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REMARKS  
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
NATIONAL POSTAL FORUM  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
JULY 25, 1968

Self-criticism, as Adlai Stevenson once said, has been democracy's secret weapon.

Today nearly every institution in America -- public and private -- is hard pressed by the rapid pace of change -- by the unique and healthy American practice of self-criticism and dissatisfaction with the status quo.

All of us recognize the impact of rising expectations -- as we raise our sights and standards in building a more just and peaceful society.

Local and state governments conceived in an agrarian age struggle to cope with the demands of space-age society.

School boards try to teach Johnny not only the 3 R's, but the kind of science and civics he will need in his prime of life -- in the year 2000.

And universities attempt to define a workable and just balance between student power and trustees' responsibility.

Our courts...our penal system...our police departments...our social welfare agencies...political parties...churches...from Wall Street to the airport control towers...from the World Bank to the local credit union...the family structure itself -- are challenged.

The viability of our free society will be determined by our ability to adapt our institutions -- in a sensible and orderly way -- to the demands not only of today but of the decades ahead.

It is not enough merely to declare our willingness to adapt to change.

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We must summon the vision...foresight and courage to move ahead of our times -- to explore bravely the strengths and weaknesses of institutions which have been a familiar and comfortable part of our landscape for a long time...to set targets for ourselves.

Yes, it is time to take charge of America's future.

\* \* \* \* \*

As one of those hardy -- some might say foolhardy -- souls seeking the nomination of his party for President of the United States, I have been trying to interpret and think through the impact of contemporary events on the institutions of democratic government.

It is clear that even such venerable institutions as Congress and the Supreme Court must exhibit the capacity for dynamic -- but at the same time orderly -- change.

So it is with the Presidency.

Our next President must be America's teacher and leader -- expressing our highest aspirations for justice and peace at home and abroad. He must simultaneously be student and follower, learning from the people of their most profound hopes and their deepest concerns.

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

Our circumstances today call increasingly for an Open Presidency:

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

--open in the sense of stimulating the frankest and widest possible discussion of America's problems -- both inside and outside government.

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--open in the sense of marshalling the spirit and mobilizing the energies of America to complete the attack on urban decay...illiteracy...unemployment...disease...hunger.

--open in the sense of greater and more intimate contact with all the people.

Such an Open Presidency will demand a reshaping of the Executive Department to make it more responsive to individual -- as well as national -- needs.

First, there must be new channels of communication with the President, especially for the outsiders in our society -- the people who have been excluded from meaningful participation in our national life because of race, poverty, geography, or modern technology and industrialization.

It is vitally important that popular involvement occur before governmental programs reach Congress. And there is need for greater popular participation in the Executive Department's implementation of Congressional Acts.

We should consider establishing Councils of Citizens in the Executive Office of the President and in each major executive department to promote the broadest possible range of public discussion, debate and consultation -- the kind of involvement your Postal Forum now affords.

...Cont'd.

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Your presence in Washington...your consultation with officials of government...represents precisely the kind of direct interchange necessary to maintain responsive and effective government.

Second, the President must encourage the new spirit of localism already at work in this country...and government at all levels must be increasingly open to the concerns of the people.

Neighborhood Councils of Citizens should be established in metropolitan and rural areas. Local decisions have national dimensions. Citizens need a place near their home to speak up, sound-off, or simply register their opinions.

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

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

...Cont'd.

We are only beginning to understand the new institutions and procedures which can do the job. But the imaginative use of Presidential power can help guide these new forces in constructive and creative directions.

Finally, a National Domestic Policy Council should be established in the White House to provide the same systematic, comprehensive and reliable analysis of domestic problems which the National Security Council and its staff now provide on foreign policy and national defense issues.

The establishment of 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 domestic policy decisions . . . to determine whether federal programs interlock profitably with other governmental and private programs . . .to develop measures and analysis for an annual President's Social Report, paralleling the annual review in today's Economic Report.

\* \* \*

The Open Presidency is not just an abstract exercise in political theory. It represents the foundation for action which can mobilize the American people to deal with the urgent agenda before this nation.

The next President must conquer hunger.

There is no reason in America -- with unequaled wealth and agricultural productivity -- for anyone to go hungry.

It is immoral to allow some children to suffer from malnutrition while others in America are concerned about the dangers of overeating.

The next President must realize the full meaning of civil rights.

In the past eight years we have achieved legal emancipation for Negro Americans.

Now it is time to adopt an agenda of opportunity and participation which can bring about real emancipation.

The next President must assure the right of every American to earn a living -- to work and earn.

Most people want the dignity and the self-respect that comes from an honest job.

It is now within our power to see that everyone who wants a job has that job. And for those who cannot support themselves because of age, illness, or disability, it is time to provide enough help to permit people to lift their heads in self-respect.

The next President must help assert the right to a full education for every American -- from age four through college or vocational training -- and the right to grow up in a decent home and neighborhood.

The next President must, once and for all, lead this nation in the re-invigoration and renewal of our urban environment through a new Marshall Plan for the American City.

And at the same time he must lead in the building of a rural America where people can and will be able to earn a decent wage for their labor and live a satisfying life, rather than being driven off the farm into a new and often hostile environment.

The next President must provide full protection of the law . . . due process of law . . . and the rule of law in every American neighborhood.

For government of, by and for the people depends on respect for an observance of the law. Violence and lawlessness cannot, and must not be condoned in America.

These are big goals.

They will require big commitments -- commitments in money; commitments in determination by federal, state and local government . . . by the free institutions of this country . . . by every single person.

They will be sustained only by a nation unified behind the clear vision of a better tomorrow. I am betting my personal future that the American people are ready and willing to sustain that kind of vision in 1968. I am betting that the American people are ready to take charge of America's future.

