

NEWS FROM

UNITED DEMOCRATS FOR HUMPHREY

1100 17th STREET, N.W. ■ WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036 TELEPHONE 202 / 393-6420

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For further information:
Ev Munsey, ext. 208
U-201

VICE PRESIDENT BACKS FREEDOM OF CHOICE FOR DELEGATES

Washington, D.C., July 29 -- Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey today supported "a completely open convention" with each delegate voting as an individual for that delegate's presidential choice.

The text of the Vice President's statement made at the Town Hall, Los Angeles follows:

"I personally believe that each delegate to the Democratic National Convention should have the right to vote for the Presidential nominee of his choice.

The question of unit rule is one which is a matter of self-determination by individual state delegations.

Nevertheless, it is my personal view that the Presidential nomination of the Democratic Party this year must be won in a completely open convention. Each delegate should be able to stand up and be counted as an individual, casting his vote for his preference.

Consequently, I am today informing each delegation bound to me under the Unit Rule that I personally am willing to abide by the outcome of the Convention with each delegate being free to vote his preference. I would hope that Senator McCarthy could join me in this by releasing any delegations bound to him."

(more)

"It should be noted by those who have been looking upon the Unit Rule as a one-edged sword which is of benefit only to me, that all 72 votes of the Massachusetts delegation are bound to Senator McCarthy by law on the first ballot in an equivalent of the Unit Rule, just as all 35 of the delegates in Oregon are pledged to him, though he won only 44 percent of the vote in the state's primary."

HHH

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

TOWN HALL

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

JULY 29, 1968

*Mr. Dahlman
Mr. President!*

I want to hear from you today in our Question and Answer period.

↳ But, first, I would like to offer some thoughts about the priorities that our country faces and that the next President must be ready to deal with.

↳ I have been accused in the past of being a man with more solutions than there are problems.

↳ If that is so, maybe that is what they mean when they say my time has finally come.

I PEACE

↳ My first object will be to restore peace in Vietnam; to maintain that peace against the threat of future conflicts; and to strengthen that peace by seeking wider East-West agreements. US - USSR

↳ Those goals will not be achieved by prolonging sterile ideological conflicts of the past. ↳ But neither will they be achieved by pretending that future conflicts can be avoided if we ignore their potential causes.

↳ America must seek, rather, to strengthen the alternative to conflict: in Vietnam, after Vietnam, beyond Vietnam.

↳ In Vietnam, that alternative is clear: South Vietnam's affairs should be run by the people who live there, not by Washington or Hanoi.

Immediate cease fire -
Program of National Political Settlement

↳ This means free elections -- elections in which all can vote and all can run for office, with guarantees against force and intimidation -- elections in which every group willing to do so can play its full part in the peaceful political process.

↳ And it means being willing to accept the results of these elections.

↳ While seeking this kind of settlement in the Paris negotiations, we should, through training and modern equipment, continue to turn over more and more of the burden of defense to the South Vietnamese.

↳ As they assume this burden, the U. S. role in the fighting should be systematically reduced. —

After Vietnam, the alternative to conflict must be found in a new concept of our security role in developing areas.

↳ Our concern must be with those wider forms of violence which threaten national frontiers. There are two such threats:

-- the threat of direct overt aggression. Our willingness to fulfill specific American defense commitments, approved by the President and the Congress, can help to deter this threat.

-- the threat of indirect aggression -- infiltration of arms and men across frontiers. This will be the greater danger in the period ahead.

↳ In meeting this second danger, main reliance must be placed on self-help by the threatened country, and on regional cooperation by its neighbors.

↳ Beyond Vietnam, the alternative to conflict will be found in widening areas of East-West agreement.

↳ The most important area is disarmament *and Arms Control*

The key question here is whether both we and the Soviet Union will settle for strategic security -- which our deterrent forces already provide -- or whether both nations will insist on playing the game of strategic one-upmanship, with all its attendant risks and costs.

↳ Either country could now destroy the other, regardless of which struck first.

*Nuclear
Catastrophe*

↳ This situation will continue, regardless of additional expenditures. Any arms agreement must recognize this hard fact.

~~↳ Such an agreement should seek to restrain the further buildup of both sides -- not merely to limit the expansion of one side, while the other seeks special advantage.~~

On arms control

Such an agreement is essential if nations are to begin reducing arms expenditures in favor of greater investments in economic and social development.

- We must move beyond pending negotiations

I believe we should take the lead in seeking a worldwide reduction in armaments expenditures, so that the desperately needed resources ~~of the world~~ can be put to work on behalf of people and not the arms burden which they now carry on their backs.

Beyond arms control, I look to expanding cooperation with the Soviet Union -- in space, in the oceans, in new areas of technology, and in the face of urgent crises in the so-called third world.

And I would hope that East and West could come increasingly to cooperate in meeting the real challenge that both face: Endemic poverty in the Southern Hemisphere -- a festering source of conflict that threatens to embroil them both.

I would hope that North-South cooperation in meeting this challenge could eventually replace East-West conflict as the main theme of international affairs.

Yes, new world conditions demand new priorities and new policies -- a shift from policies of confrontation and containment to policies of reconciliation and peaceful engagement.

II Unity and Progress

and Here at home, too, I want to strengthen the alternative to conflict.

It is to the values which unite Americans, rather than to those which divide them, that I shall speak in the ~~months~~ ^{weeks} ahead.

↳ But this unity must have one objective: To overcome the tragic deprivations and inequalities which still exist in America. Only as these diminish can we expect reconciliation and domestic peace.

And this unity can be achieved only by understanding
the relationship between "law and order" on the one hand
and "civil justice" on the other.

↳ I have proposed that we draw up, in this year of
national decision, two agenda:

An agenda for Civil Order

And an agenda for Civil Justice . . .

and that we pursue both relentlessly.

These items are at the top of my agenda for Civil
Order:

First. The rioting in American cities must stop. And
if it breaks out again it must be put down promptly, firmly,
and effectively.

Riots are wrong. Their toll of life and property is
unconscionable. Their first and worst victims are the poor
themselves.

Without order there can be no progress. Without rules no society can endure.

And the rules must be obeyed. As Justice Holmes once said regarding stern sentences: "The law must keep its promises."

Second. The sale and the possession of firearms has to be governed by the sole consideration of what is necessary and effective to stop their criminal use.

Third. Councils of Civil Peace should be organized at the state and, where possible, the metropolitan level.

↳ Such Councils should include representation from all racial, religious and economic groups in the state ... law the state attorney general's office ... the National Guard ... law enforcement agencies and officials of local government.

