

MMH - Introduced
times

Bob Hope -
You about to
shoot into the
world -
Don't go!
NOTES

Gov Smith
Pres Smith
John Slicer

- my medicare

"Big Green"
Basketball

2 Vacancies for
Presidency

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

MARSHALL UNIVERSITY

HUNTINGTON, WEST VIRGINIA

APRIL 24, 1968

(Suede Sullistom Hall)

Comp
Ken Beckley
(1958)
found
7
him!
The week in
Washington!

↳ Despite reports to the contrary, I hear that old-style
politics is alive and well on the campuses! It is certainly
flourishing here at Marshall University, complete with cries
of foul, protests, two decisions by the student court, and
appeals to your Supreme Court in the person of President Smith.

↳ Let me tell you that things usually don't get that
rough in Minnesota, or even in Washington.

Can hardly wait to hear what he
about to say!

I was asked to speak to you -- and with you -- about
"The American Dream -- Fulfillment or Failure."

↳ My position is this: the American Dream is unfulfilled --
and it continues to be an enormous success.

↳ What is the essence of the American dream?

Freedom.

Freedom to enjoy the fundamental human rights to
life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

↳ Freedom to develop one's greatest human potential.

↳ Freedom to be a man.

That has been America's dream -- simple, clear,
compelling, revolutionary -- since the beginning of our nation.

↳ Today the American Revolution continues with cries of
"Freedom Now"... of "We Shall Overcome" from millions of
deprived and under-privileged Americans who are
asking the right to be citizens -- in the fullest sense of the
word.

→ March under New Banners - The War on Poverty -
Peace Corp - VISTA - Head Start, Job Corps, Upward
Bound - Work Study - Youth Opportunity,
Model Cities -

And millions more, who believe that their own
freedom is incomplete as long as some among us are not
completely free, have also rallied to those cries.

I think you can measure the continuing vitality of
the dream of freedom in America by the urgent aspirations... the
ferment and change... and yes, ^{even} by the frustration and impatience...
that are so evident in our society today.

And I think you can conclude that the American dream
is thriving. ~~growing~~

What is happening in our own country is part of a
worldwide quest for freedom -- a quest our own example has
spurred for nearly a hundred years.

World War II unleashed the great forces of colonial
liberation in the twentieth century, even as it fastened
a new type of tyranny upon vast numbers of people and
many nations.

But even in those nations the seeds of emancipation -- the seeds of liberation -- were there. And they are beginning, at long last, to sprout.

for instance,
I believe, the ferment in China will lead toward a different China in the next decade -- hopefully a freer China... a China which will be a better neighbor.

In Eastern Europe the monolith of communism has been fractured. People are demanding -- and getting -- emancipation from rigid, inflexible state control.

Yes, at home and abroad, the convulsive processes of freedom are at work -- processes that are rarely quiet, seldom orderly or refined. Few people have ever gained -- and held -- their freedom without torment, difficulty, ferment and sacrifice.

As for fulfillment of the American dream, let me say this: it is not likely to happen in my lifetime or yours. And maybe that is as it should be.

Because the function of a national dream is to stay out ahead...to keep aspirations high and complacency low... to keep people trying. — *Reaching for the Stars.*

In the past, each achievement that has brought us closer to our American dream has been a rung on a ladder. We have stepped higher, only to see new tasks...new problems... new horizons of freedom.

↳ We have continued to ask and expect more of ourselves -- to expand the American dream.

↳ Once the "inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" meant freedom for every man who was not a slave to make of himself whatever his talents, his ambition, and good luck would allow.

Today, most of us take it for granted that those inalienable rights also include freedom from discrimination on ~~the basis of sex or race.~~

We take for granted a minimum wage, Social Security, Medicare and other measures which increase freedom by increasing security.

And our dream is still expanding.

↳ We see, for example, that civil rights alone don't mean freedom for a man who doesn't have the skills to make a decent living. ↳ So adequate job training and work opportunities are, I ^{believe,} about to graduate from the status of public programs to the status of fundamental American rights.

↳ We know that the mother in an inner-city tenement or a tarpaper shack who constantly fears for herself and fears for her children is not free -- and today I believe we see things such as decent housing and adequate health care for children becoming part of America's standard of freedom.

We now realize that true freedom ~~for children of~~
~~poverty~~ requires excellence in education from the earliest years.
And I think they are going to get it, as part of an expanding
twentieth century Bill of Rights. —

No, the American dream is no failure.

The real issue today, I think, is whether we
shall fail the American dream -- whether it is too grand for us...
whether our impatience will turn to violence, and our aspirations
to despair.

Can we make the changes our dream now demands without
destroying the good in what we have already built?

Can we have change amidst order, and order that permits
change?

I think we can.

I think the American political and social system has the flexibility and durability to accommodate the powerful forces of freedom which are at work among us.

I think we can mobilize the resources, both public and private -- that will banish the tyranny of poverty from our land.

I think we can root out the last vestiges of discrimination, segregation and inequality...in schools...in employment... in housing and in public services.

And I think we can do it in harmony -- drawing strength, from our diversity and confidence from the knowledge that no nation has had so much experience or success with freedom as we.

Now let me hear from you.

#

[Marshall U.
Transcript
Apr. 24, 1968]

READY TO WORK ME OVER, CHARLES? OKAY.

To Hear

I'M SURE MOST OF US ARE QUITE INTERESTED ^{TO HEAR} WHAT THE VICE-PRESIDENT HAD TO SAY. I'M PERHAPS WONDERING IF THE FIRST QUESTION SHOULDN'T BE WHEN CAN WE APPLY FOR FEDERAL AID TO GET A NEW AUDITORIUM FOR YOUR NEXT APPEARANCE. IT SEEMS TO BE ~~BEING~~ ^{RATHER} CROWDED. WELL, WE TAKE THAT UNDER ADVISEMENT. WELL, WE DO HAVE A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS TO ASK YOU MR. VICE PRESIDENT, ALL OF WHICH ARE CENTERED AROUND THE MAJOR ISSUES OF THE IMPACT WEEK. THESE ARE THE GREAT QUESTIONS OF THE DAY: ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ PAX AMERICANA: PEACE OR WAR?; THE GREAT SOCIETY: BOOM OR BUST?; THE NEW MORALITY: ETHICAL RESPONSIBILITY OR MORAL DECAY?; FREE EXPRESSION IN AMERICA: FACT OR FICTION?; BLACK POWER: REVOLUTION OR EVOLUTION?. I WOULD LIKE TO TURN TO MR. GREGG TERRY FOR THE FIRST QUESTION PLEASE. [THANK YOU, CHARLIE.

MR. VICE PRESIDENT, TO ~~START~~ ^{WITH} OUT THIS EVENING WE WANT TO ASK SEVERAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE AMERICAN ~~XXXXXXXX~~ ^{DREAM} YOU SPOKE OF IN YOUR VERY STIMULATING SPEECH.] THANK YOU. [THE FIRST QUESTION THAT WE WOULD

LIKE TO DIRECT IN THE FIELD OF FOREIGN POLICY. IS IT NOT TRUE THAT OUR TRADITIONAL CONCEPT OF COMMUNISM AS A MONOLITHIC OR ^{A UNIFIED} WORLD-WIDE MOVEMENT IS IN THE PROCESS OF TRANSITION TO A NEW ^{CONCEPT} ~~CONCEPT~~ OF COMMUNISM AS A NATIONALISTIC AND FRAGMENTED MOVEMENT, AND WHAT IMPLICATIONS WOULD EXIST IN OUR FUTURE FOREIGN POLICY IF THIS WOULD BE THE CASE?] MY ANSWER TO YOUR QUESTION IS YES. YOUR QUESTION IS

STATED IN WHAT I THINK IS A FACT. LET ME ELABORATE A BIT. THE COMMUNIST PARTY AS LENIN SAW ~~IT~~ ^{TO BE A} WAS ~~IT~~ REVOLUTIONARY INSTRUMENT. IT WAS TO BE AN INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY INSTRUMENT. THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE PRESENTLY DOMINATED COMMUNIST COUNTRIES IS MORE THAN

A POLITICAL PARTY AND HAS BECOME, IN FACT, A GOVERNING FORCE. AND WITHIN THE LAST TWENTY YEARS IN PARTICULAR THERE HAS BEEN A GRADUAL BREAK BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY ON THE ONE HAND AND THE GREAT MASSES OF PEOPLE ON THE OTHER, IN WHICH THE PEOPLE ARE BECOMING MUCH MORE NATIONALISTIC, IN WHICH THEY ARE GETTING A GREAT DEAL, IN WHICH THEY FIND THAT THEIR LIVES ARE BEING PREJUDICED TO DOGMA AND TO DOCTRINE AND THERE IS A GROWING FRAGMENTATION OF WHAT WE CALL THE COMMUNIST MONOLITH. IN FACT THERE IS NO COMMUNIST MONOLITH ANY LONGER. THE COMMUNIST MONOLITH THAT WE SPOKE OF, THAT IS THE UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST POWER IN EASTERN EUROPE HAS BEEN FRACTURED, I THINK, BY THE VERY EVIDENCE OF ^A NATION ~~XXXXXXX~~ STATE LIKE ROMANIA PURSUES AN INDEPENDENT COURSE WITHOUT BREAKING AWAY FROM THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRY, THAT IS, THE MUTUAL DEFENSE ALLIANCE OF THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. THE FIRST TO SEVERE, THE FIRST TO BREAK OUT, WAS YUGOSLAVIA. THERE ARE INDICATIONS, OF COURSE, OF A GREAT DEAL OF NATIONAL AUTONOMY IN POLAND. AND THE MOST DRAMATIC RECENT EVENT, WHICH IS YET TO BE REALLY JUDGED AS TO ITS FULL IMPACT IS IN CZECHOSLAVAKIA. THE MONOLITH OF EASTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNISM HAS BEEN DESTROYED AND OUR POLICY LIKEWISE MUST ADAPT ITSELF THAT WAY. FOR EXAMPLE, HUBERT HUMPHREY BELIEVES THAT WE SHOULD TRY TO PURSUE A RATHER NORMAL DIPLOMATIC POLICY WITH EASTERN EUROPE. I THINK WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE TRADE AND COMMERCE WITH THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. I THINK WE SHOULD STEP UP AS FAR AS POSSIBLE ^{OUR} CULTURAL EXCHANGES PARTICULARLY IN THE FIELDS OF MEDICINE AND SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, JOURNALISM, THE CULTURAL ACTIVITIES (THE ARTS), IN OTHERWORDS, WE SHOULD SEEK AS BEST WE CAN TO NORMALIZE THOSE RELATIONSHIPS. WE MUST ACCEPT THE FACT,