TERRY EDWARDS

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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REMARKS OF  
THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
BEFORE THE  
NATIONAL POSTAL FORUM II

INTERNATIONAL BALLROOM  
WASHINGTON HILTON HOTEL  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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THURSDAY, JULY 25, 1968

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WARD & PAUL

25 K Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002

1 MR. HUMPHREY: Thank you very much. Thank you,  
2 Thank you. Thank you very much General Watson.

3 I see all of these uniforms here tonight and I think  
4 it is perfectly appropriate that on this occasion we address  
5 the Postmaster General as General Watson. He is without a  
6 doubt one of our finest public servants and one of my dearest  
7 friends, and when I see his lovely wife here tonight I am so  
8 glad that he is one of my dearest friends.

9 (Laughter. Applause.)

10 Permit me first to congratulate all of those that  
11 have been the recipients of awards, well deserved awards here  
12 this evening. Permit me also to apologize for coming in as  
13 Mr. Watson indicated, just being saved by the bell, but I did  
14 have a mountain of work that I needed to clear up tonight, and  
15 some visits and conferences that I simply had to have, because  
16 in case some of you haven't heard about it I would like to  
17 make an announcement.

18 (Laughter.)

19 The seniority rights of my job are not very good.

20 (Laughter.)

21 I have been presently negotiating for a new position.

22 (Laughter and Applause.)

23 Tomorrow I am going out and talk to some of the  
24 people on the other side of the table in this negotiation, out  
25 to Kansas and out to Utah, and then out to California, and

1 before I left I thought I ought to earn my pay as Vice Presi-  
2 dent. I enjoy being both a candidate and Vice President, but  
3 I can tell you it is hard to put them both together under the  
4 same time schedule, and tonight I was trying to do just that.

5 You have had quite a day here. I noted some of the  
6 program and I noted that tonight that you have as your Master  
7 of Ceremonies one of America's really great journalist, great  
8 writers and authors, Bob Considine, and I know that during  
9 the day you have had some interesting speakers and indeed,  
10 even humorous.

11 I jotted down this little card and I think Marvin  
12 will forgive me if I just refer to it; that appearing before  
13 an audience on the same day as W. Marvin Watson, who used to  
14 work in the West Wing of the White House, and Liz Carpenter  
15 who still works in the East Wing of the White House, and I  
16 thought that my introduction should have been able to clear.  
17 I am the man who works in the middle.

18 (Laughter.)

19 So, you may identify me just a little bit more appro-  
20 priately.

21 All of the time during my service in the Senate and  
22 my service as Vice President, I have on occasion suggest to  
23 the Post Office Department forms for commemorative stamps.  
24 I have not been too successful, I might add, but I have made  
25 several suggestions, and I am going to make one tonight. I

1 think you have all heard of General Watson's frugality. He is  
2 a man that believes in the elimination of waste, and rightly  
3 so, and a good deal was written about this while he was at the  
4 White House, and his frugality while running the Post Office  
5 Department. So, I thought this would be an appropriate forum  
6 tonight to announce that if I am elected President, the new  
7 administration will issue a special Marvin Watson commemorative  
8 stamp that will be the only stamp in all of American history\*  
9 will have to provide his own glue.

10 (Laughter.)

11 It may be just as well, because the post office glue  
12 hasn't improved for fifty years.

13 (Laughter.)

14 There will also be another special stamp that I shall  
15 recommend in honor of Liz Carpenter, the warmest and the most  
16 affectionate government worker this town has seen in a long  
17 time, and when you lick the Liz Carpenter stamp it kisses you  
18 back.

19 (Laughter.)

20 I think I can say tonight without fear of contradiction  
21 no other candidate from either party can make such pledges and  
22 deliver on them such as I can.

23 (Laughter.)

24 Well, I come to you tonight to talk a little serious  
25 business. I presume upon your time.

1 First of all, we all want to thank you for your  
2 service to our government and your service to this country, and  
3 above all for your faith in it.

4 I am one of the perennial optimist in Washington for  
5 which I receive my fair share of joshing and criticism, and  
6 most of it in good nature, but that sense of optimism is not  
7 based upon just a theoretical assumption o f the condition  
8 that exist or our Nation's history. It is based upon the  
9 fact of our country's heritage, of the record of this people.  
10 I have never been discouraged about America. I have been  
11 worried, I have been concerned, and I am now, just as you are.  
12 But, I have never had any doubt at all but what we could do  
13 what needed to be done. Everyday in my present political life,  
14 a life which was changed rather drastically, may I say, since  
15 the President's announcement on March 31, and my announcement  
16 on April 27. Nobody compelled me to do that, I want you to  
17 know, I just did it on my own.

18 (Laughter.)

19 I had people say to me, "well, Mr. Vice President,  
20 don't you think the country wants a change?" And my answer  
21 is, want it or not, it will get one. Change is inevitable.  
22 The only question is: what kind of change how, for what  
23 purpose. I happen to be one of those Americans that believe  
24 that the American people are a essentially a progressive people.  
25 They do want change and they want it for what they believe to

1 be the better, and they are not afraid of change. In fact,  
2 they welcome it and they encourage it, but they are sometimes  
3 rightly concerned as to how it is achieved. I believe that  
4 the test of this nation is whether or not we can make the  
5 changes that these days require and that this world of ours  
6 demands, make those changes peacefully and orderly, or whether  
7 they are to be changes that are to be brought about through  
8 violence and through disorder. This is the great test before  
9 this country, and if we in this democracy can bring about the  
10 changes which we agree upon as being necessary in an orderly  
11 and indeed in a timely and orderly fashion, we will have served  
12 humanity as no other society has ever served and served it well.

13           So, I am going to talk to you a little bit about  
14 some of the changes that I see. I believe the American people  
15 want leadership today that is steady, constructive. I believe  
16 they want people in high office, federal state, and local, or  
17 in public office, that have faith and confidence in our insti-  
18 tutions and their capacity to adapt to change and, indeed, in  
19 their capacity to meet the needs of the people. I believe that  
20 our people want a government that is conditioned by reason and  
21 restraint, and yet at the same time is responsible and respon-  
22 sive to the needs of the people. I do not believe that the  
23 American people want a frenzied emotional outburst and call it  
24 leadership, or a frenzied and emotional outburst and call it  
25 patriotism. I think what they really want is steady, firm

1 dedication to the needs of this Republic, and the needs of the  
2 people.