They could provide a state community relations service designed to prevent violence and to gain community cooperation and hear the voices of those who have gone unheard.

They could set up a coordinated early warning system so that coming disorders might be detected in advance and, perhaps, be stopped before they begin. They could establish a central communications network -- vital to effective law enforcement.

So, too, there must be an Agenda for Civil Justice.

Today, civil justice means more than freedom from fear and want.

It also means a greater freedom for the communities that make up our country -- and the people who inhabit them to play a larger role in making their own future.

↳ This is as true in our cities, as in our suburbs, and our countryside.

↳ Existing institutions need to be reshaped to this end.

↳ In the inner cities, this greater freedom means community self-help and involvement; minority entrepreneurship, locally controlled school boards, and neighborhood development corporations.

I have already called for a Marshall Plan for the Cities --- a plan of action founded on the principles of local initiative, sensible planning, coordinated policy, strict priorities and massive commitment of human and financial resources.

↳ I have proposed creation of a National Urban Development Bank to underwrite the unusual financial risks involved in solving the hardest and most critical urban problems.

of both Public & Private resources

↳ In the suburbs, this greater freedom means providing the people who live there the resources they need to meet expanding local needs; for more police protection, better schools, and improved transportation -- instead of trying to meet all these needs from Washington.

Therefore We must explore various ways to do this. I mean to keep an open mind on the proposals for sharing federal tax revenues with states and cities, under appropriate safeguards and guidelines.

and ↳ We must surely provide strong incentives to promote metropolitan and regional planning and action -- a crucial element in achieving real progress in our suburban areas.

↳ In the countryside, we should consider creating Community Development Councils -- as recommended by the President's Commission on Rural Poverty -- to assume local responsibility for needed self-help programs.

If these proposals for greater freedom and responsibility are to succeed, we must reorganize the federal programs and services related to urban, suburban, and rural development.

New management techniques

Partnership

↳ We must provide a structure which rewards innovation and local responsibility -- not one which destroys the effectiveness and vision of local leaders.

↳ This includes implementing my concept of the Open Presidency -- an approach which welcomes direct citizen participation even in the decisions of the executive agencies of the federal government.

↳ All Americans share an interest in this new freedom -- for all benefit from wider participation.

↳ As I have ~~always~~ emphasized; We can only maintain peace, at home and abroad, if its rewards are widely shared.

no place to hide -
We are here.

But there is a more fundamental reason: It is morally wrong for those of us who live in comparative comfort to stand aside while others suffer.

At the core of those values which Americans cherish is a compassionate concern for their fellow men.

↳ An America which does not fulfill the promise that she made to her poor -- an America which ignores those whom she has power to help abroad -- ~~this~~ will not be the country that we have known.

↳ To make good this promise, we need more than good intentions. *some Basics*

Hunger ↳ We must act -- now -- to assure every citizen in this nation enough to eat.

↳ There is no reason in America -- with its unequalled wealth and agricultural productivity -- for any one to go hungry.

< It is immoral to allow some babies to suffer from malnutrition while others in our population are concerned about the dangers of overeating.

Earn

< We must provide every American with the opportunity to earn a living.

Jobs bring dignity to the individual and resources to his family -- and wealth to the nation.

Jobs

The idea of guaranteeing decent jobs to everybody who will work at them makes sense -- with private employers providing job opportunities to the fullest extent possible, and with the government making whatever back-up or financing arrangements are necessary.

Educ

< We must secure the right to a full education -- from age four on through college or advanced training -- technical or vocational -- and the right to grow up in a decent home and neighborhood.

Home

↳ We must act now to secure these rights.

↳ It won't come free. It isn't cheap.

Our Agenda for Civil Justice is realistic only if two requirements are met:

(1)

First: We need to involve private energies and private capital. The government has an important role to play. The programs I favor will cost money, and I don't intend to play games with you by trying to conceal this fact.

↳ But the amounts of available government money will be far less than needed. Additional resources and personnel will have to be sought in the private sector, by new and creative approaches: loan guarantees, tax credits, joint ventures, and many more.

Self-Help

(2)

Second: We need to stimulate self-help by those whom we wish to assist. Our assistance can complement self-help; it cannot substitute for it, and it is wasted without it.

The poor, the black, the Mexican American, the Indian American want more than material improvement. They want -- above all -- to have their dignity acknowledged and respected.

↳ Only by acknowledging this dignity and self-respect, can we restore the national unity which now eludes us.

I want to make this perfectly clear: as the fighting in Vietnam subsides, and as we proceed to hammer out acceptable arms control agreements with the Soviet Union, I would devote myself totally to securing this peace and arms control dividend for the urgent tasks at home.

The survival of our democracy may well depend on this course of action.

* * *

I have tried today to lay out some of the key goals which I hope to achieve as President:

-- Peace abroad -- in Vietnam, after Vietnam, and beyond Vietnam.

-- Unity and progress at home -- based on the simultaneous pursuit of civil order and civil justice.

Now, if I may be permitted to conclude with a strictly personal observation, I have heard it said that this is not the year in which to seek change and sacrifice.

In each of the general elections that I have contested since I was first elected Mayor of my home city, I have followed a simple rule: To speak my mind, to raise my voice on behalf of reconciliation and progress, and to place my trust in the American people -- their good sense, their compassion, and their confidence in themselves and in their country.

And each time my trust was fulfilled.

I still have that trust: I still believe that the American people want to come together at home; that they want to seek reconciliation abroad; and that they are moved by compassion to help those less fortunate, at home as abroad.

It is to voice and test this faith that I seek the Presidency this year.

#

TO BE READ AT START OF Q & A.

I personally believe that each delegate to the Democratic National Convention should have the right to vote for the Presidential nominee of his choice.

The question of unit rule is one which is a matter of self-determination by individual state delegations.

OPEN CONVENTION.

(2)

Nevertheless, it is my personal view that the Presidential nomination of the Democratic Party this year must be won in a completely open convention. Each delegate should be able to stand up and be counted as an individual casting his vote for his preference.

(3)

Consequently, I am today informing each delegation bound to me under the unit rule that I personally am willing to abide by the outcome of the Convention with each delegate being free to vote his preference.

(4)

I would hope that Senator McCarthy would join me in this effort to obtain a truly open convention by releasing all delegations bound to him.

(Verbal note: To those who have been looking upon the unit rule as a one-edged sword which is of benefit only to me,

(5)

I might note that all 72 votes of the Massachusetts delegation are bound to Senator McCarthy by law on the first ballot in an equivalent of the unit rule, just as all 35 of the delegates in Oregon are pledged to him although he won only 44% of the vote in that state primary.)