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HOWEVER, THAT THE THREAD OF THE COMMUNIST DOGMA, THE COMMUNIST
DOCTRINE, STILL IS THERE. IT IS A SORT OF ~~XXXXX~~ ^{FAITH} AROUND WHICH THE
WOMEN AND THE MEN TEND TO RALLY, BUT LIKE PEOPLE IN THE OTHER PARTS
OF THE WORLD THEY DON'T ALWAYS LIVE BY THE ~~FATE~~ ^{FATE}. THEY PREACH IT
A GREAT DEAL, BUT THEY DON'T ALWAYS LIVE BY ~~THE~~ IT. AND THE MOST
SIGNIFICANT FACT IS THAT THE YOUTH, THE YOUNG PEOPLE OF THE COMMUNIST
COUNTRIES TODAY, ARE DOING WHAT I TRIED TO SAY, AND I'M SURE RATHER
INADEQUATELY, THEY ARE REACHING OUT FOR THEIR OWN IDENTITY. THEY
ARE RESISTING WITH OPEN REBELLION IN MANY AREAS: THE RIGID CENSORSHIP
ON LITERATURE AND ART, THEY ARE RESISTING THE LIMITATIONS ON THEIR
FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT. NOW IF YOU HAVE THE PATIENCE FOR A FEW MORE
YEARS, I THINK YOU ARE GOING TO SEE VERY DRAMATIC CHANGES AND I
THINK, THEREFORE, OUR POLICY MUST BE ONE OF WATCHFUL PATIENCE,
ALERT -- NOT BEING APATHETIC, NOT LULLING OURSELVES INTO FALSE
SECURITY, BUT NOT SEEING HOBGOBLINS EVERY TIME THAT SOMEBODY SAYS
"COMMIST! COMMUNIST!" NOW THE SAME THING IS TRUE IN ASIA. THERE IS
NO COMMUNIST MONOLITH IN ASIA. TO BE ~~XXXXX~~ ^{SURE}, PEKING, CHINA, REPRESENTS
THE MOST ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ POWERFUL COMMUNIST FORCE. BUT LET ME GIVE YOU A
TYPICAL EXAMPLE, AND I DON'T ~~WX~~ KNOW WHETHER THIS HAS BEEN SPOKEN OF
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ PUBLICLY BEFORE, BUT HANOI'S RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S
INITIATIVE OF ABOUT THREE WEEKS AGO, HANOI'S RESPONSE, AS FAR AS WE
KNOW, WAS NOT CLEARED WITH PEKING OR MOSCOW. SO IT APPEARS THAT AT
LEAST FROM A GOVERNMENTAL POINT OF VIEW, THAT THE LEADERS IN HANOI
RESPONDED ON THEIR OWN. NOW IT IS PERFECTLY OEVIOUS THAT THERE
ARE DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF COMMUNISM. THE NORTH VIETNAMESE HAVE A

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KIND OF COMMUNISM OF THEIR OWN GOING IN LAOS, AND CAMBODIA. THE CHINESE, I THINK, HAVE A VERY POWERFUL INFLUENCE. THEY TRIED TO SPREAD IT DOWN INTO INDONESIA. THEY LOST THAT FIGHT. THE MONOLITH OF COMMUNISM IS A FICTION TODAY AND WE MUST ADJUST OURSELVES TO THAT REALITY. THAT'S ABOUT THE BEST ANSWER I CAN GIVE YOU.

[NOW I'LL TRY TO FOLLOW IT UP BRIEFLY. IF WE THEN ARE TO ADJUST ~~XXXXX~~ AND DEVELOP A NEW COMPREHENSIVE FOREIGN POLICY BASED ON A FRAGMENTED MOVEMENT OF COMMUNISM, THEN WILL THE VIETNAMESE WAR, ~~X~~ THE CONFLICT THAT WE ARE NOW ENGAGED IN IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, SET A PRECEDENT FOR THE UNITED STATES IN THAT WE WILL IMITATE PAVLOV'S SLOBBERING DOG BY RESPONDING EVERY TIME THE COMMUNISTS RING THE BELL OF NATIONAL LIBERATION THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.] NO, NO INDEED. I THINK THERE IS A GREAT DEAL OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A SOCIAL REVOLUTION OR A COMMUNIST UPHEAVAL IN A COUNTRY, AND THAT OPEN AGGRESSION FROM WITHOUT, EXTERNAL AGGRESSION -- OUR NATION'S INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTH VIETNAM, REGARDLESS OF THE DISAGREEMENTS THAT PEOPLE HAVE OVER IT, IS BASED FUNDAMENTALLY UPON THE EXTERNAL AGGRESSION. ALSO WHAT WE CONSIDER TO BE SOME OF OUR OWN VITAL INTERESTS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT HAD A TREMENDOUS CONTROL OVER INDONESIA, THE FIFTH LARGEST NATION IN THE WORLD. I WAS THERE LAST OCTOBER. CLOSE TO A HALF A MILLION PEOPLE WERE KILLED IN THE COMMUNIST PURGE. THAT IS THE PURGE OF THE COMMUNISTS, THE SUKARNO ELEMENTS. THERE ISN'T ANY DOUBT BUT WHAT PEKING WAS GOING TO MAKE INDONESIA ^{LIKE} A SATELLITE, AND THEY WERE WITHIN DAYS OF GETTING THE JOB DONE AND THEY FAILED. THEY RAN UP AGAINST GENERALS, THEY RAN UP AGAINST RELIGION, THEY RAN UP AGAINST THEIR OWN

FAILURES. NOW, WE DIDN'T INTERVENE IN INDONESIA, EVEN THOUGH IT WAS PERFECTLY OBVIOUS THAT THE COMMUNISTS WERE BEGINNING TO TAKE THAT COUNTRY OVER INCH BY INCH. I THINK IT IS FAIR TO SAY THAT HAD INDONESIA BEEN OPENLY INVADED, HAD MILITARY FORCES IN SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS COME DOWN, THAT WE WOULD HAVE SEEN IT AS A THREAT, NOT ONLY TO OURSELVES, OUR ULTIMATE SECURITY, BUT TO ALL OF ASIA. FOR EXAMPLE, INDIA WAS THE VICTIM OF OPEN AGGRESSION FROM CHINA. NOW INDIA DID NOT ASK FOR AMERICAN FORCES -- IT ASKED FOR AMERICAN EQUIPMENT. BUT I BELIEVE THAT IT IS FAIR TO SAY THAT AS HISTORY WILL UNFOLD, THAT DURING THAT PERIOD OF TIME THAT CHINA WAS WARNED BY BOTH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER POWERS THAT HER VENTURE WAS A RATHER DANGEROUS ONE AND SHE MIGHT WANT TO CURTAIL IT. SO THERE IS A GREAT DEAL OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WHAT I CALL A COMMUNIST MOVEMENT WITHIN AND EXTERNAL AGGRESSION. AND I WOULD HOPE THAT WE WOULDN'T FIND OURSELVES BEING THE WATCHDOG AT EVERY TURN IN THE ROAD. WE DO NOT WANT TO MAKE AMERICA THE POLICEMAN OF THE WORLD. WE DO NOT WANT ANY PAX AMERICANA. WHAT WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE IS A WORLD, LIKE JOHN KENNEDY ONCE SAID, WHICH IS SAFE FOR DIVERSITY WHERE YOU CAN BE DIFFERENT AND HAVE DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BUT WHERE THOSE SOCIAL SYSTEMS DO NOT COME INTO OPEN AGGRESSIVE COMBAT OR CONFLICT.

[CATHY KELLY, MR. VICE PRESIDENT I WOULD LIKE TO TURN TO THE AREA OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH NOW. IN REGARD TO TODAY'S CHALLENGING ISSUES WHERE DOES THE FREEDOM OF DISSENT END AND IRRESPONSIBILITY BEGIN?]

I'M AFRAID, CATHY, THAT THAT IS AN INDIVIDUAL JUDGMENT THAT RESPONSIBLE CITIZENS MUST FACE UP TO. I'M NOT A LAWYER. I WISH THAT I WERE A COMPETENT CONSTITUTIONAL LAWYER. YOU AND I KNOW THAT NO ONE HAS A RIGHT TO STAND IN A HALL LIKE THIS AND HOLLER, "FIRE, FIRE,"

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AND PANIC AN AUDIENCE. YOU JUST DONT HAVE THAT RIGHT EVEN THOUGH THAT MUGHT BE AN EXERCISE OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH. BUT WHEN YOU ~~SOME~~ TO THE SUBJECT OF DISSENT IN A FREE SOCIETY, YOU ARE DEALING WITH THE VERY HEART OF THE WHOLE SOCIAL, POLITICAL STRUCTURE. YOU KNOW THERE IS -- A COMPACT MAJORITY IS NOT ALWAYS RIGHT. A MAJORITY CAN MAKE A MISTAKE AND THEREFORE THE RIGHT OF DISSENT OF THE MINORITY IS A PRECIOUS RIGHT. IT IS, IN SENSE, THE CONSCIENCE. IT'S THE SAFETY VALVE OF A FREE SOCIETY AND A FREE PEOPLE. AND I SUPPOSE THERE IS NOTHING QUITE SO BORING AS A PERSON THAT FEELS HE IS SO TERRIBLY RIGHT, ABOUT EVERYTHING -- YOU KNOW? AND SOMETIMES THE DISSENTERS GET TO FEELING THEY ARE TERRIBLY RIGHT AND SOMETIMES THE ADVOCATES DO. THEREFORE, I CALL FOR WHAT IS KNOWN AS A TOLERANCE OF POINTS OF VIEW, FEELING THAT IN THE STRUGGLE OF IDEAS THAT IF THERE IS FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND FREEDOM OF PRESS, THAT ULTIMATELY THE TRUTH DOES COME OUT, PARTICULARLY ~~IS~~ IF POLICE STATE METHODS ARE NOT USED TO CURB THAT DISCUSSION. AND I CAN SAY THAT DURING THIS MOST ~~XXXXXX~~ DIFFICULT PERIODS OF THE VIETNAM WAR, THAT ONE OF THE GREAT COMPLI* MENTS TOWARDS OUR COUNTRY THAT I FOUND IN EUROPE, EVEN AMONGST OUR SEVEREST CRITICS, WAS THAT AS WE FOUGHT A DIFFICULT AND PAINFUL WAR, WE PRESERVED THE FULL RIGHT OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH. THIS WAR HAS BEEN FOUGHT WITHOUT CENSORSHIP? THIS WAR HAS BEEN FOUGHT WITHOUT CURB* ING PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO SPEAK,, WITHOUT CURBING THEIR RIGHT TO MASS MOVEMENTS AND DEMONSTRATIONS. NOW, WHEN YOU GET TO A POINT WHERE YOU DESTROY OTHER PEOPLE'S RIGHTS, THEN INDEED THERE IS A RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT TO ESTABLISH ORDER. AND I WILL CONCLUDE ON THIS NOTE ON THIS THEME, THAT THOSE WHO ARE THE DISSENTERS OUGHT TO BE AWFULLY CAREFUL THAT YOU DONT MAKE YOUR DISSENT INTO

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SUCH AN ORTHODOXY OR DOGMA THAT YOU START TO TAKE ON THE TENDENCIES OF THOSE WHO ARE REALLY ANTI-DEMOCRATIC, WITH A SMALL "D."]

[MR. VICE PRESIDENT, YOU HAVE JUST URGED US TO JOIN WITH YOU IN HELPING TO BANISH POVERTY, TO HELP THE DISADVANTAGED AND THE UNDERPRIVILEGED, ARE WE NOT SACRIFICING THIS AMERICAN DREAM, THIS DREAM OF A GREAT SOCIETY WITH OUR VIETNAM EXPENDITURES OF OVER TWO BILLION DOLLARS A MONTH?]

