

THE RIGHT TO SUCCEED: MINORITY ENTREPRENEURSHIP

"It isn't equal opportunity just to let everybody into the cellar -- if the door going upstairs is open to some, not to others"

With greater intensity each year, the black American, the Spanish-speaking American, the Indian American, have been demanding from the majority a chance to help themselves. They have increasingly rejected hand-outs and help which did not involve their own initiative, responsibility and power.

Whatever phrases are used to characterize this demand, it is fully in accord with established American traditions of self-reliance and self-help. American society must now summon the courage -- and common sense -- to give minority Americans this chance to succeed within the system.

Everything we are trying to do to eliminate inequality is incomplete as long as it depends on somebody doing something for somebody else -- for equality means equality of self-respect -- of pride.

I will propose, if I am elected President, the legislation and appropriations necessary to permit the maximum practicable public investment in private "minority" enterprise -- but in ways which rely on self-help and self-reliance.

More specifically, I propose the development of an integrated program for inner-city entrepreneurship which makes provision for the three basic elements of business success: capital, training, and markets.

I. With regard to working capital:

I have proposed, as part of a "Marshall Plan for the Cities," the establishment of a National Urban Development Bank -- to operate through affiliated regional banks in the various metropolitan areas. These banks would

- offer loans to inner-city small businessmen . . . ;
- guarantee loans, made through conventional private lenders for inner-city business activities;
- fund non-profit neighborhood development corporations which, in turn, could purchase and operate inner-city business enterprises;
- offer loans to inner-city business cooperatives established to strengthen purchasing power and to provide more effective distribution of products.

In more immediate terms, and on the basis of my review of present administration programs, I recommend a significant liberalization of current agency policies

regarding loans and allocations for inner-city entrepreneurs.

I recommend specifically that the Small Business Administration liberalize its regulations in order to provide loans for a larger number of inner-city projects.

I recommend that the Department of Commerce, the Department of Labor, the Small Business Administration, and the Office of Economic Opportunity expand their present commitments to assist private companies to create inner-city subsidiaries that will be managed by local residents -- especially those companies that provide for the gradual acquisition of the subsidiary by the employees or by a neighborhood corporation.

In the final analysis, however, the private sector must generate the bulk of investment capital for inner-city business development. We must, therefore, also consider a system of tax incentives that will generate the maximum degree of private investment at an accelerated pace.

II. With regard to training:

I recommend that the MDTA program be expanded to provide management training where this will lead to the establishment of new businesses which will be in a position to hire the hardcore unemployed.

The Defense Department's "Project Transition" prepares men for civilian jobs shortly before discharge from the armed services. I recommend that this program be broadened to include training in the techniques of business entrepreneurship and managership.

I recommend that the G.I. Bill be amended to include pay for in-the-shop training in entrepreneurship and managership. . . .

I recommend that programs be developed for assisting private business organizations, such as the National Alliance of Businessmen, to expand their programs in order to provide managerial training to residents to the inner-city. .

III. With regard to markets:

The Small Business Administration's "Section 8A" program provides for the assigning of Federal Government contracts and sub-contracts to businesses owned and operated by minority groups or businesses that hire the hard-core unemployed. I recommend the substantial enlargement of this program.

I recommend that the procurement officers in the Federal agencies be instructed to take the necessary steps to assure that minority firms which bid competitively be guaranteed full and equal consideration in the awarding of government contracts.

IV. With regard to administration:

I recommend the designation of a lead agency -- either the Department of Commerce or the Small Business Administration -- to exercise principal authority in promoting minority entrepreneurship. This agency should also function as the single place in the Federal Government where the prospective minority entrepreneur could obtain information about the available sources of assistance. . . .

This lead agency can be designated immediately. In the longer-term, however, . . . new administrative mechanisms and techniques must be developed to deliver the full resources of society in the most efficient and effective way possible. . . . As President, I would give priority attention to developing these mechanisms with the full participation of the people and institutions involved.

I recommend . . . the establishment of a National Committee on Minority Business. There is a rapidly growing "know-how" in this virtually new area of private -- and human enterprise. It is the kind of know-how that develops in the nation's inner cities before it does in Washington. The National Committee on Minority Business would be responsible for bringing these ideas and concepts to the Federal Government's attention.

The National Committee on Minority Business should also encourage members to participate in starting new inner-city businesses . . . and in providing technical assistance and managerial training for minority-owned businesses.

No one can seriously believe that black development corporations, cooperatives or businesses can flourish in a racially divided society -- one which is separate and unequal. Our efforts to promote the healthy expansion of black entrepreneurship must be seen as part of a larger strategy to rescue the American city -- part of a larger "Marshall Plan for the Cities."

DRAFT

Remarks
Philadelphia

The American people ^{are to} ~~must~~ make a fateful choice in 1968.

There are many issues which concern us.

Most of us, young and old, are deeply concerned about ending the war in Vietnam.

We are concerned about stopping the arms race ... about aggression in Eastern Europe. We are concerned about the quality of life in our cities and on our farms ... about our personal security and that of our democratic institutions.

But there is one issue which dominates all others -- one issue which the American people must consider soberly and without emotion before voting in November: Are we willing to risk becoming a divided nation -- white against black ... poor against rich ...

urbanite against suburbanite ... Northerner against Southerner -- with the attendant hatred, distrust, violence and fear that would ultimately follow.

Make no mistake about it: The choice in 1968 is not further progress versus "go slow" on poverty and human rights. The choice is further progress -- however difficult and, at times frustrating this may be -- versus an irreversable slide toward despair, hatred, division and violence.

The choice is: Are we ready to begin a New Day for all Americans -- or will we return to the Old Era of broken promises and empty dreams.

Twice -- in 1960 and again in 1964 -- you asked the Democrats to get America moving again. And two Democratic Administrations

have answered with job training, education, with a war on poverty, with food stamps, with health care -- all on a scale unprecedented in our history.

After three Republican recessions in the 1950's we have run a full employment, rapid-growth economy which has meant new opportunities for every American, as well as new revenue.

We have yet to bridge the gap between the promise of our society and its performance, but we have given our poor and our minorities new hope that it can, in the end, be closed.

If we now extinguish this new hope, we will start down a slippery slope toward apartheid ... with despair fostering hatred ... violence breeding counter-violence, and extremism feeding extremism.

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Once that happens, there will be no turning back -- no chance to change our minds and reverse direction -- four years or eight years from now.

These are the stakes in 1968.

Today strong divisive currents are loose in our society.

Black extremists and white extremists want to partition us into separate nations.

Neo-segregationists -- black and white -- think the answers lie in separate neighborhoods, separate businesses, separate schools.

There are preachers of violence and hatred for its own sake.

The extremists are few in number, and those who heed them are a minority. But a willful minority -- acting in an atmosphere of fear and hatred -- can overwhelm the judgment and intent of the majority. And they can drag the majority down to their level -- with hatred replacing hopes -- with fear driving out faith.

I have spoken before in Philadelphia of freedom and equality in American society as ideals which could crown our achievements as a nation ... and Americans have responded.

Today I speak of a harsh and immediate reality: We must repudiate those extremists -- black and white -- and move forward toward freedom and equality as one nation. Our hopes of peace and security for ourselves and our children are in the balance.

None of us can afford a compromise on human rights and human opportunity in 1968.

None of us can afford a compact with extremism.

My opponent is no racist -- he is a fair and just man.

But he and the Republican Party have chosen this year to join forces with the most reactionary elements in American society.

This compact was signed and sealed in Miami Beach in full view of the American people.

They have adopted a Southern Strategy very similar to Mr. Goldwater's in 1964 -- and I mean the Old South ... not the new South I mean to win.

They are openly competing with Mr. Wallace for the votes of people who at very best want to put the brakes on our progress toward human dignity.

They have made a calculated decision to ignore the demands of left-out Americans within their own party and in the nation.

The opposition needn't have turned from the road of true justice and opportunity for all.

They could have returned to the tradition of Lincoln.

They could have joined with us in a declaration on human rights and fought this election out on urban issues and foreign policy and agriculture, and much else. I should have welcomed that contest.

But instead we are confronted not only with third-party extremism, but with a Republican-reactionary coalition determined to follow a campaign strategy of silence and evasion on the issue of human rights and opportunity.

Don't rock the boat -- don't make a mistake -- don't take the hard and dangerous course of taking this issue to the people.

I say the future of America cannot be decided on the basis of silence, evasion or soft-peddling the hard choices which today confront the American people.

And so I intend to speak out -- I intend to risk the outcome of this election on the basic decency and strength of the American people.

I intend to make the 1968 Presidential election a national referendum on human rights.

So I say this ...

... to all Democrats, loyal and dissenting,

... to all Republicans who value the future of their nation

... to Southerners and to Northerners who want
to work out the remaining obstacles to one citizenship -- open
to all,

... to all Americans who believe in the noble work
begun here in Philadelphia two centuries ago:

You have a fateful choice to make this year.

We are at the cross-roads of our future.

Which direction shall we choose?

It is not so much a choice between men or even between
parties, but a choice between conflicting currents in our national life.

It is a choice between a New Day of individual dignity and
security -- and an Old Era whose explosive injustice can no longer
be contained.

When this choice is put in human terms, I know how the people will decide.

Who among us is satisfied to see an American soldier who fought in an integrated bunker at Khe Sahn come home to a segregated neighborhood?

Who among us is satisfied that a Peace Corps volunteer in South America returns to a rural hollow where his brothers are hungry and his parents face a future without hope?

We know, most of us, that our only answers lie in jobs ... in education ... in giving every family a chance to own a decent home in a safe and open neighborhood, where the hand of violence is not tolerated ... where children can grow up together in friendship and mutual respect.

We know this kind of progress means expense and effort,
but we also know it is within our capacities as a nation.

So I appeal to your reason and not your fears.

I call on you to vote your hopes and not your hatreds
in 1968.

I ask your help to finish freedom's work in America.

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re-do for end of United Steel Workers speech

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We can let another generation grow up in an environment where nuclear terror is part of our daily life.

We can withdraw from the world... renounce our obligations. As every President from Franklin Roosevelt to Lyndon Johnson, I reject that course.

Instead, we can have real peace emerging from the kind of hard bargaining that produced a nuclear test ban treaty and a non-proliferation treaty... the kind of encounter that will, I am confident, bring lasting peace in Vietnam.

Finally, all of these opportunities will not be won in a single season of politics. It really is a short, short time from May to November....

But the Nixiecrats seem to confine their conscience to just that period... once, every four years.

These opportunities are the gritty business of day in, day out, year in, year out unqualified and untiring dedication:

--to creative action

--to national commitment

--to genuine leadership

--dedication that begins rather than ends on the first Tuesday
in November.

These opportunities will not be won for America by people
who speak of them very carefully now--and then work actively to
oppose them day in--day out--year in==year out.

You know it...I know it...and we didn't learn it the easy way.
We fought these battles together...and we won them together.

Ours is a marching song.

Theirs is a lullaby.

We say, "~~Forget~~ and move forward."

They say, "Forget, and move back...the new way."

Our job this year-and every fourth year--is to elect people
who will care and give of themselves in the other three.

Give ^{me} your help, and we will do just that.

& * * * *

THE HUMPHREY CAMPAIGN
"ACROSS THE COUNTRY"

HUMPHREY: I've been reading that Hubert Humphrey ought to be his own man. That's exactly what I am. It boils down to what Humphrey thinks. I'll let the others think for themselves, write for themselves, speak for themselves. I've never been known to be inarticulate, and occasionally I have a good idea.

(APPLAUSE)

The President of the United States has not asked me to live his administration when I am privileged to have the Humphrey administration. And there will be, if I have anything to say about it, with the help of the American people a Humphrey administration with its own program, its own nuances, its own sense of direction, its own perspective, its own objectives.

APPLAUSE AT PRESS CLUB. DISSOLVE TO MICHIGAN.

IN MICHIGAN, HUMPHREY WALKING BEHIND ADIAS.

NARRATOR:

What kind of President will Hubert Humphrey be?

What is the Humphrey perspective?

What are his objectives?

Since he announced his candidacy in April, Hubert Humphrey has been on the road -- talking to people all across the country and listening to them, too.

Here are some of the things he's said:

HUMPHREY: Now, my friends, the town meeting is open for you and I'll do my level best to answer your questions.

MR. HYLTON: Mr. Vice President, what are your feelings in regard to the repeal of Section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Same as they always have been. I think it ought to be repealed.

(APPLAUSE)

YOUNG MAN: 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?

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

(APPLAUSE)

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, and I have been aware of 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.

ESTABLISH SHOTS

HUMPHREY AND FOUR YOUNG PEOPLE

NARRATOR: But not every issue can be handled in just a couple of sentences. When you're a man proposing to remake the cities of this country, you have to sit down and take the time to explain what you have in mind.

QUESTION: Would this be in line with your Marshall...

HUMPHREY: That's what I was trying to emphasize by using the term, the Marshall Plan for the Cities.

But what it really means is this: a massive moral commitment to rebuild and reconstruct and rehabilitate. And it means putting the money up behind that commitment, and it means not only having the man on top do the planning for you but it means having the people who are at the bottom, so to speak, start to do their own planning about their own kind of community and helping build, rebuild their own neighborhoods, their own communities and their own cities. I think we can do it. But we've got to get these 200 million that you're talking about enthusiastic about it. They have to understand, the great

majority of Americans must understand, that unless we do something about the problem of the minorities in America, the minority of the poor, black or white - by the way, there are more poor whites than there are blacks. Black or white, unless we are willing to do something about their critical condition, unless we are willing to help them gain self respect, unless we are willing to help them become self sufficient, self sustaining, productive citizens, unless we are willing to do that, we are going to have continuing trouble in this country.

RICHARDS: Are you advocating, as many people advocate today, "Black America, go slow? Be patient...

HUMPHREY: No, no...

RICHARDS: ...give us a little more time?

HUMPHREY: Not a bit. In fact, what I'm saying to you is entirely to the contrary. I think that there's a large number of people in this country that know that self-determination, in a sense, for black America is vital; that black America has its own role to play, it must have its own voice, it must be heard, it must be an integral part of the whole American structure with its own dignity, its own self-respect, its own representatives.

That's the positive, and I think there's a great, great bulk of support now for that kind of concept which has recently, by the way, only recently, come into being.

What I was saying is that in the process of getting that support it really doesn't help a great deal to go around slapping the fellow who has made a mistake in the past and say, "Look how wrong you've been" because that makes him react contrariwise. What I think we need to do is what I know some of you are doing, is to say, "Look here, there's a new day. Whether you've been right or wrong, the point is there's a brand new day and we're going to have something to say about it. And we want your understanding that we are going to have something to say about it, whether you understand it or not, we're going to have something to say about it." I think that's really what I'm trying to say to you.

HUMPHREY ON PODIUM AT NATIONAL PRESS CLUB

NARRATOR: People are sometimes reluctant to believe that tomorrow can be different or better. But Humphrey is hopefully hard-headed about the future.

HUMPHREY: I beleive in change, and I've talked to you about it today. And any man that's worthy of the consideration of the American people knows that there's a change all the time in

this country.

QUESTION: But if there is so much change, why, with black and white young people, are there so many young people who are withdrawing from society? They feel that it's really quite hopeless. It doesn't matter who is President. I think if you talk with black youngsters on the streets of Harlem or on the streets of Washington, D.C., they will tell you it doesn't matter who is in that office, who sits in that chair. We're going to have a pittance handed out to us.

I think this is where the frustration comes in. And I am curious to find out what is your reaction to the feeling that it doesn't matter who sits in the chair. There will be some change but not a real change. And I think that's what young America wants.

HUMPHREY: Can we just get on this one, Patrick? My reaction to what you say, Veronica, is this, that I think there is a greater recognition amongst young people in America, all kinds of young people, at our universities and out of our universities, as to the necessity of making the changes that open up these opportunities, that give people a chance, and not only give them a chance, but provide them with a chance, than ever before.

QUESTION: I think you would agree that change has been very slow, far too slow. And this is where the frustration is.

I think when you enact a law and then not enforce it, when law enforcement is in the ghetto for the man who breaks a window and not for a slum landlord who will not give them heat or will not make repairs. That's where the frustration is...

HUMPHREY: Exactly.

QUESTION: ...because they live it every day and they see no change. They don't see the white society caring. I think that's where it comes.

HUMPHREY: Well, Veronica, I couldn't agree with you more. It isn't fast enough, and it's our job to bring it - to bring change with social construction. You know, you can have change. They had change in Hitler's Germany, great change. We don't want that kind of change. You know, you can get change by just destroying. You can get change by dictatorship. You can get change by demagoguery. But what we want is the kind of change that does what? That enriches the human life, that protects the basic integrity of the human being, that adds real meaning to what we call human dignity and freedom.

JIM: Okay, caller, thanks. 7:30 is our time. Mr. Humphrey is

waiting, caller. You're next. Go ahead, please.

CALLER: Good Morning, Mr. Vice President.

HUMPHREY: Good morning.

CALLER: I want to ask you about a domestic question. How do you justify the Johnson-Humphrey administration support of a policy which gives Senator Eastland over \$150,000 a year not to grow a certain crop, and little children are living in poverty?

HUMPHREY: This administration has not sought to have these large price-support payments go the to the large producers. When I served as the majority whip of the United States Senate, I repeatedly introduced legislation, as administration legislation, to limit the number and the amount of what we call price-support payments that you're talking about...

CALLER: But what would you do as President to change this?

HUMPHREY: I would, once again, fight for a limitation upon the amounts that any one producer can receive under price support legislation. I would also make it crystal-clear that in the United States, a rich country with an abundance of agricultural

products, that not a single child went hungry. I would make sure that hunger in this country is for once and for all done away with. We inferred it, and we ought to do it.

CALLER: You feel you can succeed where Mr. Johnson has not.

HUMPHREY: I can sure try. I come in with a fresh spirit.

JIM: All right. You know our numbers, and you know that the Vice President is our guest this morning, so get your questions ready. Mr. Vice President Humphrey is waiting. Caller, you're on the air. Go ahead, please.

CALLER: Mr. Vice President, would you please tell me are you a Fabian Socialist?

HUMPHREY: No, I am not. I am a small-time capitalist. Owner of Humphrey Drugstore. Believe in the profit system, and hope we don't have too many losses.

JIM: Okay, caller, thank you very much. Mr. Humphrey is waiting. Caller, you're on the air. Go ahead, please.

CALLER: Mr. Humphrey, good morning. This is a real honor for me, I'm telling you.

HUMPHREY: Thank you.

CALLER: I'm a big supporter of yours, but the first thing I want to say is what is your honest opinion on Vietnam?

HUMPHREY: Well, it is my view that we're now at a point where we look forward to the processes of a peaceful settlement coming about. I think it's going to take a lot of patience, tenacity, and perseverance, but the conference is under way in Paris despite its dragging, as it appears to be, is a serious conference, and there are serious discussions under way. I'm not sure just when it can materialize into a successful conclusion. Some people say that it won't happen, at least until after the election, because possibly the Communists are willing to wait until they see how this election comes out. But just as war has its own built-in escalation. I think the processes of peace also have their own built-in forward movement, and I place a great deal of confidence in Ambassador Harriman and Ambassador Vance who represent us at the Paris talks, and I'm going to stick with them. But we have achieved one of our purposes now, and one of those purposes was at least to begin the conference, the talks, hopefully the negotiations, and your Government is prepared to follow through on those negotiations in an honorable, patient, tolerant, persevering manner, to get not a phony peace, not a

sellout, but an honorable, genuine, lasting peace, that can mean something not only to you in this front row, but to your children and to your children's children.

That is what we are trying to do.

(APPLAUSE)

My friends, I do not know what this is all going to mean to my campaign.

I have had some people say that if there is peace, Mr. Vice President, why, it certainly will benefit you.

I have heard other people say, well, Mr. Vice President, if there isn't peace your cause is going to be very difficult, your cause may be hopeless.

Ladies and gentlemen, if there isn't any peace, it is not my cause that is only in difficulty, it is everybody's cause.

UNIDENTIFIED PRECINCT DELEGATE: If peace talks in Paris or anywhere else were to fail and you became our next President, what would your policy be?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: To try to reestablish them, constantly pursue the hopeful effort of peaceful negotiation.

I surely want to make it crystal clear, I do not think it would be a wise policy on the part of the Government, after having made

the sacrifices that it has made, to up and just pull out and run away and leave a country demoralized, destroyed and overrun, and I do not think we have to do that.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, Mr. Nixon claims that if elected President, he would end the war in Vietnam. What does he know, sir, that you people don't know apparently?

HUMPHREY: We've been trying to find out and let me put it right on the line. If anyone knows how to end that war with any degree of honor without America running, running away from its responsibilities, without America withdrawing in defeat, if anyone knows how to end that war on honorable terms, he has a solemn sacred high obligation to present that obligation to this government.