3           So, when I speak of change I recognize that even  
4 such venerable institutions as the Supreme Court and the Con-  
5 gress of the United States exhibit the capacity for dynamic  
6 and at the same time orderly change, and since I am no longer  
7 a member of Congress, and I am not an aspirant to the Supreme  
8 Court or any other court, but have indicated some slight inter-  
9 est in the high office of the Presidency, if you bear with me  
10 I would like to talk to you a little bit about my concept of  
11 that office.

12           Now, of course, I have had some advantages. I have  
13 watched, or I have been at least in part associated with four  
14 presidencies in one way or another since President Truman,  
15 President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, and President Johnson.  
16 Three of them were on a more intimate basis because of my parti-  
17 san politics, but all four of them because of my public office  
18 in the federal government. Three terms as United States Sen-  
19 ator and one as Vice President. During those years of service  
20 I believe one gets some idea of what this office means at least  
21 from observation and in more recent years from close intimate  
22 association. So, what I have to say about it is not in criti-  
23 cism of those who may have occupied it, but in recognition that  
24 the Presidency, like persons, grows. The Presidency, like any  
25 institution changes. I am not speaking of the President, but

1 of the office itself, and how it should be designed, how it  
2 should be constructed in a sense to meet the needs of this  
3 Republic.

4 Here is how I see it. Our President must first of all  
5 be America's teacher and leader, expressing our highest aspira-  
6 tions for justice and peace both at home and abroad. He must  
7 simultaneously be student and follower, learning from the people,  
8 learning of their most profound hopes and their deepest sorrows.  
9 I have watched, observed, and been associated with men in that  
10 high office who have been the leader and teacher, student and  
11 follower. I have seen them grow tired and old, and strong and  
12 brave as they sensed the hopes and the aspirations and the fears  
13 and the concerns of the people of this nation. Yes, teacher and  
14 student, leader and follower, the Presidency demands that both  
15 sides of the equation be kept in balance, to gravitate towards  
16 either extreme for any period of time invites trouble, either  
17 tyranny or chaos, oppression or bias.

18 Now, our circumstances today call increasingly for  
19 what I have termed the open presidency. I have been asked what  
20 do I mean by this, and tonight I should like to share my thoughts  
21 with you about it. Open in the sense of assuring the fullest  
22 possible use of that office to inform the American people of  
23 the problems, and even more the prospects that we face. That's  
24 being the teacher and the leader. Open in the sense of stimu-  
25 lating the frankest and the widest discussion of America's

1 problems, both inside and outside the government, teacher and  
2 leader. Open in the sense of bolstering the spicity and mobil-  
3 izing the resources, the energies of America to continue and  
4 hopefully to complete the attack on the problems that we know  
5 so well that are staring at us, glaring at us, urban decay,  
6 illiteracy, unemployment, disease, yes, even hunger, and open  
7 in the sense of greater and more intimate contact with the  
8 people. Maybe that is what we mean by student and follower.

9           Now, such an open presidency will, I think, demand  
10 at least in some way, in some degree, a reshaping of the exe-  
11 cutive department to make it more responsive to individual as  
12 well as national needs. Let me again explain, first I think  
13 there needs to be new channels of communication with the Pre-  
14 sident, especially for outsiders in our society, the people who  
15 have been excluded from meaningful participation in our national  
16 life because of race, poverty, or geography, or even modern  
17 technology and industrialization. If there is any one thing  
18 that I sense in America that is contributing to some of the  
19 frustration and some of the unrest, is the individual, the  
20 individual, student or adult, senses that somehow or other they  
21 are not being noticed, that they may not count, that the system  
22 is too big, too automated. Universities have thousands of  
23 students, classrooms of thousands of students. The student  
24 never really ever meets the professor that he dreamed of knowing  
25 until he is in graduate school, if even then. He receives his

1 grades on a computer card and you as parents frequently can't  
2 make them out. I will never forget the first time I received  
3 the grades of my young son. I sent them back to the president  
4 of the university and said, "Please explain to me what this  
5 punch hole thing means. I didn't send my student to your  
6 university to get a card that's got a lot of holes in it, tell  
7 me is it A, B, C, D, E, or F." Well, he told me it was a  
8 different period of time in which he was living now. But,  
9 students today sense this remoteness, big labor, big business,  
10 big government, big university, individuals therefore, literally  
11 crying out to be recognized, and some of them becoming rather  
12 mean about it. Occasionally they are bumping into you and  
13 kicking you and saying, "Remember me. Here I am. I count."  
14 So, I think this matter of contacts, of communication is abso-  
15 lutely essential, particularly for a healthy democratic  
16 system.

17 I also believe that it is vitally important that  
18 popular involvement occur, take place before governmental  
19 programs reach Congress, and there is a need for greater popu-  
20 lar participation in the executive department's implementation  
21 of congressional acts. Therefore, I have suggested that we  
22 consider establishing councils of citizens in the executive  
23 office of the President, and in each major executive depart-  
24 ment to promote the broadest possible range of public discus-  
25 sion, debate and consultation, the kind of involvement that

1 your postal forum now affords on this occasion. But, it needs  
2 to be institutionalized in a sense. Every department of govern-  
3 ment has a congressional liaison officer. I think the time is  
4 fast coming, it is now here, when every department of the  
5 government needs to have a council of citizens to be fully  
6 aware not only of what citizens are writing to you about, but  
7 also what they are thinking about. This function is often  
8 performed today by members of the Congress, who I think are  
9 keenly aware of the public needs and the public attitudes, and  
10 this often builds a gulf between the executive branch and the  
11 Congress because one may be behind the other. Too frequently  
12 the mail complaints that come to an executive office, and I  
13 have been in one, never get to the one that can do something  
14 about it, and that's why the mails are flooded to the members  
15 of the Congress and the congressman becomes the omnibusman,  
16 the man that answers all the multitude and multiplicity of  
17 questions, that seeks to do all the little favors and the press  
18 writes of him as a chore boy. There is nothing wrong in serving  
19 the people, ladies and gentlemen in a democracy. It is a high  
20 honor to a member of the Congress of the United States to be  
21 termed that he serves the people, and that we call it doing the  
22 chores for the constituency. What is their better to do than  
23 to have been known to have served when that's what you were  
24 elected for, at least in part?

