in public life who can fulfill any of the great responsibilities of public service without the help of others.

During my years in public life I've enjoyed the very closest of relationships with Michigan Democrats and with the Democratic leadership in this state. I was in this state when you were building your party. Just exactly as some of your people were in my state of Minnesota when we were building our party.

*Excerpts from
Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey's
address to the Michigan State
Democratic Party Brunch,
Detroit, Michigan
June 1, 1968*

FOR OUR COUNTRY

The Democratic Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota and the Democratic Party of Michigan grew up as twins. We came to life at the same time.

We came into our adulthood, our maturity at the same time. We came into political leadership at the same time. We've represented the same things in the councils of Government throughout our years of public service and public leadership.

When you needed my help, I was here—in the dark days, in the difficult days. And I didn't come here for purposes of self-ambition. I came here to help. I was not running for national office. I was attempting to help a political leadership and young political leaders and older ones to rebuild a political party, to put true liberalism into that party, to help elect people.

I was there. We fought many battles together. We lost a few. We've won more. But what we did we did because we thought it was good for our country. We thought it was good for the American people.

I do not come to you stating that I am a candidate of perfection. I come to you to say to you that I am one who has worked in the vineyards of liberal democracy for a quarter of a century, has learned the difference between promise and performance, has learned the difference between just putting out political rhetoric and delivering the political goods. And we have delivered.



PARTY OF THE FUTURE

I repeat to you what I've said to other audiences. I will not tear somebody else down in order to build myself up.

I happen to believe that the main contest and the main opponent is not in the Democratic Party. I believe that the main contest is going to be with the Republican nominee in the fall and that is what we've got to wait for. And I do not intend to go around tearing at the living political hide of my fellow Democrats, only to open wounds for a Republican nominee to exploit and infect in the following months.



And may I say with equal candor, I don't intend to tear down my party or the program of this party.

I think that what this party has done in this last quarter of a century or longer—under Franklin Roosevelt, under Harry S Truman, under the leadership of Adlai Stevenson, under the Presidency of John Kennedy, and under the Presidency of Lyndon Johnson—is good for America and good for the world. So I want us to conduct ourselves in a way that will develop what we have done, that will advertise what we have accomplished, and then will point to the future—because this party is the party of the future.

'LET US MOVE FORWARD'

Everything that we have done is but a start toward what we know to be broader objectives. Every program that we've advocated is but a beginning for the programs that we know must be broadened.

John Kennedy said "Let us begin," Lyndon Johnson said "Let us continue," and Hubert Humphrey says "Let us move forward on that record."

I do not believe that I need to bemoan that record. I do not believe that I need to tear at the very heart of that record to make my pronouncements and my program look better. Not on your life.

I want to quote to you from a great American whose son is on this platform. Adlai Stevenson III has honored me by his support, and few honors could mean more to me. Adlai Stevenson said: "Patriotism is not a short and frenzied outburst of emotion but the steady dedication of a lifetime."

I know that my dear friend Adlai would permit me to plagiarize just a bit. Let me put it this way: *Liberalism* is not a short and frenzied outburst of emotion but the steady dedication of a lifetime. That's my kind of liberalism.

THE HUMPHREY CREDENTIALS

Let me cite my credentials for liberalism, for a liberalism which is not a short and frenzied outburst of emotion but the steady dedication of a lifetime.

Let's start with my political career in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The first Fair Employment Practices ordinance in the United States with enforcement power, the first—that's where we started. When others didn't dare, in the year 1946, the Humphrey administration in Minneapolis dared to have a human relations commission. Dared to fight bigotry and intolerance. Dared to have a Fair Employment Practices Commission. Dared, if you please, to put that commission to work. That's the beginning.

And how long has my liberalism stood the test? From 1946 to every year in my career in the United States Senate, to the management of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, to help for the passage of the Civil Rights Act that guaranteed votes in 1965. And on the Open Housing Act of 1968 the Vice President was there to help.

Every year, all along the way when the issue of one-man, one-vote was before the United States Senate, the Vice President of the United States was there. He not only was there, he spoke on television and radio and he said "I support one-man, one-vote" because it was necessary to realize the full meaning of democracy.



FIGHTER FOR EDUCATION

Let's look at the field of education. The very first bill in the Senate of the United States to become public law with my name attached to it, back in 1950, was for aid to school construction. The first vote I ever cast in the United States Senate was for federal aid to education. For 16 years in the Senate and for almost 4 years in the Vice Presidency I waged a constant battle to provide greater funds and resources for the educational needs of our people.

I stand here as author of the first Federal Aid to Education Act. I stand here as the co-author of the National Defense Education Act. I stand here as the co-author of the National Science Foundation Act. I stand here as the co-author of our Vocational Education Act.

There has been no outburst of emotional frenzy. There has been the hard, day-to-day work, the consistency of a lifetime of dedication to what every Democrat and every liberal and every progressive ought to be for.



HEALTH GAINS

Let's take a look at the field of health. I took all of the darts and all of the arrows and all of the blows because I stood up for a program of Medicare, a program of health and hospital care under terms of Social Security for our senior citizens. I introduced the Medicare bill in the United States on the 17th day of May, 1949 and I was there for its passage. I went to Independence, Missouri with President Lyndon Johnson to see that bill signed in the presence of Harry S Truman, the man who also put his political life and political prestige behind it.

We are no sunshine patriots. We've been there when the going was tough.

PERFORMANCE, NOT TALK

And let the record be equally clear. We do not think that what we designed is perfect. We look for the day when you not only provide hospital, medical care and nursing home care for our senior citizens, but the kind of preventive health care and medical care for our children that this nation justly deserves. And we'll get this done if we work together.

And then I hear people talking about unemployment and jobs. While others have been talking about it, we've been doing it. Even this week, attending to my responsibilities as your Vice President, I was meeting with labor leaders, with business leaders, with mayors and with others across this country to see to it that hard-core unemployed get jobs, get training, get a chance—to see to it that a million young people in America get a meaningful job, get training, and get their chance in life. Not talk, but performance—that's what we're giving you.