This government is looking for every way it can find to bring about an honorable peace in Vietnam.

QUESTION: Why not extend an invitation to Mr. Nixon so you can find out what he has in mind?

HUMPHREY: Mr. Nixon is always welcome at any level of government except as an elected official.

QUESTION: Who will be your running mate?

QUESTION: Well, who do you think is best qualified to be the Vice Presidential nominee in the Democratic Party if you're the Vice -- Presidential nominee?

HUMPHREY: We have such an array of talents that I hesitate to mention the names lest I leave one out. So I shall not mention any names.

QUESTION: Senator Edward Kennedy, sir?

QUESTION: But you ducked underneath the point, Mr. Vice President, that -- I feel as a local reporter, after 23 years in politics, that you, Hubert Humphrey, who -- and you feel you're the most qualified man to be President...

HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

QUESTION: ...We can't seem to get a straight answer here. I would think that you would know in your mind and would want to tell the American people who you want to be your running mate in case anything happens to you, if you die, and somebody should be there that you really think is qualified. And that's why I think a lot of Americans are getting rather cynical about this convention and this election...

HUMPHREY: Well, you're helping making them cynical in all you can.

QUESTION: Well, I'm trying to get at why this is.

HUMPHREY: Because the time for the selection of a Vice President is at the convention, and I think the most cynical thing that a man can do is to play games with the Vice Presidency, and I'm not about ready to go around and say, "Look, I've talked to this man," or "I think this man is good," or "That man is good." I think that's a cheap operation.

When we come to the convention there'll be -- first of all, there will be nominations for the Vice Presidency.

QUESTION: Well, don't you...

HUMPHREY: ...I will express my point of view. There's a time and place for everything.

QUESTION: What...

HUMPHREY: Everything in season, and the time and place for the nomination of the Vice President and his selection, sir, is at the

QUESTION: Well, do you think that in terms of his campaign,

however, that George Wallace, because the polls say he has increased in popularity so much in such a short time, that perhaps -- perhaps directing himself to the issue which concerns most Americans, which is riots in the big cities and crime...

HUMPHREY: Well...

QUESTION:... and that the other candidates are talking, somehow, about something else?

HUMPHREY: Now I don't believe that Mr. Wallace is the only man that has directed himself towards the issue of law and order in this country. I believe that I have. I think the difference is that I've directed my attention towards law and order and civil justice...

QUESTION: ...Mr. Wallace keeps...

HUMPHREY: ...and social justice.

QUESTION: ...talking about a deal, Mr. Vice President. Isn't it inevitable that you're going to have to deal with George Wallace somewhere down the line.

HUMPHREY: I'm not. I don't know who's going to , but I'm not.

QUESTION: Well, if he represents, let's say, 16 or 17 or 20 per cent of the total popular vote in America, and somebody doesn't make a deal with him, what happens to their representation in the White House?

HUMPHREY: No. We have majority rule and it's very important that we understand this.

Now, my own view is that if -- that rather than to go to the House of Representatives and make some kind of a deal, as has been indicated here, that we back the man who has the majority vote of the public or has the largest vote from the public, to become the President of the United States. I think there's great merit in that...

QUESTION: Lot better than...

HUMPHREY: ...and it's much better than wheeling and dealing.

QUESTION: Do you think the electoral college, sir, needs to be dealt with?

HUMPHREY: I do. I think we ought to come to the popular election of Presidents.

(APPLAUSE)

MR. HYLTON: The next question is: Many of us in the suburban area -- and from the next question behind that one, I will add also, -- 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?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: The so-called Kerner Report, of 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. This report is a very significant document and should be understood by every public official and studied very carefully. I think 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 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.

(APPLAUSE)

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.

(APPLAUSE)

You just cannot do that.

(APPLAUSE)

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.

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

(APPLAUSE)

JIM: Okay, caller. Thank you very much. Mr. Vice President, we've talked some about Vietnam, we've talked about domestic matters.

What would you consider to be the main issue so far as issues facing the American public in this Presidential year for both of us concerned here?

HUMPHREY: I think the issue has both a domestic and foreign side to it is -- I put it this way -- the reduction of tensions and the reconciliation of peoples and nations. Another way to say

it is, we simply have to try to bring together our people here in the United States, and we've just got to do it in the spirit of understanding rather than the spirit of bitterness and of disenchantment, and above all, we simply have to start to work to change the policies that have prevailed for the past twenty years which had their relevancy -- I don't want to say they were wrong -- but they have run out as to their usefulness. Those policies were based primarily upon containment and on contemplation. (?) Now we need to have policies that are built upon reconciliation -- trying to reconcile the differences that are there -- trying to open up commerce and trade and diplomatic relationships on more friendly basis between East and West and to reduce the tensions, and at the top of that list, I would say, is the necessity for cutting back and finding ways for mutual agreement, not unilaterally, but for mutual agreement to cut back on the dangerous arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race.

We're building up mountains of nuclear weapons -- intercontinental ballistic missiles. The Soviet Union and ourselves are right now on the precipice of a great new weapons system called the anti-ballistic missile system. Now, if that should happen, both countries would spend approximately and as a total over a hundred billion dollars for a new defensive weapons system which won't give you

any defense. So we simply have to cut back, and I consider that the primary objective of the new administration. This is much more important than even the war that's going on, because the ultimate -- peace of the world depends upon the capacity of the Soviet Union and the United States and their leaders to have a working understanding and agreement so that the hotheads and the men of passion do not get in control and trigger a nuclear confrontation.

JIM: While we're waiting for our next call, one question. Could we say, Mr. Vice President, that that might represent a departure in view so far as your position and the administration's is concerned?

HUMPHREY: Well, it represents a growth in view. It represents a change -- I mean a healthy and very normal growth in what should develop in our foreign policies.

JIM: Okay, caller. Thank you. 7:28 our time. The Vice President is waiting, caller. You're on the air. Go ahead, please.

CALLER: Hello. Vice President Humphrey?

HUMPHREY: Hello there.

CALLER: I'd like to ask you a question. If you get into office, would you clamp down on people who are continually preaching insurrection in our United States and defacing our American flag? I've heard people on many news media preaching insurrection against the United States and saw films of people across the United States tearing down our flag and so forth. If you got to office, would you clamp down on these people?

HUMPHREY: There is now legislation, as you know, that prohibits the desecration of the American flag and it is, as I recollect it, a federal offense. That, obviously, would have to be enforced. But free speech is a matter that we must guard very jealously, even when we don't like what people say. I have said a number of times every man has the right to be heard.

American democracy requires good manners as well as good sense. And it requires a respect for the other fellow's point of view as well as his person.

Now the most dangerous development in the world is a self appointed minority that feels it's so right that it has no tolerance for anybody else. And in the meantime the majority seems to stand back and let people just run over them. I happen to beleive there's a great silent majority in this country that can be aroused and wants to do the right thing. That wants progress, that wants order, that's willing to walk an extra mile, that doesn't have any hate in its heart, that wants to do what's

right.

I call upon that majority now to speak up. And I call upon those who are so sure that they're right to think once again. I'm not sure I'm right. I think so but I stand ready to be corrected. I just pray to God that I may have an understanding and a tolerance of the other man's point of view so that I can learn if I'm wrong. I think this is what we've got to talk about in this country and the sooner we do it the better.

QUESTION: ...something you mentioned a long time ago (?), I don't want it to get lost, that the young people and the people - the black people especially, are coming into - trying to open up the door of the establishment. It would seem to me that the black people particularly were coming in the door of Robert Kennedy, and that's closed to them. The young people are particularly coming in the door of Eugene McCarthy. And I don't see too many of those people coming in your door.

VOICE: Did you say you were referring to black people, black...

QUESTION: I am referring to young activists in general. And it seems to me that your door is somewhat closed, or more closed than the other candidates and that your supporters are not those young people, and this campaign isn't aimed at those people. You

don't think you ought to change that effort?

HUMPHREY: Well, may I say that my door is wide open. I have seen many people walk into the - walk into the wrong door. This is an old habit of people who generally lose their way. They walk into the wrong door. My door has been open for a lifetime, Patrick. My door has been open for a lifetime. I don't come with - with synthetic theory. I come with a lifetime of experience and of practical achievement in the area of human opportunities. I don't go around talking theory and poetry to people about equal opportunity. I believe in it. And not only that, I have lived it. When others ran away from the challenge, Patrick, long before your time, when they ran away from the challenge when it was hot and difficult and mean and ugly, this man that you're looking at stood and fought the good fight for civil rights in this country and for human opportunity, and I have done it all my life and I haven't quit now.

(APPLAUSE)

May I say, if many of you do not get your questions answered, I know a lot of you did not and if you feel that you desire an answer from me, please send me a letter.

I am the darndest letter-writer in the country.

I write thousands of them, much to the chagrin of my staff.

They think I spend too much time writing letters, but I consider a letter a personal conversation, and if you have something you

want answered, and you wonder how this man who seeks your confidence and support for the Presidency, if you wonder how he feels, let me know.

I respect your judgment.

Frankly, I need you, and I come to you asking for your help, and I cannot do it unless I come to you honestly.

(APPLAUSE)

AS HUMPHREY IS SHAKING HANDS AND THANKS

THANKING PEOPLE AND WALKING OUT

NARRATOR: The Humphrey administration will have its own program, its own nuances, its own sense of direction, its own perspective, its own objectives. You have just heard some of them.

CREDITS OVER STILL VIDEO SHOTS OF THE VICE PRESIDENT FROM PREVIOUS SCENES.

Q A lot of my friends, as a result of the Democratic Convention and other things, are saying now that they aren't going to vote in this election for the Presidency. They will vote for Senators, Representatives, local people, but they will not vote for a Presidential candidate.

This, they feel, will be tabulated and be the only way that they can make their protests known. These are all Democrats, by the way. If this results in the destruction of the Democratic Party, so much the better, because they feel that the Democratic Party is unresponsive to its constituency this year.

I would like to know what you are going to say to these people, how you are going to bring them back.

"G" THE VICE PRESIDENT: Well, first I am going to put it right up to them. If they want George Wallace for President, that is their business. If they want Richard Nixon for President, that is their business. They have to think about the consequences of that decision.

There are times that people have to do their own thinking and other people can't do it for them. Also, the right to vote in this country is a precious right and the selection of a President in this country is the most important decision that people make and for those that want to opt out, all I can say to you is that it is an act of cowardice and not an act of courage, because there are many other ways to protest.

We have ways to protest in the election of Congressmen and Senators through the legislative process. Many of the protests that people had in our Party were resolved in the Convention, maybe not to everybody's satisfaction, but life doesn't always come out the way you want it.

You know we have had to learn that there are times that you will take temporary defeat only to go on to win the great victories. I spent 16 years in the Senate fighting for civil rights legislation and was defeated every year. But, the sixteenth year we won.

I spent 16 years in the Senate fighting for Medicare, was called a Socialist, and was called a Communist, and laughed at. And I was in a little minority, but we finally won.

I spent years fighting for what we called the wilderness areas of this country, to protect them, and I had

the mining interests and the lumber interests go after me with hook and tongue, and I could have opted out and said, "It is hopeless, they are all angry and they are ^{mean} men."

But we didn't. We kept at it. I say we have spent a lot of time in this country, some of us, fighting for these programs that mean so much, federal aid to education, the first vote I ever cast in the Senate was on federal aid to education. Every year it was killed, either on the basis of race or religion, one or the other. We kept at it and finally we got it.

Now, my message to young people is that if you are just a sunshine patriot, that is your business. I mean if all you think you have to do is ask for something and it is going to come, you are wrong.

You have to fight for it, and you have to work for it, and the place to work for it is within the system, because remember, the history of Western Europe. Those that opted out of the system, opted out of the system only to see a worse system come in. That is the message that needs to be gotten out here.

I really appeal to young people, and I don't think that there are very many, and I think they are very ^{loud} proud and they get more newspaper publicity than the vast majority. I find thousands of young people today who are with us, by the thousands. We feel that with our student coalition we

have a million young people working for us.

I know that there are some others that didn't get all that they wanted. I ran for President in 1960 and I was defeated, but I didn't opt out. I helped elect John Kennedy, and I worked with Adlai Stevenson two times in 1952 and 1956 when we were defeated. We didn't quit. We rebuilt the Democratic Party and when you talk about the Democratic Party not being responsive, this has been the most responsive instrument that we have been able to perfect in America thus far.

Sure, it hasn't responded to everybody's needs, there aren't that many resources to do it at once. Persevering patience, constantly at it, sticking with it -- I had very little time for the man who comes in and says this is my demand and if you don't do it, I quit. I consider him a coward, I consider him unworthy of very much respect.

I think the man that really counts is the person who comes in and says, "I am going to fight for this thing if it takes 10 years, 15 years." Those people that say with it, they make it.

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Q Mr. Humphrey --

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Can we just get one of the others here? Yes, sir?

Q In 1948 we had four parties, two of them out of the Democrats. Mr. Truman was the low man on the totem pole, according to the polls, yet in the end he won a victory. Do you see any kind of a repetition this year?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Well, there are some similarities, but there are some differences. Mr. Truman was an incumbent President. I think we ought to keep that in mind. That makes a great deal of difference. The power of the Presidency is a tremendous influence in an election.

I am not an incumbent President. As a Vice President, you have many responsibilities, but very little, or no authority. You have generally loaded on your back all the animosities that people have toward an administration, and you very seldom receive credit for any of its achievements. So that is one difference.

There are some similarities. In 1948 you had the Dixiecrats. That is the Wallace crowd of this time. Mr. Thurmond was the head, Senator Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, was the head of the Dixiecrats. He walked out of that convention after I called for my Democratic Party to take a firm stand on the issue of human rights and civil rights legislation. He walked out.

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I noticed he walked into the Republican Convention, and I think that is the difference. They are 20 years behind the times. I think Senator Strom Thurmond is going to play a very unique role in this election, and if this election goes to the House of Representatives, he may be in a very strategic position. It will be interesting to see what kind of deals are made.

The pattern today is very similar. Mr. Dewey, a man that I respect -- I know him as a personal friend -- Mr. Dewey took his vacation and he was cool, confident. The crowds

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were big, the polls were good. Harry Truman was 5 percent or so behind in the poll just before Election Day. He was 5 percent ahead when the election was over in the next two days, that great switch taking place.

I think the American people do not like to be taken for granted. I think the American people finally, when they come into that voting booth, where they are there with themselves, their conscience and their God, they make a decision that relates to what they think is the well being of their country. I believe that is what is going to happen in 1968.

I think you will see a large amount of the so-called Wallace vote fade off into the never-never land of spent frustrations, and we are going to come out ahead.

Q Mr. Vice President, I wish you would talk for a moment about the rightward swing that seems to be taking place today in this country. It frightens me very much when the whole issue of poverty at home is categorized under the sub-heading "Law and Order."

You, yourself, bought television time to talk about law and order. It frightens me when 20 percent of the American populace can jump onto the band wagon of a Southern demagogue. Just what are some of your thoughts about this rightward swing and where is it going to lead, do you think?

I THE VICE PRESIDENT: You call it a rightward swing, and maybe that is as good a way to describe it. I call it a frustration swing. There are a lot of people that are just angry with lots of things. Let me see if I can help on this one.

It is a very complicated problem that you are talking about. We have had more changes take place in the United States economically and socially in the last 10 years than in the preceding 100 -- surely within the last 25 years -- from a relatively rural economy to a highly industrialized urban economy, with hundreds of thousands and millions of poorly equipped, illiterate, unskilled rural people moving into the vast, big cities, losing themselves totally, and losing their family relations and becoming just like wandering tribes in a distant land.

There is the impact of science and technology -- the automobile itself with its mobility, everything has compounded for bigness on the one hand and for a kind of lack of humanness on the other, the intimacy of life that many people knew has been lost.

There isn't any doubt but what this has promoted many frustrations. Then there is the living in the nuclear age, when who knows, what Churchill called this balance of terror -- it bears down on you. Maybe you don't quite realize it, but it is there all the time. Every time there is an explosion in the Middle East, and every time things seem to be getting out of hand anyplace, people wonder if this is it.

Then there are race relations. We have broken the pattern in America by dramatic legislative achievements on race relations. The laws have been passed and there are some of

them rigidly and firmly enforced. This changes the pattern of people's lives and it is hard to change a man's mind. You may get him to change his shirt, you may even get him to change some of his utterances, but to change his mind, and to change his habits, it takes a good deal of doing, and sometimes it takes time.

I have compared what we are going through to a flight in a plane through two weather systems. I do a lot of flying and I used to do it in small planes. I would be very concerned when I would hear that we are going through a weather system, out of a low into what they call a high. I always wanted to get into the high because that meant blue skies and clear sailing. But every time you would call the Weather Bureau, they would remind you that you are going to go through a front and "When you go through that front, Mr. Humphrey, it is going to be rough. It is turbulent and you have to watch out. There are going to be some thunderheads there and if you run into one, you may be wishing you hadn't."

What you hope for, if you are in one of those planes, big or little, is that you have a good pilot and a good co-pilot that had some experience and that the ship that you are riding in, the plane that you are in, is strong and sufficiently flexible and sturdy to take the storms. You try to vector around and veer around a few of them, but sometimes you have to go through and when you are going through that period of

turbulence, you wonder if you are going to make it, and you even have a few people that panic. Some people tie on their seat belts practically to the point of choking themselves, and others are running around asking for the stewardesses and the steward, and this is about what is happening in society.

But if you have a good plane, and I think we have a good Ship of State, and our structure, I think, is sufficiently resilient to take it, and if you have somebody that knows not to run head-on into a thunderhead, which can destroy you, but rather, to vector around it and deflect your flight a moment, and if you have some experience at this, you make it through and you come out into a better day.

I think that is what we are going through. That is why I say that Mr. Wallace is the kind of a pilot that says "Hit the thunderhead head on," and that means catastrophe.

Mr. Nixon is the kind of a pilot who says "Maybe we ought not to take off."

I am the kind of a pilot who says, "Look, we have the storm signals and we know what they are. The Weather Bureau has told us where we are and we have had our hands on these controls before and we have taken many a test flight, and we have tried it before. It is not going to be easy. It is going to be a little hazardous, but get in and put on your seat belts now and we have good radar, and we are going to try to move around and we are going to work our way through it. It is going

to be a little bumpy and all of you faint-hearted souls, you had better turn in your ticket, but those of you want to make the journey and come with me to that new day, you get in the plane and we are going to make it."

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hear us.

Q Mr. Humphrey, our household includes an 80-year old grandfather and I looked around and thought really there is no body very elderly here today.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: You are very kind.

Q He is an admirer of Mr. Muskie, but is so solidly Republican that even this wouldn't woo him.

We have suggested it was to his best advantage to vote Democratic. I wonder if you would speak to that point a bit.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Is it your grandfather?

Q My father.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: You are such a young girl, I thought it was your grandfather.

Q Thank you.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I would like to speak to him. I am sure that he is a man that wants a country, what he would call a safe country. He would like to see less violence, he would like to see greater cooperation. I think I can offer that. I think that I can work with the groups in this country who want to heal and who are willing to sit down and work in the spirit of reconciliation.

I believe that I can work with blacks and whites. I believe that both trust me, because I have trusted them throughout my public life. I believe that the President of the United States must be a person who has tremendous forbearance, and yet, at the same time, is willing to make tough decisions if they have to be made.

Your father is a man who is eligible for all the benefits of social security, and he has earned them, he is entitled to them. One of those benefits is Medicare, which is a Godsend to you, by the way, and your family, as well as to your father.

For younger people, it means that they do not have to feel that they have to draw on what sometimes are meager resources, for most people have meager resources. Some times in Washington, we forget that. They are pretty well in debt.

If your mother and father are elderly and they become critically ill or have long-term illness, somebody has to take care of them. Most of the elderly people in America do not have large savings, most of them. By far, the largest group of poor people in America are the elderly, by far.

With Medicare, your father can go to the hospital of his choice, not a government hospital, but a hospital of his choice, to the doctor of his choice, and he can have hospital care and medical care. And he can also have nursing home care.

I think that that is one thing that he might keep in mind. That didn't come because Republicans helped us,

Q. I think it is so sad, it is really so sad, and I would like to ask you a question in behalf of the disillusioned disenchanted Democrats like me who will vote for

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you. We will vote for you because we can't vote for fascism and we can't vote, for you know, the more rapid decline of America and of soul and all of the rest.

But why is it, are we so far gone in this country that you can't really lead in a more strong way, and in a more rapid way, a rapid reform of stopping the war, and of human rights? Everything that you said is good, but you know it is sad that there are so many people not voting for you because they feel that there isn't much difference between the three.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Well, it is sad for me to hear that, because I think that you are a very intelligent lady. I think that you know there are no quick and sudden answers to problems that are centuries in the making, and if you do think so you are not as intelligent as I think you are.