THERE HAS NEVER BEEN A WAR THAT HAS BEEN A PLEASANT ONE. THE ONLY MAN THAT EVER GAVE THE FULL AND THE MOST MEANINGFUL DEFINITION OF WAR WAS GENERAL SHERMAN. HE SAID, " WAR IS HELL." IT'S A DIRTY MEAN BUSINESS. IT'S VERY DIFFICULT FOR ONE TO MORALLY JUSTIFY VIOLENCE ~~XXX~~ OF ANY KIND. I HAPPEN TO BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE TIMES IN THE HISTORY OF NATIONS AND IN THE LIFE OF A NATION THAT IT MUST -- WHEN IT HAS TO MEET THE ADVERSARY AND IT HAS TO USE ITS POWER. I SAID THE OTHER EVENING THAT THE ABSENCE OF THE USE OF POWER, OR THE FAILURE TO USE IT, ALSO AFFECTS THE LIVES OF PEOPLE. MANY PEOPLE HAVE TALKED ABOUT THE ABUSES OF OUR USE OF POWER. WELL, MAY I SUGGEST THAT THE ABUSE OF THE FAILURE TO USE POWER WHEN IT IS NEEDED IS EQUALLY WRONG. I THINK IT'S FAIR TO SAY THAT HAD THE WESTERN EUROPEAN NATIONS IN 1933 BEEN WILLING TO USE THEIR POWERS WHEN HITLER CAME TO POWER, WHEN HE STARTED TO REFORTIFY THE RHINELAND, THAT WE MAY NOT HAVE HAD WORLD WAR II. BUT THEY JUSTIFIED THEIR ACTIONS IN THE NAME OF PEACE. AND I THINK THAT THEY COULD ONLY JUSTIFY THEIR ACTIONS IN THE NAME OF INDIFFERENCE AND COWARDESS, AND THE FAILURE TO FULFILL PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY. NOW, WE DO SPEND A GREAT DEAL OF MONEY ON THE WAR IN VIETNAM. WE HAPPEN TO BELIEVE, AND I AM SURE IT'S SUBJECT TO DEBATE, (THERE ARE MANY PEOPLE WHO HAVE DISAGREED) WE HAPPEN TO BELIEVE IT IS BETTER TO MEET MILITANT

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AGGRESSIVE COMMUNISM AND THAT'S WHAT IT IS FROM NORTH VIETNAM ,
IN THAT PARTICULAR AREA, ON THAT BATTLEFIELD NOW, THAN IT IS TO
PERMIT ALL OF THAT GREAT REGION OF SOUTHEAST ASIA TO BE OVERWHELMED
BY COMMUNIST FORCES, GIVING THE COMMUNIST THE FEELING THAT
~~THEIR~~ ^{HIS} USE OF POWER WILL GO UNCONTESTED AND THEREBY, I THINK,
~~EXAGGERATING~~ ^{Exacerbating} THE DANGER FOR A BIGGER CONFLICT ON A WORLD-WIDE
SCALE. WE BELIEVE THAT ARMAGEDDON BY THE INSTALLMENT PLAN IS NOT
SMART BUSINESS. WE THINK THAT IT IS BETTER TO MEET IT NOW WHERE
WE MEET IT THAN ^{HAVE TO} ~~TO MEET~~ IT SOMEPLACE ON ^A ~~A~~ LATER DATE WHERE IT MIGHT
BE MORE DANGEROUS. AND WE JUSTIFY OUR POLICY ON THE BASIS OF OTHER
EXPERIENCES, AND YOU ARE NEVER SURE IF YOU'RE RIGHT. YOU KNOW I
WISH I WERE AS SURE I'M RIGHT AS THE PEOPLE THAT THINK I'M WRONG
ARE SURE THAT THEY'RE RIGHT THAT I'M WRONG. IF YOU CAN FIGURE THAT
ONE OUT. WE DO BELIEVE THAT THE EFFORTS MADE BY OUR COUNTRY OVER
THE YEARS TO CONTAIN IN THE IMMEDIATE POST WAR YEARS MILITANT
SOVIET COMMUNISM AT GREAT RISK, AT GREAT COST, AT GREAT EXPENSE
IN LIVES, IN MEN, IN MATERIAL AND MONEY, WE THINK THAT THAT EX-
PERIENCE TOLD US SOMETHING. THAT IF YOU DON'T LET COMMUNIST MILI-
TANCY EXPAND, YOU HAVE A CHANCE OF CONTAINING IT AND IT BECOMES
MUCH MORE LIVABLE. IT BECOMES A MUCH MORE REASONABLE OR AT LEAST
AN ADJUSTABLE PHILOSOPHY WITH WHICH YOU CAN LIVE. NOW THAT'S OUR
VIEW. LET ME ADD JUST ONE OTHER THING. WE'RE SPENDING OVER
TWO BILLION DOLLARS A MONTH ON VIETNAM. THAT IS NOT THE BIG PROBLEM.
THAT'S NOT WHAT WORRIES ME. THIS IS A VERY RICH COUNTRY AND I KNOW
I CAN GET IN TROUBLE WITH WHAT I AM ABOUT TO SAY. I KNOW WE'RE
SPENDING A LOT OF MONEY BUT WHAT'S MOST TERRIBLE ABOUT IT IS THE
LIVES WE'RE SPENDING. THOSE LIVES CANNOT BE RECLAIMED. THAT'S
WHAT'S REALLY WORRYING ME.

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AND I HAPPEN TO THINK, CATHY, THAT THIS NATION HAS THE RESOURCES TO BE ABLE TO DO WHAT WE ARE CALLED UPON TO DO INTERNATIONALLY, WHAT WE ~~THINK~~ WE ARE CALLED UPON TO DO AND WHAT WE ARE DOING, AND AT THE SAME TIME TO DO THE THINGS WE ARE DOING DOMESTICALLY AND EVEN MORE. I AM NOT ONE THAT BELIEVES THAT ~~XXXXXX~~ THERE ARE ANY INSTANT SOLUTIONS TO ~~PROB*~~LEMS. I WANT TO BE VERY CLEAR. WE'VE GOT A NUMBER OF PEOPLE THAT FEEL THAT ALL YOU NEED TO DO IS JUST GET THE CHECKBOOK OUT, WRITE A CHECK, AND THAT WILL ANSWER IT. WE'VE HAD CHECKBOOK DIPLOMACY, WE'VE EVEN HAD CHECKBOOK FAMILIES WHERE WHEN THE KIDS GET IN TROUBLE WRITE OUT ANOTHER CHECK, DON'T GIVE THEM ANY TIME, ANY LOVE, ANY COUNSEL, ANY ADVICE. JUST WRITE ANOTHER CHECK, THAT'S HAPPENED IN MANY A HOME. I DON'T BELIEVE THAT'S THE ANSWER. ~~XW~~ I WAS THE MAYOR OF A CITY OF OVER A HALF MILLION, AND I CAN SAY THAT EVEN IF YOU WERE ABLE TO PUT IN ANOTHER ~~XXX~~ HUNDRED BILLION DOLLARS IMMEDIATELY INTO THE AMERICAN CITIES THAT YOU COULDN'T SPEND IT RIGHT NOW, THAT IT WOULD TAKE TIME TO TOOL UP. WE DON'T EVEN HAVE THE PLANNERS. WE DON'T EVEN HAVE THE DESIGNS. YOU CAN'T EVEN GET PEOPLE TO AGREE ON HOW TO PUT A ROAD THROUGH OR A BRIDGE. I SAW ONE OUT HERE. BUT I WILL SAY THIS. WITH ALL OF THOSE ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~, PROBLEMS WE'VE DONE MORE IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS AND JUST LET ME GIVE YOU THINGS THAT YOU NEVER HEARD OF BEFORE, YOU NEVER HEARD OF VISTA, PROJECT UPWARD BOUND, JOB CORPS, VISTA TEACHERS CORPS, YOU NEVER HEARD OF NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS, YOU NEVER HEARD OF FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION, IN THE SUM OF BILLIONS OF DOLLARS., NINE MILLION YOUNG PEOPLE TODAY BEING BENEFITTED FROM IT. YOU DIDN'T HEAR OF UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGE SCHOLARSHIPS, STUDENT GUARANTEED LOANS. THERE HAVE BEEN

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MODEL CITIES. WE HAVE POURED IN TO WHAT WE CALL THE WAR ON POVERTY, ~~XXX~~ 25.7 BILLION DOLLARS IN FISCAL YEAR 1968. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ 25.7. THAT'S A LOT OF MONEY, NOW LET ME TELL YOU FIVE YEARS AGO YOU COULDN'T TALK ABOUT THAT FIGURE. FOUR YEARS AGO MANY OF THESE PROGRAMS WERE UNHEARD OF. LAST NIGHT WE HAD A PARTY FOR SERG. SHRIVER IN WASHINGTON. HE'S LEAVING TO BECOME OUR AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE. HE WAS THE HEAD OF THE QEO, OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY. THAT OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY HAS SPENT BILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS, BILLIONS. AND IT HAS DONE IT WELL. FOUR YEARS AGO THERE WAS NO QEO. FIVE YEARS AGO THERE WAS NO JOB CORPS. I SAW A JOB CORPS CENTER DOWNTOWN HERE. I WAS THE AUTHOR OF THE JOB CORPS PROGRAM. I WAS THE AUTHOR OF THE PEACE CORPS PROGRAM. THESE PROGRAMS HAVE COME INTO BEING, MOST OF THEM IN THE LAST FIVE, SIX, SEVEN EIGHT YEARS AND MOST OF THEM IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS. WE'RE SPENDING TODAY THREE TIMES AS MUCH MONEY ON EDUCATION AS WE SPENT THREE YEARS AGO OUT OF THE FEDERAL TREASURY. THREE TIMES, FOUR TIMES AS MUCH ON HEALTH AS WE SPENT FOUR YEARS AGO OUT OF THE FEDERAL TREASURY. WE ARE TRYING TO GET AWAY FROM THE CONCEPT OF WELFARISM, WHERE ALL YOU DO IS HAND OUT PEOPLE A DOLE. WE ARE TRYING TO GET DOWN TO WHAT WE CALL, NOT THE WELFARE STATE, BUT THE STATE OF OPPORTUNITY WHERE WE TRAIN PEOPLE. WE HAVE TODAY 1,300,000 MEN AND WOMEN IN JOB TRAINING TODAY. FOUR YEARS AGO YOU DIDN'T HAVE ONE -- NOT ONE. I THINK WE'RE DOING SOMETHING -- WE'RE NOT DOING AS MUCH AS I THINK WE CAN DO AND I HOPE WE WILL DO. I'LL SAY THIS . . . WE'RE DOING MORE THAN OUR CRITICS WANT, WHO THINK WE'RE SPENDING TOO MUCH. AND THAT'S WHY I CAME HERE TO ASK YOU FOR A LITTLE HELP. I TELL YOU, KEN HECHLER GETS TO BE KIND OF LONELY UP THERE IN WASHINGTON ONCE IN A WHILE. WHEN WE TRIED TO GET TWENTY-FIVE MILLION DOLLARS MORE FOR

11a

PROJECT HEADSTART, I CAST THE DECIDING VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE AS VICE PRESIDENT. I ONLY GET A CHANCE TO VOTE WHEN THEY HAVE A TIE AND THEY WON'T EVEN LET ME TALK. THAT'S WHY I COME OUT HERE. BUT I CAST THE DECIDING VOTE ~~XX~~ AND KEN HECHLER WILL TELL YOU THAT THAT BILL WAS OVER IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND WAS THERE FOR FIVE WEEKS AND WAS SENT BACK TO THE SENATE CANCELLED OUT. AND WE SENT IT ON~~Z~~ BACK . . . TWENTY-FIVE MILLION DOLLARS. TWENTY-FIVE MILLION -- NOT BILLION. WE ASKED SEVENTY-FIVE MILLION DOLLARS MORE FOR OUR SUMMER YOUTH PROGRAMS. THE HOUSE SAID NO . . . SEND IT BACK. AND YET I HAVE PEOPLE TODAY SAYING WHAT THIS COUNTRY NEEDS IS ANOTHER HUNDRED BILLION. GOOD GOLLY . . . WE CAN~~T~~ EVEN GET TWENTY-FIVE MILLION. WHAT WE NEED IS NOT ANOTHER HUNDRED BILLION. WHAT WE NEED ARE A FEW MORE KEN HECHLERS.