25 Secondly, the Presidency, as I see it, could encourage,

1 and I think must, this new spirit of localism, volunteerism,  
2 already at work in this country. The government at all levels,  
3 in other words, must become increasingly open to the concerns  
4 of the people. Neighborhood councils of citizens should and  
5 could be established in metropolitan and rural areas. Local  
6 decisions have national dimensions, citizens need a place to,  
7 near their homes to speak up, to sound off, or simply register  
8 their opinions. It used to be in the county courthouse when  
9 most government activity was local, but today so much of the  
10 government policy and activity is national that there needs to  
11 be a system designed for people, if for no reason at all but  
12 to vent their fury, to express their feelings, to speak up and  
13 sound off.

14           The past decade has also taught us how the challenges  
15 or urban life, of mass education, of employment are insuffici-  
16 ently met by governments acting alone or by private action  
17 alone, if its immediate interests are pursued in isolation from  
18 society's broader goals. This is another way of saying there  
19 isn't a single problem that confronts this nation, including  
20 the problem of postal service, that can be handled by either  
21 private industry or government alone. Surely, transportation  
22 can't, surely the problem can't, the problem of mass communi-  
23 cation cannot. There isn't a single problem of any dimension  
24 that doesn't require a working partnership with respect for the  
25 autonomy of the several partners. If we ever hope to seek

1 solutions these problems demand the commitment of society's full  
2 resources, and people of a free enterprising economy and a free  
3 nation with what we call self government, we had better learn  
4 how to bring to bear the full power of our resources upon a part  
5 of it or upon an objective through a voluntary system and through  
6 a governmental and private system such as we have, or we are  
7 going to start to lose out to those systems that can bring to  
8 bear the full resources of their economy through what we call  
9 statism or state capitalism.

10 I happen to think our system is the workable one, the  
11 better one, the more humane one, and I want to have the design,  
12 the systems of management that meets the complex problems of  
13 today, so I say we demand the full commitment of resources.  
14 Often these combinations will occur outside of established  
15 channels of government of business. We are only beginning to  
16 understand the new institutions and procedures which can do the  
17 job.

18 Now, I know there have been new proposals for the  
19 Post Office Department. They can neither be accepted nor  
20 rejected out of hand. I will only say this, that there isn't  
21 a single modern corporation today that has not redesigned its  
22 management technique. Most of them are engaged in what they  
23 call systems analysis, trying to find out ways to bring together  
24 all of the great resources that are necessary for any great  
25 achievement. One thing I have learned as Chairman of the Space

1 Council of this government is how you harness or, at least I  
2 have tried to learn, I should say, at least I have observed,  
3 how you harness many of the resources of America under one  
4 management without the loss of identity or autonomy of any of  
5 the single parts, how private industry, the university, the  
6 scientist in the scientific community, the financial community,  
7 the government community are all brought together to put one  
8 astronaut in flight. Private industry alone couldn't do it,  
9 government alone could not do it, the university alone could  
10 not do it, the largest bank alone could not do it, a single  
11 scientist or a group of scientist could not do it, but bringing  
12 them together in some synchronized, harmonized management system  
13 gets the job done.

14 Now, ladies and gentlemen, if we can create a decent  
15 and wholesome environment for an astronaut in outer space, in  
16 a machine built by man on earth with the power generated by a  
17 machine built on earth, then I would suggest that we try to  
18 start to apply the same kind of management techniques, the  
19 same kind of innovative, thoughtful, creative management to  
20 getting the job done here on earth for our own people. If you  
21 can give a man a safe environment on the moon, you ought to be  
22 able to give it to him in your home town.

23 (Applause.)

24 So, we are going to have to think out loud now on  
25 how we are going to do this job. One thing I have always been

1 beware of, and I have learned to be somewhat concerned about  
2 and I will say beware, is when someone comes with a pat formula  
3 how to run government. You know what Winston Churchill said  
4 about democracy, and I think if you remember nothing else tonight  
5 that I say, remember this. He said the worst possible form of  
6 government, the worst possible form of government is a democracy  
7 except all others.

8 (Applause.)

9 It's just a simple way of saying that it's difficult  
10 to govern, difficult to get any kind of consensus, difficult to  
11 poll the many different points of view together in a free  
12 society. Theodore Roosevelt once said that the combined wisdom  
13 and judgment of the people, the majority of the people was  
14 superior to that of any select minority, and I agree with him.  
15 The aggregate, combined judgment and wisdom of the people is  
16 superior to that of any select minority of the people. Those  
17 are arguments of faith to me that can only be authenticated  
18 through ones observation and, indeed, I believe his own faith  
19 in those arguments.