You just do not cure things overnight. What is important in a democracy are the beginnings, the steadfastness.

Let us take a look at some of the things that we have been talking about here. I mentioned here to a lady a while ago, I know that Medicare does not seem very important to some young people, but when you are aged 65 and over and you are flat broke, and you have to go to the relief office, it is the difference between dignity and being demeaned. It

4 is very important. It took sixteen years. Now, I know some people say, "Why didn't you do it in a year?"

Why don't people grow up in a year? It takes time. Overnight -- there is a whole library, and why don't you read all of the books? It takes time.

What is important is the spirit, the determination to do some things. Mankind has been looking for peace for hundreds of years. People have been preaching religion. There are different kinds of religion and they have a tough time holding present membership much less getting converts. It takes a tremendous amount of time. But more than that, it takes spirit and courage and determination and perseverance.

Now, take for example the nuclear test ban treaty, my dear lady. I started on that in 1956 with Adlai Stevenson. I had a lot of young enthusiasts who said, "This is really great, Humphrey, it is marvelous and he has courage and fine," and of course we did not win the election, and Mr. Nixon said that it was a cruel hoax and catastrophic nonsense.

But I stayed with it, and I set up a committee in the Congress, and there were seven years of interrogation and investigation, of hearings, seven years of being called an appeaser and every dirty name that people could think of. But in 1963 we got the test ban treaty, and when Mr. Kennedy,

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President Kennedy, signed it, he turned to me and he said, "Hubert, this is your treaty." It took time.

Look at the so-called Non-Proliferation Treaty that we now have to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. I have been working on this all during my ^{VICE} Presidency. I went to Europe to see the leaders of six countries on one little section of it, and now there it is, and Mr. Nixon says, "It is a good treaty, but don't ratify it."

You are frustrated? You ought to see how I feel after you work for these things, and work your heart out. It took us from 1948 to 1964 to get the comprehensive Civil Rights Act, and I was in every civil rights movement that this country had, and I was beat upon, as you know. I had to fight for my political life, even in my home State, but I lived to be the Floor Leader for the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

What I am trying to say is: It is what you stand for, and what you work for, and it is not that you make a speech, and say "Well, I am for peace." That doesn't make you a peace man. It means that you made a speech. Peace is not for the timid, and not for the weak. It is for the strong, and the persevering.

Kennedy put it once that peace and freedom are not cheap, and he also said that we will live out the rest of our lives in a period of danger, peril and change, and we will. There just isn't any simple solution.

I think that my duty as a leader is not to kid people. I am not going to tell them that it is going to be easy, because it is not. I can't tolerate the conditions that I see in these slums. They make me sick to my stomach. But I know that they are not going to be corrected overnight. I know that even if I had total power, it couldn't be done.

First of all, we don't even have enough engineers and architects. We don't even have the means, the intellectual means to do it all yet. But what is important is that we are determined to do it, and that we keep people wanting to do it.

May I say that if there is any weakness in America, it is that some people have maybe had it so easy that they don't realize how hard it is to get some things. Some young people today, even in America, have been able to go through college because their parents sent them, and it wasn't too hard. It is hard to study. I think the course work is more difficult, and I think they are more intelligent and I think they are better trained.

But some of us went through college working three and four jobs. I used to get about four hours a night sleep. I never even had books during my sophomore year. I used to go to the library. I couldn't afford them. I learned the hard way.

That is what I am trying to tell people. But we can change things and we are changing things in this world, and

we are making lots of changes, and we have done many things in America that nobody ever believed were possible a few years ago.

Why, when I go down South, and see integrated meetings, I remember 10 years ago it was impossible. When I see people today that are in colleges on Project Upwardbound, nobody ever would have dreamed of it. I see Job Corps centers taking kids out of the bowels of the slums, and we are training them to be productive workers. This was never done in the 1950's.

And you know the war was all over -- and the Korean War was as dirty a war as the Vietnam war -- and it was ended in an armistice. At least there was relative peace. What did the Republican leadership do with the dividends of that peace? Nothing. Even with the war in Vietnam, look what we have been doing in education and in health, and I will give you a little example.

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I will give you a little example because you care, I can see that. One out of every 400 babies born in this country is mentally retarded. We have known that for a long time. The Federal Government never did a single thing about it until the last three years. Now we are doing something about the care of those children, facilities and training, medical research.

We are doing something about it. We have 400 clinics across this country for the mentally ill. We have had mentally ill people in America as long as this country has been here. We are doing things.

The problem that you face up to me is you want it done all at once.

Q No, just faster, not all at once.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Lady, if you think you are impatient, you have met one that will be five lengths ahead of you. I have been impatient all my life. As a matter of fact, one of my major political problems in life has been, up until some of the more recent critics, is that "Humphrey is ahead of his time."

I am, and I still am. If we accomplished what I have been trying to talk about for the last ten years, we would still have plenty of work to do. I want to move this country. But, I tell you something, give me a Congress to work with. You don't have a dictatorship, and you don't want one.

You have to educate your public. You have to train

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that public. You have to bring them up with you. I have gone the length and breadth of this land talking about, to give you a simple thing, teen age employment, the Negro teen ager, the black teen ager, 18, 20, 30 percent of them being unemployed.

I helped get 1,250,000 jobs for poor kids who were teen agers. How did I do it? Going plant to plant, state to state, mayor to mayor, city to city. You didn't read much about it because I didn't have many newsmen following me. The news isn't that you get somebody a job; the news is that you failed to get him a job.

So I am impatient, just as you are. And we will get it done, too.

Introduction

What follows is a treatment for what we've been calling the "Convention Documentary." Obviously, it will have far more use than ^{just} kicking off the campaign in Chicago. But, like "The Road To Leadership," which I did in '64 for LBJ, this will become the definitive biography of Hubert Humphrey for the balance of the campaign, so it's important.

Also important is the word "documentary." Although this ^{film} will be televised initially at the convention, the two thousand "friends" in the ~~the~~ auditorium who would enjoy a rousing, partisan film, are far outweighed by the millions of voters watching in their living rooms, as it is broadcast over all three networks. They are ~~the~~ ^{our} primary audience. To be persuasive, we must be both candid and subtle. The film will have been photographed and edited in the best network documentary techniques ~~but~~ if it tries to ignore ~~the~~ issues, gloss over problems, flatter party personages or glorify the Vice President, it will fail with most of those voter-viewers, no matter how loud the cheers of the delegates. In short, to be effective propaganda, it must not seem like propaganda.

*even down to the small detail of often dropping the title, and referring to him as "Humphrey."

the tough or unnaturally

Beyond the "Convention Documentary," I want to suggest that it is essential to begin quickly on the preparation of two "Contingency Documentaries" which would be kept open-ended. ~~They must be designed~~ The first ^{film} must be designed for the almost certain contingency of a really bad urban riot. The second ^{film} must deal with the Viet Nam war in the event that negotiations

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in Paris collapse, or that, for some other reason, our war ~~war~~ effort escalates. No other potential issue cuts so dangerously against the Vice President, before or after the Convention.

In the event of either contingency, there would be a need for an almost instant response on ~~a~~ television, and that would probably take the form of a live television speech, and/or a videotape documentary. The two Contingency Documentary films would be more thoughtful and more comprehensive, designed to protect ^{and protect} the Vice President's position during the weeks or perhaps months of the crisis.

If Detroit bursts into flames, no one will be able to ask Nixon why he's not doing something. If Hanoi's delegation stalks out of Paris, charging that the Administration has sabotaged the talks, no one will blame Nixon, no students will picket and harass McCarthy or Rockefeller. ^{and} It will be Humphrey out in the street taking the heat ~~in the street~~, not ~~President Johnson~~ Johnson. No documentary or television program can totally ~~can~~ protect the Vice President from these dangers, but they can help, and he's going to need ^{all the techniques of modern politics,} ~~all the techniques of modern politics,~~ help, if any of these unfortunate eventualities comes to pass this Summer...

Attached at the back of the Convention Documentary Treatment is a paragraph on each Contingency Documentary.

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FLASHBACK: '48 CONVENTION - CIVIL RIGHTS

VICE PRES. IN ACTION - DEALING WITH ~~POVERTY PROGRAM~~, DISCRIMINATION

~~HHH AT HOME WITH FAMILY~~

HHH DRAINE SPEECH ON CIVIL RIGHTS

THE CAMPAIGN - HEALTHY DISSENT - RFK + MCCARTHY

DEATH OF RFK

HHH SPEECH ON REAL DIFFERENCES -- WITH GOP

HHH ON PLANE - DEALING WITH POVERTY PROGRAM OFFICIALS

HHH WITH FAMILY - "THE INDIVIDUAL + SOCIETY."

HHH CAMPAIGNING - MONTAGE

HUMPHREY'S THOUGHTS ON THE WORK AHEAD FOR HIM, AND
FOR NATION.

We start with a high aerial shot of the midwest -- South Dakota, perhaps -- prairie land. From the distance it still looks like prairie land. But as we dissolve through to a series of close and closer aerials, we see first, the demarcations of what look like farms, then, the regular pattern of building lots, which reveals itself to be the outlines of a typical middle-class suburban development. We see a solitary figure strolling down one of the streets. As ~~he~~ he moves toward camera, we are zooming in slowly, until the figure is clearly recognizable as Humphrey. The NARRATOR reads ~~only one time~~ over these scenes: •

America in

The landscape of "the sixties" shows only the hand of man; his mark is everywhere on the land, but his design is ~~not~~ ^{nowhere} clearly visible. To ^{try to} understand that design every man has to look ~~within~~ ^{first} inside himself...

Now, we're in close on Humphrey as he walks, and we hear his voice (VOICE OVER.)

HUMPHREY (V/O)

This was all farmland when I was a boy. Some of it wasn't even broken down into farms yet, just forest-land....

We dissolve to him walking down a suburban street a group of three or at most four local citizens. They are talking quietly with Humphrey, as they walk...

HUMPHREY (V/O)

You remember ^{all} those tales, and it's easy to ~~easy~~ start wondering about "progress." But then you ask yourself, where were these people raising their families, then? (CLOSE-UPS OF PEOPLE WALKING WITH HIM) Well, many of them-- and their parents were living in tenements and slums.. These homes mean a lot to them... more than just their savings... it's their stake in this country...

We bring up the sound of the conversation for about 45 sec. They are expressing concern to HHH about crime, etc. HE is listening carefully. We dissolve to Humphrey walking the streets of Minneapolis.

HUMPHREY (V/O)

People see the results from a very close personal point of view. A man whose house ~~is~~ in the suburbs is the ^{big thing} in his life can't always see the urgency of mass transit or urban renewal.

HUMPHREY (V/O)

This city has changed too. When I was Mayor here, Minneapolis went to work on the street car, and the tallest building was the _____. Today, it's bigger, more affluent, more crowded. It takes longer to get to work... and I think to get services...

HUMPHREY (V/O) (CONT.)

most of the people ~~are~~ here
worried -- more than they
used to be... about the
quality of their school systems,
~~about~~ their buildings, even the
quality of the ~~air~~ air they breathe
and the water they drink... I've
seen it in cities all across this
We country...

We dissolve to him walking, in another city,
again with a small group of people. Again, we bring
the sound up, and hear about forty five seconds of their
voices as they talk to Humphrey.

HUMPHREY (V/O)

But there's more in ~~than~~ what
these people tell me than worry and
concern, there's a new sense of
community, a sense of involvement...
It's there in black neighborhoods too...

~~We dissolve to Humphrey walking~~

We dissolve to Humphrey walking with a small group
-- three or four -- young black people ~~in~~ down
the streets of any city...

HUMPHREY (V/O)

The people here care -- intensely.
-- desperately -- about their community --
about the whole shape of this
country...



We bring up the ^{sound of the} voices of these black people for about forty five seconds. HHH is listening intently, with a look of sympathy and involvement. Dissolve to another street, a ~~very~~ small group talking to him, many of them young.

HUMPHREY (V/O)

All that that talk about our young people being ^{politically} apathetic, about the "cop-out generation" that went out with the sixties. (CLOSE-UPS OF YOUNG FACES, ANIMATED)
These people care, they want change, they want to move -- faster than we ~~can~~ ever have...
I think it's exciting. I think it's the beginning of something -- it's the new America!

A huge jet roars deafeningly across screen. In a wild, fast-moving America - in the seventies montage, we flash the title in and out, again and again:

"THE NEW AMERICA"

The ~~sound~~ background is a ^{swinging} melange of music -- rock n' roll to Bach -- and the sounds of the seventies, from computer noises to rockets and racing cars. The pictures flashing across the screen mix beautiful buildings, *with Op art, people dancing, eating, ~~photograph~~ taking motion pictures of their kids, carrying tiny television sets, women wearing pants suits, fashion models in bizarre outfits, this is mixed with unidentifiable pickets and demonstrators, with returning soldiers -- and interspersed throughout -- Vice President Humphrey

laser beams,
heart modern
surgical tents,
and laboratories

surrounded by crowds, in action, in movement, animated and very much part of the scene of THE NEW AMERICA.

We dissolve to Humphrey, sitting in a chair in his own home, his ~~collar~~ jacket is off, his collar slightly open. He has been reading a book, which he now lets rest in his lap. We move in very slowly until we are in very close on his face. His expression is thoughtful.

NARRATED (V/O)

Even for a man used to making decisions, nineteen sixty eight has been a challenging one.

And even for a man running for the Presidency, this campaign has been a hard one to comprehend,

Starting early and unexpectedly, ^{it has} ~~been~~ long, arduous, full of shocks and sorrows and triumphs. For the Vice President, it began late, but ^{Humphrey's} ~~the~~ road is ~~already~~ to the White House is already marked with decisive turns, events and ^{ideas} ~~moments~~ that sum up his campaign, even his career... and perhaps

DISSOLVE TO:

MIDDLE OF OLD PAGE TWO, AS MARKED.

looks across his desk in Washington at an old friend
is with the VZ . He and
Humphrey are working patiently at the task of finding new
answers to an old problem -- unemployment among Negroes, and
job discrimination.

(THEIR CONVERSATION -- NOT A SPEECH -- SHOWS THE VICE
PRESIDENT'S GRASP OF THE PROBLEM, AND HIS DETERMINATION
TO EXPAND THEIR PROGRAM. HE TALKS SPECIFICS. HE IS
NOT CAMPAIGNING -- AT LEAST, NOT VISIBLY. PLAYS IN
THE CLEAR FOR ABOUT ONE MINUTE OR SO.)

But leadership carries with it the opportunity to place your
views on the public agenda. It's a kind of campaigning that
comes very naturally to Hubert Humphrey...

START

(HUMPHREY AND AIDE EXITING FROM EOB, HUSTLING INTO
CAR, WHITE HOUSE IN BACKGROUND.)

May () destination, the United Auto Workers Convention
in Atlantic City...

(WILDLY CHEERING CROWDS. REUTHER WELCOMING HUMPHREY.)

Hubert Humphrey has been here before. In this hall in 1964,
the Democratic nominee for the Vice Presidency had sounded a
note which was to run through the entire Johnson-Humphrey
administration -- a warning against the ^{doom-merchants} ~~snipers~~, the obstruc-
tionists, and the nay-sayers against progress. That night, in 1964
he was ^{answering} ~~after~~ one nay-sayer in particular...

(FREEZE FRAME OF HUMPHREY AT UAW DIAS, AND SLOW
DISSOLVE TO: "BUT NOT SENATOR GOLDWATER" SPEECH.
WHEN WE DISSOLVE BACK TO PRESENT, HUMPHREY IS AL-
READY ADDRESSING UAW CONVENTION.)

Almost four years later, Vice President Humphrey ^{could} offer this
forum of citizens a record of solid achievement in education,

*INSERT 7A

The work of the nation ^{can} ~~is~~ not put aside ^{even} ~~for~~ for a Presidential campaign. Hubert Humphrey is the Vice President of the United States, and those responsibilities are clear -- Vice President first -- candidate second.

BACK TO

OLD SCRIPT

medical care, housing, and employment. But Humphrey ^{was there} ~~is here~~ to remind them of what remains to be done, what must be done...

(HUMPHREY SPEECH: "IMAGINE! POVERTY IN THE RICHEST NATION IN THE WORLD! IMAGINE! HUNGER IN THE MIDST OF PLENTY. HUNGER -- MISERY -- IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA! IT'S LUDICROUS -- IT'S RIDICULOUS -- IT'S IMMORAL! AND WE'RE GOING TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT!" DELEGATES BURST INTO APPLAUSE. ~~DISSOLVE TO~~ * INSERT 7A HUMPHREY, WIRTZ AND MANY STRIDING ACROSS FROM EXECUTIVE OFFICE BUILDING TO WHITE HOUSE. WE SEE

THEM GOING INTO A MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ~~JOHNSON~~.)
^{Education} ~~Jobs, housing, discrimination, agriculture.~~ ~~Neat little~~ compartments until you try to ~~do~~ ^{too often find} something about them. But the men in this room ~~know~~ ^{at times} that the threads cannot be pulled too abruptly without damaging the fabric of society. Nowhere is the complex pattern of that fabric ^{more} clearly visible than ⁱⁿ the White House. A Senator or Congressman may know the needs of a state or district, a cabinet officer may understand this specialty through and through, but only the President and Vice President sit where all those threads converge -- into a nation. * INSERT 7B-7E"

(DISSOLVE TO: HHH IN HIS OFFICE IN SHIRT SLEEVES DICTATING INTO A MACHINE. HE CLICKS IT OFF, CHECKS WATCH, RISES. HIS SECRETARY BRINGS JACKET. VAN DYK ENTERS WITH REPORTS. THEY EXIT BRISKLY. WE PICK THEM UP GETTING INTO HELICOPTER.)

How do you prepare for a job like this man's? No one is born into it in America. Certainly, Hubert Humphrey's beginnings were identical to those of millions of his fellow-Americans.

XX INSERT 7B

WE SEE HIM IN CLOSE CONVERSATION ALONE WITH LBJ IN THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE. NARRATOR:

The Johnson-Humphrey administration has faced one of the most challenging periods in American history. Humphrey served with a man who had been Vice President himself and knows how valuable the man in that job can be. In a time when the world has been asking this country some tough questions, the President has sent Humphrey out to answer them. For both of them, this kind of teamwork goes a long way back to the Senate and even as part of the Kennedy administration. Humphrey believes that ~~we freeze on a shot of Humphrey and Johnson, what significant moments, especially showing some of the Vice President's most important overseas trips.~~ historians will call it the Kennedy-Johnson-Humphrey administration. But no matter ^{what} they call it, Humphrey's willing to be judged by his part in it...

We freeze frame on a shot of Humphrey and Johnson talking, and slowly dissolve back to a sequence showing Humphrey in his relationship with President Kennedy. After seeing footage of him working closely with New Frontier people, and pointing out his authorship of the Peace Corps, Food For Peace, the Job Corps, etc.

The Nuclear Test Ban signing starts a sequence on Humphrey's overseas trips, first for Kennedy, then for Johnson. We show some of the most significant trips to Africa and Asia.

We dissolve to Humphrey entering a meeting of the National Security Council, with LBJ, MacNamara

~~XX~~ INSERT 7 DC

and Goldberg visible. NARRATOR:

The Vice President sits on the National Security Council, a group that wrestles constantly with one of the toughest problems in history, keeping the nation secure in a nuclear world. War and peace are harder to predict, to control, even to recognize. ~~Surviving for the one, while preserving the other is the problem confronting today's leaders.~~

As the Vice President sits in concert with those who must make ^{daily} decisions which only history will judge, he is sobered by his ~~own~~ experience. He has shared ~~these~~ hours of ^{frightening} decision with three Presidents.

~~His experience also gives him reason to hope. On the long, terror-strewn road to peace, Hubert Humphrey has done what other men called impossible...~~

~~(N.Y. VICE PRESIDENT MEETS WITH NORMAN COUSINS AND OTHER LIBERALS, ESPECIALLY THOSE IDENTIFIED WITH JFK ERA. COUSINS DESCRIBES VOICE OVER HUMPHREY'S LONG STRUGGLE TO GET A NUCLEAR TEST BAN. CONTRASTS IT WITH THE REACTIONS OF PEOPLE LIKE NIXON. NARRATOR CARRIES ALONG THE "THREE PRESIDENT'S" THEME, WEAVING IN OUR GRADUAL COMMITMENT IN VIET NAM BY IKE, JFK AND LBJ, AND THE SUPPORT OF HUMPHREY, RFK, FULBRIGHT, ADMINISTRATIONS EFFORTS TO GET NEGOTIATIONS, ETC. HHH'S WORK WITH JFK ON PEACE CORPS, AND HIS STAND FOR NEGOTIATION DURING BERLIN CRISIS.)~~

HUMPHREY (V.O.)