ADDRESS OF HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
AT TOWN HALL LUNCHEON, BILTMORE BOWL
BILTMORE HOTEL, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

1:00 p.m., July 29, 1968

REPORTED BY Robert H. Clark, CSR

OUR FILE NO. 16075

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1636 WEST EIGHTH ST., SUITE 201
LOS ANGELES 17, CALIFORNIA
DUNKIRK 8-1476

TOWN HALL LUNCHEON

MONDAY, JULY 29, 1968

HEAD TABLE

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Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Whitnall	Charter Member, Town Hall
W. Herbert Allen	Former President, Town Hall
Harold Black	Former President, Town Hall
Mr. and Mrs. John Despol	Member of the Board, Town Hall
Wesley Melahn	President, Systems Development Corporation
Honorable Kenneth Hahn	Los Angeles County Supervisor
Honorable Charles Warren	Assemblyman
Edward Prescott	Board of Governors, Town Hall
Eugene Klein	President, National General Corporation
Dr. and Mrs. Lee DuBridge	President, California Institute of Technology
Olaf Lighthill	Board of Governors, Town Hall
Francis Tappaan	Board of Governors, Town Hall
Dr. Carl Franklin	Vice President, University of Southern California
F. Lee Atwood	President, North American Rockwell
James C. Greene	Vice President, Town Hall
Maurice Dahlem	President, Town Hall Partner, Price Waterhouse
Samuel Lunden	Past President, Town Hall
Daniel Haughton	Chairman of the Board, Lockheed Corporation
Edwin Pauley	Chairman of the Board, Pauley Petroleum

1 Chet Holifield Congressman
2 Hugo Riemer President, U. S. Borax
3 Eugene Wyman Democratic National Committee-
4 man
5 Rolland Headlee Executive Director, Town Hall
6 Honorable Richard Nevins Member, State Board of
Equalization
7 Stanley Beyer Vice President, Pennsylvania
8 Life Insurance Company

9 MAURICE DAHLEM (President of Town Hall): It is a
10 privilege and with great pleasure that I introduce to you
11 at this time the Vice-President of the United States, Mr.
12 Hubert Humphrey.

13 (Applause.)

14 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, Mr.
15 President. This has been the story of my life these last
16 four years, saying "Thank you very much, Mr. President."

17 (Laughter and applause.)

18 I have got so used to saying it I am beginning to
19 like the idea myself. I thought I might come out here and
20 talk to you about seeing if there is something we can do
21 about it.

22 The fact is, Mr. President, I have no seniority
23 clause in my contract, and the establishment that I have
24 been associated with announced on March 31 that it was
25 closing up shop; so I have to look for a new job, and you
26 don't mind if I point high, do you?

1 (Laughter and applause.)

2 I have been having a difficult time here at the
3 head table trying to decide just what I was going to do this
4 noon, because I am anxious to get at what is known as the
5 "question period," or the "question-and-answer period." I
6 put it as the "question period," because I am not so sure
7 about the answers; but I have some thoughts down on paper
8 here that I may share with you that may represent some of
9 the thoughts about the priorities that I believe our country
10 faces, and some of the priorities and the problems that the
11 next President must cope with and deal with.

12 Now, just to sort of identify myself, I have been
13 accused in the past of being the man that had more solutions
14 than there were problems. Possibly my time has come.

15 (Laughter and applause.)

16 At least I am trying to interpret it that way.

17 The first objective of any man that would seek the
18 highest office within the gift of the people of this land
19 would be to restore peace, both at home and abroad. Surely
20 that is an objective that has genuine relevant meaning today.
21 In light of our deep international involvement today, the
22 first objective would be to restore peace in Southeast Asia
23 and Vietnam, and to maintain that peace against the threat
24 of future conflict; then above all, put everything into
25 perspective and to strengthen that peace by seeking wider,
26 more meaningful East-West, United States-Soviet Union

1 understanding and agreement.

2 (Applause.)

3 Now, it is my view that these goals will not be
4 achieved by prolonging sterile, outmoded, outdated, illogical
5 conflicts; but neither will they be achieved by pretending
6 that future conflicts can be avoided if we ignore their
7 potential causes. If the times call for anything, these
8 times call for realism and a genuine facing up to the facts,
9 "Say it as it is," as they put it these days.

10 America must seek, in other words, to strengthen
11 the alternatives to this conflict in Vietnam, after Vietnam,
12 and beyond Vietnam.

13 A word about Vietnam. Yesterday I joined in a
14 statement with the National Committee for the Political
15 Settlement of the Conflict in Vietnam, the committee
16 chaired by the famous educator and citizen, Dr. Kerr. I am
17 sure you are well aware of that committee and this gentleman
18 very well. That report calls first for a cease-fire, which
19 I believe is the environment in which any negotiation ought
20 to take place. The enemy says, "Let's fight and talk."

21 I think we should say, "Let's talk and negotiate,
22 and let's do it in an atmosphere where the killing has been
23 stopped."

24 South Vietnam's affairs, to put it directly, should
25 be run by the people who live there; not by Washington and
26 by Hanoi.

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(Applause.)

This gets right down to what we call self-determination. This means free elections, and it means elections in which all can vote, and all can run for office, with guarantees against force and intimidation, elections in which every group, Communist and non-Communist, willing to do so can play its full part in the peaceful political processes. And then, my fellow Americans, we must be willing to accept the results of those elections, whether we like them or not.

(Applause.)

Now, while we seek these longer-term goals and seek this kind of a settlement in Paris, I think that we should, through training and modern equipment, continue to strengthen the army of South Vietnam, to turn over more and more of the burden of self-defense to that country and its own people; and as they assume that burden, which they must, the United States' role in the fighting should be methodically and systematically reduced and de-escalated.

After Vietnam, the alternative to conflict must be found in a new concept of our security role in developing areas -- another way of saying, "Let's profit from this costly lesson."

Our concern, too, must be with those wider forms of violence which threaten national frontiers, and there are two such threats:

1 First, the threat of direct overaggression, which
2 continues to be a possibility. Our willingness to fulfill
3 specific American defense commitments, approved by the
4 President and the Congress, can be of help to deter this
5 threat.

6 And then there is the threat of indirect aggres-
7 sion: Infiltration of arms and men across frontiers. And
8 I think this will be the greater danger in the period ahead.

9 In meeting that greater danger, the main reliance
10 must be placed on self-help by the threatened country, and
11 upon the regional cooperation by its neighbors; and reliance
12 on us must be helpful in terms of developing the political
13 institutions of the country that are threatened by subversive
14 activity from within.