20 Now, finally, I happen to believe that we need a  
21 national domestic council. I believe that it should be a  
22 basic part of our governmental structure to provide the same  
23 systematic, comprehensive and reliable analysis of domestic  
24 problems which the national security council and its staff  
25 now provide on foreign policy and national defense issues in

1 cooperation with the Commander in Chief, because our President  
2 is a unique man, whomever he may be. No other officer in  
3 government has as many responsibilities. He is head of his  
4 party, he is chief of state, he is the chief administrative  
5 officer, he is commander in chief of the armed forces, and he  
6 is the chief spokesman of the nation in foreign affairs. Five,  
7 five basic responsibilities that one man must perform, and in  
8 every other government and every other structure, those are  
9 divided, but not in the Presidency of the United States. There-  
10 fore, he needs, as time has demonstrated, these many arms that  
11 reach out, like the Council of Economic Advisors, the Bureau of  
12 the Budget, the National Security Council, and I happen to  
13 believe that in the days ahead as we face this urban crisis,  
14 as we face the problem of race relations, as we face the growing  
15 population, as we face the crisis in rural America, and there  
16 is one, that we are going to need a national domestic policy  
17 council. And the establishment of such a council would expand  
18 the president's capacity to see and deal rationally with the  
19 crush and the crunch of domestic problems, to sharpen the  
20 priority. You can't do everything at once, and to identify  
21 the full implications of alternative domestic policies and  
22 decisions to determine whether federal programs interlocked  
23 profitably with other governmental and private programs, and  
24 to develop measures and analysis for an annual President's  
25 social report, paralleling the annual review in today's

1 economic report. We need early warning systems in this country,  
2 not only on the economy, but on its social structure. Now, we  
3 ought not to get it piecemeal, from one professor at one univer-  
4 sity, or one self-appointed militant group over here, or one  
5 excellent reputable group in between. Somehow, someday this  
6 information must be brought into an objective analytical form,  
7 and I believe that it can be done and it needs to be done.

8           So, that open presidency that I speak of is not just  
9 an abstract exercise in political theory. It represents the  
10 foundation for action or at least for action at the times  
11 needed as we face this great period of change, to deal with the  
12 urgent agenda before this nation, and just quickly, that agenda  
13 is going to need your help if it's going to be achieved. Govern-  
14 ment in a democracy is no better than the people that make it,  
15 support it, and elect it.

16           Sometimes I have felt that those who are our critics,  
17 and we are generally our own critics as well, might do well as they  
18 criticize either the nation, its social or its economic structure  
19 or its government, just to put a big mirror over the whole  
20 country and look up and see what's wrong, because remember,  
21 there is no single nation on the face of this earth in which  
22 there is broader participation by the people in what we seek to  
23 do as a community and as a nation and a republic than in this  
24 country. If the nation has a blemish, or as somebody put it,  
25 a dirty face, look into the mirror, it may be your face. It

1 may even be yours because of apathy, indifference, or even  
2 negative action.

3           That next president, whoever he is, and I would like  
4 to predict, that there are no prophets by the name of Humphrey  
5 in either the Old or the New Testament, and I have checked it  
6 out very carefully.

7           (Laughter.)

8           If you would like to have a private word with me  
9 later on as to whom it think that should be I will be outside  
10 either door. I am capable of shuttling back and forth rather  
11 rapidly.

12           (Laughter.)

13           That next president must face in this country, believe  
14 it or not, in the most affluent, the richest country in the  
15 world, the problem of hunger, because there is if not hunger,  
16 malnutrition. It is not the fault of the president, but the  
17 president is frequently branded for things for which he is not  
18 at fault and he asked to try to bring forth remedies. There is  
19 no reason in America, with unequaled wealth and agriculture  
20 productivity for anyone to go hungry. There surely is no  
21 reason in this country for some people to be on a diet and  
22 some babies to be undernourished. We have simply got to find  
23 a way to correct that.

24           (Applause.)

25           Let's not be misunderstood. Let me say we have made

1 great strides to correct that imbalance. One of the problems  
2 that a man has these days as he speaks to his fellow citizens  
3 is that most of our messages seem critical, and I am not one  
4 that believes that alpha and omega started with Hubert Humphrey  
5 or with myself. I believe that this country is a continuity,  
6 and I believe that the political processes of this government  
7 in this country represents co tinuity. I believe that we build  
8 on, and add on, we approve and adapt, improve and adapt, modify  
9 and change; we seldom destroy, remove or obliterate. We are  
10 sort of like the way we built our home out in Minnesota. Some-  
11 body asked me, "Well, what's its design?" I said, "A series of  
12 patios which my wife talked me into enclosing."

13 (Laughter.)

14 You know she gets you out there and you get screens  
15 for a while, you get some cement down or terazzo or something  
16 and then she says, "Don't you think we ought to get it enclosed,  
17 and then we ought to winterize it," and the next thing you know  
18 you have a sort of a rambling structure that you call your home,  
19 and maybe yours isn't like that, maybe yours is better planned,  
20 but in a free society like ours, even programs in government  
21 take on that kind of an image.

22 The next president must see the full meaning of what  
23 we have talked about so generally called civil rights. In the  
24 past eight years we have achieved.--

25 (Applause.)

1           In the past eight years we have achieved incredible  
2 breakthroughs. We have achieved legal emancipation for millions  
3 of our people, and particularly our Negro Americans, the black  
4 man. Now, it is time to adopt an agenda of opportunity and  
5 participation which can bring about real emancipation. Really  
6 I can ask this question tonight in good faith; What does it  
7 really mean to a man to have equal employment opportunity legis-  
8 lation if he is illiterate, unskilled, unemployable, and no  
9 job? So, we need to take what we call civil rights and change  
10 it into civil practices and lend real meaning to it. That's  
11 what I mean by opportunity. The next President of the United  
12 States must assure the right of every American to earn a living  
13 to work, and to earn. There are jobs to do in this country  
14 and people are needed to do them. There is work undone in  
15 America and work to be done. I happen to think that most  
16 people want the dignity and the self respect that comes from a  
17 meaningful, honest job, and I think it is now within our power  
18 in this economy to see that everyone who wants a job has that  
19 job and that those who cannot support themselves because of  
20 age, illness, or disability, it is time to provide enough help  
21 to permit those people to lift their heads in self respect and  
22 dignity. A nation as rich as this should be ashamed to do any-  
23 thing less, and I call upon you to help us get it done.

24           (Applause.)

25           I am not talking about a job simply in government.

1 Six out of every seven jobs are in the private sector. I am  
2 talking about jobs in this free enterprise economy of ours, and  
3 I am talking about being willing to make the investments in  
4 training and job placement, in all that comes and all that is  
5 required to take some so-called hard core unemployed and make  
6 them employable. This is going to be a real test.