MR. VICE PRESIDENT, DESPITE THE PLEAS FOR PEACE AND PATIENCE IN THE CITIES, THERE IS STILL A PREDICTION OF VIOLENCE TO BE COMMITTED THIS SUMMER AND THE DEATH OF MARTIN LUTHER KING SEEMS TO ENFORCE THESE PREDICTIONS. I'D LIKE TO KNOW WHAT KIND OF PROGRAMS OR WHAT YOU PROPOSE TO HANDLE THESE SITUATIONS THIS SUMMER?

WELL, THE FIRST THING I WANT TO SAY IS THAT THE LAST MAN WHO EVER WANTED ANY VIOLENCE IN AMERICA WAS THE APOSTLE OF NON-VIOLENCE AND I MUST SAY THAT THOSE WHO HAVE INDULGED IN VIOLENCE IN HIS NAME HAVE VIOLATED EVERY PRECEPT OR EVERY BIT OF ADVICE OR COUNSEL ~~XX~~ THAT HE GAVE. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. WAS THE ADVOCATE AND APOSTLE OF NONVIOLENCE, OF THE PEACEFUL REVOLUTION. AND HIS SOUL AND HIS HEART MUST BE HEAVY. NOW ONE CAN UNDERSTAND WHEN THERE ARE HIGH EMOTIONS, GREAT TENSION, THAT PEOPLE BREAK UNDER THE STRAIN. BUT IN THIS COUNTRY, VIOLENCE IS NOT THE ANSWER TO THE SOCIAL

12a

PROBLEMS OF THE DAY. THE ANSWER TO THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE
DAY, FIRST OF ALL, IS A PERSONAL COMMITMENT. WE HAVE PLENTY OF LAWS
ON THE STATUTE BOOKS TODAY THAT OUTLAW EVERY FORM OF ~~XXXXXX~~ BIGOTRY,
DISCRIMINATION AND SEGREGATION. (Change tape reel)

SOMETHING MORE THAN A PUBLIC STATEMENT IS ALSO A PRIVATE COMMITMENT. WE'RE NOT GOING TO ~~SEE~~ ^{get on with} THIS JOB AS WE OUGHT TO. THAT'S NUMBER ONE. THAT'S WHERE WE STARTED. THEN WE MUST HAVE PEOPLE IN EVERY LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT TO BEGIN TO UNDERSTAND THE HIGH PRIORITY. YOU CANNOT HAVE A SOCIETY AS THE ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ CIVIL RIGHTS...AS THE RIOT COMMISSION ~~XX~~ SAID, A SOCIETY THAT ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ TENDS TO BE SEPERATE, ^{two} ~~TO~~ SOCIETIES, ^{es} SEPERATE AND UNEQUAL, THAT IS A VIOLATION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. ^{THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES} AND THE WHOLE AMERICAN DREAM CALLS FOR ONE SOCIETY, YOU KNOW THE CHILDREN REPEAR IT EVERY DAY IN SCHOOL, I GUESS THEY HAVE QUIT DOING IT AT UNIVERSITIES. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ BUT MAYBE WE OUGHT TO DO IT JUST TO REFRESH OUR MEMORY ~~IS~~ THE WHOLE PURPOSE OF THIS COUNTRY WAS SPELLED OUT ^W ON ABOUT TWO LINES ONE NATION UNDER GOD INDIVISIBLE WITH LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL. THAT'S THE WHOLE PURPOSE OF IT. THAT'S THE CONSTITUTIONAL PURPOSE OF THIS NATION. THAT IS THE SPIRITUAL, THE POLITICAL PURPOSE OF THIS NATION AND UNTIL WE MAKE UP OUR MIND THAT THAT MEANS SOMETHING WE'RE GOING TO HAVE THIS TROUBLE. I THINK THE URBAN CRISIS THAT WE TALK ABOUT OR WHAT EVER YOU WISH TO CALL IT IS THE NUMBER ONE PRIORITY PROBLEM FACING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND I THINK IT MEANS IMMOBILAZATION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RESOURCES IT ALSO MEANS A NATIONAL COMMITMENT ON THE PART OF BUSINESS, LABOR, CHURCH AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND INDIVIDUALS THAT WE'LL DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT. NOW YOU ASK WHAT PROGRAMS THIS SUMMER WELL THE BEST THAT YOU CAN DO IN A HURRY IS LIKE A BAND AID SO TO SPEAK. I HAD A MEETING ~~XXX~~ TWO DAYS AGO ~~XXXX~~ IN WASHINGTON OF OUR YOUTH OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION WE HAD ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ FIFTY CITIES ACROSS THE UNITED ~~XXXXXX~~ NATIONS...STATES TIED IN BY CLOSED CIRCUIT TELEVISION ONE THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY PROVIDED US CLOSED CIRCUIT TELEVISION TO FIFTY MAJOR CITIES AND IN THOSE FIFTY ~~XXXXXXXX~~ CITIES IN THE HALLS WE HAVE HUNDREDS OF ~~XXXXXXXX~~ PEOPLE, THE TOP LEADERSHIP AS WELL AS THE MILITANT LEADERSHIP SITTING THERE AND WE HAD AN EXCHANGE FOR AN HOUR OF WAAT WE CAN DO JOBS, WE'RE GOING TO PROVIDE THIS SUMMER WE'RE GOING TO FIND, PROVIDE AND TRAIN FOR, OVER ¹ NINE HUNDRED THOUSAND JOBS FOR DIS-ADVANTAGED YOUNG PEOPLE . THAT IS MORE MORE THAN NINE HUNDRED THOUSAND

MY DEAR GORL WE JUST DON'T HAVE IT. IT IS SORTA LIKE MRS. HUMPHREY MAKING A PLEA TO ME EVER ONCE IN AWHILE FOR SOME NEW THING OUT TO OUR HOUSE. I HAD TO TELL HER THE OTHER DAY SHE COULDN'T BUY WITH A PLAN. I SAID WHOSE GOING TO BUY THAT. WHOSE GOING TO PAY FOR IT. WE JUST DON'T HAVE A HUNDREDMILLION DOLLARS WE'VE GOT A TWENTY_SEVEN BILLION , TWENTY TWO BILLION DOLLAR DEFECIT ALREADY. EVEN IF THE WHOLE ~~WAR~~ WAR WOULD HAVE CLOSED UP AND SHUT OFF. WE'D JUST BARELY HAVE A BALANCED BUDGET. AND IF YOU CAN GET ME A TAX BILL THROUGH THE CONGRESS THAT WILL RAISE A HUNDRD BILLION DOLLARS I'LL COME OVER AND KISS YOU CARIE. I CAN'T EVEN GET ONE. THE PRESIDENT CAN'T EVEN GET ONE THAT WILL RAISE FIVE BILLION DOLLARS. AND YOU ^{know} THERE IS NO USE IN A MAN SAYING HE IS GOING TO LIVE ON HIS INCOME NEXT YEAR EVEN IF HE HAS TO BORROW TO DO IT BECAUSE THAT DOESN'T MAKE MUCH SENSE. NOW WE NEED THIS MONEY WE SURELY AND QUITE FRANKLY WE COULDN'T PUT TO WORK A HUNDRED BILLION DOLLARS ^{immediately} ~~IN~~ ~~THE~~ ~~NEXT~~ YEAR. WE COULD PUT TO WORK SEVERAL MORE ~~MILLION~~ MILLION DOLLARS. THERE ISN'T ANY DOUBT ABOUT IT. IF YOU HAD A HUNDRED BILLION DOLLARS, YOU COULDN'T BUILD HOUSES THAT FAST NEXT YEAR. YOU COULDN'T CLEAN UP THE STREETS THAT FAST NEXT YEAR. IT TAKES ~~XX~~ TIME ~~BUT~~ WE NEED TO HAVE ~~X~~ A SENSE OF RESTLESS NESS ~~XXXXXX~~ BACKED UP BY A COMMITMENT TO GET THE JOB DONE. AND ^{when} ~~when~~ THAT WAR IS OVER IN VIET NAM, YOU'RE ALL GOING TO BE VOTERS AND I JUST WANT TO BE ~~XX~~ ABLE TO COME BACK OUT HERE AND SAY NOW LOOK, WE'RE SAVING THAT TWENTY-FIVE BILLION DOLLARS AND I WANT YOU TO HELP ME NOW I WANT YOU TO HELP ME WITH CONGRESS. I WANT YOU TO HELP ME WITH THE ~~XXX~~ PUBLIC. I YOU TO HELP ME PUT THROUGH A PROGRAM ~~THAT~~ ^{to} TAKE THAT TWENTYPFIVE BILLION DOLLARS AND TO PLOW IT INTO MAKING A BETTER AMERICA. RIGHT HERE. I HOPE YOU'LL DO IT . BUT I'LL ~~TELL~~ TELL YOU WHAT I HAD HAPPEN ~~X~~ BACK AFTER KOREA. WE WERE SPENDING THAT MUCH MONEY IN THE KOREAN ~~X~~ WAR . THE WAR WAS OVER AND YOU KNOW WHAT THEY DID IN CONGRESS CUT THE TAXES. CUT BACK THE APPROPRIATIONS. THERE WERE POOR PEOPLE MORE POOR PEOPLE THAN THERE ARE NOW. THERE WERE JOBLESS WE HAD THREE RECESSIONS IN EIGHT YEARS AND THERE WAS NOW WAR. AND WE HAD NO VOTES AND WE HAD NO PROGRAMS BUT I'LL BE BACK TO SEE YOU ONE WAY OR ANOTHER . EITHER AS A TEACHER OR A MAN IN PUBLIC LIFE AND

I'D LIKE TO X HAVE MY CHOICES ON THAT. BUT AH,
 MR. VICE PRESIDENT YOU BROUGHT THE QUESTION OF WHEN THE WAR IS OVER WE CAN DO
 SOMETHING HERE IN THE UNITED STATES I THINK ONE PROBLEM THAT LAYS HEAVY ON ^{the hearts of}
 MANY OF THE COLLEGE STUDENTS HERE IN THIS AUDIENCE AND THROUGHOUT THE NATION
 AND ALL AMERICA IS THE QUESTION OF WHEN WILL THE WAR END. PRESIDENT JOHNSON
 HAS CONSISTENTLY SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD GO ANY PLACE AND ANY TIME
 IN SEARCH OF ~~XXXXX~~ PEACE. CONSIDERING THE PRESENT STALE MATE OF THE TALKES
 THAT GO ON FROM DAY TO DAY IN THE UNITED STATES WOULD YOU PLEASE ~~XXXXXX~~
 CLARIFY THE ADMINISTRATIONS STAND AS TO ANY ~~XXXXX~~ PLACE, ANY TIME.
 YES, I'D BE MORE THAN HAPPY TO. AT ^{this} ~~THESE~~ VERY MOMENT THERE IS ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
~~XXXXXX~~ PRIVATE NEGOTIATION GOING ON TO FIND THAT PLACE THAT IS OF SUITABLE
 ENVIRONMENT TO BRING ABOUT A REAL PEACE. AND TO BRING ABOUT EQUITABLE
 PEACE . TO ^{Bring} ~~BRING~~ ABOUT A TO TO HOLD THESE DISCUSSIONS IN AN ENVIRONMENT
 THAT WOULD LEND THEMSELVES TO X A SATISFACTORY DIALOGUE AND DISCUSSION.
 WHAT YOU'RE REALLY SEEING NOW AND YOU ~~XXXX~~ JUST AS WELL GET READY FOR IT
 FOR A LONG TIME ^{is} ~~AND~~ A LOT OF QUIBBLING IN THE FIRST ~~XXXXXX~~ STAGES OF NEGOTIATION.
 WE'RE NOW NEGOTIATING WHERE WE'RE GOING TO MEET. AND THAT IS X
 GOING TO TAKE A LONG TIME. I HOPE IT WON'T, BUT I'M AFRAID IT WILL. AND AFTER
 WE FIND A PLACE WHERE WE'RE GOING TO MEET THEY'LL MAYBE NEGOTIATE WHERE
 YOU'RE GOING TO SIT. AND THEN AFTER THEY'VE NEGOTIATED X THAT I'LL, THAT'S
 BEEN OUR EXPERIENCE. THEY'LL MAYBE NEGOTIATE ~~XXXXX~~ ~~SSSS~~ WHETHER THEY'LL
~~XX~~ SIT TWICE A WEEK OR ONCE A WEEK. AND THEN MAYBE THEY' ^{negotiate} HOW YOU'RE GOING
 TO HAVE THE COX ~~X~~ WHETHER IT IS CO_CHAIRMAN AND ALTERNATE CHAIRMAN OR HOW
 WE DO IT. THIS IS WHAT WE HAD IN PA MON SHUN . WE WERE THERE TWO AND
 A QUARTER YEARS NEGOTIATING. ONE OF THE THINGS THAT THE AMERICANS HAVE GOT TO
 GET THROUGH THEIR HEADS IS THAT THE PROCESSES OF NEGOTIATION ARE NOT LIKE A
 QUICK PROPOSAL AND WHERE THE GIRL SAYS ~~XXX~~ YES BEFORE YOU CAN GET THE LAST
 WORD OUT OF YOUR MOUTH. THER IS NO INSTANT LOVE IN THIS BUSINESS YOU KNOW.
 THIS NEGOTIATION STUFF IS GOING TO BE A VERY VERY TICKLISH DIFFICULT COMPLEX