When others ran away from it, I introduced a Job Corps bill. I introduced the first Youth Opportunity Act, and saw it become law. I saw that the poverty program which was sponsored by this Administration became the law of the land. And before that, I consulted and worked with its authors.



A RECORD OF LIBERALISM

In urban affairs, as mayor of the 15th largest city in this nation, I learned the hard way about urban problems. And as Vice President of these United States I have served as liaison with every mayor in America.

I have had more meetings with municipal officials, been to more cities, talked with more of the people who have to come to grips with these problems than all of the other candidates on both tickets put together.

So I come to you with a record of performance over some 20 years in public life, a record of a lifetime of dedication and of fulfillment of service in the cause of liberalism.

But we're not content. I know that this nation of ours and this world of

ours is in change. It always is thus. And I know that what has begun must be expanded. I know that much of what we've done has been an experiment. And I know now that these experiments must be applied on a wider basis.

I know, for example, that Project Headstart must be not only an experiment but must become the general practice throughout the land for our little children. But when you hear phrases and words like these—Project Upward Bound, Vista, Teacher Corps, Job Corps, Headstart, Work Study, Model Cities, Rent Supplements, just to mention a few—these are not phrases that are identified with yesterdays. They spell out the program of tomorrow. These are the things that we've worked to make a reality in this country.



THE PURSUIT OF PEACE

And now finally, let me conclude on what I know is closest to the heart of all of us, the ever-lasting, the constant persevering search for what should be mankind's noblest objective—peace, peace at home, peace abroad, a more perfect union here at home and a more perfect world that surrounds us.

Trying to create the conditions which are conducive to a just and an enduring peace—this is a great challenge. And this purpose too has been the steady dedication of a lifetime.

I have pursued this goal as a delegate to the United Nations, as one of the original sponsors of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, as one who stood alongside Adlai Stevenson in 1956 throughout this country, advocating from every public platform that we pursue relentlessly,

some way, some how, measures to slow down the nuclear arms race.

This has been my work. Not alone, but I've been in the midst of it. And I was there when others shunned that duty. I was there when others turned their back. I was there when others hushed their tongue. I was there when others ran away from it.

And success did not come cheaply or quickly. But it came. And I was one of those who went to Moscow in 1963 as a representative of this Government to sign the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty with the Soviet Union. I was there, too, on the day of achievement as well as the day of birth.

Not only the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty but Food for Peace and the Peace Corps were items of imagination and creativity. And when I hear people say today, I wonder if the Vice President, this fellow Hubert Humphrey, has the creativeness, the innovative character to be able to give some leadership to this nation, I have but one credential to offer you: the record of performance.



A PROUD RECORD

I'm proud of these building blocks of peace, because peace does not come for the wishing of it. Peace does not come merely out of oratory or out of pledges or promises, or placards or marches. Peace comes by the painful, slow, steady, sacrificial process of building a better world, of fighting the fight against want and deprivation.

As the beloved Pope John said to us, where there is constant want there is no peace. And as his successor Pope Paul said to us, development is the new name for peace.

So we build carefully, we build sacrificially, we build steadily, sometimes we

even build slowly this great cathedral, this great structure of what we call the hope of peace in our lifetime and maybe beyond our lifetime.

John Kennedy said, "the search for peace is a lonely struggle," and how right he was. He also said that peace and freedom do not come cheap and he said furthermore, that we are destined, most of us, through the rest of our lives, to live in a period of peril, of danger and of change. And I think those words of truth uttered some seven years ago by a fallen President are still the fact of our time.

Peace, too, requires a lifetime of dedication. A lifetime of dedication to disarmament—and you are looking at the

man that is the author of the Disarmament Agency of this government, against all odds—lifetime of dedication to using our great resources to fight against poverty, not only at home, but abroad.

Food for Peace, education for peace, the Peace Corps, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the Disarmament Agency, the arms control bill, and now the non-proliferation treaty on nuclear weapons that lies before the United Nations, the treaty to ban weapons in outer space, the treaty to prevent the stationing of nuclear weapons in Central and Latin America—these were Humphrey initiatives, and I am proud of every last one of them.

Those are my credentials, except for one other thing. If you help me get this nomination, I'll see to it that we win this election because we can beat these Republicans.

United Democrats for Humphrey
1100 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

CIVIL ORDER, SOCIAL JUSTICE





*Excerpts from a speech by
Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey
National Press Club, Washington, D.C.
June 20, 1968*

It would be the bitterest irony if the purposes that Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy pursued should be thwarted now—not only by the fact of their death but even more its violent circumstance.

These two men, whatever may be your partisan or personal views, stood first of all and foremost for social justice. And in a strange and unreasoning way, that goal has been set off, as though it were in opposition, to the purpose of achieving what we term “law and order.”

ORDER AND JUSTICE

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

What must be brought into evidence, for trial by the jury of the people of this nation, are the full facts of today’s increasing *commonplace* of crime and violence:

- The fact for example of 8,000 mur-

ders in this country every year, and more than four million major crimes.

- The fact, reported in the headlines of every newspaper, that many of the streets of our cities are no longer safe to walk on at night, or many of our neighborhoods safe to live in.

- The fact of an escalation of protest that has sometimes become a dangerous escalation of violence.

- The fact that there are guns today in seven of every ten American homes—and television sets showing every youngster how they are used in the unreal underworld that becomes his vivid daily reality and his entertainment.

Yet these acts, and these statistics, and these facts, and these headlines, and these television programs are not the true story of the America that is yours and mine. They are, however, America's nightmare and they belie the essential truth of this country.

I reject the casual and cynical talk about America being a "sick society."

NO ESCAPE FROM RESPONSIBILITY

It is too often an escape from social responsibility, or an attempt to reduce the costs of responsibility by someone who believes in the divine right of the fortunate.

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

It must be equally clear that the conditions that breed crime and violence have to be sought out—rooted out with the same tenacity and courage.