7 (Applause.)

8 ( am happy to tell you that we have proven that it  
9 can be done. This year when President Johnson announced his  
10 jobs program and in cooperation with the National Alliance of  
11 Businessmen, with the private sector taking on the main task  
12 and government helping to finance those extraordinary cost,  
13 we have made an impact. We are going to be hiring this year  
14 and finding jobs this year, ladies and gentlemen for over  
15 800 thousand deprived young people. We will find jobs for  
16 teenagers in this country from poor families for better than  
17 a million and a half, and will find many jobs, over 300 thou-  
18 sand of them this year, for the hard-core adult unemployed,  
19 men and women that never before earned a dollar.

20 I have got to tell you a story about that, and it  
21 actually took place down in New Orleans, about one of our train-  
22 ing programs, and I believe it was attached to the Loyola Pro-  
23 gram at Loyola University. A woman had a great deal of trouble  
24 She had been in all sorts of trouble, she was a woman of about  
25 30 years of age. She had several children, no man in the

1 house, and there was all kinds of trouble. She had never been  
2 able to have a job, she had never earned a living. She was on  
3 relief and she was brought into one of these training programs  
4 and everybody said it would be hopeless, but she stuck it out.  
5 She stayed with it, and after the training program, and this is  
6 a factual story, after the training program which lasted some  
7 three or four months, she was able to get a job at a medical  
8 publishing company in New Orleans, and after the first two  
9 weeks she got a check. She came back to her teacher, to her  
10 instructor and she said, "Look at this." She said, "This is  
11 the first time I have ever seen a check that I have earned  
12 with my name on it." She said, "I'm so proud." "Oh," she  
13 said, "I'm just so proud." She was emotional about it and the  
14 teacher said, "Well, this is just the beginning. Now stick  
15 with it." A little bit later, another month or so came by and  
16 she said, "Look at this check." She said, "There is a stub on  
17 that that I didn't notice last time and it's got all sorts of  
18 little numbers out here. It says FS, deduct, withhold," and  
19 she said, "What does that all mean." And the instructor said,  
20 "Why, my dear, those are taxes, social security, withholding,  
21 different kinds of taxes." "Oh," she said, "You know, I have  
22 never ever paid taxes before in my life." She said, "I feel  
23 like I am a real citizen." She was so happy and he was proud.  
24 About three months later she came back in and she said, "You  
25 know something?" She said, "This government of ours spends

1 too much money. Look at all these taxes I pay here."

2 Ladies and gentlemen, that's what I mean by rehabili-  
3 tation.

4 (Laughter.)

5 There is a good healthy, wholesome, thoroughly one  
6 hundred percent American attitude. A person that is on the  
7 job, earning money, paying taxes, enjoying the work and com-  
8 plaining about the taxes. That's the way it ought to be.  
9 Whether it ought to be or not, that's the way it is.

10 (Laughter.)

11 Now, that next president must help assert the right  
12 that we are seeking now to establish, to a full education for  
13 every American, from age 4 to the highest capacity of that  
14 person to absorb education, college if possible, for vocational  
15 or advance training in many instances, and the right to grow up  
16 in a decent home and neighborhood.

17 I was in Harlem New York yesterday morning. I don't  
18 know how many of you have been there. The immediate impression  
19 that you get is, "My, this is dirty." Litter on the street,  
20 and then I stopped to think that there were more people in  
21 one block in Harlem than lived in the whole county that I lived  
22 in as a boy, more people in one block. There were more people  
23 in one tenement house than in the town that I went through high  
24 school and grade school, in one block of tenement houses. Is it  
25 any wonder that there is garbage on the street? I see garbage

1 on the street where there is only one family, occasionally in  
2 middle income neighborhoods, and what is more the garbage is  
3 always in this area that I see here in the front of the buildings  
4 Back in my part of the country we had alleys where you could  
5 put the garbage, and many of you have disposals, and then we  
6 stand in judgment and say, "Look." The density of population  
7 is a thousand times greater than in the average neighborhood  
8 block with people that are illiterate, many of them like  
9 refugees, some of them migrated from the rural areas of America,  
10 came with no industrialization, no industrial experience, little  
11 or no education, like strangers to a foreign land. Ladies and  
12 gentlemen, the compassion of this nation reaches to the world  
13 but I happen to be one of those Americans that believes that  
14 the only way we will ever be able to demonstrate to the world  
15 that we really care about people far away, and that we can help  
16 them in places far away, is when we demonstrate that we care  
17 about people close at home.

18 (Applause.)

19 I have set out a pretty big order for whomever takes  
20 on this job, and the man who has it now has a massive order.  
21 That president must once and for all lead his nation in the  
22 revitalization and the renewal of our urban environment.  
23 Seventy percent of the people live there now; twenty years  
24 from now eighty-five percent of the people will be living in  
25 the cities, and we have to make our cities livable institutions,

1 or they will become the battleground and the graveyard of this  
2 deomcracy. There is no choice. We simply have to do it.

3 Now, that next president must also provide above all,  
4 in cooperation with the other agencies of government and the  
5 other offices of government, state and local, the full protec-  
6 tion of the law. I happen to be one that believes that the  
7 American people are weary of lawlessness and of the violence  
8 and they want an end to it.

9 (Applause.)

10 No president can do this alone. He is not the law  
11 enforcement officer of state and local government, but because  
12 of the changes in this country of ours and the ferment that is  
13 here and the restlessness, it is imperative that the instrument-  
14 ality of government be coordinated as never before to assure  
15 what this nation stands for above all: Life, the protection of  
16 life, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness that our  
17 founding fathers, which means life that is meaningful, life  
18 that is rich and full, that is hopeful, and above all, life  
19 and life is in danger, in this country, in some places. There  
20 is a lack of safety on our streets, and every governmental  
21 officer has a solemn obligation to lead the people in respect  
22 for the law, to seek observance of the law, and to stand  
23 mightily and fearlessly in the enforcement of the law, or there  
24 can be no law.