PAINSTAKING, PERSEVERING, TRYING, FRUSTRATING EXPERIENCE. BUT THAT'S GONNA TEST US ~~XXXX~~ WHETHER WE REALLY HAVE THE WILL TO STICK TO IT. NOW I THINK ~~WE~~ WE OUGHT TO HAVE A MUCH PATIENCE IN NEGOTIATION AS WE HAVE IN STAYING ON THE BATTLE ~~XXX~~ FIELD. ^{That's my view of it} YOU'VE GOT TO BE WILLING TO STAY WITH IT. WE'LL FIND A PLACE. IT'S RIGHT NOW AND IT'S NOT GOING TO BE FOUND IN THE PUBLIC DIALOGUE, THIS IS PART OF THE PROPAGANDA WAR THAT'S GOING ON. EVEN AFTER YOU FIND A PLACE LET'S ASSUMED THAT WE AGREED ON HONOI'S PLACE AND IT WOULD REALLY UPSET ^{if we did} THEM BECAUSE IT WOULD CUT OFF THAT LINE OF ARGUE ^{ment} ~~FOR~~ FOR AWHILE. BUT ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXX~~ ONCE IF WE FIND IT AND I THINK THAT IT'LL BE A ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ COMPROMISE AND I'M SURE WE'LL FIND ONE I SEE THAT UTHANT TODAY FELT VERY HELPFUL. THAT MEANS THAT HE'S BEEN INVOLVED IN THESE MATTERS. ONCE WE ~~WE~~ FIND THE PLACE YOU CAN REST ASSURED THAT THERE WILL BE ANOTHER ARGUMENT.

BECAUSE ~~ONE~~ ONE THING THAT OUR ADVISARIES UNDERSTAND IS THE POWER OF PROPAGANDA AND IT UPSETS THE AMERICANS. AMERICANS, YOU KNOW ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ THEY ~~SAX~~ SORTA SAY, WELL COME ON, YOU WANNA NEGOTIATE. LET'S NEGOTIATE. NOW WALTER RUTHER KNOWS BETTER THAN THAT. HE'S SOMETIMES HAD TO NEGOTIATE WITH COMPANIES FOR MONTHS. ~~WE~~ ~~XXXX~~ WE HAD A COPPER STRIKE AROUND HERE. COULDN'T GET ANY ^{in the United States} BODY TO AGREE ON ANYTHING. FOR NINE MONTHS ^{in the United States} BETWEEN PEOPLE THAT SAY THEY ~~X~~ LIKE EACH OTHER. ~~XXXXXC~~ NINE MONTHS, DIDN'T GET ~~XX~~ ANYPLACE. FIRST OF ALL YOU COULDN'T EVEN GET THEM BACK TO THE SAME TABLE THAT THEY ~~XXXX~~ AGREED THEY'D COME TO IN THE UNITED STATES. WE'VE HAD STRIKES IN THIS COUNTRY THAT HAVE LASTED ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ NEGOTIATING PROCESSES FOR TWO OR THREE YEARS. WE'VE BEEN ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ NEGOTIATING WITH THE CHINESE IN WARSAW POLAND. LET'S SEE HOW LONG. I GUESS ABOUT SIX OR ~~XX~~ SEVEN ~~X~~ YEARS. WE'VE HAD HUNDREDS OF MEETINGS AND I GUESS MAYBE THAT IS ONE OF THE REASONS THAT SOME OF ^{our} ~~THE~~ PEOPLE ^{thought} THAT THAT WAS A PLACE THAT WAS VERY CONDUSIVE TO RESULTS. BUT I WANT TO SAY TO YOU THAT I'M SURE WE'LL FIND A PLACE ~~XXXX~~ WHETHER ~~WE~~ OVER SPOKE OURSELVES, AND I THINK MAYBE ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ WE DID. I THINK MAYBE SOMETIMES IN THE, IN THE SEMPLICITY OF OUR ARGUMENTS, TRYING TO GET DIRECTLY TO THE PEOPLE, WHAT WE MEANT WHAT WE-- it's HARD TO EXPLAIN, YOU KNOW, ~~XXXX~~

WHAT YOU MEAN ISN'T IT. WHENEVER YOU SAY ANYTHING THAT YOU'VE GOT TO EXPLAIN YOU'RE IN TROUBLE. BUT LET ME EXPLAIN IT ANYWAY. WHAT WE WERE SAYING WAS ~~XX~~ THAT WE WANT TO GET TO A PLACE ~~XX~~ WHERE WE CAN TALK, ~~XX~~ WHERE IS'S NOT PREJUDICED PREJUDICED YOUR WAY OR NOT ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ OUR WAY. CAN YOU IMAGINE WHAT WE WOULD HAVE SAID, ^{what the} NORTH VIEW NAM WOULD HAVE SAID IF WE WOULD HAVE SAID TO THEM THAT WE'LL MEET IN SAN FRANCISCO? OR IF WE WOULD HAVE SAID THAT WE'LL MEET IN HONOLULU? OR IF WE'D HAVE SAID THAT WE'LL MEET IN OTAWA? THEY'D HAVE SAID ABSOLUTELY NOT. WHAT THEY'RE--WHAT WE'RE REALLY SAYING IS THAT WARSAW PAT COUNTRIES AND NATO COUNTRIES ARE KIND OF NOT OUT OF BOUNDS, BUT MORE DIFFICULT IT MAY END UP IN UP IN A NATO COUNTRY. IT COULD END UP ~~XX~~ MAYBE IN PARIS. AND BY THE WAY IF IT DID, CHARLIE DEGAUL HAS BEEN CRITICAL ENOUGH OF US SO THAT I'M SURE THAT THE WOULD AH WOULDN'T GIVE US ANY DECIDED ADVANTAGE. TO BE THERE, I SHOULD SAY PRESIDENT DEGAUL IN ALL RESPECT, GIVE YOUR STATEMENTS ON BANISHING POVERTY FROM OUR MIDST AND ON HANDING OUT A DOLE AND ON THE ~~EMERGENCY~~ CURRNER COMMISSION REPORT. SHOULD THERE BE A GUARANTEED ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ANNUAL INCOME FOR ALL CITIZENS IN THIS COUNTRY?

I REALLY DON'T KNOW. I REALLY DON'T. I THINK IT SURELY IS ~~A~~ MATTER THAT HAS GAINED GREATER EXCEPTANCE IN AMNY QUARTERS IN THE UNITED STATES BUT I THINK FOR A MAN IN ~~A~~ PUBLIC LIFE WHO ~~XX~~ HOLDS A POSITION OF RESPONSIBILITY TO SUDDENLY COME UP WITH AN ANSWER ON A COMPLICATED MATTER LIKE THAT ^{that} HAS A HOST OF BUILT IN PROBLEMS CANNOT BE CONDUSIVE OR HELPFUL EITHER TO THE COUNTRY OR YOU. I SURELY DON'T SAY THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO. I THINK THAT THIS ALONG WITH OTHER MATTERS THAT HAVE BEEN PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUEE FOR THE PRESENT WELFARE SYSTEM DESERVE VERY VERY SERIOUS CONSIDERATION, STUDY AND THE KIND OF STUDY THAT IS NOT PREJUDICED. TAKE A GOOD LOOK AT IT. ONE THINK I'M POSITIVE OF, THE PRESENT WELFARE STRUCTURE BASED UPON THE OLD ELIZABETHIAN CODE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, IS ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ IN ADEQUATE FOR THE COMING TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY. ^{In sure of that,} AND I'M SURE THAT WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO GET A ~~A~~ MUCH BETTER SYSTEM OF TAKING CARE OF THE NEEDY AND THE REALLY HANDICAPPED. THAN WE

PRESENTLY HAVE AND WE'RE ~~XXX~~ GOING TO ~~X~~ HAVE TO DO A WHOLE LOT MORE TO STOP THIS VICIOUS CYCLE OF WELFAREISM. FOR FAMILY THAT HAVE BEEN ~~X~~ ON THE DOLE FOR TWO AND THREE GENERATIONS SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY HAVE NEVER HAD A CHANCE TO REALLY FIND THEIR WAY OUR OF THAT PRISON. NOW IF WE HAVE TO SPEND MORE TO TRAIN A MAN TO GET TO BRAKE ~~XXX~~ THAT VICIOUS ~~XXXXXX~~ OF WELFAREISM THAN IT COST TO KEEP HIM ON THE DOLE, I'M EVEN FOR THAT. BECAUSE WHAT I THINK IS IMPORTANT IS TO LIBERATE, TO LIBERATE FAMILIES FROM BEING SUPPLICANTS. I THINK WHAT IS IMP ORTANT IS ~~XX~~ TO PERMIT PEOPLE TO BE ABLE TO STAND ON THEIR FEET AND TO EARN THEIR OWN WAY.

IF I MAY ,MR. VICE PRESIDENT, I'M SITTING HERE ITCHING TO ASK YOU ONE MORE QUESTION. AND I'M SURE YOU KNOW WHAT IT IS.

GO AHEAD

ARE YOU GOING TO SEEK THE DEMOCARATIC NOMINATION FOR THE OFFICE OF PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES?

GEE IF I THOUGHT THAT APPLAUSE ~~XXXXX~~ WAS ALL SUPPORT, I MIGHT MAKE AN ANNOUNCEMENT. CHARLES, I'D LIKE TO INVITE YOU AND THE PANEL AND ~~XXXXXXXX~~ AS MANY MEMBERS OF THE ~~XXXXX~~ FACULTY AS POSSIBLE AND AS MANY MEMBERS OF ~~X~~ OF THE STUDENT BODY AS POSSIBLE ALONG TO ONE OF THE MOST WHAT I THINK WILL BE INTERESTING AND DELIGHTFUL LUNCHEONS AND WILL BE HELD IN WASHINGTON FOR ^a MANY MONTHS. ON ~~1~~ SATURDAY OF THIS WEEK AT THE SHORAM HOTEL WE PLAN ON HAVING A LITTLE FAMILY GET TOGETHER OF SEVERAL HUNDRED PEOPLE---FRIENDS AND RELATIVES AND WE'RE GOING TO DISCUSS THE STATE OF THE NATION AND WE'RE GOING TO DISCUSS THE FATE OF HUBERT HUMPHREY. IF YOU'LL BE KIND ENOUGH TO COME ON DOWN CHARLES AS A MATER OF FACT I'LL ENVITE YOU. BE MY GUEST.