This relationship between "law and



order" on the one hand and "social justice" on the other must be made plain to every American. I know of no group of people that has a greater responsibility to make it plain than those who are responsible for informing the American public of the facts of our life—the media—press, radio, television, publication.

Our generating idea as a nation was to secure the right—the inalienable right as it was said in our Declaration of Independence—of life along with liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

But this means two things.

It means first protecting life—the breath of life itself, that precious gift of God almighty.

It means, equally, the fulfillment of life—giving life meaning and value and validity.

VIOLENCE HAUNTS LAND

The right of life as a physical fact is in jeopardy today from crime and violence.

And for millions of our fellow Americans, there is jeopardy to the right to life in the sense of life that is meaningful—a violence to human dignity and self respect that haunts this land, a violence in the filth and the degradation of our slums, the despair and the hopelessness of unemployment, the crippling and the debilitating effects of illiteracy.

Violence to the human spirit! The walking dead are amongst us—men and women of despair and hopelessness.

I propose, therefore, that we draw up, in this year of national decision, two agenda:

- first, the Agenda for Civil Order,
 - and an Agenda for Social Justice,
- and that we pursue both simultaneously, relentlessly.

I put these items at the top of the Agenda for Civil Order:

TO STOP RIOTS

First. The rioting in American cities cannot be condoned, cannot be tolerated and it must stop. And if it breaks out again, it must be put down promptly, effectively and firmly. We know how to do that. And it is the first duty of government to do that.

Riots are cruelly wrong. Their toll of life and property is unconscionable. Their first and worst victims are the poor themselves—the inhabitants of the ghetto, the poorest of the poor, the most deprived of the deprived.

Our state laws regarding incitement to riot or to violation of law in any respect need to be strengthened and broadened. And you need to help get these state laws improved and modernized.

Law in this country is not all out of Congress. This is a government of the Federal government, and state and local governments.

If there is looting and burning it must be treated and punished according to the laws against stealing and arson.

The prevention of crime and the enforcement of law against violence are essentially state and local responsibilities. We do not want in a strong national government a federal police force.

But states and local communities need and are entitled to generous help through federal funding of enlarged and better trained law enforcement agencies and personnel.

PUBLIC SUPPORT NEEDED

Law and order costs money—it's not cheap. I know; I served as the mayor of a great city. I expanded a police department, I modernized it and I enforced the law. I didn't theorize about it, I did it.

Law and order costs much more than we are presently spending. And it also requires public support for the police and respect and support for the courts.

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

But violence is the enemy of civil rights. It is the mortal enemy of civil liberty. It is the total antithesis and repudiation of it. It is the ally of reaction—and it is frequently used as an excuse for not doing the things that need to be done in this country to make it a decent country.

Now we've said repeatedly, and it cannot be said too often, that crime and violence cannot be tolerated. It must be stopped.

But I disagree with those who sneer at Constitutional guarantees and propose shortcuts to justice across the quicksand of contempt for due process of law. The due process of law is made for the rich and the poor. It's made for the black and the white, for urban and rural. Don't play with it. It's your one protection against powerful government.



CONTROL OF FIREARMS

Secund. I propose that the sale and the possession of firearms and ammunition be governed by the sole consideration of what is necessary and effective to stop their criminal use.

The President has urged the Congress to control the interstate shipment and sale of rifles, shotguns, hand guns and ammunition. This legislation must be passed *now, today*. It's years late, inexorably late.

And there's more to be done. If the states don't adopt, right away, legislation requiring the registration of all firearms, then the Congress must. The laws against carrying concealed weapons must be greatly strengthened, the penalties for violation increased and the law enforced.



STOP DRUG TRAFFIC

T hird. Federal, state and local agencies must be organized in a massive effort to stop drug traffic in this country.

This means an increase in enforcement personnel. It means stiffer penalties for the violation of laws prohibiting the unlicensed sale of drugs. It means a large-scale program for treating drug addiction and for rehabilitating the victims of addiction once the habit is broken.

It means finding out—instead of wondering and arguing—about the effects of marijuana.

It means adopting the recommendations of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement regarding the sale and the use of drugs.

The drug addict, oftentimes a youngster in this day and age, is the most pitiful person in the world—and can be one of the most dangerous.

COMMUNITY COOPERATION

F ourth. Councils for Civil Peace must be organized at the state and metropolitan level.

Such Councils should include representation from all racial, religious and economic groups, the state attorney general's office, the National Guard, the law enforcement agencies and officials of state and local government—creating panels at a state and local level such as we have here at the federal level in the Security Council.

Such a Council could and should provide a state community relations service designed to prevent violence, to gain community cooperation, and to hear the voices of those who all too often have gone unheard. It could set up a coordinated early warning system, so that coming disorders might be detected in advance. And it could and it must set up a central communications system vital to effective law enforcement.

TELEVISION INFLUENCE

Fifth. We must take a hard, frank look at the effects of television on our children. What happens when they are exposed to endless exercises in the casual infliction of injury and death on television screens? I ask your unbiased, parental, human judgment of this. I ask you to be your own monitor for one week.

I do not propose government censorship. I am unalterably opposed to it. But I do propose effective consideration by the American public—and those responsible for television programming—of how to understand and deal with this pervasive influence on the lives of our children.

Now, these are some of the items—and only some—on the Agenda of Civil Order. Others must be added. But it is a minimum requirement of our society today that government *protect* the right to life and property from violence and crime.

And if I am permitted to lead this nation, I will know how to fulfill that minimum requirement and will do so.

But more must be done. And it can be done in conjunction with securing the right to life with meaning—life that is worth living.

We're human beings, my friends, not animals. Life is more than survival. Life is God's greatest gift.

FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

So there must be an Agenda for Social Justice.

Now, there isn't time here today to set out all the detailed items of that Agenda. It is a longer agenda than the other. I outlined part of it in my letter to the Reverend Abernathy.

But its central elements—especially as they relate to civil order—must be made clear here and now.

Most important of all: Every individual must be able to play a meaningful role in his community. He must have a stake in what's going on. He must have a "part of the action."