25 (Applause.)

1           Due process of law and the rule of law in every  
2 American neighborhood, for government of, by, and for the  
3 people depends on respect for the observance of the law. As  
4 Abraham Lincoln once said, we must teach our young, our  
5 children, respect for the law. Ladies and gentlemen, I doubt  
6 that it has been done well and enough. Violence and lawlessness  
7 cannot and must not be condoned in America because there is no  
8 progress with it. The first victims of violence are the poor  
9 themselves, and then ultimately all hope for progress breaks  
10 down. The perpetrators of violence are the allies of the  
11 reactionaries. Those who seek to do nothing and the perpetra-  
12 tors of violence are the allies of backwardness, and those who  
13 condone it aid and abet the enemies of this country.

14           (Applause.)

15           Those are big goals that I have been talking about  
16 tonight and they are not goals of suppression or oppression,  
17 but goals of progress, of forward movement, of health, of  
18 education, of a better life, of a better home, of a better  
19 neighborhood, of a better job and all within our means, every-  
20 one of them, because each and every one produces its own  
21 dividends, each investment adds its own profits, and just as  
22 you cannot build a better world by sitting idly by and permit-  
23 ing aggression to run wild, so you cannot build a better America  
24 by sitting by and letting crime and lawlessness run wild.  
25 That's what I am trying to say, that I want a better America,

1 I want it peacefully.

2 (Applause.)

3 Now, these will require big commitments. I didn't  
4 come here to ask you to take it easy. As a matter of fact,  
5 we had better gear ourselves up for the biggest struggle of  
6 our lives. This country needs a moral commitment. If there  
7 is any one thing that I believe has caused this great diffi-  
8 culty about the struggle in Vietnam is that too few people  
9 have been required to make any sacrifice about it.

10 (Applause.)

11 To few.

12 (Applause.)

13 The men on the battlefield have sacrificed, some of  
14 them everything, the supreme sacrifice, their families have  
15 sacrificed, but literally hundreds and thousands of us haven't  
16 even sacrificed, until this recent surtax, one dime, much  
17 less one inconvenience. I think that America wants to be  
18 challenged. I think that is a basic goodness in this country.  
19 I think there is a frustration too, and I believe that we have  
20 to challenge the American people to do the thing that needs to  
21 be done here at home as never before, we know when we make that  
22 challenge and raise it, that like the men that fought for this  
23 Republic and its independence, we pledge our lives, our fortunes,  
24 and our sacred honor, because if we pledge less we will lose.  
25 If we pledge all, I think we can win. You see, I am betting

1 my personal future that the American people are ready and  
2 willing to sustain the kind of leadership and vision that I  
3 have outlined here tonight, and I am betting that the American  
4 people are ready to take charge of America's future. I am  
5 betting that the American people have faith in themselves, and  
6 I am betting that the American People will not turn to those  
7 who turn down this country by deed or word. I think the  
8 American people are put their faith and trust in the leadership  
9 and in the people who say, "Let's build a better America, we  
10 love what we have, we love it so much that we want to make it  
11 better and better for more and more people." That's my creed.

12 Thank you very much.

13 (Thereupon the hearing in the above entitled matter  
14 was concluded.)

15 - - - -

Thank you for your kind introduction. However, appearing before an audience that has on the same day heard from both Marvin Watson -- who used to work in the West Wing of the White House -- and Liz Carpenter who still works in the East Wing of the White House -- I thought my introduction should have been a little clearer. I am the man who wants to work in the middle.

\* \* \*

I know you have all heard of General Watson's frugality while he was at the White House and his frugality while running the Post Office.

So, I thought this would be an appropriate forum to announce that if I am elected President, the new administration will issue a special Marvin Watson commemorative stamp -- it will be the only stamp in all American history where the user will have to provide his own glue.

\* \* \*

There will also be a special stamp in honor of Liz Carpenter, the warmest, most affectionate government worker this town has seen in a long time. When you lick the Liz Carpenter stamp, it kisses you back.

\* \* \*

~~There is a great deal of bitterness in the country today, I know, because people say that President Johnson has not lived up to one very important position he took during the 1964 Presidential race. I must admit that I, too, think it is scandalous. The President, you will remember, promised that if elected he would not sell the TVA as Senator Goldwater had proposed. And now I understand that there is a plan to do worse than that -- to sell the Post Office.~~

\* \* \*

As a result of the confusion in communications last year aboard the U. S. S. Independence, I'm sure you all noticed the firm and decisive action taken by President Johnson. Having determined that Marvin Watson could not be counted on to deliver telegrams, he put him in charge of delivering mail. In that department, as you know, the only factors that prevent delivery are snow, rain, heat and gloom of night.

# # #

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

NATIONAL POSTAL FORUM

WASHINGTON, D. C.

JULY 25, 1968

Self-criticism, as Adlai Stevenson once said, has been democracy's secret weapon.

Today nearly every institution in America -- public and private -- is hard pressed by the rapid pace of change -- by the unique and healthy American practice of self-criticism and dissatisfaction with the status quo.

All of us recognize the impact of rising expectations -- as we raise our sights and standards in building a more just and peaceful society.

Local and state governments conceived in an agrarian age struggle to cope with the demands of space-age society.

School boards try to teach Johnny not only the 3 R's, but the kind of science and civics he will need in his prime of life -- in the year 2000.

And universities attempt to define a workable and just balance between student power and trustees' responsibility.

Our courts ... our penal system ... our police departments ... our social welfare agencies ... political parties ... churches ... from Wall Street to the airport control towers ... from the World Bank to the local credit union ... the family structure itself -- are challenged.



Change

- 4 -

As one of those hardy -- some might say foolhardy -- ~~should~~ <sup>Souls</sup> seeking the nomination of his party for President of the United States, I have been trying to interpret and think through the impact of contemporary events on the institutions of democratic government.