Peace is a word that is meaningless, unless you join it to the word "progress." You cannot talk peace to people so oppressed, so wretched, so desperate, that they see no joy in peace, and no risk in war...

Peace -- it has preoccupied ^{Humphrey} ~~this man~~ all his life. Wars are not fought by leaders, but by young men barely grown. That cruel irony has tortured every President from Lincoln on, and every man who faces the Presidency. Hubert Humphrey cares deeply about young people. He comes to them time and again. ~~He says it is~~ not so much because he has the answers, as because they have the questions which must be heard...

(A Q. AND A. SEQUENCE BETWEEN HHH AND STUDENTS -- POSSIBLY ON VIET NAM.)

The hardest questions are those posed by the young men who

XX INSERT 7D

have died, at Bunker Hill, at Gettysburg, Chateau Thierry,
Anzio, Pork Chop Hill and Kesahn. A SMALL PORTION OF

(HHH'S MEMORIAL ADDRESS: "THE ~~TRUE~~ PRESIDING SPIRIT

FOOTAGE

HERE TODAY IS THE SPIRIT OF YOUTH...THEY ASK ON
MEMORIAL DAY -- AND HAVE THE RIGHT TO ASK, IN THE
NAME OF THEIR MEMBERS WE HONOR HERE? WHAT IN THE
MEANING OF MAN OR THE SENSE OF CIVILIZATION EVER
REQUIRES OR EVEN WARRANTS THE PITTING OF YOUTH AGAINST
YOUTH IN A ~~WAR~~ BY MORTAL HUMAN COMBAT OF THE CON-
TROVERSIES BETWEEN NATIONS?...THE ANSWER MUST STAND
ON THE BITTER EXPERIENCE OF THE AGES THAT WHENEVER
PEOPLE HAVE RESTED ON THE STRENGTH OF THEIR IDEALS
ALONE THEY HAVE FALLEN BEFORE THOSE OTHERS WHO EXERT
THE UNPRINCIPLED FORCE OF THEIR ARMS...THE ANSWER
STANDS, TOO, AND ITS INTEGRITY IS TESTED, BY THE
ABSOLUTE PRIORITY THAT IS GIVEN THE UNRELENTING
PURSUIT OF A BETTER ANSWER...THE PROMISE OF PEACE LIES
IN THE CONSTANT TESTING OF THE REASONS FOR WAR AGAINST
YOUTH'S UNQUENCHABLE FAITH...ITS ~~HOPE AND GOOD HEART...~~
~~ITS HATE OF WAR...~~ ITS FIERCE INSISTENCE THAT WAR
DOES NOT NEED TO BE, AND THAT PEACE HAS TO BE.
THERE IS THE HOPE THAT PEACE WILL EVENTUALLY EMERGE --
PERHAPS NOW SOONER THAN WE THINK -- AS THE ALLOY
OF HISTORY'S SOBERING EXPERIENCE AND YOUTH'S UN-
CONQUERABLE SPIRIT. AND OUR REDEDICATION TO THE PRIN-
CIPLE OF PEACE WILL SPEAK MOST ELOQUENTLY OF OUR
LOVE OF LIFE.)

Peace is no mere catch-word or campaign slogan to a man who

~~XX~~ INSERT 7E

HUMPHREY (V/O)

You ~~can't~~ talk
peace to people
so oppressed, so
wretched, so

has spent his career building for it. Hubert Humphrey knows
that ~~it~~ ^{peace} can be lost ^{behind the lines.} as surely as any battle.

(LAY HIS LANSING COMMENTS OVER FOOTAGE OF CITY
GHETTOS, MEN LOITERING, KIDS LOOKING FOR TROUBLE,
ABANDONED FARMS, ETC. VOICE OVER: "SOMEDAY THIS WAR"
WILL BE OVER. WHAT ARE YOUR ~~PLANS~~? WHAT ARE OUR
PLANS? WILL WE DO AS WE DID ONCE -- WHEN A TRAGIC
WAR ENDED -- CLOSE THE BOOK ON IT? OR WILL WE HAVE
LEARNED THE LESSON? WILL WE SAY THAT THE WAR ON
POVERTY HAS THE SAME PRIORITY, THE SAME HOLD ON OUR
RESOURCES? PEACE CAN BE NOTHING MORE THAN A PAGE
IN HISTORY UNLESS IT IS USED!")

BACK TO OLD SCRIPT
PG. 7

(MONTAGE - SHOWING VICE PRESIDENT'S JOB -- THE DAILY
CHALLENGES OF OUR SOCIETY. HIS WORK ON SPACE PRO-
GRAM, JOB FAIRS, OVERSEAS TRIPS, ETC.)

The job is there every morning when Hubert Humphrey awakens,
waiting for him, and for the nation. The job of moving life
forward not in chronology or even numbers of cars and houses
and dollars, but in enriching the quality of human life for
every individual. That's the challenge, and the opportunity.
This year, Hubert Humphrey takes the ultimate ~~step~~ for a
leader in this country: the Presidency. Nineteen sixty eight,
as never before, is a time of decision for him, and the nation.

(HHH IN WYOMING: "WE IN THIS ROOM -- AND ALL OF US
ACROSS THE U.S. ARE DESTINED TO LIVE OUT MOST -- IF
NOT ALL -- OF OUR LIVES IN UNCERTAINTY, IN CHALLENGE
AND IN PERIL. FDR SAID IT IN 1936 IN PHILADELPHIA:
"WE HAVE A RENDEZVOUS WITH DESTINY." YOU SEE, TO BE
AN AMERICAN TODAY IS AN EXCITING EXPERIENCE, WITH ALL

Like many of them, he has half a dozen home-towns. Was his father another restless American? Perhaps, but there was a touch of desperation in ^{that} ~~his~~ restlessness caused by the depression. Like so many midwestern families, the Humphrey's kept looking for a new start -- in towns like Doland. *The campaign came to the mid-west in May. For Hubert Humphrey it was a homecoming...*
(AERIAL VIEW OF DOLAND. WE HEAR HUMPHREY'S VOICE

DESCRIBING THE DUST EVERYWHERE IN THOSE DAYS. WE
DISSOLVE TO THE MAIN STREETS OF DOLAND ON A TYPICAL
DAY IN 1968.)

Doland, South Dakota is one of those towns which are supposed to have vanished from the American landscape. Population ~~under~~ *ten thousand,* with no major industry, ~~no part of the industrial complex,~~ Doland is essentially what it has always been, a small collection of a few thousand homes and shops and stores, surrounded by a necklace of farms spreading out into the rich flatlands of Dakota. It's a town, not a suburb or a development. It has its own newspaper.

It has its schools and churches, its movie theatres, a drive-in, a radio station. It's a modern town -- people farm the land with chemicals and machines, everyone watches television, people drive new cars, read magazines and books, some even go to Pierre or Minneapolis to attend plays and concerts.

~~Watertown is cosmopolitan; it has a Chinese restaurant, and in 1936, two residents voted Socialist with no visible damage or commotion.~~ But it's a small town, and it's a law-abiding, God-fearing, family-loving town, whose streets are generally free of crime, and whose tongues find phrases like "urban blight" and the Revolution of Rising Expectations" a little strange and foreign.

~~They can tell from the papers and from television that a lot of people don't like like them anymore, or perhaps even think like them. But the people in Watertown know that they and the people in Huron and Rapid City and Sioux Falls haven't vanished. This man knows that too...~~

(HUMPHREY ARRIVING AT AIRPORT, BEING GREETED.)

Hubert Humphrey was born in a town like this, and went to high school in this one. ^{As a youth in Doland, he} ~~and~~ walked down Street a thousand times, and down streets like it in Minnesota and Wisconsin and Illinois, long before he ever set foot on Pennsylvania Avenue, or walked up Capitol Hill. To him, it was and is the American heartland...

(STREET SCENES OF DOLAND WITH THE VOICE OF HHH DES-
CRIBING THE PEOPLE AND TOWN, HIGH SCHOOL, ETC.)

Hubert Humphrey ^{is convinced} knows that these people do believe in progress and in change. Their ancestors came to Minnesota, and Wisconsin and the Dakotas seeking change. But they are the kind of people who do not want change imposed on them. They must be persuaded in the American fashion -- in the open public forum. Humphrey is a teacher-turned-leader. He has said that ~~it is the task of leaders not to coerce or prick or panic the citizenry into change, but to convince them.~~ Humphrey has been at that job for years. He's good at it because his own conviction comes through so shiningly. It's a conviction based on experience -- ^{his career began} not ~~at~~ demanding progress, but ~~as~~ ^{by} making ~~it.~~ ^{by} making it.

(HHH ARRIVES AT MINNEAPOLIS. AMONG THOSE GREETING HIM IS MAYOR ART NAFTALIN. WE FOLLOW NAFTALIN BACK TO CITY HALL. HE WALKS THROUGH THE SCENES AND SIGHTS OF "MAYOR" HUMPHREY'S PAST FOR US, DESCRIBING HHH'S DETERMINATION TO WIPE OUT CRIME, HIS STRENGTHENING OF POLICE FORCE, STAMPING OUT OF CORRUPTION, HIS CAMPAIGN AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM AND HIS ENACTMENT OF THE NATION'S FIRST FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES LAW.

BACK TO HUMPHREY IN PRESENT, TALKING WITH SOME MEM-
BERS OF THE MINNESOTA DEMOCRATIC DELEGATION

In late May, the Vice President met with some members of the Minnesota delegation. Democracy doesn't ^{just} turn on like a machine, ^{every four years.} political action never ceases between elections, and the process of developing and choosing leaders goes on at the grass roots level week in, week out, in thousands of clubhouses, meeting halls and social action centers that form ^{any} national party. These

the working force of

* INSERT ~~III~~ IIA

SCENES OF HHH ADDRESSING NEGRO CHURCH GROUP. OVER
THEM WE HEAR NARRATOR:

Hubert Humphrey told it the same way from Maine to Mississippi, whether the audience was black or white, pro or con.* It was shaping up as the kind of campaign that brought the issues home sharply, the kind of campaign Democrats have always liked...

* President Johnson's decision not to run again had upended the campaign for the nomination, and they were now three exciting candidates.

A BRIEF MONTAGE OF SCENES OF HUMPHREY, KENNEDY AND McARTHY SUPPORTERS, INTERSPERSED WITH QUICK SHOTS OF THE CANDIDATES THEMSELVES. END WITH ^{HUMPHREY} AUDIENCE AT _____, SHOWING A FEW McARTHY SIGNS.

HUMPHREY (Smiling broadly)

Well, I'm glad so many of you think that our next President should be from Minnesota... (LAUGHTER)

ANOTHER BRIEF MONTAGE OF HHH, RFK + McARTHY CAMPAIGNING. NARRATION:

The Democratic Party found itself in an enviable position -- with three good men, qualified and committed, contesting for the nomination. Humphrey himself

(MORE)

INSERT ~~7B~~ 11 B

NARRATION (CONT.)

had once explained ~~the~~ why there
~~was often such debate in~~
~~difficulties between~~ his party, and
such harmony ~~among~~ ~~and~~ the opposition...

HUMPHREY (V/O)

~~It's easy~~ There's only one way
to stand still. It's when you
want to go forward, that good ~~men~~
disagree...

NARRATION

The country ~~had~~ listened as three
voices crossed the land in
the kind of public discussion
that is the vital preamble to national
decision...

CAPS: On a picture of RFK addressing a crowd, we freeze
the frame.

... On June —, one of those voices
was silenced...

~~OVER~~ SEENES OF FUNERAL, WE HEAR HUMPHREY'S VOICE.
WE SEE MRS. KENNEDY, TEDDY, THE PRESIDENT + VICE PRESIDENT.

HUMPHREY (V/O)

* ~~70~~ 11 C

We dissolve to scenes of Hubert and Muriel Humphrey seated outside their home in Waverly. They sit very close, talking quietly. Over this, we hear NARRATION:

The nation's grief expressed itself not just in mourning but in reflection. For everyone, it ~~was~~ ^{seemed to be} a time to think things over, to talk quietly with friends, with family. And out of it came resolution ...
for some

HUMPHREY
I feel all of us have ^{an even greater} responsibility now, to discuss those very issues, and confront those problems that Senator Kennedy cared about so deeply. I myself have resolved to make a special effort to keep alive discussion on ~~those~~ few problems -- and they were few, indeed -- on which he and I had ~~disagreed~~ differed. That will be part of my campaign until we come together in Chicago. I believe that in confronting those issues, it will ~~be~~ ^{become} abundantly clear to the American people that the real disagreement was never between myself or Senator McCarthy or Senator Kennedy. The battle is, between those of us who
rather

X INSERT ~~ED~~ 11 D

HUMPHREY (Cont.)

see ^{modern} ~~human~~ life as a journey of the human spirit and those men who see it as a "franchise," men who see human need only as a "market," men who see the dignity of the individual as an expendable "item" that doesn't fit their balance sheet...

We dissolve to The Vice President's office, where he is conferring with (someone like Roger Wilkins) on anti-discrimination programs. NARRATION:

"Human dignity" is ^{certainly} not on any balance sheet in the Vice President's office, but it's on the agenda. And there has always been an actual Humphrey agenda! Old Senate aides often describe it with awe. It started

in 1949, when Humphrey was a freshman Senator ^{from Minnesota} ~~from Minnesota~~. ^{It} started with a legislative proposal that ^{would be known} ~~was known~~ as Medicare when it finally passed.

Humphrey never gave up on his convictions. Starting in 1951, a Nuclear Test Ban proposal was put back on the agenda every year, as the Senator waded back into the fray. It was signed into law in 1963. Responsible now for the anti-discrimination programs of the ~~the~~ Johnson-Humphrey Administration, the Vice President works with the same tenacity and skill. He and (Roger Wilkins?) know the job well...

WE HEAR A MINUTE OR SO OF THEIR CONVERSATION. (Back to Pg. 11)

men are delegates to the Democratic National Convention. They are the leaders who Democrats in their communities have chosen to nominate their leaders in Chicago. ~~Hubert~~ Humphrey-the-candidate ~~the candidate~~ knows these men, and respects their independence and their judgement. He has been Humphrey-the-delegate, and proved quite an independent one himself.

FILM OF THE '48 CONVENTION. HST, BARKLEY. YOUNG HUMPHREY)
(ONE OF THE DELEGATES AT THAT '48 CONVENTION DES-

CRIBES (VOICE OVER) HUMPHREY'S COURAGE AND ELOQUENCE

IN LEADING THE FIGHT FOR A CIVIL RIGHTS PLANK. WE HEAR
HHH'S VOICE GIVING PART OF THAT SPEECH.

Some of the people at that convention didn't ~~want~~ ^{want} to hear that hard-hitting message, but Humphrey made them listen. He hasn't changed. At this year's State Convention in Maine, he was still telling it like it is...

(HUMPHREY: "IT MUSN'T HAPPEN THAT A YOUNG MAN WHO FOUGHT IN AN 'INTEGRATED' BUNKER AT KESAHN, COMES BACK TO LIVE IN A SEGREGATED SLUM IN AMERICA! YOU'RE JUST NOT GOING TO GET BY WITH IT, MY FRIENDS!"

APPLAUSE BY AUDIENCE INCLUDING GOVERNOR MUSKIE.) * INSERT ^{11A-D} ~~11A-D~~

DISSOLVE TO (CONVERSATION -- INFORMAL -- ON PLANE WITH ~~SOMEONE'S~~
~~HARRIS HUMPHREY~~ ^{SCENE} ~~GROUP FROM O.E.O.~~ ^{REC.} STRESS THAT HUMPHREY IS
NOT SATISFIED WITH IDENTIFYING PROBLEMS -- HE WORKS
TO SOLVE THEM.)

(WAVERLY -- HHH WITH FAMILY -- NO TALKING ^{TO} ~~ON~~ CAMERA --

A LITTLE CASUAL CONVERSATION -- HUMPHREY THE HUMAN
FUN ON THE TRAMPOLINE WITH CHILDREN, DRIVING THE MODEL 'A' --
BEING -- THEN, SOME VOICE OVER COMMENTS ABOUT WHAT THE
INDIVIDUAL WANTS OUT OF SOCIETY.)

(~~THE~~ ~~AT~~ ~~NATIONAL~~ ~~SECURITY~~ ~~COUNCIL~~ ~~MEETING~~.)

~~The individual wants peace, and freedom, and so does the nation.~~

A montage of HHH campaigning around the country, with ~~the~~ enthusiastic crowds. Great Cheering and noise.

It gradually fades out as we do a very slow dissolve to a quiet scene of Humphrey walking by himself, ~~in the~~ ^{in the} woodlands around his ~~Woolly~~ Home. His expression is a pensive one. NARRATOR:

Hubert Humphrey has always described himself as a doer, a talker, a mover, not a man given to brooding or long silent sessions of brooding. But 1968 is a year to make ~~any~~ anyone pause for thought. Only a few short months ago, it must've seemed to Humphrey that the end of the trail was Chicago and the nomination. Now, suddenly, the road ahead is to the White House, and it runs through this ~~entire~~ ^{entire} nation. That's the ~~fact~~ ^{fact} that prospect that excites ~~Hubert~~ Humphrey

(USE ENDING OF ORIGINAL TREATMENT)



GRAM, JOB FAIRS, OVERSEAS TRIPS, ETC.)

Much has been written in 1968 about the restless mood of this nation. The job is there every morning when Hubert Humphrey awakens. It is an election year, and therefore there is an active market for waiting for him, and for the nation. The job of moving life forward not in chronology or even numbers of cars and houses and dollars, but in enriching the quality of human life for every individual. That's the challenge, and the opportunity. The only thing that alarms this man is inaction because it scares Hubert Humphrey. ~~He doesn't want to see the~~ This year, Hubert Humphrey takes the ultimate step for a leader in this country: the Presidency. Nineteen sixty eight, as never before, is a time of decision for him, and the nation.

(HHH IN WYOMING: "WE IN THIS ROOM -- AND ALL OF US ACROSS THE U.S. ARE DESTINED TO LIVE OUT MOST -- IF NOT ALL -- OF OUR LIVES IN UNCERTAINTY, IN CHALLENGE AND IN PERIL. FDR SAID IT IN 1936 IN PHILADELPHIA: 'WE HAVE A RENDEZVOUS WITH DESTINY.' YOU SEE, TO BE AN AMERICAN TODAY IS AN EXCITING EXPERIENCE, WITH ALL OUR HOPES AND CHALLENGES IT DEMANDS THAT WE DO OUR BEST. THAT'S WHY WHEN WE COME TO AN ELECTION YEAR, WE NEED TO DO SOME HARD THINKING...")

NARRATOR (V/O)

Humphrey knows better than most men in public life that 1968 is a year of tough decisions. His campaign has taken the hard road of bringing those tough decisions before the voters. In a year when "Peace" is an easy sell, Humphrey refuses to duck the tough questions beyond it...

has spent his career building for it. Hubert Humphrey knows that it can be lost as surely as any battle.

(LAY HIS LANSING COMMENTS OVER FOOTAGE OF CITY GHETTOS, MEN LOITERING, KIDS LOOKING FOR TROUBLE, ABANDONED FARMS, ETC. VOICE OVER: "SOMEDAY THIS WAR" WILL BE OVER. WHAT ARE YOUR PLANS? WHAT ARE OUR PLANS? WILL WE DO AS WE DID ONCE -- WHEN A TRAGIC WAR ENDED -- CLOSE THE BOOK ON IT? OR WILL WE HAVE LEARNED THE LESSON? WILL WE SAY THAT THE WAR ON POVERTY HAS THE SAME PRIORITY, THE SAME HOLD ON OUR RESOURCES? PEACE CAN BE NOTHING MORE THAN A PAGE IN HISTORY UNLESS IT IS USED!")

DISSOLVE TO HUMPHREY WALKING IN THE
WOODS NEAR WAVERLY, A PENSIVE LOOK ON
HIS FACE. WE HEAR HIS VOICE:

Peace is ultimately made by people. An unhappy people, an oppressed and impoverished people find no joy in peace and no risk in war. Here, in our ^{own} cities, we ^{have} ~~have~~ learned the same lesson. It's a wonderful thing that Thurgood Marshall is a Supreme Court Justice and that teenagers love Bill Cosby, but that doesn't keep a rat from biting in Harlem, it doesn't comfort a Negro minister driven from his home in an all-white neighborhood--and believe me, it doesn't de-fuse a Molotov cocktail in Detroit or Los Angeles or Miami! Only real progress can do that--progress in jobs, in housing, in education. And that doesn't just mean putting up a showplace here and there in the ghetto. It's a cruel hoax to build a modern high school in a black community and crowd it with black children, who then face all-white teaching staffs leading ^{them} through the all-white world of their textbooks, which are supposed to prepare them for a world that rejects them day after day. ~~Those~~ ^{Young} black people need a school which will teach them where they came from, and inspire them with a vision of where they can go. Then, it's this nation's job to make sure that that vision isn't snatched away from them.