John Stuart Mill put it very well: "Let a man have nothing to do for his country and he will have no love for it." Far too many of our fellow citizens have had nothing to do for themselves or for this country. And they are desperately needed today.

SENSE OF COMMUNITY

The survival of democracy's community depends on *everyone* having a sense of community, of belonging, of being a part of it.

And this means participating in its decisions.

It means contributing to its progress.

And it means sharing in its benefits.

It means a man or a woman saying this is *my* neighborhood—this is *my*



home—this is *my* country—*my* property, *my* job, *my* family.

And when they feel that way, they shall love America with all the passion and devotion of the greatest of the patriots.

This means devising new and creative procedures and institutions to encourage direct citizen participation in their government processes—from the neighborhood level to the councils of national government. And I shall offer proposals for such participation.

I submit that the recommendations of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders are right—and that as they are carried out civil order, as well as social justice, in America will be served.

I submit that the proposals of the Poor People's Campaign relating to food, jobs, housing, education and human dignity are reasonable. Say what you want—if it's good for you, it's good for them. And I submit that acting on them constructively will contribute greatly to law and order, as well as to social justice.

TO HAVE ENOUGH TO EAT

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 unequaled wealth and agricultural productivity, for *anyone* to go hungry. What a travesty! What irony! What an incredible situation! It is immoral to allow some babies to suffer from malnutrition while others in our population are concerned about the dangers of overeating.

I submit to this government and to this nation that we must take whatever administrative and legislative steps are required to provide every American with a wholesome and nutritious diet. And we must take these steps now—not later on. Food stamps and commodity distribution programs should be in every low income county by July 1. Let's use this food! Let's not try to make ourselves the political squirrels of the twentieth century by storing it.

Not to be a relief client! To work and to earn a living! To have a job, you know, brings dignity to the individual, resources to his family and wealth to this nation.

The idea of guaranteeing decent jobs to everyone who will work at them makes sense. This is a free enterprise economy, with private employers providing job opportunities and the government making whatever back-up or financing arrangements are necessary. And this means supporting the principal goals of the public service employment legislation now pending in Congress.

RIGHT TO FULL EDUCATION

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

And we must act now to secure these rights.

It won't come free. I know it. It isn't cheap. I know it. It will not come without change.

But I submit—just as those who fought for the independence of this country pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor to those inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—that if we do less as we approach the two hundredth anniversary of our independence, we will lose the meaning of our independence.

All that I've said will require federal, state, local, and private resources—not just in dollars but in commitment. There will be resources available in a growing economy and after Vietnam. And those resources must be immediately directed to the needs of this nation, to a Marshall Plan for our cities. I shall offer such a plan in detail that will work for America just as it did for Europe. I think we can do it.

Civil order and civil justice—those are the twin goals of a free people. And they are not two goals, but they are one.

The future hinges on our realizing this oneness—not only as a moral principle but as a matter 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.

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

That's what makes us Americans—to be able to do both, and as rapidly as possible.

NEW TERMS OF REFERENCE

Now there is the whole context of the time that we live in.

The next President of the United States will face new terms of reference—a whole new set of problems and conditions, not just in America but worldwide.

He will face a new period in human history—a period in which the old premises, the old policies, the old ways of doing things are being brought into question.

He will face not only a new world map but a world containing dozens of countries and millions of people who have, until now, almost literally lived outside of history.

He will face what modern communication and technology have wrought—namely, a highly sensitized, “in touch” and impatient family of people and nations who will no longer accept the

status quo when that status quo sustains hunger, injustice, and lack of participation, or the subjugation of one man by another.

No continent or country will be immune from this rising tide. Rising expectations do not belong to Africa and Asia alone. They belong here too.

And no weapons system will suffice to maintain security in the context of these conditions. War, like slums, is becoming obsolete, far too dangerous for modern man.

Will we be able to cope with all of this?

The answer, I think, is quite evident. We must, and we *will*, if we fully recognize now the nature of what lies ahead.

REEXAMINE PRIORITIES

There is nothing less in this than the need to reexamine and to change, wherever necessary, our national priorities. We must constantly reexamine the allocation of our resources and the structures and the framework in which we work.

If America has stood for anything in its relatively short history—and it has stood for much—it has symbolized the future. It's the other name for hope, the promise of a better day.

All the doctrinaire arguments about the yesterdays, all the rightful pride in our accomplishments mean very little against the challenge of the next decade or the year 2000.

I've spent most of my life working and planning for the future. Some of you know it has cost me some hard knocks and even some rough names.

But I have no regret.

FREEDOM ON TRIAL

What I mean to do now and what I ask you to help me to do is to rally those people who feel the same, who are willing to accept the challenge this new world environment, who understand that we are in the last third of the twentieth century and that freedom itself is on trial.

I want to rally those who have the courage to do whatever is necessary—pragmatic people—to make this democratic system of ours bend and shape to new conditions, as it always has before.

And I mean to oppose those people who are already invoking the nostalgia of the past, escapism, and the inward look as the means by which this country can meet the future.

I want our America to reach out and seize the future rather than to retreat from it. I want it to be the student of living conditions and not the historian of the past.

And I want its leadership to accept as an opportunity the challenges that are presented to us and not to flee from responsibility.

I have a feeling that if we just settle down to the problems the best days of this Republic are yet to be lived. And when we celebrate our two hundredth birthday on July 4, 1976, we shall be able to report to God and man that the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness have in a large measure been fulfilled.

United Democrats for Humphrey
1100 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

THE BETTER IDEA



Herbert H. Humphrey



*Excerpts from a speech by
Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey
Democratic-Farmer-Labor State
Convention, Minneapolis, Minnesota
June 22, 1968*

I want to take this opportunity—in the words of a very great American—to talk sense to our fellow citizens and our fellow DFLers.

It was my high honor, sad duty, and privilege to go to London about two years ago this month and bring back the remains of a great old spirit, Adlai Stevenson—a personal friend, a dedicated, devoted public servant.