It is clear that even such venerable institutions as Congress and the Sumpreme Court must exhibit the capacity for dynamic -- but at the same time orderly -- change.

 So it is with the Presidency,

Our ~~best~~ President must be America's teacher and leader -- expressing our highest aspirations for justice and peace at home and abroad. He must simultaneously be student and follower, learning from the people of their most profound hopes and their deepest concerns.

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

Our circumstances today call increasingly for ~~an~~ *what I call an*

Open Presidency:

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

-- open in the sense of stimulating the frankest and widest possible discussion of America's problems -- both inside and outside government.

-- open in the sense of marshalling the spirit and mobilizing the energies of America to complete the attack on urban decay ... illiteracy ... unemployment ... disease ... hunger.

-- open in the sense of greater and more intimate  
contact with all the people.

Such an Open Presidency will demand a reshaping  
of the Executive Department to make it more responsive to  
individual -- as well as national -- needs.

First, there <sup>need to</sup> ~~must~~ be new channels of communication  
with the President, especially for the outsiders in our society --  
the people who have been excluded from meaningful participation  
in our national life because of race, poverty, geography, or  
modern technology and industrialization.

It is vitally important that popular involvement occur  
before governmental programs reach Congress. And there is  
need for greater popular participation in the Executive Department's  
implementation of Congressional Acts.

We should consider establishing Councils of Citizens in the Executive Office of the President and in each major executive department to promote the broadest possible range of public discussion, debate and consultation -- the kind of involvement your Postal Forum now affords.

Your presence in Washington ... your consultation with officials of government ... represents precisely the kind of direct interchange necessary to maintain responsive and effective government.

Second, the President must encourage the new spirit of localism already at work in this country ... and government at all levels must be increasingly open to the concerns of the people.

Neighborhood Councils of Citizens should <sup>↓ could</sup> be established in metropolitan and rural areas. Local decisions have national dimensions. Citizens need a place near their home to speak up, sound-off, or simply register their opinions.

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

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

We are only beginning to understand the new institutions and procedures which can do the job. But the imaginative use of Presidential power can help guide these new forces in constructive and creative directions.

Finally, a National Domestic Policy Council should be established in the White House to provide the same systematic, comprehensive and reliable analysis of domestic problems which the National Security Council and its staff now provide on foreign policy and national defense issues.

The establishment of 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 domestic policy decisions ... to determine whether federal programs interlock profitably with other governmental and private programs ... to develop measures and analysis for an annual President's Social Report, paralleling the annual review in today's Economic Report.

The Open Presidency is not just an abstract exercise in political theory. It represents the foundation for action which can mobilize the American people to deal with the urgent agenda before this nation.

The next President must conquer hunger.

There is no reason in America -- with unequaled wealth and agricultural productivity -- for anyone to go hungry.

It is immoral to allow some children to suffer from malnutrition while others in America are concerned about the dangers of overeating.

The next President must <sup>real</sup> realize the full meaning of civil rights.

In the past eight years we have achieved legal emancipation for Negro Americans.

Now it is time to adopt an agenda of opportunity and participation which can bring about real emancipation.

The next President must assure the right of every American to earn a living -- to work and earn.

Most people want the dignity and the self-respect that comes from an honest job.

It is now within our power to see that everyone who wants a job has that job. And for those who cannot support themselves because of age, illness, or disability, it is time to provide enough help to permit people to lift their heads in self-respect.

The next President must help assert the right to a full education for every American -- from age four through college or vocational training -- and the right to grow up in a decent home and neighborhood.

The next President must, once and for all, lead this nation in the re-invigoration and renewal of our urban environment through a new Marshall Plan for the American City.

And at the same time he must lead in the building of a rural America where people can and will be able to earn a decent wage for their labor and live a satisfying life, rather than being driven off the farm into a new and often hostile environment.

The next President must provide full protection of the law ... due process of law ... and the rule of law in every American neighborhood.

For government of, by and for the people depends on respect for an observance of the law. Violence and lawlessness cannot, and must not be condoned in America.

Those are big goals.

They will require big commitments -- commitments in money; commitments in determination by federal, state and local government ... by the free institutions of this country ... by every single person.

They will be sustained only by a nation unified behind the clear vision of a better tomorrow.

I am betting my personal future that the American people are ready and willing to sustain the kind of vision in 1968.

I am betting that the American people are ready to take charge of America's future.

# # #

*Humor - Postal Museum  
7/25/68*

Thank you for your kind introduction. However, appearing  
*Ben Waterbury*  
before an audience that has on the same day heard from both

Marvin Watson -- who used to work in the West Wing of the White  
House -- and Liz Carpenter who still works in the East Wing of  
the White House -- I thought my introduction should have been a  
little clearer. I am the man who wants to work in the middle.

*X X X*

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seen in a long time. When you lick the Liz Carpenter stamp, it kisses  
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There is a great deal of bitterness in the country today, I know,

because people <sup>say</sup> ~~say~~ that ~~the~~ President Johnson has not lived up to one

very important position he took during the 1964 Presidential race. I

must admit that I too think it is scandalous. The President you'll

remember promised that if elected he would not sell the TVA as

Senator Goldwater <sup>had proposed.</sup> ~~was proposed~~ and now I understand that there is a

plan to do worse than that--to sell the Post Office

X X /

July 19, 1968  
Ben Wattenberg

HUMOR FOR GOVERNOR PRICE DANIEL

It is good to be back once again at another National Governors  
Conference.

This year, no telegrams have been sent to me here. (Pause)

Have they?

As a result of the confusion in communications last year aboard  
the U. S. S. Independence I'm sure you all noticed the firm and decisive  
action taken by President Johnson. Having determined that Marvin  
Watson could not be counted on to deliver telegrams, he put him in  
charge of delivering mail. In that department, as you know, the  
only factors that prevent delivery are snow, rain, heat and gloom  
of night.

But things are different this year.

For one, I don't think anyone has ever confused Cincinnati or  
its environs with the Virgin Islands.

*Get it  
new belly  
etc.*



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