Because social justice isn't just a matter of how people are fed and clothed and housed, or even educated! It's the measure of how ~~our~~ black citizens are treated in

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every day life by every single one of us. Today, we've almost
erased the word "boy" from our national vocabulary! Now, we've
got to make the word "nigger" as foreign to the American tongue
as the foulest obscenity. Because that's what it is, and
it has already made too many human lives obscene. Let's
stop saying "they" when we should mean "we."

Now, progress is one of those words, like motherhood,
that can mean pretty much what you put in it. When it's used
in an election year, it tends to mean things which will happen
in the comfortably distant future. Well, '68 is different.

Progress has got to start today. That's the message from Watts.

And Harlem, and Hough! And the urgency shouldn't surprise us.

That was the message from Concord and Bunker Hill. They didn't

ask the crown for "liberty eventually." The message was "now!"

It still is today. *That's the old America -- and the new America...*
~~The difference is that the President we~~

HE WALKS AWAY FROM CAMERA.
~~elect in November will respond to that message.~~

FADE OUT

~~"World Peace? No candidate could promise that. Stop
the war in Vietnam? Any candidate could promise that--the
question is how? And that question can't be answered by any
single American voice. The governments and peoples of North
Vietnam and South Vietnam have a lot to say about how peace~~

THE END

HUMPHREY (V/O)

In the end, peace can only be made by people.

Unhappy people, oppressed and impoverished

people find no joy in peace and no risk in

war. That's true all over the world. Here,

in our own cities, we've learned the same

lesson. The two great issues ^{before} ~~in~~ this nation

today are civil justice and civil peace.

They are painful issues, and people feel strongly about ~~Right now, there is a feeling of divisiveness~~ them. But there's a danger of divisiveness in the air today, and it's caused not by the issues themselves, nor by any kind of deep ~~in the air. It's caused not by any deep~~ sickness in this society. It's caused quite simply

~~sickness,~~ but by the efforts of a small min-

ority to force their views on civil justice

and civil peace on the rest of us. It's a

fanatic, screaming minority -- ^{a kind of} ~~and~~ two-headed monster, roaming our streets:

~~One~~ One head screams that there shall be no progress, no

change, that peace is ^{not} the ~~product~~ ^{result} of progress

but ^{rather} something that ~~simply~~ comes out of the end of

a policeman's billy club ^{or a riot gun.} The other head shrieks ^{just as loudly} ~~for~~

for violence and vengeance, ^{and} attacks authority blindly, destroying ~~destroys~~ with no thought of building.

~~It's mouth frames demands for justice but the~~

~~and it's full of hatred and destruction, and~~

~~it offers not a hand to help but a hoodlum's~~

~~face.~~ That ^{kind of} two headed monster has no place on

the streets of America.

Fortunately, it's pretty much a paper-monster,
full of noise and fake fire, because it represents
such a small minority of the people of this nation.

~~But~~ There is a vast, silent group of ^{U.S} ~~Americans~~ today--
a majority of many millions -- who want to make this
country work.

^{We're} ~~They are~~ the non-violent majority. ^{We} ~~They~~ come
from all segments of America. Black and white,
rich and poor, young and old.

^{We} ~~They~~ want safety and justice for everyone.

^{We} ~~They~~ bear no ill will ^{toward} ~~against~~ any other ^{human being.} ~~Americans.~~

^{We} ~~They~~ want change. And ^{we} ~~they~~ want peace. But

^{we} ~~they~~ want it without violence.

~~They~~ ^{We} don't want it clubbed into people.

~~They~~ ^{We} don't want it bulldozed through by

a handful who shout down all opposition.

That handful has occupied center stage

lately in American politics. ~~I have~~ ^{I've} seen

what they represent and I don't like it. It's ~~is~~

opposed to the true American spirit.

History is strewn with the wreckage left
by violent minorities...each of which thought it
had cornered the market ~~on~~ social justice and
virtue, and had discovered the one true belief
before which all others must remain silent.

Well, we---the non-violent majority--are
not going to remain silent. The American right
to life is in jeopardy. Robert Kennedy and Martin
Luther King are dead. So are the victims of too
many riots. The right to life was the idea that formed

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this nation. The right to a protected life and

the right to a fulfilled life -- a life of

meaning and value. And those rights are in

They're threatened by
jeopardy. ~~They suffer from~~ physical violence.

And *by the* ~~from~~ violence to human dignity *done by* ~~in~~ the filth

of our slums and the despair of unemployment and

poverty.

Progress has got to start today. *I think that's* ~~That's~~

the message from Watts. And Harlem, and Hough!

And the urgency shouldn't really surprise us.

That was the message from Concord and Bunker Hill, wasn't it?

They didn't ask the crown for "liberty ~~eventually~~".

The message was "now!" It still is today.

Fair enough. But *We're going to do it*
~~we~~ start now in our own way. ~~Without~~ clubbing

or killing or *looting* ~~robbing~~ or jailing our way ~~to~~ into

accomplishing any one man's vision of what progress should be. We *here in*

America don't need *any radical theorist* ~~a theorist~~ to tell us what *kind of politics* ~~comes~~

comes out of the barrell of a gun---death comes out of it.

and nothing more.

Death and destruction [✓] Peace and progress come out of a
 sense of community, they ^{came} out of a just society of law, and a fair society
 of opportunity. That's what we're ^{way I read the} working for,
 and that's the [✓] message from the overwhelming
 majority of Americans ^{ns,} in Watts ^{or} ^{Atlanta,} ~~and~~ in ~~Waverly,~~
 in Harlem ^{or} ~~and~~ in Phoenix, in Berkley ^{or} ~~and~~ in
 Iowa City. Begin the job ^{of building that community now.} ~~now.~~

That's the old America'--and it's the new America
 too....

He walks away from camera.

Fade out.

THE END

We start with a high aerial shot of the Midwest--
South Dakota, perhaps--prairie land. From the distance it
still looks like prairie land. But as we ^{into} dissolve through
to a series of closer and closer aerials, we see first, the
demarcations of what look like farms, then, the regular
pattern of building lots, which reveals itself to be the out-
lines of a typical middle-class suburban development. We
see a solitary figure, ~~strolling down one of the streets~~. As
he moves toward camera, we are zooming in slowly, until the
figure is clearly recognizable as Humphrey, walking.

The NARRATOR reads over these scenes:

The landscape of America in the sixties
shows only the hand of man; his mark is every-
where on the land, but his design is nowhere
clearly visible. To try to understand that
design every man has to first look inside himself...

Now, we're in close on Humphrey as he walks, and we
hear his voice (voice over).

HUMPHREY (V/O)

This was all farmland when I was a boy. Some
of it wasn't even broken down into farms yet, just
forest land...

We dissolve to him walking down a suburban street with
a group of three or at most four local citizens. They are

talking quietly with Humphrey as they walk...

HUMPHREY (V/O)

You remember all those trees, and it's easy to start wondering about "progress." But then you ask yourself, where were these people raising their families, then? (CLOSE-UPS OF PEOPLE WALKING WITH HIM). Well, many of them--and their parents were living in tenements and slums... These homes mean a lot to them...more than just their savings...it's their stake in this country...

We bring up the sound of the conversation for about 45 seconds. They are expressing concern to HHH about crime, etc. He is listening carefully. ¶ We dissolve to Humphrey walking the streets of Minneapolis.

HUMPHREY (V/O)

People see the issues from a very ~~close~~ personal point of view. A man whose house in the suburbs is the big thing in his life can't always see the urgency of mass transit, or urban renewal...This city has changed too. When I was Mayor here, Minneapolis went to work on the street car, and the tallest building was the _____ . Today, it's bigger, more affluent, more crowded. It takes longer to get to work, to get services...

and I think most of the people here are worried--
more than they used to be...about the quality of ^{life}
^{the quality of} their school systems, their buildings, even the
quality of the air they breathe and the water
they drink...I've seen it in cities all across this
country...

We dissolve to him walking, in another city, again with a
small group of people. Again, we bring the sound up, and hear
about forty-five seconds of their voices as they talk to
Humphrey.

HUMPHREY (V/O)

But there's more in what these people tell me
than worry and concern, there's a new sense of
involvement...It's there in black neighborhoods
too...

We dissolve to Humphrey walking with a small group--three or
four--of young black people down the streets of any city...

HUMPHREY (V/O)

The people here care--intensely--desperately--
about their community--about the whole shape of
this country...

We bring up the sound of the voices of these black people for
about forty-five seconds. HHH is listening intently, with a
look of sympathy and involvement. Dissolve to another street,

another small group talking to him, many of them young.

HUMPHREY (V/O)

All that talk about our young people being politically apathetic, about the "cop-out" generation, that went out with the sixties!

(CLOSE-UPS OF YOUNG FACES, ANIMATED). These people care, they want change, they want to move-- faster than we ever have....I think it's exciting. I think it's the beginning of something--it's the new America!

A huge jet roars deafeningly across screen. In a wild, fast-moving America-in-the-seventies montage, we flash the title in and out, again and again:

"THE NEW AMERICA"

The sound background is a swinging melange of music--~~rock n' roll~~ to ~~Bach~~--and the sounds of the seventies, from computer noises to rockets and racing cars. ~~The pictures~~ ^{are} flashing across the screen ~~mix~~ beautiful buildings, laser beams, modern surgical tents, ~~and~~ laboratories, with op art, people dancing, eating, taking motion pictures of their kids, carrying tiny television sets, ~~women wearing pants suits~~, fashion models in bizarre outfits; this is mixed with ~~unidentifiable~~ ^(unidentifiable types) pickets, and demonstrators, ^(unidentifiable types) with returning soldiers--and interspersed throughout--Vice President Humphrey surrounded by crowds, in action,

in movement, animated and very much part of the scene of
THE NEW AMERICA.

We dissolve to Humphrey, sitting in a chair in his
own home, his jacket is off, his collar slightly open. He
has been reading a book, which he now lets rest in his lap.
We move in very slowly until we are in very close on his face.
His expression is thoughtful.

NARRATOR (V/O)

Even for a man used to making decisions, ^{the year} nine-
teen sixty-eight has been a challenging one.
And even for a man running for the Presidency,
this campaign has been a hard one to comprehend.
Starting early and unexpectedly, it has been
long, arduous, full of shocks and sorrows and
triumphs. For the Vice President, it began late,
but Humphrey's road to the White House is already
marked with decisive turns, events and ideas
that sum up his campaign, and perhaps his career...

Dissolve to Humphrey and aide exiting from EOB, hustling into
a car, White House in background.

May () destination, the United Auto
Workers Convention in Atlantic City...

Wildly cheering crowds. Reuther welcoming Humphrey AT UAW CONVENTION
NARRATOR (V/O)
Hubert Humphrey has been here before. In this

hall in 1964, the Democratic nominee for the Vice Presidency had sounded a note which was to run through the entire Johnson-Humphrey administration-- a warning against the doom merchants, the obstructionists, and the nay-sayers against progress. That night in 1964 he was answering one nay-sayer in particular...

Freeze frame of Humphrey at UAW dias, and slow dissolve to:

"But not Senator Goldwater" speech. When we dissolve back to present, Humphrey is already addressing UAW Convention. ✓

NARRATOR (V/O)

Almost four years later, Vice President Humphrey could offer ~~this forum of citizens a record of~~ a record of solid achievement in education, medical care, housing, and employment. ^{Almost 4 years later} ~~But~~ Humphrey was there to remind them of what remains to be done, what must be done...

HUMPHREY SPEECH

Imagine! Poverty in the richest nation in the world! Imagine! Hunger in the midst of plenty. Hunger--misery--in the United States of America! It's ludicrous--it's ridiculous--it's immoral! And we're going to do something about it. ✓✓

Delegates burst into applause.

NARRATOR (V/O)

The work of the nation cannot be put aside even for a Presidential campaign. ~~Hubert~~ Humphrey is the Vice President of the United States, and the responsibilities are clear--Vice President first--candidate second.

Dissolve to Humphrey, Wirtz and Meany striding across from EOB to White House. ~~#~~ We see them going into a meeting with President Johnson.

NARRATOR (V/O)

Jobs, education, housing, discrimination, agriculture. Neat little compartments until you try to do something about them. But the men in this room too often find that the threads cannot be pulled too abruptly without damaging the fabric of society. Nowhere is the complex pattern of that fabric at times more clearly visible than in the White House. A Senator or Congressman may know the needs of a state or district, a cabinet officer may understand his specialty through and through, but only the President and Vice President sit where all those threads converge...

~~#~~ We see ~~him~~ ~~HHH~~ in close conversation alone with LBJ in the President's office.

NARRATOR (V/O)

The Johnson-Humphrey administration has faced one of the most challenging periods in American history. Humphrey served with a man who had been Vice President himself and knows how valuable the man in that job can be. In a time

when the world has been asking this country some tough questions, the President has sent Humphrey out to answer them. For both of them, this kind of teamwork goes a long way back to the Senate and then as part of the Kennedy Administration. Humphrey believes that historians will call it the Kennedy-Johnson-Humphrey administration. But no matter what they call it, Humphrey's willing to be judged by his part in it...

We freeze frame on a shot of Humphrey and Johnson talking, and slowly dissolve back to a sequence showing Humphrey in his

relationship with President Kennedy. ~~After seeing Footage of~~ HHH ~~him~~ working closely with New Frontier people, and pointing out his authorship of the Peace Corps, Food for Peace, the Job Corps, etc.

The Nuclear Test Ban signing starts a sequence on Humphrey's overseas trips, first for Kennedy, then for Johnson.

We show some of the most significant trips to Africa and Asia.

5 take
We dissolve to Humphrey entering a meeting of the
National Security Council, with LBJ, McNamara and Goldberg
visible.

NARRATOR (V/O)

The Vice President sits on the National Security
Council, a group that wrestles constantly with
one of the toughest problems in history, keeping
the nation secure in a nuclear world. War and
peace are harder to predict, to control, even to
recognize. As the Vice President sits in concert
with those who must make daily decisions which
only history will judge, ^{The V.P. ←} he is sobered by his
own experience. He has shared ^{those} hours of frightening
decision with three Presidents...

(don't abbrev.)

Narrator carries along the "Three Presidents Theme", weaving
in our gradual commitment in Vietnam by IKE, JFK and LBJ,
and the support of Humphrey, RFK, Fulbright, administrations
efforts to get negotiations.

HUMPHREY (V/O)

Peace is a word that is meaningless, unless you
join it to the word "progress." You cannot talk
peace to people so oppressed, so wretched, so
desperate, that they see no joy in peace, and no
risk in war.

NARRATOR

Peace ~~will~~ has preoccupied Humphrey all his life.

Wars are not fought by leaders, but by young men

barely grown. That cruel irony has tortured a score of

~~every~~ Presidents, ^{starting with Lincoln,} ~~from Lincoln on,~~ and every man who
^{today.} faces the Presidency ✓ Hubert Humphrey cares

deeply about young people. He comes to them time

and again. He says it is not so much because he

has the answers, as because they have questions

which must be heard...

A question and answer sequence between HHH and students--
possibly on Vietnam. ✓

The hardest questions are those posed by the young
men who have died, at Bunker Hill, at Gettysburg,
Chateau Thierry, Anzio, Pork Chop Hill and Kesahn.

A small portion of HHH's Memorial Address is laid over Get-
tysburg footage. ✓

HUMPHREY SPEECH

They ask on Memorial day--and have the right to
ask, what in the meaning of man or the sense of
civilization ever requires or even warrants the
pitting of youth against youth in the contro-
versies between nations?...The answer must stand
on the bitter experience of the ages that when-
ever people have rested on the strength of their

ideals alone they have fallen...The promise of peace lies in the constant testing of the reasons for war against youth's unquenchable faith... its fierce insistence that war does not need to be, and that peace has to be. There is the hope that peace will eventually emerge--perhaps now sooner than we think--as the alloy of history's sobering experience and youth's unconquerable spirit.

NARRATOR

Peace is no mere catch-word or campaign slogan to a man who has spent his career building for it. Hubert Humphrey knows that peace can be lost behind the lines.

Lay his Lansing comments over footage of city ghettos, men loitering, kids looking for trouble, abandoned farms, etc.

HUMPHREY (V/O)

Someday this war will be over. What are your plans? What are our plans? Will we do as we did once--when a tragic war ended--close the book on it? Or will we have learned the lesson? Will we say that the war on poverty has the same priority, the same hold on our resources? Peace can be nothing more than a page in history unless it is used!

f Dissolve to: HHH in his office in shirt sleeves dictating into a machine. He clicks it off, checks watch, rises. His secretary brings jacket. Van Dyk enters with reports. They exit briskly. *f* We pick them up getting into helicopter. ✓

NARRATOR (V/O)

How do you prepare for a job like this man's?

No one is born into it in America. Certainly

Hubert Humphrey's beginnings were identical to

those of millions of his fellow Americans. Like

~~many of them, he has half a dozen home-towns.~~

Was his father another restless American? Perhaps,

but there was a touch of desperation in that

~~restlessness, caused by the depression. Like so~~

Like so many midwestern families, ^{during the Depression,} the Humphrey's kept

looking for a new start--in towns like Doland... The

campaign came to the Midwest in May. For Hubert

Humphrey it was a homecoming...

DISS. TO. Aerial view of Doland. We hear Humphrey's voice describing the dust everywhere in those days. *f* We dissolve to the main streets of Doland on a typical day in 1968. ✓

NARRATOR (V/O)

Doland, South Dakota is one of those towns which

are supposed to have vanished from the American

landscape. ~~Population under ten thousand, with~~

~~no major industry,~~ Doland is essentially what it

has always been, a small collection of ~~a few~~
~~thousand~~ homes ~~and shops~~ and stores, surrounded
by a necklace of farms spreading out into the rich
flatlands of Dakota. It's a town, not a suburb
or a development. It has its own newspaper. It
has its schools and churches, its movie theatres,
a drive-in, a radio station. It's a modern town--
people farm the land with chemicals and machines,
everyone watches television, people drive new
cars, read magazines and books, some even go to
Pierre or Minneapolis to attend plays and concerts.
But it's a small town, and it's law-abiding, God-
fearing, family-loving town, whose streets are
generally free of crime, and whose tongues find
phrases like "urban blight" and the "revolution of
rising expectations" a little strange and foreign.

Humphrey arriving at airport, being greeted.

NARRATOR (V/O)

Hubert Humphrey was born in a town like this, and
went to high school in this one. As a youth in
Doland, he walked down Street a
thousand times, and ~~down streets like it in~~
~~Minnesota and Wisconsin and Illinois,~~ long before
he ever set foot on Pennsylvania Avenue, or

~~walked up~~ Capitol Hill. To him, it was and is
the American heartland.

Street scenes of Doland with the voice of HHH describing the
people and town, high school, etc. ✓

NARRATOR (V/O)

Hubert Humphrey is convinced that these people do
believe in progress and in change. Their ancestors
came to Minnesota, and Wisconsin and the Dakotas
seeking change. But they are the kind of people
who do not want change imposed on them. They must
be persuaded in the American fashion--in the open
public forum. Humphrey is a teacher-turned-leader.
He's good at it because his own conviction comes
through so shiningly. It's a conviction based
on experience--his career began not by demanding
progress, but by making it.

HHH arrives at Minneapolis. Among those greeting him is Mayor
Art Naftalin. We follow Naftalin back to city hall. He walks ~~the~~ ✓

Camera through the scenes and sights of "Mayor" Humphrey's past, ~~for~~
~~us~~, describing HHH's determination to wipe out crime, his
strengthening of police force, stamping out of corruption,
his campaign against anti-semitism and his enactment of the
nation's first fair employment practices law.

Back to Humphrey in present, talking with some members
of the Minnesota delegation.

NARRATOR

In mid-Summer,

~~In late May,~~ the Vice President met with some members of the Minnesota delegation to thank them for a ringing endorsement. Democracy doesn't just turn on like a machine every four years. ~~Political action never ceases between elections, and~~ the process of developing and choosing leaders goes on at the grass-roots level week in, week out, ~~in thousands of clubhouses, meeting halls and social action centers that form the working force of any national party.~~ These men are delegates to the Democratic National Convention. They are the leaders who Democrats in their communities have chosen, ~~to nominate their leaders in Chicago.~~ Humphrey-the-candidate knows these men, and respects their independence and their judgement. He has been Humphrey-the-delegate, and proved quite an independent one himself...

Film of the '48 convention. HST and Barkley. Young Humphrey.

Stock
One of the delegates at that '48 convention describes (voice over) Humphrey's courage and eloquence in leading the fight for a civil rights plank. We hear HHH's voice giving part of that speech.