Adlai Stevenson said these words and I wish to use them as the text of my message today: “I venture to suggest that patriotism is not a short and frenzied outburst of emotion but a tranquil and steady dedication of a lifetime.”

I knew the man who said these words well enough to know of his deep commitment to liberal thought and philosophy. And I think I would do no disservice to his memory or to his being to put in one different word and read it to you again.

“I venture to suggest that *liberalism* is not a short and frenzied outburst of emotion but the tranquil and steady dedication of a lifetime.” And I come before the members of a party that I helped build to say that there has been a lifetime of tranquil and steady dedication to the cause of liberalism—which is a banner that we raise high and honorably in this great state.

It’s time, my fellow Americans, that we face the realities of our time and not the fiction. John F. Kennedy once said, among his many moving and great statements: “peace and freedom do not come cheap and we are destined to live out most if not all of our lives in uncertainty, challenge and peril.”



FIRST REALITY

That's the first reality of the last third of the 20th century. The cause of peace is not an emotional outburst of utterance in its behalf, but the steady stone-by-stone building of the cathedral of peace, which has been the highest hope and aspiration of mankind to all civilization.

John Kennedy put it right on the line—peace and freedom do not come cheap. And then he backed it up by these words: “Let every nation know—whether it wish us well or ill—that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and success of liberty.”

The words of a patriot. And let it be crystal clear among those who are contestants in this assembly—my supporters, those of my friend, Sen. McCarthy—let it be crystal clear that none of us has a monopoly on patriotism. None of us has a monopoly on the cause of peace. Each in his own way is doing what he thinks is the right things to do.

BE DEMOCRATS

And if I have one plea to this convention it is this: I know of your differences. I am well aware of the emotion that exists and the deep-commitment that exists. But I ask my partisan friends, my fellow Americans at this convention, to conduct themselves in such a way that when the business of this day is done, you will be able to walk out of this door—not as enemies, not even as critics, but rather as free men and women who have spoken freely your thoughts and your views and are willing to go forth and do battle against the common opposition party. Be Democrats!

Yes, be Democrats. More importantly be the kind of an American who will bring respect and who will bring honor to the title of citizen of this country.

SECOND REALITY

The second reality which is one that we much accept is that the answers to problems that are sometimes centuries old—difficulties that have plagued us for generations: difficulties of poverty and racism, of deprivation and frustration—those answers are not simple, nor do they come in the frenzied outburst of emotion.

They come through hard thought, dedication, commitment, programs, policies, argument, debate, and finally, through the refiner's fire of thought, give and take, and solution.

THIRD REALITY

And the third reality is that America is a grown up nation, young at heart, young in spirit, if we wish it that way. But it is grown up and it must act its age, assuming not only the honors that come with leadership but the responsibilities—assuming not only the privileges that come with our wealth but the responsibilities—assuming not only the glories that come with strength and power but responsibilities to ourselves and others.

Young in spirit, but mature in judgment. That must be the third reality in our time.

FOURTH REALITY

And the fourth reality that I would place before you is: That we in this country with all of our shortcomings—and we are prone to list them often—with all our limitations—and some take even joy in reciting them—that we in this country have more chance to overcome the problems that beset us than any people at any time, at any place and ever before. We have the resources, we have the know-how, we have the skills, we have the wealth.

The only question is, do we have the will? I come here to say to you that we have it. The American people can do what they need to do.



NO MONOLITH

We have never asked in this party for unanimity. We have never thought that a liberal political institution should be a monolith. We believe in a pluralistic society for our nation and we believe in a wide variety of views for our people. What is more important to know is that life is made up of many things. A political party has many interests and it does a disservice to the cause of good government if it has but one interest.

And might I suggest that those of us who think we are so very right—and we're all guilty of it—might pause momentarily to ask ourselves a question—could we be wrong?

DISCOVER TRUTH

I don't believe that any man, any mortal has a hammerlock on truth. I believe that what we seek to do out of argument and debate, out of the free processes of democracy is to discover the truth, to seek it, to find out what is right.

It is not difficult, my friends, to do what is right if you know what is right. The problem is to find out what is right; and then to do it to the best of your ability.

Last evening I put the highest priorities for our nation—priority No. 1 for the next President of the United States; priority No. 1 for the next administration at Washington; and it should be priority No. 1 in the United Nations and every state capital and every city, town and township: the relaxation of tensions and the everlasting pursuit of a just and honorable peace at home and abroad.

RECONCILE DIFFERENCES

The next President of the United States must be dedicated above everything else to reconcile those among us who seem to have such strong views and try to find a common ground, and more importantly, to move ahead as we search for that important ground.

And to reconcile the differences in this world; to bind up the wounds, to strengthen the spirit, to mobilize the resources for development—human, material, national, international—because, as the great spiritual leader Pope Paul VI said: “Development is the new name for peace and there is no peace without development and there is no development ultimately without peace. They are one and inseparable.”



NO TIMID CAUSE

Now let me talk to you about peace at home and the search for peace abroad. And let me put it on the line again that the search for peace is not the cause of the timid. Winning peace is a lonely battle.

When I arose here I heard somebody say “1948.” That’s right. And I am proud of every minute of my participation. But my fellow Americans, it wasn’t just a frenzied outburst of emotion in Philadelphia at the Democratic Convention.

I came home to this state to lead the party. I went on to the Congress of the United States and for 16 years, year in and year out, with scorn and ridicule heaped upon me, fought the good fight for the battle of human rights and civil rights. And it was my privilege to be the floor leader, and to be the successful floor leader at long last in 1964, for the most comprehensive program of civil rights ever enacted in any country.

A good idea requires putting it to work. And did we quit in 1964? Never.



GETTING THE JOB DONE

I have had the privilege in this government to coordinate these civil rights activities for the needy, for the minorities of our land, for the black people, for the poor, every day of my life.

I stood alongside the President when we went to the Congress and asked for the guarantee of voting rights. I stood alongside Senator Mondale in the Congress of the United States even this past year as we passed the open housing law that permits people to have freedom of choice in their housing. Freedom of choice—the essence of a free society.