THANK YOU, SIR

BE MY GUEST, I'LL SEE THAT YOU GET DOWN. I'M GOING TO INVITE ALL THE MEMBERS OF ~~XXXXXX~~ THIS PANEL. AND WHERE'S MY FRIEND OVER HERE? MRS LICER, YOU WANNA COME DOWN TOO?

I'LL GO.

OKEY.

I'M GOING TO INVITE THEM ALL DOWN TO OBSERVE THIS WELL KEPT SECRET. AND AH I WANT THEM TO COME DOWN ^{and} ~~TO~~ BE MY GUESTS FOR THAT DAY. I'LL SEE THAT A TICKET, TICKETS ARE MADE AVAILABLE TO YOU. I'LL SEE THAT THERE ARE PLATES SET FOR YOU IN A VERY CONSPICIOUS PLACE. AND AH I'D LIKE TO HAVE YOU THERE. NOW YOU HAVEN'T HAD A CHANCE TO AH DO MUCH APPLAUDING, TONIGHT AND WHEN YOU GET THERE ~~AND~~ WHEN THAT RIGHT ~~N~~ SENTENCE COMES OUT, I WANT TO SEE YOU ~~N~~ JUMP.

BEFORE WE CONCLUDE THIS EVENINGS PROGRAM I'D LIKE TO PRESENT TO MR. HUMPHREY A TOKEN OF OUR APPRECIATION FOR HIS VISIT HERE AT MARSHALL. WE WANTED TO PRESENT SOMETHING ^{which} ~~THAT'S~~ NOT ONLY REFLECTED MARSHALL, BUT ALSO REFLECTED A ~~XXXX~~ LITTLE OF Mr. HUMPHREY'S LIFE. SO WE DECIDED ~~THAT~~ A BUFFALO WHICH OF COURSE IS MARSHALL'S SYMBOL IS ALSO THE SYMBOL OF THE GREAT ^{PLAINS} ~~PLAINS~~ AREA FROM WHERE THE VICE PRESIDENT WAS ~~XXXXXX~~ REAISED AND WHERE HE LIVES. BUT THIS PARTICULAR BUFFALO WHICH HAS BECOME A SYMBOL OF MARSHALL, IS A CHARGING BUFFALO, A SUMBOL OF MARSHALL ON THE MOVE, AND I HOPE IN A SMALL WAY IT IS A TOKEN OF ~~XXXX~~ HUBERT HUMPHREY ON THE MOVE AS WELL. AND I'D LIKE PRESENT IT TO HIM THIS EVENING.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH. I MUST SAY THAT IS ABOUT AS NON-PARTISAN A SYMBOL A YOU COULD FIND. IT IS, THIS IS A HYBRID BETWEEN A ^{DONKEY} ~~DOKEY~~ AND AN ELEPHANT. IT IS THE ONLY WAY YOU CAN GET ELECTED IN THIS COUNTRY.

I WOULD LIKE ONE MORE STATEMENT FROM CHARLIE WHO ~~X~~ HAS A SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT TO MAKE CONCERNING THIS EVENINGS PRESENTATION.

COULD I ENVITE YOU MRS. HUMPHREY TO COME UPON STAGE PLEASE.

MR. AND MRS. HUMPHREY AS YOU ALL KNOW THIS IS AN AGE OF ~~I~~ INVOLVEMENT. THE AGE OF THE SPIRIT OF THE PEACE CORPS. THE STUDENTS AT MARSHALL ~~XX~~ UNIVERSITY, SPECIALLY THE FRATERNITIES AND SORORITIES. REALIZING YOUR CONCERN WITH THE PROBLEM OF MENTALLY RETARDED CHILDREN ISSUE A CHALLENGE TO THE OTHER UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES AROUND THE CONTRY. THE MARSHALL GREEKS ARE OFFERING A ONE THOUSAND MAN HOURS AND LADIES WOMAN HOURS next year to THE LOCAL MENTAL HEALTH DRIVE ~~XX~~ AND CHALLENGE OTHER COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES AROUND THE COUNTRY TO DO

THANK YOU SO MUCH.

BOY, THAT'S WONDERFUL.

THAT IS TRULEY A GREAT X TRIBUTE . I DON'T KNOW OF ANY THING NICER THAT COULD BE GIVEN. I THINK THOUGH THAT HAVING GIVE THE GIFT YOU WILL GAIN AS MUCH, THE GIVER GAINS AS MUCH AS THE RECEIVER, AND I'M SURE THAT WILL BE SURE THIS TIME. THANK YOU SO MUCH.

THIS CONCLUDES THIS EVENINGS PRESENTATION OF IMPACT. HOWEVER I WOULD LIKE TO ASK EACH ONE OF YOU TO REMAIN SEATED WHILE THE VICE PRESIDENT AND HIS MEMBERS OF HIS STAFF ^{are able to} LEAVE THE AUDITORIUM.

PRESIDENT SMITH AND GOVERNOR SMITH CONGRESSMAN HECHLER MEMBERS OF THE PANEL AND INDEED EACH AND EVERY ONE HERE THAT MR SLICER IN PARTICULAR AND THE STUDENT OFFICERS. YOU KNOW AFTER HEARING KEN HECHLER INTRODUCE ME - I CAN HARDLY HEAR WHAT I HAVE TO SAY. THAT WAS A WONDERFUL INTRODUCTION. AND YOU DO NOT HAVE TO BELIEVE A WORD OF IT, BUT HAS BEEN ABOUT THE NICEST THING THAT HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT ME IN SOME TIME AND I THINK THE NICEST THING THAT WILL BE SAID ABOUT ME FROM HERE ON OUT. I WANT TO THANK YOU KEN. THANK YOU VERY MUCH. PRESIDENT SMITH INDICATED HOW PROUD MARSHALL UNIVERSITY IS THE PEOPLE OF THIS FOURTH DISTRICT OF CONGRESSMAN HECHLER. I AM VERY PROUD OF HIM TOO. I WANT TO SAY THAT REALLY ONE OF THE BRIGHT LIGHTS OF THE ACTION IN WASHINGTON IS WHEN CONGRESSMAN HECHLER--MY FRIEND KEN BRINGS DOWN THESE CHARMING BECAUTIFUL YOUNG SINFILATING EXCITING YOUNG LADIES FROM WEST VIRGIIA THA ARE DOWN THERE ON THAT WEEK IN WASHINGTON. I TELL YOU KEN'S JUDGEMENT CANNOT BE SURPASSED IT IS TERRIFIC. EVERY WEEK HE HAS BEEN DOING--EVERY YEAR THAT HE DOES THIS PROGRAM--HE BRINS ALL THESE FINE YOUNG PEORLE OVER TP ME WHICH IS ONE OF THE REASONS I WANTED TO COME BACK AND SEE WHERE HE WAS DOING HIS RECRUITING. AND I CAN SEE HE HAS BEEN AT THE RIGHT PLACE. I WANT TOTHANK PRESIDENT SMITH FOR HIS GRACIOUSNESS FOR MRS HUMPHREYS AND MYSELF. YOU WILL NOTE THAT THERE ARE TWO PRESIDENTS THA HAVE DECIDED NOT TO RUN AGAIN. PRESIDET SMITH OF YOUR OWN UNIVERSITY AND PRESIDENT JOHNSON OF THE NATION'S UNIVERSITY THE NATIONS CAPITOL IN WASHINGTON, D.C. AND I AM CONSIDERING ARPLYING FOR ONE OF THESE VACANCIES. IN LIGHT OF WHAT I HAVE JUST HEARD I THINK I HAD BETTER APPLY HERE. I AM NOT SURE I WILL EVER GET THAT MUCH RESPONSE ANYWHERE ELSE. I WANT THE STUDEPS TO KNOW THOUGH THAT I AM AS POINTED OUT A REFUGE FROM A CLASSROOM I HAVE BEEN AWAY I USED TO TEACH AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. AFTER HAVING BEEN IN WASHINGTON FOR OVER 20 YEARS I FEEL I OWE ALL MY STUDENTS A REFUND. AND A THOUGHT I WOULD COME OUT ON THIS CAMRUS TO SEE THE YOUNG PEOPLE THAT ARE DOING SO MANY THINGS THESE DAYS--I HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT YOU HAVE SOME HEAVY AND HOT POLITICS AROUND HERE, AT LEAST THAT IS WHAT THE WWRD IS AROUND WASHINGTON WHERE IT IS QUITE AND PEACEFUL AND I KNOW YOU HAVE BEEN DOING SOMETHING BECAUSE I HAVE HEARD AS FAR AS PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE CRYs OF FOUL AND PROTEST AND I HAVE HEARD THAT THERE HAS BEEN TWO DECISIONS OF THE STUDET COURT AND THERE HAVE BEEN APPEALS TO YOUR SUPREME COURT IN TH RERSON OF PRESIDENT SMITH AND HE HAS DECIDED HE DOES NOT WANT TO SERVE ANOTHER TERM. UNDER THOSE TERMS AND SO I CANNOT WAIT TO GET BACK TO WASHINGTON WHERE IT IS SO NICE. PRESIDENT SMITH YOU HAVE MADE MY LIFE A LITTLE MORE DIFFICULT TONIGHT AS I WAS STANDING OUTSIDE HERE I HEARD A THUNDERING OVATION AND I SAI I TO ONE OF YOUR STUDENTS WHO IS THAT THEY INTRODUCED. GEE I THOUGHT IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN FOR ME. THEY SAID THAT IS FOR MRS. HUMPHREY. AND I SAID WELL THAT IS VERY MICE. THE STUDENTS DO THAT SHE WILL BE A LITTLE DIFFICULT TO LIVE WITH AFTER THAT. BUT THAT IS VERY NICE. AND THEN WE COME BACK IN HERE AGAIN AND SHE GETS A SECOND INTROCUCTION. THIS IN INTROLLERABLE UNFORGIVABLE MAY I SAY. BUT I WANT TO THANK YOU ANYWAY--YOU HAVE BEEN SO NICE TO GREET US THE WAY YOU HAVE. I WANT TO TALK TO YOU BECAU LK TO YOU BECAUSE YOU KNOW I WANT TO TAKE A LOOK AT THE FOLKS WHO HAVE CHARGE OF THE MEDICARE AND TEY TELL ME PAT IS WHAT THIS COLLEGE AUDIENCE WILL BE DOING. BOB HEORE WAS UP IN NEW YORK THE OTHER NIGHT RECEIVING A CITATON FOR THE OVERSEAS PRESS