15 Beyond Vietnam, the alternative to conflict will
16 be found in the wide areas of East-West agreement, and it is
17 to this that I want to address you.

18 I know that the subject of emotional concern today
19 is Vietnam, but may I say, as a responsible citizen, that it
20 is time to open our eyes to the greater realities.

21 The greatest single threat to world peace and to
22 humanity is not the conflict in Vietnam, but the spiraling
23 arms race of nuclear power, and it is to this that we should
24 direct our attention.

25 In these past years, there has been an ever-
26 increasing number of intercontinental ballistic missiles in

1 the hands of the superpowers. In these past years, there
 2 has been and is the threat of the antimissile missile system.
 3 These past few years, there are what we call the fractional
 4 orbiting weapons system. In other words, the superpowers
 5 have been engaged in weapons development. If there is one
 6 imperative necessity for the future, for the next President
 7 of the United States, and for the people of this country,
 8 and for the world in the next decade, the next four years,
 9 as a part of that decade, it is to put a halt to the
 10 spiraling arms race and indeed, to start to de-escalate
 11 before, by some action, emotional, irrational action, total
 12 nuclear destruction befalls humanity, because it can happen,
 13 and it is time we understood it. This is the threat to
 14 peace, ladies and gentlemen; not merely Southeast Asia, but
 15 the spiraling, the mounting of more arms of total destruc-
 16 tion that makes possible nuclear catastrophe and destruction
 17 of the United States and the Soviet Union and any and all of
 18 its allies. That's the problem before us and will be for
 19 the next 10 or 20 years.

20 (Applause.)

21 Therefore, that next President, whomever he may be,
 22 must direct his attention toward the greater threat as well
 23 as the lesser: Peace in Vietnam, to be sure, a top priority,
 24 but an even greater priority is to establish the conditions
 25 of peace in this world, and we must even go beyond where we
 26 are now, even though negotiations are now pending on both

1 offensive and defensive weapons.

2 Even though we have been able to get a non-
3 proliferation treaty on nuclear weapons, even though we have
4 a nuclear test ban treaty -- all of which, I believe, are
5 vital -- nevertheless, we must face the possibility that
6 unless there can be a halt to the weapons race, not only
7 will we spend ourselves into the threat of insolvency, but
8 we can easily put ourselves into the position of annihilation.
9 This is what concerns me.

10 And I think we should take the lead, we, the
11 American people, because we are essentially peaceful people.
12 And I think we should take the lead because there can be so
13 much done if there could be a worldwide reduction in armament
14 expenditures.

15 Desperately needed resources could be put to the
16 development needs of the people at home and abroad.

17 Now, beyond arms control, I look for expanding
18 cooperation with the Soviet Union in other areas, in space,
19 in the oceans, in new areas of technology, and in the face
20 of the urgent crises in the so-called third world.

21 And I would hope that the East and the West, as we
22 term it, could come increasingly to cooperate in meeting the
23 real challenge that we both face, the challenge of endemic
24 poverty in the Southern Hemisphere, a festering source of
25 conflict that threatens to embroil everybody; the greatest
26 single threat to world peace, alongside of the arms race

1 itself, is the endemic poverty which grips two thirds of
2 mankind.

3 Yes, new world conditions we face, a monolith of
4 Communism that has been fractured and broken; a power
5 relationship of the world that has been altered; rising
6 expectation in hundreds of countries, new nations by the
7 dozens that have come into being, political and economic
8 instability -- not the world of 1948; not even the world of
9 1968, because it proceeds with such rapid ferment and change.

10 Whoever guides the destinies of this land in the
11 next four years will help establish policies that will be
12 relevant to the world for the next 10 or 20 years.

13 Just as we established basic policies in 1948
14 that gave us containment of the Communist forces and the
15 progressions, so we must develop policies in 1968 to 1972
16 that will provide not merely for containment, but better
17 yet, for reconciliation and for peaceful engagement at home
18 and abroad, and it is to this that I shall direct my
19 attention, if permitted to serve in the high office of the
20 presidency.

21 (Applause.)

22 Now, here at home, because I believe that the
23 highest duty of a public servant is to seek reconciliation
24 at home and abroad, to promote development and self-
25 determination;

26 How can we strengthen the alternative conflict

1 within our own midst? It is to those values which unite
2 Americans that I want to direct my energy.

3 But this unity must have one objective, and that
4 objective is to overcome the tragic deprivations and in-
5 equalities which exist in America, and which you and I know
6 exist, and only as these inequalities diminish can we expect
7 reconciliation and domestic peace.

8 And this unity can be achieved only by under-
9 standing the relationship between "law and order" on the
10 one hand, and "civil justice" on the other, and I have
11 proposed that we draw up in this year of national decision
12 two agenda, two domestic priorities, an agenda for civil
13 order and an agenda for civil justice. They are one and
14 inseparable, and that we pursue both relentlessly.

15 Now, these items are at the top of my agenda for
16 civil order: First, the rioting, the lawlessness and all
17 that goes with it, the looting in American cities cannot be
18 condoned, and it must stop, and if it breaks out again, it
19 must be put down promptly, firmly, and effectively. There is
20 no other way that you can deal with it. Riots are just
21 wrong.

22 (Applause.)

23 Riots are just plain wrong, and their toll of life
24 and property is unconscionable. Their first and worst
25 victims are the poor themselves. It should be now under-
26 stood that without order there can be no progress. Without

1 rules, no society can endure. And the rules must be obeyed.

2 As Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once put it,
3 "The law must keep its promises."

4 And then there is another item: The sale and
5 possession of firearms has to be governed by the sole
6 consideration as to what is necessary to stop their criminal
7 abuse.

8 And yet another consideration that is desperately
9 needed, Councils of Civil Peace should be organized and
10 established in the state, and wherever possible, in the
11 metropolitan level. Such councils should include a broad
12 representation of public and private forces, the attorney
13 general, the National Guard, and indeed, the religious and
14 economic and ethnic groups, and the law enforcement agencies.

15 And what could those councils do that isn't now
16 being done? They could provide a state community relations
17 service, designed to prohibit or prevent violence, and to
18 gain community cooperation. They could set up a coordinated
19 early warning system, so as to see the oncoming disorders,
20 and they could detect possibly in advance and see that they
21 were stopped before they were started; and they could
22 establish a central communications network, which is
23 vitally needed if there is to be any effective use of law
24 enforcement instrumentalities.