NARRATOR

Some of the people at that convention didn't

want to hear that hard-hitting message, but
Humphrey made them listen. He hasn't changed.

At this year's state convention in Maine, he
was still telling it like it is... ✓✓

HUMPHREY SPEECH

It musn't happen that a young man who fought in
an "integrated" bunker at Kesahn, comes back to
live in a segregated slum in America! You're
just not going to get by with it, my friends!

Applause by audience including Governor Muskie.

Scenes of HHH addressing Negro church group ^{silent.} Over
them we hear narrator: ✓✓

NARRATOR (V/O)

Campaigning throughout the month of May,
~~Hubert~~ Humphrey told it the same way from Maine
to Mississippi, whether the audience was black
or white, pro or con. President Johnson's
decision not to run again had opened ^{wide} the campaign
for the nomination, and they were now three
~~excited~~ ^{exciting} candidates. It was shaping up as the
kind of campaign that brought the issues home
sharply, the kind of campaign Democrats have
always liked...

Stock

A brief montage of scenes of Humphrey, Kennedy and McCarthy supporters, interspersed with quick shots of the candidates themselves. End with Humphrey audience at showing a few McCarthy signs.

HUMPHREY (smiling broadly)

Well, I'm glad so many of you think that our next President should be from Minnesota...
(laughter).

Stock

A

Another brief montage of HHH, RFK, and McCarthy campaigning.

NARRATOR (V/O)

The Democratic Party found itself in an enviable position--with three good men, qualified and committed, contesting for the nomination. Humphrey himself had once explained why there was often such debate in his party, and such harmony among the opposition...

HUMPHREY (V/O)

There's only one way to stand still. It's when you want to go forward, that good men disagree...

NARRATOR (V/O)

The country had listened as three voices crossed the land in the kind of public discussion that is the vital preamble to national decision...

On a picture of RFK addressing a crowd, we freeze the frame.

NARRATOR (V/O)

...On June ^(6?), one of those voices was
silenced...

Stek
~~Scenes of funeral. We see Mrs. Kennedy, Teddy, the President
and Vice President. We hear Humphrey's voice.~~

We dissolve to scenes of Hubert and Muriel Humphrey
seated outside their home in Waverly. They sit very close,
talking quietly. Over this, we hear narration. ✓

NARRATOR (V/O)

The nation's grief expressed itself not just in
mourning, but in reflection. For everyone, it
seemed to be a time to think things over, to
talk quietly with friends, with family. And out
of it for some came resolution...

HUMPHREY (V/O)

I feel all of us have an even greater responsi-
bility now, to discuss those very issues, and
confront those problems that Senator Kennedy
cared about so deeply. I myself have resolved
to make a special effort to deep alive discussion
on those few problems--and they were few, indeed--

?

on which he and I had differed. That will be part of my campaign until we come together in Chicago. I believe that in confronting those issues, it will become abundantly clear ~~to the~~ American people that the real disagreement was never between myself or Senator McCarthy or Senator Kennedy. The battle is rather between those of us who see modern life as a journey of the human spirit and those ^{others} ~~men~~ who see it as a "franchise", men who see human need only as a "market," men who see the dignity of the individual as an expendable "item" that doesn't fit their balance sheet...

We dissolve to the Vice President's office, where he is conferring with (someone like ^{Roger} ~~Roy~~ Wilkins) on anti-discrimination programs. ✓

NARRATOR (V/O)

"Human dignity" is certainly not on any balance sheets in the Vice President's office, but it's on the agenda. And there has always been an actual Humphrey agenda! Old Senate aides often describe it with awe. It started in 1949, when Humphrey was a freshman Senator from Minnesota. Started with a legislative proposal that would be known as Medicare when it finally

passed. Humphrey never gave up on his convictions.

Starting in 1951, a Nuclear Test ban proposal

was put back on the agenda every year, as the

Senator waded back into the fray. It was signed

into law in 1963. Responsible now for the anti-

discrimination programs of the Johnson-Humphrey

administration, the Vice President works with ~~the~~

~~same~~ ~~some~~ tenacity and skill. He and (Roger Williams?)

know the job well...

someone who

WILKINS

We hear a minute or so of their conversation. Dissolve to conversation--informal--on plane with group from OEO scene. Stresses that Humphrey is not satisfied with identifying problems--he works to solve them. ✓

DISSOLVE TO: Waverly--HHH with family--no talking to camera--a

little casual conversation--Humphrey the human being--fun on the trampoline with children, driving the Model "A"--then some voice over comments about what the individual wants out of society. ✓✓✓

ADD GO TO NARRATION ON PG. 21 →

A montage of HHH campaigning around the country, with enthusiastic crowds. Great cheering and noise. It gradually fades out as we do a very slow dissolve to a quiet scene of Humphrey walking by himself, in the woodlands around his Waverly home. His expression is a pensive one. ✓✓

NARRATOR (V/O)

Hubert Humphrey has always described himself as a doer, a talker, a mover, not a man given to long silent sessions of brooding. But 1968 is a year to make anyone pause for thought. Only a few short months ago, it must've seemed to Humphrey that the end of the trail was Chicago and the nomination. Now, suddenly, the road ahead is to the White House, and it runs through this entire nation. That's the prospect that

excites Humphrey. Much has been written in 1968 about the restless mood of this nation. It is an election year, and therefore there is an active market for prophets of doom and viewers-with-alarm. The Vice President feels that restlessness too, but it doesn't frighten him. Change doesn't scare Hubert Humphrey. ✓

Dissolve

Diss To:
HUMH ADDRESSING CROWD.

HUMPHREY SPEECH (WYOMING)

We in this room--all of us across the US are destined to live out most--if not all--of our lives in uncertainty, in challenge and in peril. FDR said it in 1936, in Philadelphia: "We have a rendezvous with destiny." You see, to be an American today is an exciting experience, with all our hopes and challenges it demands that we

do our best. That 's why when we come to an election year, we need to do some hard thinking...

NARRATOR (V/O)

Humphrey knows better than most men in public life that 1968 is a year of tough decisions. His campaign has taken the hard road of bringing those tough decisions before the voters. In a year when "peace" is an easy sell, Humphrey refuses to duck the tough questions beyond it...

-the following
Lay ~~his~~ Lansing comments over footage of city ghettos, men loitering, kids looking for trouble, abandoned farms, etc: ✓✓

HUMPHREY (V/O)

Someday this war will be over. What are your plans? What are our plans? Will we do as we did once--when a tragic war ended--close the book on it? Or will we have learned the lesson? Will we say that the war on poverty has the same priority, the same hold on our resources?

Peace can be nothing more than a page in history unless it is used!

A montage of HHH campaigning Great cheering gradually fades as we slowly*
Dissolve to Humphrey walking in the woods near Waverly, a pensive look on his face. We hear his voice. ✓

HUMPHREY (V/O)

In the end, peace can only be
~~Peace is ultimately~~ made by people. ~~An~~ Unhappy people, ~~an~~ oppressed and impoverished people find

* huge crowds

no joy in peace and no risk in war. Here, in our own cities, we've learned the same lesson. It's a wonderful thing that Thurgood Marshall is a Supreme Court Justice and that teenagers love Bill Cosby, but that doesn't keep a rat from biting in Harlem, it doesn't comfort a Negro minister driven from his home in an all white neighborhood--and believe me, it doesn't de-fuse a Molotov cocktail in Detroit or Los Angeles, ~~or Miami~~! Only real progress can do that--progress in jobs, in housing, in education. And that doesn't mean putting up a showplace here and there in the ghetto. It's a cruel hoax to build a modern high school in a black community and crowd it with black children, who then face ~~all~~ white teaching staffs leading them through the all-white world of their textbooks, which are supposed to prepare them for a world that rejects them day after day. Young black people need ~~a~~ schools which will teach them where they came from, and inspire them with a vision of where they can go. Then, it's this nation's job to make sure that that vision isn't snatched away from them, *when they leave school.*

Because social justice isn't just a matter of how people are fed and clothed and housed, or even educated! It's the measure of how black citizens are treated in every day life by every single one of us. Progress has got to start today. That's

the message from Watts. And Harlem, and Hough!

And the urgency shouldn't ^{really} surprise us. That was the message from Concord and Bunker Hill.

They didn't ask the crown for "liberty eventually."

The message was "now!" It still is today. That's the old America--and ^{it's} the new America, too...

He walks away from camera.

Fade out.

THE END

H H H BUF

DEM FOR HHH DC
NOTES FOR JIM GOLDEN -- FOR HIS MEETING THIS EVE.

RE MARSHALL PLAN FOR CITIES

ARE YOU RECEIVING?
H H H BUF

WE ARE RECEIVING.
H H H BUF

"\ETS PUT IT BLUNTLY+ OUR PRESENT GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE IS INCAPABLE OF PLANNING AND ACHIEVING THE LIVING ENVIRONMENT OUR WEALTH AND TECHNOLOGY PERMIT ... AND OUR SURVIVAL REQUIRES.

YET THERE MUST BE A SYSTEMATIC WAY TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF URBAN, SUBURBAN, SMALL TOWN AND RURAL AMERICA -- PROBLEMS WHICH ARE INSEPARABLE AND WHICH MUST BE TACKLED IN A UNIFIED WAY. WE MUST REVITALIZE OUR OLD CITIES ... COORDINATE PROGRAMS FOR THE CITIES AND SUBURBS ... UTILIZE OUR NATIONAL RESOURCES MORE FULLY AND FOCUS ATTENTION ON THE HOXX BUILDING OF NEW CITIES.

TODAY I WOULD LIKE TO PROPOSE WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT IT -- NOT FINAL DEFINITIVE ANSWERS -- FOR THERE ARE NONE. NOT QUICK OR EASY SOLUTIONS - FOR THESE ARE ALSO IN SHORT SUPPLY.

BUT RATHER THE GENERAL APPROACHES I WOULD PURSUE AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AND SOME OF THE SPECIFIC INSTRUMENTALITIES I BELIEVE ARE NEEDED TO MAKE STEADY PROGRASS.

TWO FUNDAMENTAL ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLIE THIS DISCUSSION.

FIRST. OUR CIRCUMSTANCES DEMAND A FAR GREATER MEASURE OF LOCAL INITIATIVE AND RESPONSIBILITY AND FAR LESS DIRECT FEDERAL INVOLVEMENT THAN EXISTS TODAY. (ALL UNDERLINE)

ALTHOUGH THIS PRONOUNCEMENT AS BECOME ALMOST RITUALISTIC FOR POLITICIANS IN 1968, I CAN TESTIFY TO HAVING REACHED THIS CONCLUSION ON THE BASIS OF EXPERIENCE -- PARTICULARLY THE EXPERIENCE OF HAVING SERVED FOR THE PAST FOUR YEARS AS LIAISON BETWEEN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND CITY GOVERNMENTS.

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT HAS A CRUCIAL ROLE TO PLAY -- HELPING DEFINE NATIONAL OBJECTIVES -- CONTRIBUTING PART OF THE FUNDS ... SETTING CERTAIN MINIMUM STANDARDS ... HELPING MOBILIZE THE PRIVATE SECTOR ... AND KEEPING THE MANY DIVERSE PARTS OF AMERICA IN TOUCH WITH EACH OTHER.

BUT WASHINGTON ,DC CANNOT HANDLE THE INTRICATE DETAILS OF LOCAL PLANNING AND EXECUTION. AND WE ONLY GET IN THE WAY WHEN WE TRY.

SECOND. OUR CIRCUMSTANCES REQUIRE A STRONG AND ACTIVE PRESIDENT -- STRONG ENOUGH TO SHAKE UP THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY -- TO LXX CLEAN OUT THE COBSEB OF RELATIONSHIPS THAT EXIST AMONG 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.

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.

THERE WON'T BE EFFECTIVE FEDERAL-STATE-LOCAL RELATIONSHIPS UNTIL THERE IS A FULLER INTEGRATION OF FEDERAL DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES. ...

AS TO THE SPECIFICS

FIRST. ACHIEVING A LIVING ENVIRONMENT FOR ALL AMERICANS REQUIRES THE DEFINITION OF CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL, ECOONOMIC, AND DEMOCRAPHIC DEMOGRAPHIC OBJECTIVES TO HELP GUIDE OUR FUTURE URBAN, SUBURBAN, AND RURAL GROWTH. (SENTENCE UNDERLINED)

MANY DECISIONS -- IN BOTHT THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS --

AFFECT DIRECTLY THE GROWTH OF LOCAL ECONOMIES, THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATIONS, AND THE LIFE AND DEATH OF CITIES AND TOWNS. THESE DECISIONS NEED NOT ALWAYS BE HAPAHZARD -- ALTHOUGH WE SHOULD NOT FOOL OURSELVES EITHER INTO BELIEVING THEY CAN EVER BE ENTIRELY RATIONAL.

...

SECOND. WE MUST INITIATE (INITIATE) A MARSHALL PLAN FOR THE CITIES (UNDERLINE) LIKE THE ORIGINAL MARSHALL PLAN THAT REBUILT EUROPE, THIS ONE MUST RELY HEAVILY ON SELF-HELP, LOCAL INITIATIVE, COORDINATED PLANNING, AND PRIVATE CAPITAL. MUCH MORE THAN THE FEDERAL CHECKBOOK MUST BE INVOLVED IN ANY LASTING SOLUTION TO THE URBAN CRISIS.

TO HELP LOCALITIES SOLVE THE BASIC PROBLEM OF FINANCING, I PROPOSE THE CREATION OF A NATIONAL URBAN DEVELOPMENT BANK, (UNDERLINE) FINANCED LARGELY THROUGH SUBSCRIPTION OF PRIVATE FUNDS.

I PROPOSE FEDERAL UNDERWRITING OF THE UNUSUAL RISKS INVOLVED IN MEETING THE HARDEST AND MOST CRITICAL URBAN PROBLEMS. AFFILIATED REGIONAL BANKS WOULD BE CHARTERED BY THE NATIONAL BANK FOR SPECIFIC METROPOLITAN AREAS.

REGIONAL BANK FUNDS WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE BORROWERS FOR PROGRAMS WHICH CANNOT BE FINANCED THROUGH OTHER MEANS, BUT WHICH ARE ESSENTIAL TO URBAN DEVELOPMENT.

THIRD. INCENTIVES MUST BE ESTABLISHED TO STIMULATE METROPOLITAN WIDE AND REGIONAL PLANNING. (UNDERLINE SENTENCE) TO RECEIVE FEDERAL SUPPORT, THE PLANNING DISTRICT WOULD HAVE TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY'S BASIC SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC OBJECTIVES. BUT FROM THEN ON. LOCAL CREATIVENESS, FORESIGHT AND INGENUITY WOULD BE PARAMOUNT.

THE PLANNING DISTRICT WOULD SHAPE ITS PROGRAM IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE UNIQUE CHARACTER OF THE REGION ... ITS FUTURE TRENDS ... ITS INDUSTRIAL POSSIBILITIES. IT WOULD EXAMINE THE TOTALITY: HOUSING, HEALTH, JOB TRAINING, EDUCATION, WELFARE. IT WOULD RESEARCH THE GROWTH CENTERS; CONSIDER SUCH MATTERS AS THE REACTION OF RECREATIONAL AND RESORT AREAS, AND PRESERVE THE OPEN SPACES WHICH WOULD BECOME AN IMPORTANT PART OF AN OVERALL NATIONAL LAND USE POLICY.

WE HAVE A HOPEFUL PATTERN FOR A REGIONAL PLANNING DISTRICT IN THE EXPERIENCE OF THE APPALACHIAN REGIONAL COMMISSION -- OPERATING IN A GEOGRAPHICAL AREA COMPRISING PORTIONS OF THIRTEEN STATES.

IT HAS DEPARTED FROM PRECEDENT BY GIVING HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY TO THE GOVERNORS OF THE STATES WHO DETERMINE WHAT PLANS ARE TO BE SUBMITTED. IT HAS ATTAINED A HIGH DEGREE OF INTERSTATE AND OF FEDERAL STATE COOPERATION.

THE APPALACHIAN EXPERIENCE SUGGESTS THAT MUNICIPALITIES, COUNTIES, AND STATES CAN WORK TOGETHER WHEN NATIONAL POLICY MAKES IT IN THEIR BEST INTERESTS TO DO SO. IT IS TIME WE SUMMONED UP THE IMAGINATION TO INVOLVE THE WHOLE COUNTRY IN SUCH AN EFFORT.

FOURTH. I PROPOSE TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL DOMESTIC POLICY COUNCIL IN THE WHITE HOUSE TO OVERSEE THE REORGANIZATION AND RESTRUCTURING OF THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY -- (UNDERLINE) -- AND THEN TO INSURE THAT IT REMAINS TRULY RESPONSIVE TO LOCAL NEEDS AND GOALS.

SUCH A COUNCIL WOULD EXPAND 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 POLICY DECISIONS ... TO DETERMINE HOW FEDERAL PROGRAMS INTERRELATE, SUPPORT, OR DIMINISH THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OTHER PROGRAMS.

THIS COUNCIL WOULD BE ASSIGNED THE CRITICAL BUSINESS OF KEEPING THE FEDERAL MACHINERY IN GOOD WORKING ORDER -- MAKING SURE THAT SERVICE AND RESPONSIVENESS TO LOCAL INITIATIVE WERE MAINTAINED -- AND THAT BUREAUCRATIC SNARLS WERE KEPT TO A MINIMUM.

ONCE THIS INTEGRATION AND COORDINATION OF FEDERAL DOMESTIC AGENCIES HAS BEEN ACHIEVED, THERE CAN BE AN EFFECTIVE DEMAND ON STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS TO TAKE THOSE ACTIONS AT THEIR (UNDERLINE) END WHICH PERMIT COORDINATION OF THE TOTAL GOVERNMENT EFFORT.

* * *

JIM GOLDEN: THIS IS THE END OF THE EXCERPTS OF MARSHALL PLAN FOR CITIES SPEECHES. IF YOU NEED MORE INFO FOR TODAY'S MEETING, PLEASE SAY SO.

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Marshall Plan for Cities EXCERPTS

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FOLLOWING WILL BE SPEECH TEXT FOR DR. BERMAN WRITTEN BY AL STERN
MAY I GA? HELLO -- IS ANYONE THERE?

FOR: DR. ED BERMAN
FROM: AL STERN
RE: SPEECH TEXT PER YOUR REQUEST

THE NEXT DECADE, THE SEVENTIES, IS ALMOST ON US. THE ACTIONS
WE TAKE IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS WILL SET THE STANDARDS
OF LIFE IN AMERICA DURING THOSE TEN YEARS. INACTION ON OUR PART WILL
MAKE US VICTIMS OF OUR FATE, RATHER THAN MASTERS OF OUR DESTINY.

THE OVERRIDING QUESTION IN THIS CAMPAIGN IS WHICH
PARTY, WHICH ADMINISTRATION, WHOSE APPOINTMENTS YOU CAN TRUST TO BE
PROGRESSIVE, HUMANE AND COURAGEOUS? WHICH PARTY AND WHICH
PRESIDENT WILL BE ABLE TO FACE THE CHALLENGES WITH DYNAMIC INNOVATIONS
TO SHAPE THE FUTURE?

LET ME MAKE SOME PROPOSALS WHICH WE CAN MAKE GOING PROGRAMS
WITH SUBSTANTIAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS IF WE START SOON.

FIRST, OUR RATE OF INFANT MORTALITY IS NOT THE LOWEST IN THE
WORLD -- IT SHOULD BE.

A LARGE PERCENTAGE OF OUR BOYS CANNOT PASS THE DRAFT PHYSICAL
BECAUSE THEIR HEALTH HAS BEEN NEGLECTED. WHAT A WASTE OF LIFE.

THE YOUTH OF THIS COUNTRY ARE THE NATION'S FUTURE -- EVERY CHILD
HAS A RIGHT (OR SHOULD HAVE) TO HEALTH CARE. I PROPOSE A YOUTH HEALTH
ACT WHICH WILL ESTABLISH NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS WHERE ALL THE NATION'S
CHILDREN CAN HAVE REGULAR PHYSICAL CHECKUPS AND DIAGNOSES.

SECOND, ONE OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR MAKING OUR STREETS SAFE IS TO STRIP THE COVER OF DARKNESS FROM THEM. I PROPOSE THAT THE UTILITY COMPANIES OF AMERICA BE ENLISTED IN A PROGRAM TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE LIGHTING ON EVERY STREET IN AMERICA.