It didn't come easy. The Vice President of the United States helped get those extra three votes to break that filibuster—the Vice President of the United States helped get those hearings that started that legislation—not an emotional outburst of frenzy—but hard, steady, sometimes unknown, anonymous work that gets the job done.

And we haven't even come close to getting the job done. There is so much more yet to do.

NOT FRENZY BUT WORK

The first bill I ever voted on at the Congress of the United States was the aid to education—each year that bill for years was killed and crucified on the cause of racism or religion.

Finally a President came to the White House and the majority whip from the state of Minnesota—the man speaking to you—stood on the floor of the Senate and we passed the most comprehensive, the broadest program of federal aid to education this nation has ever known. Not an emotional frenzy but hard work.

Nineteen years ago this May—May 17, 1941—as Junior Senator from Minnesota, I offered a bill to provide health, hospital and nursing home care under the terms of Social Security for persons age 65 and over. I suffered ridicule and scorn of many. I was called every name that anybody could conceive.

Every year through my public life I stayed with that legislation, sought new sponsors and co-sponsors. And I was

privileged as the Vice President of the United States to go to Independence, Missouri, and sit alongside the President and former President Harry Truman, and see President Lyndon Johnson sign the bill that is known as Medicare. I helped bring it about.

When others stood by and condemned the surpluses that were gathering in our granaries; when others complained about the cost of our agricultural program—four years before it ever became law, and then when it did become law—I'm happy to tell you that my name was on as one of the sponsors—one of the original sponsors—to put the abundance of our fields and our farms to work to save lives in the Food for Peace program which bears my name.

Five years before the Congress of the United States was able to pass a Job Corps program and an anti-poverty program, I went before the committees of the Congress and introduced the legislation to provide for a Youth Opportunity Act, to provide for a Job Corps, to provide for a War on Poverty.

I was there with Sargent Shriver and John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson to help write the legislation that today represents our War on Poverty.

ONLY A BEGINNING

So, ladies and gentlemen, I am not about ready to apologize for what we have done. I am only saying to you that what we have done is only a beginning. We have so much more to do. We have only begun to plow the furrow. We've only begun to open up the opportunities, and I call upon the DFL Party to help us make these programs work far better than they have today.

Somebody said to me when I came into this hall, "Mr. Vice President, be specific." I have been and I shall be.

This party helped elect John Kennedy. This party helped elect Lyndon Johnson. And I've helped with both.

This state was one of the few states of the Midwest that in 1960 went for John Kennedy.

I campaigned in the primaries of that year with Mr. Kennedy. He won and there was no rancor. I came back to this state to lead the fight for that man in the state of Minnesota; I came back to this midwest to lead the fight for John Kennedy. I went on to Congress to become the majority whip, one of his leaders in the Congress, and let me tell you one of the happiest days of my political life was when I stood alongside that man when he said, "let's get this country moving, let's begin."

AN ACCOUNTING

But possibly an accounting might be somewhat helpful. I believe that I am talking to people who are concerned about such things as education and health, consumers, and jobs and the needy and youth.

Thomas Jefferson said, "You cannot be both free and ignorant." And let me assure you that the test of freedom is the education of its people. Four years ago, this government was expending less than 4 billions of dollars on aid to education.

This year we're spending 12 billions of dollars.

Nine million underprivileged children, victims of separate but unequal schools—nine million of the poor in 19,000 school districts—are today receiving substantial aid because a President, a government cared. Because there was a Democratic majority that cared in the Congress of the United States. That's quite a record.

One and one-half million college students are receiving federal loans and grants. Two billion dollars of federal funds last year plowed into our universities for purposes of expansion of facilities and grants for scientific research. Six hundred thousand crippled boys and girls last year aided by vocational rehabilitation. Two million children in the last three years in Project Head Start—the first time they ever had a chance.

I submit to you that this record is not all we would want it to be. It represents only a beginning. Yet it is far better than our opposition ever dreamed it could be and it deserves the commenda-

tion and the support of the Democratic Party.

A word about health. There's an old phrase that "he who has health has hope, and he who has hope, has everything." This Vice President, this Congress, two Presidents—Kennedy and Johnson—did something for the nation's health.

We have increased the investment in our health programs at the federal level from \$4 billion to \$14 billion in the last four years.

CONSERVATIVES CUT

The conservatives think that's far too much. And even the majority now in the Congress of the United States wants to cut it back. But your President and your Vice President worked long hours to see that whatever cuts come in this budget due to congressional directing shall not come out of the poor; those reductions shall not come from the needy. We're going to see that those reductions come from those who can best afford the reductions rather than those who can least afford the reductions.

I gather we care about life. \$4 billion to \$14 billion. Twenty million people covered by Medicare; seven million last year received its benefits. Thirty-one million children vaccinated to be spared from the scourge of polio. Twenty million from the scourge of measles.

Three million needy children from the ghettos and the slums and the hills and the valleys of rural poverty receiving health care under Medicaid. 286

community mental health centers—and some of them here in Minnesota—serving forty-seven million Americans. One hundred thirty-seven new mental retardation centers. There wasn't one of them three years ago. Not one. One out of every 400 babies born in this land mentally retarded.

CARE FOR THE LEAST

My fellow Democrats, you people say you believe in government, how can you turn your back upon this kind of legislation? I would think you would raise your voices in praise and in jubilation because this government has cared for the least of these.

Four hundred twenty thousand children under the crippled children's program, six hundred eighty thousand infants this past year, receiving care through the Maternal and Child Health Care Act.

They say, what have you done? Working ceaselessly, working with everything we have in the vineyards of liberal democracy. Every one of these things came the hard way.

I heard from this platform today about housing. Ladies and gentlemen, while men were campaigning, we passed the greatest housing legislation and the greatest housing program that was ever passed in the history of this country. A \$5 billion housing program for the people of America.

LIVING LIBERALISM

You know, you can talk liberalism, but it's better to live it, to work for it, to sacrifice for it.

Yes, I hear about the great commitments that we must make to our needy. This has been my life—making those commitments—and it will continue to be my life, in or out of public life.