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CLUB AND I REMIND HIM OF A SPEECH AT GEORGE TOWN UNIVERSITY ON A
COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS SEVERAL YEARS AGO AT WASHINGTON AND HE WAS
LOOKING OUT OVER THE SENIOR GRADUATING CLASS A BIG HALL JUST
ABOUT LIKE THIS ONE FILLED WITH THESE GRADUATES
AND UNDER GRADUATES AND HE SURVEYED THE AUDIENCE IN PARTICULAR THE
GRADUATES AND THEN HE SAID TO ALL OF YOU YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN
GRADUATING AND ABOUT TO GO OUT INTO THIS WORLD MY ADVICE -DON'T
GO. I AM NOT REALLY TOO PESSIMISTIC I THINK YOU ARE GOING TO HAVE
TO GO WHETHER YOU WANT TO OR NOT. AND I WOULD LIKE TO TALK TO
YOU A MOMENT ABOUT THE WORLD THAT YOU ARE GOING INTO. I HOPE THAT
YOU WILL BE AS SUCCESSFUL AS YOUR BASKETBALL TEAMS ARE AROUND
HERE. THAT BIG GREEN. YOU KNOW YOU FOLKS--YOU DO HAVE A LOT OF
MINNESOTA TRAITS YOU HAVE A COACH--YOU HAVE A COACH BY THE NAME
OF HONSON--THAT HALPS. OUT IN MINNESOTA IT IS ALMOST ILLEGAL NOT
TO BE KNOWN AS JOHNSON. NOT LYNDON PARTICULARLY--JUST JOHNSON.
AND HERE YOU HAVE AN AUDITORIUM A GYMNASIUM NAMED AFTER SWED
GULLICKSON-I DON'T KNOW WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE IRISH AND THESE
CONDITIONS JOHNSON-GULLICKSON- GO FOR GOOD OUT MY WAY AND I AM
HAPPY TO BE IN THEIR PRESENCE. TONIGHT I WANT TO VISIT WITH YOU
ABOUT THIS IMPACT PROGRAM OF YOURS. I WAS ASKED TO SPEAK TO YOU
ON THE TOPIC THAT TOUCHED BY SENSE OF GOOD NATURE AND INQUISITIVENESS
THE TOPIC THAT WAS GIVEN TO ME WAS "THE AMERICAN DREAM; FULLFILLMENT
OR FAILURE" NOW THE MAN FROM LAMANCHA WOULD SING THAT GREAT SONG
"THE IMPOSSIBLE DREAM". DREAMING THE IMPOSSIBLE DREAM.
THE FIRST THING I WOULD LIKE TO SAY TO A STUDENT AUDIENCE IS
THAT THE AMERICAN DREAM IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE. ANN IT IS A DREAM THAT
EVERYONE OS US HAS WHETHER HE KNOWS IT OR NOT. MY POSITION IS ON
THIS TOPIC IN THE MOMENTS THAT I HAVE WITH YOU NOW ON THIS
SERIOUS COMMENT IS THAT THE AMERICAN DREAM IS UNFULLILLED AND YET IT
CONTINUES TO BE AN ENORMOUS SUCCESS. THE REALL TRUTH OF DEMOCRACY
IS THAT IT IS THE EVERLASTINGLY UNCOMPLETED HOUSE OF FREEDOM.
BECAUSE EACH GENERATION IN ITS OWN WAY MUST BUILD ITS OWN
STRUCTURE OF FREEDOM IT INHEERITS TO BE SURE IT HAS THE
HERITAGE--THE GREATEST HERITAGE OF ALL. THE SPIRIT AND THE CHARACTER
OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. BUT FREEDOM IS NOT SOMETHING THA IS
HANDLED TO SOMEBODY--IT IS SOMETHING THAT YOU EARN EACH DAY AND EACH
GENERATION. NOW WHAT IS THE ESSCENSE OF TE AMERICAN PEOPLE. BUT THINK
SENSE WHAT YOU BELIEVE IT TO BE/ THE ESSENCE
OF I IS FREEDOM. AND LET'S DEFINE IT A LITTLE--LET'S SEE WHAT WE MEAN
BY FREEDOM. WELL, FREEDOM TO ENJOY TE FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS--
TO A VERY IMPORTANT RIGHT--THE RIGHT TO LIVE--LIFE. AND NOT ONLY
THE RIGHT TO HAVE LIFE BUT TO HAVE IT MEANINGFUL WITH LIBERTY.
AND THE WHOLE PURPOSE OF LIFE AND LIBERTY IS TE PURSUIT OF
HAPPINESS AND THA IS WHY THE FOUNDING FATHERS OF THIS REPUBLIC
WERE ABLE TO SAY IT SO SESINQUENLY AND CONCISELY LIFE LIBERTY AND
THE PURSUIT OF HPPINESS IS TE LIFE STOY OF FREEDOM AND IN FACT IT
IS THE LIFE STORY OF MAN HIMSELF. ST. AUGUSTINE ONCE SAID THAT WHEN
YOU ARE PONDERING THE WONDERS OF THE WORLD THE MOST WONDERSOU THING
OF ALL IS MAN HIMSELF. AND I THINK THAT IS TRUE. THE COMPLEXITY
OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT. ITS FULLFILLMENT AS WE SEEK AN EDUCATION AND
AS WE SEEK TO BETTER OURSELVES. SO FREEDOM ASLO MEANS TO DEVELOPE

ONES GREATES HUMAN POTENTIAL. THOMAS WOLFE THE DEPRIVED
POET PUT IT "EVERY MAN HIS CHANCE" EVERY MAN THE RIGHT TO LIVE-
TO WORK TO BE HIMSELF THAT IS THE PROMISE OF AMERICA. NOW THAT IS
ANOTHER WAY OF DEFINING WHAT WE MEAN BY HUMAN DEVELOPMENT-HUMAN FULL-
FILLMENT-WHICH CONCISELY MEANS FREEDOM. FREEDOM TO BE A ,AM.
FREEDOM TO BE AN INDIVIDUAL AND BY THE WAY ALL OVER THE WORLD TODAY
EVERYWHERE IN THE SO-CALLED COLLECTIVE SOCIETIES THE COMMUNIST
SOCIETIES-WHATEVER KIND THEY MAY BE AUTHORITARIAN-TOTALITARIAN-
THERE IS A SPIRIT THAT NEVER DDIES. THAT DESIRE OF A PERSON
TO BE KNOWN AS AN INDIVIDUAL TO BE HIMSELF. IDENTITY IS TAKING PLACE
TODAY IN POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA--ITS TAKING PLACE ON EVERY
COLLEGE CAMPUS. THERE IS SOSORT OF A REBELLION AGAINST THIS WHOLE
BUSINESS OF BEING JUST JUNBERED AND CCLASSIFIED AND TIS BUSINESS OF
"WELL IS HE ABNORMAN-SUBNORMAL IN THE MEDIAN OR JUST WHAT IS HE."
IT'S AN EASY STAFISTICAL CATAGORY BUT IT DOESN'T TELL MUCH ABOUT THE
HUMAN SPIRIT. NOW THIS FREEDOM TO BE A PERSON TO BE A MAN HAS BEEN
AMERICA'S DREAM SIMPLE CLEAR COMPELLING AND ITS'S REVOLUTIONARY
IT'S BEEN SO SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THIS NATION. YOUNG AMERICANS
OUGHT TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IS A CONTINUING
BUSINESS AND YOU SEE IT TODAY IN THE CRY OF FREEDOM NOW THAT'S
A PART OF THE AMERICAN REVEOLUTION FOR BEORLE THAT NEVER RECEIVED THE
BENEFITS OF TE ORIGINAL REVOLUTION. THE CRY OF "WE SHALL OVERCOME"
THAT CAME FROM THE MELODIOUS AND MEANINGFUL VOICE OF DR. MARTIN
LUTHER KING JR. "WE SHALL OVERCOME" THAT'S A PART OF THE AMERICAN
REVOLUTION. AND IF SURELY IS A SIGNIFICANT PART OF IT FOR THE
DEPRIVED AND THE POVERTY STRICKEN MILLIONS THA ARE STILL TO BE FOUND
IN OUR MIDST. WHAT THEY ARE REALLY ASKING FOR IS NOT VERY MUCH IN
TERMS OF WHAT YOU AND I HAVE. THEY'RE ASKING FOR FULL RIGHTS OF
CITIZENSHIP. THE SAME CITIZENSHIP THAT YOU ENJOY AND I ENJOY
AND MILLIONS MORE WHO BELIEVE THA THESE CRY OF "FREEDOM NOW"
AND WE SHALL OVERCOME HAVE RALLIED TO THE CAUSE OF THOSE WHO MARCH
UNDER THOSE BANNER. AND BY THE WAY THERE SOMETHING THATS BEEN
HAPPENING IN THIS COUNY, AND I DISAGREE WITH SOME OF TE SPOKESMAN
IN AMERICA TODAY THA WOULD HAVE YOU BELIEVE OUR COUNRY IS IRREPUTABLE
DAMAGED AND SICK. I HAPPEN TO THINK THA WHAT AMERICA IS DOING
IS GROWING UP. EVERY GREAT CHANGE BRINGS WITH IT TURBULENCE.
EVERY GREAT MOVEMNT OF MAN FOR A BETTER DAY, BRING WITH IT TURMOIL,
DIFFICULTY, SOMETMES EVEN VIOLENCE. I SAID ON THE PLANE THAT WE
WERE FLYING IN HERE TODAY, THERE WERE TORNADO WARNINGS AS WE LEFT
WASHINGTON...AND WE KNEW WE WOULD HAVE BAD WEATHER.
MY PILOT SAID IT WOULD LAST FROM TWENTY O THIRTY MINUTES. AND
IT WAS PRETTY RUGGED. AND WWHEN WE LEFT THAT WEATHER MAP SAID
IN WASHINGTON, ALL THE DANGER SIGNS: TORNADO WARNINGS, A LOW PRESSURE
AREA, RAIN, TURBULENCE. WE LEFT THA LOWPRESSURE AREA, AND IN ABOUT
THIRTY MINUTES OUT OF WASHINGTON AS WER WERE WINGING OUR WAY
TOWARDS HUNTINGTON WE CAME INTO THE HIGH PRESSURE AREA, A BLUE SKY,
AND THE BROKEN CLOUDS. AND THE PLANE EASED OFF AND TH FLIGHT WAS
SMOOTH. IT WAS THE SAME PLANE, IT WAS THE SAME ATMOSPHERE, IT WAS
THE SAME WORLD, BUT IT WAS TWO DIFFERENT LEVELS. TWO DFFERENT SYSTEMS.
AND MY FELLOW AMERICANS THATS WAHAT HAS BEEN HARRENING IN THE
AMERICAN SOCCAL POLITICAL STRUCTURE. WE ARE COMING OUT OF ONE SYSTEM