THIRD, THE CRAZY-GUILT PATTERN OF OUR WELFARE LAWS, MAKES A LIFE OF POVERTY A LOTTERY WITH NO WINNERS -- ONLY LOSERS. WE MUST OVERHAUL OUR NATION'S WELFARE PROGRAMS TO PROVIDE A DECENT MINIMUM STANDARD OF LIVING FOR THOSE WHO ARE DEPRIVED OF INCOME THROUGH NO FAULT OF THEIR OWN. THIS SHOULD BE A NATIONAL STANDARD. COUPLED WITH THIS, WE MUST DEVELOP ON-SITE TRAINING AND JOB PROGRAMS SO THAT ALL WHO ARE CAPABLE OF PRODUCTIVE WORK ARE GIVEN THE SATISFACTION AND SECURITY WHICH GO WITH HAVING NEEDED SKILLS.

FOURTH, WE MUST FIND JOBS FOR OUR GROWING POPULATION. FOR MANY YEARS THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS FOUNDED A MAJOR PORTION OF AMERICA'S RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT. THE RESULTS OF THIS IS A LARGE POOL OF KNOWLEDGE WAITING TO BE TAPPED. I PROPOSE TO ESTABLISH INSTITUTES AT ENGINEERING SCHOOLS LOCATED ACROSS THE COUNTRY. THEY WILL FIND NEW PRODUCTS AND PROCESSES FOR LOCAL INDUSTRIES USING THE RESULTS OF OUR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY PROGRAMS IN DEFENSE, SPACE, OCEANOGRAPHY, ET.C.

FIFTH, I SUGGEST WE ENACT LAWS WHICH WILL GIVE TAX ADVANTAGES TO THOSE WHO WOULD TURN THEIR SUBURBAN LAND HOLDINGS BACK TO PUBLIC USE. THEY NEED FOR INCREASEDXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX THE NEED FOR INCREASED RECREATION SPACE AND PARKLANDS WILL HAVE TO BE MET AND TO HALT THE GROWTH OF SUBURBAN SLUMS AND UGLY DEVELOPMENTS SOMETIMES CALLED "SLURBS" AN INCENTIVE SHOULD BE OFFERED TO THE PUBLIC SPIRITED.

SIXTH, EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AMXX HAS INCREASINGLY BECOME THE ENTRY POINT TO A SECURE LIFE. IN ORDER TO MAKE IT AN OPEN DOOR RATHER THAN A BARRIER I SUGGEST A SELF-SUSTAINING EDUCATIONAL TRUST FUND BE ESTABLISHED. IT WILL MAKE LOANS TO PAY FOR POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION TO BE SLOWLY REPAID ACCORDING TO ONE'S INCOME.

THIS WILL INSURE EQUAL ACCESS TO EDUCATION.

SEVENTH, I PROPOSE THAT WE STIMULATE AND ENCOURAGE THE USE OF THE UHF CHANNELS , 13 - 53,

AS AM AND FM RADIO HAVE DISCOVERED THERE ARE MANY VARIED INTERESTS AND SPECIAL GROUPS AND CULTURES WHOSE NEEDS AS WLXX WELL AS THE MASS AUDIENCE SHOULD BE SERVED.

THESE ARE SOME OF THE PROGRAMS WHICH WE COULD BEGIN ALMOST IMMEDIATELY. THEY SHOULD SHOW RESULTS IN THE NEXT DECADE, DIRECTLY IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF AMERICAN LIFE. THEY ARE SIGNPOSTS TO THE SEVENTIES AND A HUMPHREY-MUSKIE ADMINISTRATION WILL HAVE THESE AND MORE TO BETTER AMERICA. THEY REQUIRE YOUR PARTICIPATION AND THE TIME TO START IS IN THE VOTING BOOTH NOVEMBER 5TH.

END OF STERN TEXT FOR DR. BERMAN

GUT

Boys - for all stars

Mr. Nixon is a man of firm views. On foreign policy he has stated he will keep his own counsel until ~~xxxxxx~~ after the election. At that time he may or he may not take the people into his confidence. I look forward myself to finding out what he thinks and I promise that, as President, the Humphrey-Muskie administration will not ignore the views of its opponents.

I have analysed Mr. Nixon's domestic positions with care. I find they fall into three categories.

First, there are proposals to start programs which are already on the books. Somebody on Mr. Nixon's staff should tell him about the record of the last few democratic administrations. For example there is his recommendation that an academy be established to help train local police. This is already part of the safe streets act signed into law (date).

I wholeheartedly applaud Mr. Nixon's endorsement of these democratic programs.

Second, there are proposals Mr. Nixon makes after listening to my own, probably while keeping his tan in shape for a synthetic T.V. show. An example in this me too category is his stated intention to raise the Social Security payments and to protect these from inflationary pressures. I accept his recommendation that my proposals be enacted. I wish to thank him for "imitation is the sincerest form of flattery". I don't mind him ~~saying~~ standing about saying me too.

Th³rd, there are some original Nixon proposals. His modesty has prevented him from making them public. ~~and~~ So he has circulated them privately to those who would benefit at the expense of the public. An example in this category is his letter to some of the friends he made on Wall Street deploring the protection that the SEC gives to the average investor. ..Another is in the air transport field.

I ~~amny~~ only wish that he would distribute these more widely maybe even make them public. It might help the electorate better understand the "original Nixon".

RURAL-URBAN BALANCE: DEVELOPING TOWN AND COUNTRY AMERICA

Basic to the tensions and frustrations of this last one-third of the 20th century has been our failure as a nation to grasp in the first two-thirds of the century the implications of the unprecedented technological and productive forces we as a people have unleashed.

In the 23 years since World War II our population has grown by 60 million -- over 40 percent. It took nearly twice that many years for the immediately preceding 60 million rise in population.

The value of goods and services we produce each year has gone up in the last two decades from \$380 billion to \$850 billion, both in 1968 prices.

Three million farms have disappeared in a technological revolution still sweeping through agriculture.

More than 20 million persons have left the farms and small towns for the city.

One-third of the population has left the city for the suburb.

We have been aware that our society was changing, of course. But there has never been national recognition of what this massive mobility meant in terms of stresses put on our communities, our schools, our governments, our homes, our churches, our neighborhoods, and ourselves.

Largely unplanned and without general direction, the result has been a national crisis of environment -- a deterioration in the relationship between the people and the land.

Seventy percent of our people now are crowded onto less than 2 percent of the land; 30 percent occupy all the rest, many in lonely decline while millions of urbanites live in overcrowded disorder.

And if the momentum toward metropolis continues for the next 30 years, 100 million more Americans will be crowded together with the 140 million already living in our cities and suburbs. The countryside will continue to lose its viability and stagnate. City congestion will worsen.

This trend is not inevitable. Country-to-city migration is not now as great as during the forties and fifties. We can achieve in this nation a geographic distribution of workers and job opportunities that will give every American a free choice of an environment in which to live and work.

But to do it, we must revitalize town and country America, as we are rebuilding our cities. We need goals and programs and blueprints. Just as President Kennedy committed us to reach the moon by the end of this decade, so the next President must commit America to the ambitious goal of achieving rural-urban balance, of shaping change to aspirations, of giving each American effective choice of a living environment. This is my commitment.

Along with my Marshall Plan for the Cities, I will move to revitalize rural America. We can move quickly and effectively because we have developed much of the necessary institutional framework in the past eight years.

- . Technical Action Panels through which local residents receive technical assistance in community development exist in more than 3,000 counties.
- . Multi-county districts and hundreds of voluntary groups have been formed to encourage area-wide planning and development.
- . The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 gives authority to HUD and the Department of Agriculture to provide planning grants in rural areas.

These developments are the essential first step. The following additional programs will be required.

1. Regional Institutes

I propose creation of regional institutes outside core cities to provide research, training of professional planners, and consultant services for regional development. Existing universities would participate.

Each regional institute would coordinate the development activities of the states and sub-jurisdictional units comprising the region. The Federal Government will assist. The regional institute will increase the number and quality of planners familiar with multi-county planning and planning in areas of low population density; and it will make available to local planning groups the talents of experts familiar with problems peculiar to their locale.

These institutes will link planning at all levels -- national to regional, regional to state, state to country, city suburban and rural.

One of the important contributions of these institutes will be the overcoming of barriers to research and planning posed by political boundaries which often bear no relationship to economic and social problems. We must deal with common problem areas rather than arbitrary geographic boundaries.

2. Town and Country Development Banks

Special financial institutions should be created, with the assistance of the Federal Government to help develop non-urban, town and country districts.

I propose a Town and Country Development Bank for rural America similar to the National Urban Development Bank that I have earlier recommended. Federal funds would be needed to get the bank started. The balance would come from bonds guaranteed by the Federal Government and sold by the Bank to private investors.

The Bank will underwrite unusual risks involved in rural development loans. And it will provide needed funds to public and private borrowers for community development programs that cannot be financed through normal channels.

Through a system of Regional Banks, the Town and Country Bank could:

- . Fund non-profit community development corporations.
- . Guarantee loans, made through private lenders, for community and district-wide development, including industrial development.
- . Offer loans to small businessmen whose contribution to the economy of their communities is limited by lack of financing.
- . Fund semi-public housing development corporations.
- . Provide technical management help in local planning and development.

Town and Country Banks would encourage long-range planning for area development -- planning now inhibited by the uncertainties of the appropriation process.

These Regional Bank Boards would include representatives from development areas, as well as local government.

3. Rural Industrialization

The regional institutes which I have proposed will undertake the necessary planning for rural industrialization and resource development. There is no point in making of rural America one long chain of factories, in destroying the countryside. The need is to plan for industrial development tailored to the needs and potentialities of rural communities and the market.

But plans are worth nothing without action. I have proposed specific programs to provide credit and other incentives

for industry to locate in rural areas. The Town and Country Development Banks will increase the supply of capital needed for rural industrialization.

Tourism is a major source of income and employment for rural America. I will provide federal assistance to enable rural areas to develop their tourism potential.

4. Location of Government Installations and Federal Procurement Policy

Federal agencies should take the lead in decentralizing many of their operations to less congested areas.

It should be the policy of every department of the Federal Government, as it has been of the Department of Agriculture since November 7, 1967:

"To locate facilities, offices, and laboratories in areas of lower density population, in preference to higher density population areas, and in areas of persistent or substantial labor surplus, wherever this can be done without sacrificing essential program objectives and with due consideration being given to the efficient and economical administration of the Department's programs."

In addition, the Federal Government should use its buying power and contracting responsibilities to promote development of non-metropolitan growth centers.

4. Agriculture

I have endorsed the basic concept of our current farm programs and urged that they be strengthened and improved by providing farmers meaningful bargaining power and a grain reserve. And, I would provide greater technical assistance to

rural cooperatives and low-income farmers. Cooperatives can facilitate the adjustment of small farmers, tenants, and agricultural laborers to technological changes which make it difficult for small farmers to survive. I would continue programs to assure transportation, power and water availability, marketing assistance, and a variety of other measures to help lay a solid foundation for continued agricultural progress.

5. Rural Education

The 1960 census showed that more than 19 million rural Americans failed to complete high school; more than 3 million were classified as functional illiterates.

Rural education has improved, but proportionately more rural than city youngsters drop out before completing high school and fewer of those who complete high school go to college.

Rural schools still lag behind those in the cities in facilities, budgets and teacher pay. The percentage of rural teachers not properly certified is about twice as high as that of urban areas.

Upgrading our rural schools is a vital part of my development program for town and country America. A well educated populace is essential to the economic development of rural areas. The poorly educated products of inadequate rural school systems become unemployed city dwellers. Because they are denied a chance to develop their full potential as human beings, young people handicapped by this rural

educational gap do not have a meaningful choice of where to live and work. We must provide equal educational opportunity for students in our rural schools.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Head Start, and the Teacher Corps were major steps toward equalizing educational opportunity throughout the nation. I have already proposed specific ways in which these programs should be strengthened and improved.

School consolidation offers significant prospect of improving rural school systems. To implement locally-developed school consolidation plans, federal funds for construction of new schools in rural areas will be needed and should be provided.

Existing federal programs, including the manpower development and training activities of the Labor Department, must be fully funded and oriented to the problems and needs of rural communities as well as of urban centers.

A number of states have pioneered successfully the concept of community two-year colleges and training institutes where young people can get more education, make up deficiencies or prepare for jobs requiring special skills.

I propose a cooperative federal-state program to establish community colleges accessible to all people living outside the larger cities. Besides providing technical, academic and remedial education, they would serve as a major source of leadership in the renewal and redevelopment of non-metropolitan America.

6. Physical Facilities and Services

Some 33,000 rural areas now lack modern central water systems; 43,000 lack adequate waste disposal systems.

They need financial and technical help to develop these and other public facilities and services essential to economic growth and to improve the quality of life for rural Americans. Federal assistance programs for such facilities and services should be increased.

Government help should be provided to extend electric power and efficient telephone service to areas which would not otherwise be reached. Greater federal assistance in the development and use of natural resources through watershed and resource conservation and development projects should be provided.

7. Public Employment

There are hundreds of thousands of men and women in rural America who need help now. Unprepared and untrained, unemployed and underemployed, they cannot wait for action that will help them in a few months or longer.

I have proposed an Emergency Public Sector Employment Act to put these people to work building rural America. This is not make work, but work with dignity, work that must be done if we are to revitalize rural America.

And, I intend to see to it that all federal programs -- the Community Action Programs, the food, education and health programs -- reach every rural American who needs them.

These and other programs are an investment in people. Their aim is to help poor take the first steps toward full productivity and participation in American prosperity.

We know from experience that this investment carries a high payoff -- as recipients go off the relief rolls, onto the tax rolls and into the mainstream of the American economy.

8. New Towns in Rural America

There is room for a number of new towns in rural America. They would be located in regions with natural resources and rural populations now migrating to overcrowded metropolitan areas. They would divert migration and create more balanced patterns of population and economic distribution across the land. And they will call forth the courage, energy, and vitality of America's spirit in making a fresh start.

The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 enables the Federal Government to assist private enterprise in planning and developing new communities. It should be adequately funded and vigorously implemented.

To promote development of new cities, creation of a public-private land development corporation chartered by Congress should receive serious consideration. Like Comsat,

this corporation would be capitalized by the sale of stock, with the government retaining a controlling interest.

* * * * *

In the last analysis, many of our most severe domestic problems are rooted in our population imbalance. At one extreme, we have cities overwhelmed with population they are unable to serve. At the other extreme, we have depopulated rural areas. Many Americans would prefer country to city life. In the New Day, we will assure them this choice.

1-1m

T-5

THE HUMPHREY CAM.

OPENING

27 min

①

"ACROSS THE COUNTRY"

Read + timed
by M.heim

FILM P. 4+5

HUMPHREY: I've been reading that Hubert Humphrey ought to be his own man. That's exactly what I am. It boils down to what Humphrey thinks. I'll let the others think for themselves, write for themselves, ^{speak} ~~write~~ for themselves. I've never known to be inarticulate, and occasionally I have a good idea.

(APPLAUSE)

The President of the United States has not asked me to live his administration when I am privileged to have the Humphrey administration. And there will be, if I have anything to say about it, ~~for the Humphrey administration~~ with the help of the American people a Humphrey administration with its own program, its own nuances, its own sense of direction, its own perspective, its own objectives.

NARRATION:

WHAT KIND OF PRESIDENT WILL HH BE?

WHAT ARE HIS OBJECTIVES?

NO ONE SPEAKS BETTER FOR HH THAN HH.

21 THE HUMPHREY CAMPAIGN

20 "ACROSS THE COUNTRY"

OPENING NARRATION

~~APPLA~~

APPLAUSE AT PRESS CLUB, DISSOLVE TO MICHIGAN

IN MICHIGAN, ~~A QUICK SHOT OF HUMPHREY SMILING, AND~~
~~THEN HUMPHREY WALKING BEHIND MAMMADIAS, STOPPED~~
~~BY VAN DRY, PEOPLE WILL ABOUT~~

NARRATOR:

What kind of President will Hubert Humphrey be?

What is the Humphrey perspective?

What, ~~specifically~~, are ^{his} ~~the~~ objectives?

has Since he announced his candidacy in April, Hubert Humphrey
~~has~~ been on the road -- talkin' to ~~the~~ people all across the coun
and listening to them, too.

Here are some of the things he's said:

MY FRIENDS

HUMPH: NOW THE TOWN MEETING IS OPEN
FOR YOU AND I'LL DO MY
LEVEL BEST TO ANSWER YOUR
QUESTIONS.

MR. HYLTON: ~~The next question, Mr. Vice~~
President:

✓ What are your feelings in regard to
the repeal of Section 14 (b) of the
Taft-Hartley Act?

VICE PRES. HUMPHREY: Same as they always
have been. I think it ought to be repealed.

--- (Applause)

MR. HYLTON: ~~Next question, Mr. Vice~~
President:

5830

Good YOUNG MAN!

Question: *Unidentified Person delegates*

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?

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

(Applause)

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

I might say that *these Congressmen* they vary uniquely in the coalition which has plagued this country for years. We have been aware of that Republican coalition with a handful of conservative Democrats *PT* and the only way to offset that is to elect some more liberal Congressmen and a man like Humphrey President.

NARRATION

5

ESTABLISH SHOTS

HUMPHREY AND FOUR YOUNG PEOPLE

NARRATOR

But not everything ^{issue} ~~can~~ can be handled in just a couple of sentences. When you're a man proposing to remake the cities of this country, you have to sit down and take the time to explain what you have in mind.

QUESTION: Would this be in line with your Marshall ...

HUMPHREY: That's what I was trying to emphasize by using the term, the Marshall Plan For Cities. ~~Now, I - I am sure that - that many of our young people of the age of, say, under 18, do not remember what a Marshall Plan was, because this is a postwar plan. But those that have had any schooling and done very - and have done very much reading would have some knowledge of it.~~

But ~~the~~ what it really means is this: a massive moral commitment to rebuild and reconstruct and rehabilitate. And it means putting the money up behind that commitment, and it means not only having the man on top do the planning for you but it means having the people who are at the bottom, so to speak, start to do their own planning about their own kinds of ~~communities~~ community and helping build, rebuild their own neighborhoods, their own communities and their own cities. I think we can do it. But we've got to get these 200 million that you're talking about enthusiastic about it. They have to understand, the great majority of Americans must understand, that unless we do something about the problem of the minorities in America, the minority of the poor, black or white - by the way, there are more poor whites than there are blacks. Black or white, unless we are willing to do something about their critical condition, unless we are willing to help them gain self respect, unless we ~~mean~~ are willing to help them gain self respect, unless we are willing to help them become self sufficient, self sustaining, productive citizens, unless we are willing to do that, we are going to have continuing trouble in this country.

~~But if we are willing to take the steps, and we will have to outline those as we go along - if we are willing to take them on time, then I think there is real hope.~~

RICHARDS: The ~~white man~~. ~~THE:~~ Are you advocating, as many people advocate today, 'Black America, go slow'? Be patient...

HUMPHREY: No, no...

RICHARDS: ...give us a little more time?

HUMPHREY: Not a bit. In fact, what I'm saying to you is entirely to the contrary. I think that there's a large number of people in this country that know that self-determination, in a sense, for black American is vital; that black America has its own role to play, it must have its own voice, it must be heard, it must be an integral part of the whole American structure with its own dignity, its own self-respect, its own representatives. That's the positive, and I think there's a great, great bulk of support now for that kind of concept which has recently, by the way, only recently, come into being.

What I was saying is that in the process of getting that support, it really doesn't help a great deal to go around slapping the fellow who has made a mistake in the past and say, "Look how wrong you've been" because that makes him ~~xxx~~ react contrariwise. What I think we need to do is what I know some of you are doing, is to say: "Look he

ther's a new day. Whether you've been right or wrong, the point is there's a brand new day and we're going to have something to say about it. And we want your understanding that we are going to have something to say about it, whether you understand it or not, we're going to have something to say about it." I think that's really what I'm trying to say to you.

8

HUMPHREY ON PODIUM AT NATIONAL PRESS CLUB

NARRATOR:

People are sometimes reluctant to believe that tomorrow
can be different or better. ^{But} Humphry is hopefully ~~incredibly~~
~~hard-headed~~ hard-headed about the future.

[HUMPHREY: I believe in change, and I've talked to you about it today. And any man that's worthy of the consideration of the American people knows that there's a change all the time in this country.] ~~And what we want to do is not just change, but change for the good.~~

~~What you need is a person that knows how to govern. What you need is someone that understands that ferment of change, the forces~~

~~of change, and does not let those forces run wild, but directs them, tries to bring them into some form of direction and consensus, so that the change is for social progress, and not for anarchy. Change not of destruction but change of construction.~~

~~I do not think that you demonstrate qualities of political leadership by treasuring down that which you have around you. I think you demonstrate qualities of political leadership by building that which is needed. I intend to be that kind of a builder.~~
(APPLAUSE)

100017
CHANGE

10

~~QUESTION~~

~~But if there is so much change, and I disagree, I don't think there is that much change in the American society - but if there is so much change, why, with black and white young people, are there so many young people who are withdrawing from society? ~~Yes~~ They feel that it's really quite hopeless. It doesn't really matter who is President. I think if you talk with black youngsters on the streets of Harlem or on the streets of ~~the~~ Washington, D.C., they will tell you it doesn't matter who is in that office, who sits in that chair. We're going to have a pittance handed out to us.~~

I think this is where the ~~the~~ frustration comes in. And I am curious to find out what is your reaction to the feeling that it doesn't really matter who sits in the chair. There will be some change but not a real change. And I think that's what young America wants.