25 Now, that is what I would call some of the
26 essentials under civil order: A respect for your police and

1 an improvement of them, and a training of them, and an
2 increase of them. But it all costs money, and if you are
3 not willing to pay the bill for law and order, you will not
4 get it, and it's time that public officials plainly speak
5 for the American people. The price of domestic tranquillity
6 is not light. It is not cheap, nor is freedom. It costs
7 something; but it's worth it, and I am willing to advocate
8 whatever it costs.

9 (Applause.)

10 Then the agenda for civil justice. Now, civil
11 justice means more than freedom from fear and from want. It
12 means more than the old cliches that we have often talked
13 about. It means a greater freedom for the communities that
14 make up our country, and the people who inhabit them, to play
15 a larger role in their own affairs, their own decisions, and
16 own administrations. This is true of our cities, our
17 suburbs, and our countryside. Existing institutions need to
18 be reshaped to new realities.

19 In the inner cities, in the ghettos and slums, this
20 means greater freedom for community self-help and involve-
21 ment; minority entrepreneurship. Let me say a word about
22 that.

23 We can't treat our ghettos as if they were foreign
24 countries and an undeveloped area in which there is only
25 merely an export of the white man's capital. We have to look
26 to the day where there is joint ownership between the black

1 community and the white community, in which private property
2 is a priceless possession of the black man as well as the
3 white man. Let a man have nothing to do for his country and
4 he shall have no love for it. Let him have some of it, let
5 him feel a sense of possession, and he will defend it. He
6 will guard it, because it is his; and private property has
7 its justification right in that kind of morality: possession.

8 (Applause.)

9 This greater freedom also means greater political
10 participation, greater activity on the part of the indigenous
11 groups in every institution, public and private.

12 Now, I propose a number of plans. Time forbids me
13 to go into each Marshall Plan for our cities. Why? Because
14 it represents a national commitment. It represents an
15 effective plan, both at the federal level and local level,
16 and it represents local initiative; and I propose ways to
17 finance it through a National Urban Development Bank, which
18 reaches into the private sector for its subscription of
19 funds, which does what the great banks under the World Bank
20 system do, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Asian
21 Development Bank. My fellow Americans, if we can make a
22 large contribution to an Inter-American Bank for Latin
23 America, a large contribution to an Asian Development Bank
24 for Asia, a contribution to an African Development Bank for
25 Africa, a contribution to a World Development Bank for the
26 world, why in the name of common sense haven't we enough

1 initiative and creativity to make a National or Community
2 Urban Development Bank for Americans in America for our own
3 citizens?

4 (Applause.)

5 This is my view, that we can only maintain peace
6 at home and peace abroad if the rewards of peace are widely
7 shared. It is morally wrong, morally wrong and politically
8 dangerous for those of us who live in comparative comfort to
9 stand aside while others suffer.

10 I remind this audience there is no place to hide.
11 There is no way to escape what is. What is, is, and it is
12 here. The suburbs earn as much trouble today as the inner
13 city. The rural countryside is afflicted with poverty just
14 as the inner city. There is no way you can stop the world
15 and get off, and I can tell you as Chairman of the Space
16 Council, within the next ten years, not over three or four
17 will get to the moon. So you are stuck right here on earth.

18 (Applause.)

19 Might I add, since I am in the area of America that
20 does so much in the field of aerodynamics and space, if this
21 nation is willing to make an investment of billions and
22 billions of dollars, as we are, to perfect the machines and
23 management and techniques to train the people to provide a
24 wholesome environment so that man can go to the moon, so that
25 we can put a man on the moon, and we are willing to spend
26 billions for it, what is wrong with us? Why aren't we

1 willing to at least make an equal investment to help put a
2 man on his feet right here on earth? It seems to me that
3 makes good sense.

4 (Applause.)

5 So I call, not for good intentions -- there is
6 plenty of good intentions -- I call for good ideas that are
7 put into action now. To assure every citizen, for example,
8 such a simple fundamental thing as this: Every child in
9 this country, a decent diet. Why not? There is no reason
10 at all for America, with its unparalleled wealth and
11 agricultural productivity, for anyone to go hungry, and yet
12 they do, and you know, and I know it, and yet we tolerate it.
13 I submit it is immoral, and again it's dangerous, to allow
14 some babies to suffer from malnutrition while many others in
15 our population are concerned about the dangers of overeating.
16 Something is out of joint. We must be able to provide every
17 American, not with a welfare check, but with an opportunity
18 to earn a living.

19 We need to emphasize two words in this country,
20 "Earn and learn," "Learn and earn."

21 Jobs bring dignity. Jobs bring opportunity. Jobs
22 bring benefits. Jobs bring wealth to the nation.

23 And the idea of guaranteeing jobs to everybody who
24 will work makes sense. This ought to be the top item in our
25 "New Bill of Rights" for the modern America, and those jobs
26 should be with private employers providing the job

1 opportunities. Six out of every seven jobs in America are
2 in the private sector, and where there are additional costs
3 or problems that require additional investment, that is when
4 the government then comes in with the backup. The govern-
5 ment ought not to be up front. Private industry ought to be
6 up front, and the government ought to be behind, helping with
7 what it can do in financing, in subsidies that may take care
8 of some of the extra costs.

9 We must secure the right of a full education. Now,
10 if Project Headstart works for a few, why can't it work for
11 many?

12 Every man and woman in this room knows that the
13 learning age between four and seven is critical. Everyone
14 in this room knows that protein deficiency between the ages
15 of four and seven is critical. Since you know it, my fellow
16 Americans, and since we can do something about it, why don't
17 we do something about it? Every boy and girl ought to be
18 in preschool at age four; and every boy and girl ought to
19 have a nutritious diet that will assure him that he will have
20 plenty of food and plenty of proteins for intellectual and
21 mental development. It can be done.

22 (Applause.)

23 Now, in order to get all of these things, as I
24 said, we have to recognize that it won't come free, and it
25 isn't cheap. We need to involve, therefore, the private
26 energies, the private capital, and I make my appeal this day

1 to this platform, Town Hall, to the private resources of
2 America, to rise up and to meet these rising expectations.
3 We have everything to lose if we fail; and we have everything
4 to gain if we succeed. The greatest untapped sources of
5 America are in its people, people that today are victims of
6 deprivation, people today who are in the slums. We found
7 out even in such areas as athletics, those who are the
8 champions of today were the children of deprivation yester-
9 day. Ladies and gentlemen, if that's the case in the field
10 of Olympics and athletics, don't you believe that there is
11 great talent for science and technology, for business and
12 government? Don't you believe that even yet in the mind of
13 some child in the slums may be a cure for cancer, or heart
14 disease, or one of the great killers? I do. I think the
15 great resources are there to be tapped, and I want to tap
16 them, with your help.