In 1963, 75,000 of the unemployed of this country—and there were many unemployed—were in job training. In 1968, as of this month: 1,100,000 in training.

One million with new skills under the Manpower-Defense Training Act. And one million youthful hard-core unemployed at one time with new skills under the Youth Act.

A budget this year for manpower development for the first time to advance new training to 1,300,000 people who have never had a job in their lives.

The mobilization of the private business sector, the labor movement and government in partnership in the greatest single effort that has ever been made to bring dignity to a human: to give him the chance to earn and to learn and to stand on his own two feet.

NEVER ENOUGH

That's what we are doing and don't let it go unnoticed. I heard we are not doing enough on the War on Poverty. I agree. But I remind you that four years ago there wasn't any War on Poverty.

THE BETTER IDEA

It seems to me we made some progress. Not enough. But just enough to tell you that we can do it.

Now, my fellow Americans, I ask you for the chance to move this country along. America is the land of tomorrow. It always has been. And the highest destiny of this nation is yet to be achieved.

I ask you to join together in trying to fashion even better policies and programs to correct the inequities and the injustices. To help other people stand tall without tearing somebody else down.

I do not come to this convention seeking your support by denouncing my friends. I come here to this convention seeking your support on the basis of a record of accomplishment and on a promise of fulfillment of things yet undone.

No one is asking that dissent be suppressed. But people are saying it is not enough to dissent. It is enough to dissent to find a better idea and then to put that better idea to work.

And I am going to ask you to help me. I'm going to ask you to help me put that better idea to work. And that better idea is to make America to make America what Lincoln said it once was and what it will ever continue to be: the last best hope of this earth. To make that America, by precept and example, a place that offers opportunity, a place that offers dignity and a nation that offers hope and opportunity not only to itself but to people everywhere.

Thank you very much.

I've been told we haven't been doing enough in pollution control. I remind you that two years ago there wasn't any. I've been told that we're not doing enough about federal aid to education. We've done more in the last four years than in the preceding 100.

I've been told that we haven't done enough for the poor. And indeed we haven't. But let me tell you what we have done.

5,700,000 families of the poor in the last four years have been raised by their efforts and the programs of this government and industry. From the pits and the slums of poverty to the high ground of jobs and dignity: 5,700,000.

These are statistics and facts and I've always been reminded that they're not very interesting.

But let me tell you they are the only way that you find what's been done, not what's been said.

Unemployment rates: January 1961, 5.8%; January 1963, 4.4%; April, 1968, 2.1%. White unemployment: 5.2% in 1961, 3.9% in 1963, 1.9% in 1968.

Non-white unemployment—the tough problem and the one that we must get at—1961, 11.2%; 1963, 9.7%; April 1968, 4.0%.

United Democrats for Humphrey
1100 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036



THE OPEN PRESIDENCY



Hubert H. Humphrey



*The text of a speech by
Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey
prepared for Town Hall Luncheon,
Los Angeles, California,
July 11, 1968*

The distinguishing characteristic of American democracy has been its capacity for dynamic—but at the same time orderly—change.

We have always been impatient with the status quo.

Restless, rarely satisfied, always demanding more of ourselves—raising our standards: These characteristics have kept America young, even as we approach our 200th anniversary.

We have invited controversy of ideas, and used disagreement and dissent as testing, tempering forces.

But there has been the other side to it. Self-criticism, as Adlai Stevenson once said, has been democracy's secret weapon.

But so has self-respect.
So has self-confidence.

BALANCE CHALLENGED

This balance has given American democracy an uncommon degree of responsiveness and stability. Today this balance is challenged.

Established institutions—public and private—are being tested by the rush of events and the demands of a new day, and a new generation.

But the reasoned dialogue which democracy requires is too often interrupted by the shouters and the walkers-out. Confrontations and ultimata can never substitute for free-swinging debate, however spirited.

Our political debate is too much focused on personalities and not enough on the critical issues which confront America.

It is time to restore this balance between self-criticism and self-confidence, between dissent and dialogue.

This does not permit any closing of democracy's processes.

It requires, on the contrary, increased vigor in assuring even fuller opportunity for the citizen to take part in the affairs of his government.

It requires the candidates for the Presidency to speak precisely of their plans for the conduct of this high office and how, as President, they would take account of our present circumstances in America.

DEMANDS ON PRESIDENT

Whoever becomes President next January will discharge the traditional demands upon that office: To build consent, to magnify the people's conscience, to cause them to see what they might otherwise avoid, to recommend to Congress measures for the redress of grievances and injustices, and then fight for their passage, to conduct international discussions directed toward a more peaceful world, to counter threats to domestic tranquility and national security.

He will face, as have few before him, the insistent demand *now* for one citizenship for all Americans—one birth-right of freedom and opportunity to which all may claim equal inheritance.

We shall know in our time whether this democratic ideal can be won—or whether America, despite her momentous achievements and her promise, will become another of history's false starts.

Realizing the fullness of our democracy will depend, first and foremost, *upon our ability to extend the promise of American society to every citizen in an environment where the rights of all are preserved—peacefully and without violence.*

The next President will strive particularly to reach the people whose disappointment over America is keenest—including the most idealistic of our young people—because their basic hope for America is perhaps deepest.

The next President must be America's

teacher and leader—expressing our highest aspirations for justice and peace, at home or abroad. He must simultaneously be student and follower—learning from the people of their most profound hopes and their deepest concerns.

Teacher and student, leader and follower: The Presidency demands that both sides of the equation be kept in balance. To gravitate toward either extreme for any period of time invites either tyranny or chaos—oppression or license.



OPEN PRESIDENCY

Our circumstances today call increasingly for an Open Presidency.

Open in the sense of assuring the fullest possible use of that office to inform the American people of the problems and, even more, the prospects we face.

Open in the sense of stimulating the frankest and widest possible discussion and ventilation of America's problems—both inside and outside government.

Open in the sense of marshaling the spirit and mobilizing the energies of

America to complete the attack on urban decay, illiteracy, unemployment, disease, hunger.