HUMPHREY: Can we just get on this one, Patrick? ~~My~~ My reaction to what you say, Veronica, is this, that I think there is a greater recognition amongst young people in America, all kinds of young people, at our universities and our of our universities, as to the necessity of making the changes that open up these opportunities, that give people a chance, and not only give them a chance but provide them with ~~the~~ a chance, than ever before.

QUESTION

I think you would agree that change has been very slow, far too slow.

And this is where the frustration is.

~~QUESTION~~

I think when you enact a law and then not enforce it, when law enforcement is in the ghetto for the man who breaks a window and not for a slum landlord who will not give them heat or will not make repairs. That's where the frustration is ...

HUMPHREY: Exactly.

QUESTION: ... because they live it every day and they see no change. They don't see the white society caring. I think that's where it comes.

HUMPHREY: Well, Veronica, I couldn't agree with you more,

and I have said many times, and I've had some experience with this, by the way - ~~except~~ not yesterday, but you know, you have to live your life as it comes. When I had a chance to be a law-enforcement officer as the chief executive of the city, I was as willing to put out a warrant of arrest or serve a summons or notice on a landlord as I was to have our traffic officers put traffic tickets on cars. And I say that a law is a law, and the building ~~enforcement~~ codes ought to be enforced just like you enforce the traffic law. There isn't any doubt about it.

Let me say very candidly I am shocked when I go to the American cities and I see for example in the poorer areas the

1-16 (458)

YOUTH
CHANGE

12

~~Now,~~ it isn't fast enough, and it's our job to bring it - to bring change with social construction. You know, you can have change. They had change in Hitler's Germany, great change. We don't want that kind of change. You know, you can get change by just destroying. You can get change by dictatorship. You can get change by demagoguery. But what we want is the kind of change that ~~can~~ does what? That enriches the human life, that ~~protects~~ protects the basic integrity of the human being, that adds real meaning to what we call human dignity and a freedom. } We ~~don't~~ want

IV 7-6 (935-
SKIP TO 1110)

CROP PAYMENT
FRESH SPIRIT

JIM: Okay, caller, thanks. 7:30 is our time. Mr. Humphrey is waiting, caller. You're next. Go ahead, please.

CALLER: Good morning, Mr. Vice-President. Zzzz

HUMPHREY: Good morning.

CALLER: I wanted to ask you about a domestic question. How do you justify the Johnson-Humphrey's administration's support of a policy which gives Senator Eastland over \$150,000 a year not to grow a certain crop, and little children are living in poverty?

HUMPHREY: ~~Let me make~~
~~it crystal-clear.~~ This administration has not sought to have these large price-support payments go the large producers. When I served as the majority whip of the United States Senate, I repeatedly introduced legislation, as administration legislation, to limit the number and the amount of what we call price-support payments that you're talking about...

CALLER: But what would you do as President to change this?

HUMPHREY: I would, once again, fight for a limitation upon the amounts that any one producer can receive under price support legislation. I would also make it crystal-clear that in the United States, a rich country with an abundance of agricultural products, that not a single child went hungry. I would make sure that hunger in this country is for once and for all done away with. We inferred it, and we ought to do it.

CALLER

HUMPHREY: You feel you can succeed where Mr. Johnson has not.

HUMPHREY: I can sure try. I come in with a fresh spirit.

JIM: All right. You know our numbers, and you know that the Vice-President is our guest this morning, so get your questions ready. Mr. Vice-President Humphrey is waiting. Caller, you're on the air. Go ahead, please.

CALLER: Mr. Vice-President, would you please tell me are you a Fabian Socialist?

HUMPHREY: No, I am not. I am a small-time capitalist. Owner of Humphrey Drugstore. Believe in the profit system, and hope we don't have too many losses.

~~CALLER~~
~~XXX~~

JIM: Okay, caller, thank you very much. Mr. Humphrey is waiting. Caller, you're on the air. Go ahead, please.

CALLER: Mr. Humphrey, good morning. This is a real honor for me, I'm telling you.

HUMPHREY: Thank you.

CALLER: I'm a big supporter of yours, but the first thing I want to say is what is your honest opinion on Vietnam?

HUMPHREY: Well, it is my view that we're now at a point where we look forward to the processes of a peaceful settlement coming about. I think it's going to take a lot of patience, tenacity, and perseverance, but the conference is under way in Paris despite its dragging, as it appears to be, is a serious conference, and there are serious discussions under way. I'm not sure just when it can materialize into a successful conclusion. Some people say that it won't happen, at least until after the election, because possibly the Communists are willing to wait until they see how this election comes out. But

just as war has its own built-in escalation, I think the ~~unfolding~~ processes of peace also have their own built-in forward movement, and I place a great deal of confidence in Ambassador Harriman and Ambassador Vance who represent us at the Paris talks, and I'm going to stick with them.

CALLER: How much longer do we have to wait in the conference after the elections till they, you know...

BUMPHREY: I don't -- I just don't think a man can safely predict. I can say this, that the military situation in Vietnam is one that the Communists cannot win, that is, they cannot win on the battlefield. I don't believe there really is a military solution to this war. It has to come in a political settlement, a political solution. That's what we're striving for, and we're going to keep right at it, we're going to do the very best we can to mobilize world opinion to bring about the best that we know in diplomacy and negotiations and to bring this tragic war to an end, but an honorable end, not a pull-out, not a sell-out, not a run-out, but a negotiate-out.

MR. HYLTON: Mr. Vice President, some people think that the present administration's stand on Vietnam will hinder you in your campaign. How do you feel about this?

VICE PRES. HUMPHREY: Well, if it does, it does. A man cannot have it easy. I never have had it easy in my life.

But we have achieved one of our purposes now, and one of those purposes was at least to begin the conference, the talks, hopefully the negotiations, and your Government is prepared to follow through on those negotiations in an honorable, patient, tolerant, persevering manner, to get not a phony peace, not a sellout, but an honorable, genuine, lasting peace, that can mean something not only to you in this front row but to your children and to your children's children.

That is what we are trying to do.

(Applause)

My friends, I do not know what this is all going to mean to my campaign. I have had some people say that if there is peace, Mr. Vice President, why, it certainly will benefit you. I have heard other people say, well, Mr. Vice President, if there isn't peace your cause is going to be very difficult, your cause may be hopeless.

Ladies and gentlemen, if there isn't any peace, it is not my cause that is only in difficulty, it is everybody's cause.

CONTINUE TALKS 16

Unidentified Pacifist Delegate.
~~Question:~~

10 205
If peace talks in Paris or anywhere else were to fail and you became our next President, what would your policy be?

VICE PRES. HUMPHREY: To try to reestablish them, constantly pursue the hopeful effort of peaceful negotiation.

I surely want to make it crystal clear, I do not think it would be a wise policy on the part of the Government, after having made the sacrifices that it has made, to up and just pull out and run away and leave a country demoralized, destroyed and overrun, and I do not think we have to do that.

REEL TS KDKA

P. 9

(7:35)

NIXON ON
ENDING
VIETNAM WAR

QUESTION: ~~Ask~~ Mr. Vice President, Mr. Nixon claims that if elected President, he would end the war in Vietnam. What does he ~~sk~~ know, sir, ~~xx~~ that you people don't know apparently?

HEM HUMPHREY: WE've been trying to find out and let me put it right on the line. If anyone knows how to end that war with any degree of honor without American running, running away ~~from~~ from its responsibilities, without America withdrawing in defeat, if anyone knows how to end that war on honorable terms, he has a solemn sacred high obligation to present that obligation to this government.

This government is looking for every way & it can find to bring about an honorable peace in Vietnam.

QUESTION: Why not extend an invitation to Mr. Nixon so you can find out what he has in mind?

HUMPHREY: Mr. Nixon is always welcome at any level of government except as an elected official.

QUESTION: Who will be your running mate?

QUESTION: Well, who do you think is best qualified to be the Vice Presidential nominee in the Democratic Party if you're the Vice -- Presidential nominee?

HUMPHREY: We have such an array of talents that I hesitate to mention the names lest I leave one ~~my~~ out, so I shall not mention any names.]

QUESTION: Senator Edward Kennedy, sir?)

QUESTION: But you ducked underneath the ~~mx~~ point, Mr. Vice President, that -- I feel as a local reporter, after 23 years in politics, that you, Hubert Humphrey, who -- and you feel you're the most qualified man to be President...

HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

QUESTION: ...We can't seem to get a straight answer here. [I would think that you would know in your ~~x~~ mind and would want to tell the American people who you want to be your running mate in case anything happens to you, if you die, and somebody should be there that you really think is qualified. And that's why I think a lot of Americans are getting rather cynical about this convention and this election...

HUMPHREY: Well, you're helping making them cynical in all you can.

QUESTION: Well, I'm trying to get at why this is.

HUMPHREY: Because the time for the selection of a Vice President is at the convention, and I think the most cynical thing that a man can do is to play games with the Vice Presidency, and I'm not about ready to go around and say, "Look, I've talked to this man," or "I think this man is good," or "That man is good." I think that's a cheap operation.

When we come to the convention there'll be -- first of all, there will be nominations for the Vice Presidency...

QUESTION: Well, don't you...

HUMPHREY: ...I will express my point of view. There's a time and place for everything.

QUESTION: What...

HUMPHREY: Everything in season, and the time and place for the nomination of the Vice President and his selection, sir, is at the

QUESTION: Well, do you think that in terms of his campaign, however, that George Wallace, because the polls say he has increased in popularity so much in such a short time, that perhaps -- perhaps directing himself to the issue ~~that~~ which concerns most Americans, which is riots in the big cities and crime...

HUMPHREY: Well...

QUESTION: ...and that the other candidates are talking, somehow, about something else?

SKIP TO P. 19

Now I don't believe that Mr. Wallace is the only man that has directed himself towards the issue of law and order in this country. I believe that I have. I think the difference is that I've directed my attention towards law and order and civil justice...

QUESTION: Mr. Wallace keeps...

HUMPHREY: ...and social justice.

QUESTION: ...talking about a deal, Mr. Vice President. Isn't it inevitable that you're going to have to deal with George Wallace somewhere down the line?

HUMPHREY: I'm not. I don't know who's going to, but I'm not.

QUESTION: Well, if ~~make~~ he represents, let's say, 16 or 17 or 20 per cent of the total popular vote in America, and somebody doesn't make a deal with him, what happens to their representation in the White House?

HUMPHREY: As I said there was a rather -- oh, you mean Mr. Wallace's representation?

~~We do not have proportional representation. I'm pleased that you brought this up. We believe in majority rule in this country, and we also believe in majority rights. Now, we surely respect the rights of those. After all if you were -- your proposition would have given at least one third of the Cabinet to Barry Goldwater, because after all, Mr. Goldwater got a good, big vote in 1964, and in 1960, Mr. Kennedy ~~would~~ would have had to appoint half his Cabinet to Mr. Nixon if you ~~wanted~~ wanted proportional representation, 'cause the difference in vote in 1960 was about 100,000 votes. In fact it would have been a tossup as to just which of the two men ~~would~~ would~~

20.

~~have had the majority in the Cabinet.~~ No. We have majority rule and it's very important that we understand this.

Now, my own view is that if -- that rather than to go to the House of Representatives and make some kind of a deal, as has been indicated here, that we back the man who has the majority vote of the public or has the largest vote from the public, to become the President of the United States. I think there's great merit in that...

QUESTION: Lot better than...

HUMPHREY: ...and it's much better than wheeling and dealing.

QUESTION: Do you think the electoral college, sir, needs to be dealt with?

HUMPHREY: I do. I think ~~that~~ we ought to come to the popular election of Presidents.

(Applause)

MR. HYLTON: The next question, is:

Many of us in the suburban area --

and from the next question behind that one, I will add also, -

-- in the inner city, are concerned

about the racial crisis, and the

recommendations of the President's

Commission on ^{Civil} Racial Disorders, the

Kerner Report. What do you think

of it and what would you do about

it?

VICE PRES. 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~~ 14/

4510
P This report is a very significant document, and should be understood by every public official, and studied very carefully. P I think 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.

STU
I have been very close to the report. P 77
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.

(Applause)

455
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. *P*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.

(Applause)

You just cannot do that.

(Applause)

And remember this, that there is no liberty for anyone unless there is liberty for everyone and there is ultimately no justice for you unless there is justice for the other fellow. *P*It is just that simple and we have to understand it.

(Applause)

III - 101 (1332) 26
JIM: [Okay, caller. Thank you very much. Mr. Vice-President, we've talked some about Vietnam, we've talked about domestic matters.]

→ What ~~W~~ould you consider to be the main issue so far as issues facing the American public in this Presidential year for both of us ~~are~~ concerned here?

HUMPHREY: I think the issue has both a domestic and foreign side to it is -- I put it this way -- the reduction of tensions and the reconciliation of peoples and nations. ~~Another way to say it is,~~ Another way to say it is, we simply have to try to bring together our people here in the United States, and we've just got to do it in the spirit of understanding rather than the spirit of bitterness and of disenchantment, and above all, we simply have to start to work to change the policies that have prevailed for the past twenty years which had their relevancy -- I don't want to say they were wrong -- but they have run out as to their usefulness. Those policies were

based primarily upon containment and on contemplation (?). Now we need to have policies that are built upon reconciliation -- trying to reconcile the differences that are there -- trying to open up commerce and trade and diplomatic relationships on a more friendly basis between East and West and to reduce the tensions, and at the top of that list, I would say, is the necessity for cutting back and finding ways for ^{mutual} ~~mutual~~ agreement, not unilaterally, but for mutual agreement to cut back on the dangerous arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race.

III - 11-12 (1332)

MAIN ISSUE
GROWTH IN VIEW
27

We're building up mountains of nuclear weapons -- intercontinental ballistic missiles. The Soviet Union and ourselves are right now on the precipice of a great new weapons system called the anti-ballistic missile system. Now, if that should happen, both countries would spend approximately and as a total over a hundred billion dollars for a new defensive weapons system which won't give you any defense. So we simply have to cut back, and I consider that the primary objective of the new administration. This is much more important than even the war that's going on, because the ultimate -- the peace of the world depends upon the capacity of the Soviet Union and the United States and their leaders to have a working understanding and agreement so that the hotheads and the men of passion do not get in control and trigger a nuclear confrontation.

JIM: While we're waiting for our next call, one question. Could we say, Mr. Vice-President, that ~~that~~ that might represent a departure in view so far as your position and the administration's is concerned?

HUMPHREY: Well, it represents a growth in view. It represents a change -- I mean a healthy and very normal growth in what should develop in our foreign policies.

III - 67(801)

28

FREE SPEECH
STORM TROOPER

JIM: Okay, caller. Thank you. 7:23 our time. The Vice-President is waiting, caller. You're on the air. Go ahead please.

CALLER: Hello. Vice-President Humphrey?

HUMPHREY: Hello there.

CALLER: I'd like to ask you a question. If you get into office, would you clamp down on people who are continually preaching a insurrection in our United States and defacing our American flag? I've heard people on many news media preaching insurrection against the United States and I saw films of people across the United States tearing down our flag and so forth. If you got to office, would you clamp down on these people?

HUMPHREY: There is now legislation, as you know, that prohibits the desecration of the American flag and it is, as I recollect it, a federal offense. That, obviously, would have to be enforced. But free speech is a matter that we must guard very jealously, even when we don't like what people say. I have said a number of times every man has the right to be heard. ~~He just doesn't necessarily have to be taken seriously. But what he says -- unless what he says makes sense. I have little or no time, however, for those who engage in violence, that use storm trooper tactics in order to break up meetings, in order to deny you or somebody else of me, or whoever it may be, of the right to exercise his precious right of free speech. This country cannot make progress through violence. And we simply cannot condone it, and those of us who have the responsibility for enforcing the law and upholding the law must do so, and as if I am committed to serve as President of the United States, I will do everything I can within the Constitutional processes and the due process of law to enforce the law and to ^{put} ~~maintain~~ the prestige of the office of the Presidency on the side of ^{law} ~~law~~ and order. That's the way you make social progress in this country.~~

AM SHOW P. 2,3,4 (47:00) ²⁹ FREE SPEECH
STORM TROOPER MENTALITY

Prior to your joining us this morning we counting a upon your returning route and he spoke of ~~my~~ your courage in doing that and I know I suppose I overstate possibly in saying courage in exposing yourself to public comment on one of these phone in shows but as you know we have no way of knowing what calls are coming in and what the next ~~and~~ question is going to be.

I'd like to add my amen to that. I ~~x~~ think it shows a great deal of couagge and I thank you on behalf of all of our ~~x~~ viewers for giving us the chance to talk to you this morning.

HUMPHREY: May I just add a word on that? Many young ~~pepp~~ people have called in this morning. It's ~~quize~~ quite obvious since several of them identified themselves as ~~pepp~~ young people. I hope that they will literally insist that in these coming months of the campaign that people have the right to be heard.

American democracy requires good manners as well as good sense. And it requires a respect for the other fellows point of view as well as his person.

Now the most dangerous development in the world is a self appointed minority that feels its so right that it has no tolerance for anybody else. And in the meantime the majority seems to stand back and let people just run over them. I happen to believe there's a great silent ~~x~~ majority in this country that can be aroused and wants to do the right thing. That wants progress, that wants order, that's willing to walk to extra mile, that' doesn't have ~~any~~ any hate in ~~h~~ its heart, that wants to do what's right.

I call upon that majority now to speak up. And I call upon those who are so sure ~~h~~ that they're right to think once again. I'm not ~~x~~ sure I'm right. I think so but I stand ready to be corrected. I just pray to God that I may have an understanding and a tolerance of the other man's point of view so that I can learn if I'm wrong. I think this is what we've ~~x~~ go t to talk about in this country and the sooner we do it the better.

-21
5417
QUESTION: ... something you mentioned a long time ago (?), I don't want it to get lost, that the young people and the people - the black people especially, are coming into - trying to open up the door of the establishment. It would seem to me that the black people particularly were coming in ~~in~~ the door of Robert Kennedy, and that's closed to them. The young people are ~~part~~ particularly coming in the door of Eugene McCarthy. And I don't see ~~many~~ too many of those people coming in your door.

VOICE: Did you say you were referring to black people, black ...

QUESTION: I am referring to young activists in general. And it seems to me that your door is somewhat closed, or ~~more~~ more closed than the other candidates and that your supporters are not those young people, and this campaign isn't aimed at those people. You don't think you ought to change that effort?

HUMPHREY: Well, may I say that my door is wide open. I ~~have~~ have seen many people walk into the - walk into the wrong door. This is an old habit of people who generally lose their way. They walk into the wrong door. My door has been open for a lifetime, ~~Robert~~ Patrick. My door has been open for a lifetime. I don't come with - with synthetic theory. I come with a lifetime of ~~my~~ experience and of ~~my~~ practical achievement in the area of human opportunities. I don't go around talking theory and ~~poetry~~ poetry to people about equal opportunity. I believe in it. And not only that, I have lived it. When others ran away from the challenge, Patrick, long before your time, when they ran away from the challenge when it was hot and difficult and mean and ugly, this man that you're looking at stood and fought the good fight for civil rights in this country and for human opportunity, and I have done it all of my life and I haven't quit now.

(Applause)

10910
May I say, if many of you do not get your questions answered, I know a lot of you did not, and if you feel that you ~~want~~ desire an answer from me, please send me a letter. *P* I am the darndest letter-writer in the country. *P* I write thousands of them, much to the chagrin of my staff.

P They think I spend too much time writing letters, but I consider a letter a personal conversation, and if you have something you want answered, and you wonder how this man who seeks your confidence and support for the Presidency, if you wonder how he feels, let me know. *P* I respect your judgment.

Frankly, I need you, and I come to you asking for your help, and I cannot do it unless I come to you honestly.

(Applause)

CLOSING 32
NARRATION

AD HUMPHREYS IS SHAKING HANDS AND THANKS
THANKING PEOPLE AND WALKING OUT/

MCMCMG
MRRRMM

NARRATOR:

The Humphry administration will have
its own program, its own nuances, its own sense of
direction, its own perspectives, its own objectives.
You have just heard some of them.

SHOTS
CREDITS OVER STILL VIDEO-SCENES
OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT FROM
PREVIOUS SCENES.



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