17 (Applause.)

18 Now, I have tried to speak in rather general terms
19 of what I believe are some of the possibilities. Let me
20 conclude my part of this program and come to the question
21 period of this. I think there is a great basic goodness in
22 the American people. I think there are millions of people
23 that have hate for no one. I think there are millions of
24 Americans that are waiting to be called to action. I believe
25 the American people want **to do** things, but they want to do **them**
26 peacefully. I believe they want progress, but they want to

1 see the way. I believe they want to be called into action,
2 and this is why I have advocated what we call the open
3 presidency. And what do I mean by it? A presidency that
4 educates and leads; a presidency that calls upon the people
5 and attempts to mobilize both the physical and the human
6 resources; a presidency that inspires a nation to do what
7 some people might call impossible; a presidency, if you
8 please, that calls upon the best of the American people.

9 I think it can be done, because to do less is to
10 fail. In the worst of times we must do the best of things;
11 and in many ways, these are the worst of times, yet they are
12 the best of times. They are the best because we have so much
13 to do with. They are the worst because we have so much
14 that what is bad seems all the worse.

15 I call upon this audience to set an example here
16 in Los Angeles, right here in this great thriving state of
17 the west, to show that through education, especially designed
18 and relevant to the needs of the people, we can open up the
19 gates of opportunity.

20 Jefferson was right; you can't be both free and
21 ignorant, and if you really believe in freedom and what it
22 encompasses, if you believe that freedom means an opportunity,
23 that it means a chance to share, not only in the responsi-
24 bilities but the benefits, then I think we ought to arouse
25 ourselves to the new dimension of the twentieth century.

26 And what is that dimension? That every person,

1 at long last, have an opportunity to realize in his and her
2 lifetime the dream of America; and that dream of America is
3 to be judged on merit, to be given a chance to develop one's
4 capacity, to be given a chance to live, to work, to make
5 something out of one's life, and for us to do less is to be
6 unworthy of our heritage. For us to do it is to make true
7 what Lincoln said, that "This is the last best hope of earth."
8 And I think it is.

9 Now, let me have your questions.

10 MAURICE DAHLEM: Thank you very much for those
11 challenging remarks, your view of the priorities facing the
12 next President, and your agenda in looking at those priorities.

13 We have, as usual, a number of questions here.

14 The first is:

15 "Would you please comment on Ted Kennedy's with-
16 drawal?"

17 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: My only comment in reference
18 to the Senator's withdrawal is that it was, as he said in his
19 own statement, for very personal reasons, which I am sure
20 that you and I can understand; the reasons of great tragedy,
21 reasons of great sadness, reasons of great responsibility to
22 his family, and I can well understand why my friend, Senator
23 Kennedy, would want to remove himself from political
24 consideration temporarily. I know full well that he will be
25 in the environment of political life, because this is his
26 life. He represents a great family that has had a very

1 significant relationship to everything in this country that
2 is good. I know that he is a fine senator. He has been a
3 personal friend of mine. I respect his views and his
4 judgment, and I think for me to say more would be in bad
5 manners and poor taste. Thank you.

6 (Applause.)

7 MAURICE DAHLEM: The next question, Mr. Vice-President:

8 "Don't you believe that before a significant arms
9 reduction can take place we must begin to recapture the
10 moral leadership we once stood for? Can this be done at
11 this late date?"

12 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I am sure there is a
13 tremendous reservoir of goodwill around the world for
14 America. I have found it when I have been in other places
15 of the world, and I think the best way to recapture that
16 moral leadership is to act morally; and one of the ways to
17 act morally is to, once again, take the initiative in trying
18 to restrain these instruments of destruction.

19 I have a feeling, ladies and gentlemen, that we
20 have somehow or another lost touch with what is the genuine
21 true reality of the situation. We have been so mesmerized
22 by the news of Vietnam that you have forgotten, or you have
23 not paid attention to the incredible thing that is developing
24 in the arms race in the Middle East, which could explode any
25 minute; in the arms race that is going on in Asia; the arms
26 race which goes on between the Soviet Union and the United

1 States. Thank goodness, the President has seen fit to
2 engage Mr. Kosygin in preliminary discussions as to how we
3 can prevent the expenditures between these two countries of
4 a minimum of over one hundred billions of dollars in the anti-
5 anti-missile system. And even had the money been spent,
6 there wouldn't have been any more security.

7 Let me give you an example. I think I have some
8 knowledge of this, as a member of the National Security
9 Council. Let's assume that ten one-megaton weapons were
10 fired at Los Angeles, and Los Angeles is a target city, just
11 as we have target cities in the Soviet Union. There is no
12 known effective defensive system that can prevent some of
13 those weapons from coming in here, and no one has said they
14 could; and any one of those weapons would represent total
15 annihilation of this county, all structures and humankind,
16 all forms of life. So you send in ten one-megaton weapons --
17 nine of them you knock out with your defense, and you stand
18 there and clap your hands, and that is the last **time** you
19 hear anything, because one of them got through. Now, this
20 is what I am talking about. This is why I believe that the
21 nonproliferation treaty was the most significant step toward
22 peace since World War II, and the next step is in the
23 defensive and offensive weapons systems of the missile class.
24 But we must even go beyond that. We must start to scale
25 back the deployment of troops around the world, figuring out
26 where are our national interests, and really identifying

1 those national interests; and we must start to roll back the
2 expenditures which are pouring into the arms and into the
3 defense budgets, or how are you ever going to take care of
4 your cities, and how are we ever going to take care of the
5 great social needs of our country?

6 I think it is just time we start facing up to this.
7 Now, it can't be done unilaterally, with security; therefore,
8 the initiative must come from the United States, and we must
9 press it relentlessly, just as we did in the nuclear test
10 ban treaty. I was one of the authors of that treaty. I am
11 happy to say when President John Kennedy signed that treaty,
12 he handed me one of the pens, and he said, "Hubert, this is
13 your treaty." I consider that one of the highest compliments
14 in my public life.

15 The nuclear test -- nonproliferation treaty which
16 has just been signed is the result of many people in many
17 months of much work, and from many countries. I went to
18 Europe a year ago April at the request of your government,
19 your President, to visit with six nations to get those six
20 nations to agree to Article 3 of revised Article 3 in that
21 treaty.

22 The works of peace take time, takes courage, and
23 there has been something happening in this country which I
24 think is very degrading and very dangerous. Merely to talk
25 for peace and parade forth and chatter forth does not bring
26 it.