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THAT FOR YEARS HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS PLACED OUR PEOPLE IN
SECOND CLASS CITIZENSHIP. THROUGH NO FAULT OF THEIR OWN THAT HAD
VICTIMIZED MILLIONS OF AMERICANS THROUGH IGNORANCE AND ILLITERACY.
AND LACK OF OPPORTUNITY BECAUSE OF RACE OR BECAUSE OF GEOGRAPHY OR
BECAUSE OF ETHNIC ORIGIN AND WE ARE MOVING NOW OUT OF THAT LOW AND
AND THAT IS WHAT IT WAS AND IS AND WE ARE COMING THROUGH THESE STORED
CLOUDS OF CHANGE AND TURBULENCE MARK MY WORDS-IN THE YEARS AHEAD WE
ARE GOING TO BE BREAKING OUT IN THE BRIGHT SUNLIGHT AND THE BLUE
SKIES OF FULL OPPORTUNITY AND FULL FREEDOM IN AMERICA. FREEDOM
NOW AND WE SHALL OVERCOME-WILL NO LONGER BE A SLOGAN. THEY WILL BE A
PART OF THE HISTORY OF THIS COUNTRY/ SO YOU SEE I AM AN OPTIMIST ABOUT
THIS NATION-I THINK FREEDOM IS STRIVING HAVE YOU EVER WATCHED A
PLANT GROW FROM THE SOIL-YOU HAVE SEEN THOSE SLOW MOTION PICTURES THAT
SOMETIMES ARE ON OUR TELEVISION SCREENS AND ALL AT ONCE YOU WILL SEE
THE EARTH THE CAKE OF THE EARTH BREAK.
AND UP COMES THAT PLANT. THEN A FLOWER. THAT'S FREEDOM. IT NEVER
HAS COME CHEAPLY. IT'S DEARLY BOUGHT. AND IT HAS TO BE SUSTAINED IN
EVERY GENERATION. IT IS A GARDEN THAT REQUIRES CONSTANT ATTENTION
AND SOMETIMES REPLANTING-THAT IS WHAT WE ARE DOING WITH OUR GENERATION
AFTER AFTER GENERATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE. WORLD WAR 2 HAD A LOT
TO DO WITH WHAT'S HAPPENING TODAY IT BROKE THE OLD WORLD COLONIALISM
DIES IT WAS THE FIRST CASUALTY IN ORDER TO WIN THAT WAR IN NATION
AFTER NATION EVERYBODY HAD TO BE BROUGHT INTO THE ACT, AND ONCE
THAT HAD HAPPENED, THE SEEDS OF A NEW CIVILIZATION WERE PLANTED
AND MARK MY WORDS IT HAS HAPPENED NOT ONLY IN AMERICA WHERE WE
SEE IT TODAY IN MARCHES AND DEMONSTRATIONS AND ALL OF THAT BUT AS I
SAID TO YOU A MOMENT AGO YOU SEE IT ALL OVER THE WORLD. YOU ARE
EVEN SEEING IT IN COMMUNIST CHINA WITH ALL OF ITS TURMOIL.
YOU ARE SEEING IT ALL OVER ASIA AND AFRICA,. YOU ARE SEEING IT
TODAY IN THE GREAT COUNTRIES OF WEST EUROPE. AND YOU ARE SEEING IT
IN THE NATIONS BEHIND THE SO-CALLED IRON CURTAIN. METTERNICK ONCE
SAID THAT YOU CAN NEVER PUT AN IDEA BEHIND A WALL. IT LEAPS OVER
IT AND AN IDEA DOES LEAP OVER ANY WALL-MAN MADE OR ANY OTHER KIND OF WALL.
THE MOST PERVERSIVE-THE MOST CONTAGIOUS IDEA THAT THE WORLD HAS EVER
KNOWN IS THAT AMERICAN DREAM CALLED FREEDOM WHICH IS NOT UNIQUE
TO US BUT HAS A UNIVERSAL ADAPTATION AND ACCEPTANCE. SO WE HAVE
TO ASK OURSELVES WHETHER NOT WE ARE ADDING ON TO THAT DREAM.
BECAUSE THE FUNCTION OF A NATIONAL DREAM IS TO STAY OUT AHEAD.
TO KEEP THE ASPIRATIONS HIGH AND THE COMPLACENCY LOW AND TO KEEP
PEOPLE TRYING. IN OTHER WORDS TO KEEP YOUR FEET IN THE GROUND
AND REACH FOR THE STARS. AND TO THINK THAT IS WHAT IS GOING ON
TODAY. EACH ACHIEVEMENT HAS BROUGHT US A LITTLE CLOSER TO WHAT
WE WANT THIS COUNTRY TO BE AND WHAT WE WANT IT TO BE WE WANT IT TO BE ONE
NATION. WE WANT IT TO HAVE EVERY CITIZEN-WE WANT JUSTICE-NOT
JUST FOR MYSELF-FOR YOU-BUT FOR EVERYONE-JUSTICE DENIED YOU-
JUSTICE DENIED ANOTHER PERSON IS SOMEONE'S JUSTICE TO BE DENIED YOU.
TODAY MOST OF US TAKE ALL OF THESE RIGHTS THAT WE HAVE TALKED ABOUT
SO MUCH FOR GRANTED BUT I WANT TO SAY THERE IS A NEW RIGHT THAT WE
OUGHT NOT TO TAKE FOR GRANTED THAT WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO DEFEND.
AND ONE OF THOSE NEW RIGHTS IS FREEDOM FROM DISCRIMINATION--THAT
WAS NOT LISTED IN THE ORIGINAL BILL OF RIGHTS BUT IT IS ONE OF THE
NEW RIGHTS OF THE LAST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. WE EVEN TAKE

FOR GRANTED THE MINIMUM WAGE AND SOCIAL SECURITY MEDICARE AND OTHER MEASURES WHICH INCREASE FREEDOM BY INCREASING OUR SECURITY. OUR DREAM IS STILL EXPANDING WE SEE FOR EXAMPLE THAT CIVIL RIGHTS ALONE DON'T MAKE FREEDOM FOR A MAN WHO DOESN'T HAVE THE SKILLS TO MAKE A DECENT LIVING. IT DOES VERY LITTLE GOOD TO HAVE LAWS ON THE STATUTE BOOK THAT SAYS THAT WE ARE GOING TO GUARANTEE EQUAL TREATMENT IN EMPLOYMENT. WE ARE GOING TO OUTLAW DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT. WE ARE GOING TO OUTLAW DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT WHEN THE MAN THAT SEEKS A JOB IS UNEMPLOYABLE. THEREFORE HE MUST BE TRAINED. IT DOES VERY LITTLE GOOD TO SAY THAT YOU'RE GOING TO HAVE OPEN HOUSING IF YOU DON'T HAVE HOUSING. SO THE NEW RIGHTS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY- THE NEW BILL OF RIGHTS IS AN EDUCATION OF EXCELLENCE. ITS NOT ONLY THAT YOU WILL BE DENIED A JOB BECAUSE OF SEX OR RACE OR NATIONAL ORIGIN BUT IT IS ALSO THE POSITIVE LIGHT THAT YOU WILL BE EQUIPPED FOR A JOB. IT'S NOT ONLY THAT YOU SHALL HAVE THE RIGHT TO MOVE WHERE YOU WANT TO LIVE WHERE YOU WANT TO BUT IT MEANS ALSO THAT YOU SHALL HAVE THE TRAINING THAT MAKES IT POSSIBLE FOR YOU TO HAVE REAL CHOICE. SO THAT YOU CAN EARN ENOUGH TO LIVE WHERE YOU WANT TO AND TO HAVE THE KIND OF NEIGHBORHOOD YOU WOULD LIKE TO HAVE. NOW THESE ARE THE THINGS THAT I THINK ARE PART OF THE AMERICAN DREAM AND I SAY THAT THE AMERICAN DREAM IS NO FAILURE AND I THINK IT IS TIME FOR YOUNG AMERICANS TO HAVE THEIR VOICES HEARD NOT ONLY IN THIS LAND BUT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. THAT WE ARE BUSY HERE BUILDING, THIS NEW FREEDOM THAT WE HAVEN'T BEEN WOODEN TO SACRIFICE IT ANYTIME IN THE PAST AND WE ARE UNWILLING TO SACRIFICE A BIT OF IT ANY MOMENT OF THE FUTURE. THE REAL ISSUE, THEREFORE, AS I SEE IT IS WHETHER WE SHALL FAIL THE AMERICAN DREAM NOT THAT THE AMERICAN DREAM IS A FAILURE-BUT THE QUESTION IS WILL WE FAIL THE AMERICAN DREAM. IT IS TOO BIG FOR US-TO GRAB-WILL WE LOSE IT WITH OUR IMPATIENCE WHICH TURNS TO VIOLENCE AND OUR ASPIRATIONS TO DESPAIR THATS THE QUESTION WE HAVE TO ASK OURSELVES OR CAN WE MAKE THE CHANGES THAT OUR DREAMS NOW DEMAND WITHOUT DESTROYING THE GOOD WE HAVE ALREADY BUILT. I'LL LEVEL WITH THE STUDENT BODY CAN WE MAKE THE NECESSARY CHANGE IN ORDER, IN THE SPIRIT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS OR ARE WE GOING TO PERMIT OURSELVES TO BE DEGRADED BY THE SPECTACLE OF VIOLENCE AND DESTRUCTION. THE CONSTANT QUESTION IS ASKED BY EVERY CIVILIZATION-CHANGE WITH ORDER AND ORDER THAT PERMITS CHANGE. THAT'S ONE OF THE PURPOSES OF EDUCATION. AND I THINK THAT WE CAN DO IT. I THINK THIS AMERICAN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SYSTEM HAS WHAT IT TAKES IT HAS THE VITALITY THE FLEXIBILITY AND THE DURABILITY TO ACCOMMODATE THESE POWERFUL RESTLESS DYNAMIC FORCES OF FREEDOM WHICH ARE AT WORK AMONGST US. THE FORCES OF DECENT THE PRIVILEGE OF DEBATE-THE RIGHT TO BE HEARD BUT ALWAYS TO EXPECT THE OTHER MAN'S RIGHT TO BE HEARD, TO DEBATE, AND TO DISSENT. I THINK WE CAN AND INDEED WE MUST MOBILIZE THE RESOURCES OF BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE THAT WILL BANISH TYRANNY OF POVERTY FROM OUR MIDST. THERE WAS ONCE A TIME THAT IT WAS EXCUSABLE TO HAVE POVERTY BECAUSE AN DIDN'T KNOW HOW TO GET RID OF IT. THAT DAY IS LONG OVER. POVERTY TODAY IS NOT ONLY WRONG-IT'S MORALLY WRONG IT'S POLITICALLY UNACCEPTABLE AND ITS ECONOMICALLY BAD. WE DON'T NEED IT--WE CAN DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT. SO I ASK YOU TO HELP ME AND TO HELP OTHERS. IN DOING WHAT YOU ARE DOING TO FIND A NEW AND A BETTER DAY FOR THIS AND WITHOUT DEGRADING WHAT WE HAVE. YOU DO NOT

PROVE YOURSELF TO BE A PROFOUND STUDENT OF AMERICAN SOCIETY BY
MERELY CITING ITS LIMITATIONS. YOU PROVE YOURSELF TO BE WORTHY
STUDENT OF AMERICAN SOCIETY BY LEARNING FROM OUR MISTAKES AND
BUILDING ON OUR ACHIEVEMENTS. AND THE ONE THING THAT AMERICANS NEED TO
TO HAVE THAT THIS WORLD DESPERATELY NEEDS FROM US IS REAL HOPE.
HOPE AND ENTHUSIASM. ENTHUSIASM TO GET ON WITH THE JOB AND AN EXPRESSION
OF HOPE NOT ONLY FOR OURSELVES BUT FOR OTHER PEOPLE IN THE WORLD.
IF AMERICA MEANS ANYTHING TODAY, AND IT MEANS MUCH--WHAT IT MEANS TO
MOST PEOPLE IS HOPE FOR A BETTER DAY. AND I KNOW OF NO BETTER WAY
TO HELP THE REST OF THE WORLD THAN TO SET A GOOD EXAMPLE HERE AT HOME.
IF WE CAN KEEP THE PEACE IN OUR CITIES IF WE CAN HELP BUILD A
SOCIETY THAT IS JUST, IF WE CAN OPEN UP THE PATHS AND DOORS OF
OPPORTUNITY FOR EVERY CITIZEN HERE MAYBE PEOPLE IN OTHER PLACES
IN THE WORLD WILL BELIEVE THAT WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY. THE
CREDIBILITY GAP IN AMERICA IS THE DIFFERENCE IN OUR DEEDS AND
OUR WORDS AND WHAT IS NEEDED TODAY THAT WE FULLY FILL EVERY PROMISE
THAT WE HAVE MADE TO OURSELVES AND THE REST OF THE WORLD. TO
CLOSE THE GAP BETWEEN THE DEED AND THE WORD. AND WE HAVE THE MEANS
TO DO IT. AND I AM TALKING TO THE PEOPLE THAT CAN GET THE JOB DONE,
AND IF YOU WILL PERMIT ME I'D LIKE TO ENLIST WITH YOU AND HELP GET
THAT JOB DONE. AND NOW I WOULD LIKE TO HEAR FROM YOU. THANK YOU
VERY MUCH.



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