Open in the sense of a readiness to use the Presidency as the instrument not for the enlargement of the federal executive function, but the distribution of such responsibility to states and localities ready to accept it.

Open in the sense of greater access to all the people.

An Open Presidency must be a *strong* Presidency, one that draws its strength from direct and daily closeness to the people.

And part of that strength will be found in reshaping the Executive Department to make it more responsive to individual, as well as "national," needs.

I suggest these more specific courses of action to develop the concept of the Open Presidency:

First. There must be new channels of communications with the President for those persons previously excluded from meaningful participation in our national life because of race, poverty, geography, or modern technology and industrialization.

This is especially needed in the Executive branch of government. Today the Presidency provides principal initiative in drawing up America's agenda of action—Congress then responds and reviews the President's proposals.

It is vitally important that popular involvement occur *before* governmental programs reach the legislature. And there is need for greater popular participation once the executive departments come to administer acts of Congress.



COUNCILS OF CITIZENS

We should consider establishing *Councils of Citizens* in the Executive Office of the President and in each major executive department—to promote the broadest range of public discussion, debate and popular consultation.

Members of these Councils could solicit ideas, reactions, and grievances from all segments of the general public.

Prior to any major departmental decision, such as the promulgation of administrative guidelines, persons affected by the decision could be fully consulted.

In like manner, Neighborhood Councils of Citizens could be established in metropolitan and rural areas. Local decisions have national dimensions. Citizens need a place near their home to

speaking up, sound-off, or simply register their opinions.

Neighborhood Councils can dispel fears. They can start people talking, and knowing each other better. Some form of financial incentive or assistance to encourage the formation of local councils should be considered.

Second. We must encourage new and imaginative combinations of governments, groups, and individuals committed to solving our critical domestic problems—combinations of power and interest which go far beyond the traditional interest groups of American life.

The past decade has taught us how the challenges of urban life, of poverty, of mass education, of employment, are insufficiently met by governments acting alone, or by private action if its immediate interests are pursued in isolation from society's broader goals.

NEW INSTITUTIONS

These problems demand the commitment of society's *full* resources applied in ways which produce maximum impact—and often these combinations will occur outside the established channels of “government” or “business.”

We are only beginning to understand the new institutions and procedures which can do the job.

The National Alliance of Businessmen—private business leaders who are carrying forward a major part of the federal government's assault on hard-core unemployment—not only illustrates a partnership of *public* and *private* members, but also one which operates on national, regional and local levels.

The Urban Coalition represents a different but equally creative approach to marshalling society's resources in the struggle to rebuild and renew the American city—a common front of concerned private citizens polling their energies and talent on the national and local levels.

PRESIDENCY A FORUM

The Presidency should continue to develop as a forum for the private groups and individuals whose talents are essential to success. Boards, commissions, task forces, or advisory panels: These and similar devices help the President take the nation's pulse, and then prescribe necessary remedies.

The Presidency must be a distribution point for the new forces of constructive change—whatever their origins or specific areas of interest. And he must take special pains to relate these forces constructively to the more established institutions of government, particularly the Congress.

Whoever our next President may be, he will soon realize the crucial importance of his dealing effectively with the Congress. These are not the times for stalemate between the White House and Capitol Hill.

Third. The President must encourage the new spirit of localism already at work in this country . . . combined with a new openness of government to the concerns of the people.

LOCAL INITIATIVE

The paradox of the contemporary Presidency is precisely this need to build local initiative and responsibility through the creative and judicious use of national power.

We know that federal funds must be used increasingly to stimulate state, local

and private energies to develop new and indigenous responses to our unsolved domestic issues.

We know, too, that local, state and federal structures for administering programs of human development must be reordered and simplified.

Fourth. A National Domestic Policy Council should be established to provide the same comprehensive, systematic and reliable analyses of domestic problems which the National Security Council and its staff produce on foreign policy and national defense issues.

The National Domestic Policy would include the heads of Cabinet and other agencies dealing primarily with domestic concerns.

The Vice President might be designated to act for the President in chairing the National Domestic Policy Council.

The establishment of such a Council would expand in a real way the President's capacity to foresee and deal rationally with the crush of domestic problems, to sharpen priorities and identify the full implications of alternative domestic policy decisions, to determine how federal programs interrelate, support, or diminish the effectiveness of other programs, to develop a system of *Social Indicators* leading annually to a President's *Social Report*, such as today we have a system of Economic Indicators leading to an Economic Report.



COORDINATE DOMESTIC POLICY

The establishment of a National Domestic Policy Council is centrally important to the idea of an Open Presidency. Today there is an almost hopeless cobweb of relationships that have developed between some ten or a dozen federal agencies, on the one hand, and 50 states, thousands of cities, and tens of thousands of private organizations, on the other.

There won't be effective federal-state-local relationships until there is a fuller integration of federal domestic activities.

There won't be an effective mobilization of private resources for government as long as so many different federal agencies are making separate demands on those resources.

Conversely, once there is this integration and coordination of federal domestic agencies, there can be an effective demand on state and local governments to take those administrative actions at *their* end which permit coordination of the total government effort.

OPEN SOCIETY

John F. Kennedy said: "The history of this nation . . . has been written largely in terms of the different views our Presidents have had of the Presidency itself."

The proposals I have made bear upon the Presidency in the same way that the restless mood of social change bears upon the entire nation.

For a nation in search of an Open Society, the Chief Executive must be committed to an Open Presidency.

In an Open Presidency, one question is paramount: Do existing institutions or traditions help the individual to a freer and more meaningful life?

If they do not, they must be changed.

The Open Presidency demands the exposure of ideas—*all* ideas which relate to the fundamental workings of our society, exposed to the maximum number of people.

The Open Presidency means broader responsibilities upon every American, and the broadest demands of morality upon those chosen to lead.

The American Presidency is the prize possession of all the people.

And the Open Presidency is a ceaseless reminder of their domain.



Citizens for Humphrey
1025 Connecticut Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20036



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