1 The Scriptures were right: "Blessed are the peace-
2 makers." Not the walkers, not the talkers, not the shouters,
3 but the makers.

4 (Applause.)

5 MAURICE DAHLEM: I would like to take two questions
6 and put them together.

7 First, "Would you favor business tax incentives
8 in order to encourage the private sector to get involved in
9 rebuilding cities?"

10 And then a related one, "Do you believe that a
11 substantial tax increase, as well as tax reform, will be
12 necessary in order to provide the great amount of moneys
13 necessary to combat our urban problems?"

14 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Let me take item No. 1, the
15 tax incentive for business.

16 Yes, I think that would be very helpful.

17 Let me say quite candidly that I think we need to
18 treat our inner cities, with reference to capital, capital
19 investment, technical assistance, very much like we have been
20 working with some of the foreign countries. If you can give
21 a 40-year loan for the development of an industry in Peru,
22 because Peruvians need work, because the Peruvian Indian
23 needs training, because he needs a job, you can also have
24 that same government of the United States working through
25 what I call the National Urban Development Bank to provide
26 a 40-year loan, which would be paid back with some interest,

1 to provide jobs, provide capital improvement, provide
2 training and technical assistance in an inner city, some of
3 the great slum areas of American cities.

4 We can apply the same principle, We have insured
5 loans, we have guaranteed loans, We provide, for example,
6 in foreign countries, if a particular American business goes
7 into that country, it will receive special tax treatment,
8 receive special guarantees. I submit we ought to have
9 exactly the same kind of generous treatment and assistance
10 if we expect to get capital in the high-risk area.

11 By the way, one of the other things we need is
12 kind of an insurance program. Today it is very difficult to
13 get insurance on properties in some of the ghetto areas,
14 and if private companies cannot provide that insurance, and
15 there is reason to believe that it would be too costly for
16 them, then we must come into a kind of -- either a govern-
17 ment sharing with a private company in a form of insurance
18 so that insurance can be provided to the entrepreneur or for
19 the capital investment that goes into that particular area.
20 I think it will work.

21 Now, the next one, "Do you think we will need a
22 substantial tax increase?"

23 I do not. I think we will have to keep on the
24 surtax that we have passed, which is for the war, but if this
25 economy of ours continues to grow, that economy will provide
26 additional revenue. Furthermore, once we get peace in

1 Vietnam, let's hope we don't do what we did after we had
2 peace in Korea. I want to remind you of it. I was in the
3 Congress at that time. We were spending as much or more of
4 our gross national product for the war in Korea than we are
5 for the war in Vietnam.

6 When the war in Korea was over, we didn't divert
7 those resources to rebuilding cities, to training the
8 uneducated and the unskilled, to building schools; not a
9 bit. We reduced the taxes. That is what we did.

10 Now, there were more poor in America in 1954 than
11 there are in 1968. There were more illiterates in 1954 than
12 there are in 1968. There were more ghettos, or as many
13 ghettos in America in 1954 as 1968. The war was over. The
14 peace was obtained. The shooting had stopped in Korea.
15 Then what happened? Well, we said, "That's over," and we
16 didn't do a thing about education. We didn't have a man-
17 power training program any place for a jobless man. We
18 didn't have preschool for the little ones. We didn't try
19 to provide these other services that were necessary.

20 Ladies and gentlemen, I think we had better learn
21 that lesson; that dividends of peace in Vietnam must be
22 invested in the peace of the United States. Otherwise, you
23 are going to have more and more trouble in this country.
24 You cannot have domestic tranquillity unless you are willing
25 to pay for it, invest in it. And I am going to call upon
26 this nation, if I am President, and the peace comes to

1 America and the war is settled in Vietnam, to divert those
2 resources that were used on the battlefields of Vietnam, to
3 divert them into the battlefields of America and make up for
4 the long lost time that we have had in this country, and to
5 build a better America for our own American people.

6 (Applause.)

7 MAURICE DAHLEM: The next question is: "Has the Supreme
8 Court decisions contributed to the rise in crime?"

9 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I do not believe that they
10 have.

11 (Applause.)

12 I know that some people would indicate that they
13 have. Let me tell you, I have served as a mayor of a city.
14 If you want law enforcement, you have to have enough police
15 to get it. You have to have police that are paid well enough.
16 You have to train them. They have to be trained in human
17 relations, as well as police work. You simply cannot have
18 law enforcement cheap, and you need to have police that
19 understand their constitutional rights as well as the
20 citizens'.

21 Ladies and gentlemen, never forget, in this
22 country, this country was not designed for the mayor, for
23 the President, for the police. It was designed for the
24 citizens.

25 I want to make sure that the due process of law is
26 for you as well as for me. Remember that pledge of allegiance,

1 "Liberty and justice for all," and the day that you start
2 to shortcut the due process of law and the constitutional
3 protection, on that day you start planting the seeds of a
4 police state in this country. I don't want it.

5 (Applause.)

6 MAURICE DAHLEM: "What stand or actions should we take
7 if Russia invades the Czechs as they did Hungary?"

8 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Franklin Roosevelt used to
9 say those iffy questions are the most tricky and the most
10 difficult of all, and there is one thing to do about an iffy
11 question; don't answer it.

12 (Applause.)

13 MAURICE DAHLEM: "Do you differ with Senator McCarthy
14 on Vietnam, and if so, how?"

15 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, that question, in order
16 to have a fair answer, requires the answers of the two of us,
17 and I think we will have a chance in the latter part of August,
18 and we will both discuss our differences, or what differences
19 we may have. I shall try to be as objective as a man who is
20 in contest can be, and I must forewarn you that there is a
21 bit of subjectivity to one's personal views.

22 But let's go back just a little bit. Both the
23 Senator and myself, as the two Senators from Minnesota, voted
24 for the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization, known as SEATO,
25 and it is under that treaty and the protocols adhering thereto
26 that we base our legal right and our commitment in Vietnam.

1 Secondly, we both voted for the Gulf of Tonkin
2 resolution. I was the floor leader during that debate, and
3 the Congressional Record is for your review.

4 The question was asked by the Senator from Idaho,
5 Mr. Church, and it was directed to me, and was also directed
6 to the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Mr.
7 Fulbright. I shall speak of what my answer was.

8 As the majority whip of the Senate, the second
9 ranking member of the Foreign Relations Committee, and in
10 charge of the legislation of that particular resolution, I
11 made this response.

12 The Senator from Idaho said, "What does this commit
13 us to? What does it mean in terms of our involvement?"

14 And my response was this: "The language of this
15 resolution speaks for itself. It authorizes the President to
16 take whatever measures are necessary or he finds to be
17 necessary to repel aggression, including the use of armed
18 forces." And I said, "You have to understand what that means.
19 That means naval forces, air forces and ground forces, if
20 necessary. So let's have no doubts about it."

21 Now, both Senators from Minnesota, Senator Humphrey
22 and Senator McCarthy, voted for the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.
23 We both signed the same contract.

24 Now, a little bit later, someone found they didn't
25 like the contract we signed so well, but you know, when you
26 sign up, you sign up.

(Applause.)

I surely give everyone the right to disassociate, but let's be clear where we were and what we understood to be the meaning of our commitment.

Then, what else? You do not fight wars without money. Now, there have been four supplementals. Not general appropriation bills; four supplementals. Now, what's a supplemental? That is an extra request for money. For what purpose? Four Vietnam supplementals. Moneys to pay the bill for fighting the war in Vietnam. Now, on those supplementals, some Senators have voted No. I was not in the Senate to vote on the supplementals, because I became Vice-President in 1965, but on all supplementals where the Senator was present, he voted Aye. Now, so I guess we didn't basically disagree as to why we were there, or why we ought to be there, because one way to show that you ought not to be there was to vote like Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin did, or Senator Morse of Oregon. They voted No. It isn't very popular. It takes a lot of courage, but they voted No.

The United States Senate voted overwhelmingly Yes. And no one has ever offered a resolution in the United States Senate that they brought to a vote to compel the President of the United States to get out of Vietnam.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, it's a whole lot easier to make speeches about this than it is to stand there on the floor of the Senate and offer a resolution. I have offered

1 plenty of resolutions, and if you feel strongly enough about
2 it, you can get up and say, "We hereby withdraw all authority
3 from the President under the Gulf of Tonkin resolution to
4 continue the use of force in South Vietnam." None has been
5 done.

6 Now, what is our basic difference? Our basic
7 difference is not in our presence. The Senator has said that
8 he has not advocated unilateral withdrawal. He has said that
9 he thought some people were ready for it, but he didn't say
10 that he was. He didn't say that he wasn't, but he didn't say
11 he was. Now, that's a fact. He has, however, disagreed with
12 me on a coalition government. He believes, and it is his
13 point of view, and he is surely entitled to it, and others
14 have had it, too, that we should have a coalition government
15 at the Paris conference, or prior to the Paris conference,
16 in order to obtain peace in Vietnam. He assumes that that
17 would bring peace.

18 I, first of all, oppose an imposed coalition
19 government. I do not think that we have had 25,000 men die
20 in Vietnam for the right of self-determination and the
21 existence of determination in order for the United States of
22 America to go to a conference table and say to those that we
23 have been fighting, "Here it is. Take a piece of the govern-
24 ment right now. You can have it."

25 (Applause.)

26 But as I said in my statement, I believe that there

1 ought to be elections. I believe that the South Vietnamese
2 have a right to make their own free choice. That's what we
3 mean by self-determination. And I believe that Communists,
4 non-Communists and neutralists and any and all that are
5 willing to participate in the peaceful processes of an
6 election should be entitled to vote and run for office. And
7 then, my fellow Americans, if some Communists or neutralists
8 are elected, it came out of the self-determination elective
9 processes, and we must be willing to accept the results.
10 But for us to impose on them what we know will end in disaster,
11 because there hasn't been one single imposed coalition
12 government with the Communists that wasn't taken over by the
13 Communists, and everyone in this room knows it. So we are
14 not going to impose upon them, if I have anything to say
15 about it, and we can vote as we want to vote, and they can
16 vote as they want to vote in South Vietnam. That is our
17 basic difference as I see it.

18 (Applause.)

19 MAURICE DAHLEM: As usual, we have a large number of
20 questions to keep us here the remainder of the day and maybe
21 tomorrow. A number of them have already been answered. I
22 am going to give these questions to the Vice-President.

23 I would also like to ask you one final question.

24 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Go ahead.

25 MAURICE DAHLEM: Fine. This one gives you a great
26 leeway here. It reads as follows: "How does a voter know

1 when you speak for yourself? We do not want another four
2 years of L.B.J."

3 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: That is pretty clear what you
4 don't want. Let me advise my friend who has given us this
5 rather subtle question that there are two or three ways you
6 can differentiate. First of all, the President is not
7 running. That's No. 1.

8 No. 2, he is from Texas, and I am from Minnesota.
9 That's No. 3.

10 Let me say there are a great deal of other
11 differences. I have tried to explain this the best I could,
12 and this is as good a chance as any to restate it.

13 You know what the vice-presidency is, and so do I.
14 We ought to quit kidding ourselves and we ought to quit
15 kidding the American public. You don't have two Presidents
16 of Town Hall at once, and you don't have two Presidents of
17 the United States at once.

18 (Applause.)

19 You don't have two Presidents of a corporation at
20 once. You don't have two heads of a church at once. I am
21 the Vice-President of the United States. The explanation of
22 that office is very brief in the Constitution: "He shall be
23 the presiding officer of the Senate. He shall cast a vote
24 in case of a tie, and he shall succeed to the presidency in
25 case of the death of the President."

26 Now, that is what the Constitution says about the

1 Vice-President. I am a member of a team. I serve in the
2 President's cabinet. I am a member of the National Security
3 Council. I administer no program. I have plenty of
4 responsibility and little or no authority. That is the
5 nature of the job. I understood it when I took it, and when
6 I was elected to it, and might I say, it can't be too
7 miserable a job, apparently, because there seems to be many
8 other people aspiring to it.

9 (Applause.)

10 But I know what the job is, and I have tried to
11 make something out of it. I have headed the President's
12 Youth Opportunity Council in this country that found
13 1,450,000 jobs for needy youngsters, and that had never been
14 done before.

15 I have headed the program and the statutes of our
16 space program, to coordinate it; and our space program, to
17 coordinate it; our oceanography program, to coordinate it;
18 of our Indian opportunity program, to coordinate it; and I
19 have been the Chairman of the Peace Corps Advisory Council.
20 I was the author of the Peace Corps. It is my baby.

21 (Applause.)

22 I have served as an emissary of this government
23 four times in Asia, once to Europe, once to Africa, and I
24 believe that I have fulfilled my duties responsibly, if not
25 effectively. I have tried to do both.

26 Now, if you vote for Hubert Humphrey, you vote for

1 me, for the office of President. You do not make me a member
2 of the team, where I have to do the downfield blocking or
3 sit on the sidelines or lead the cheering section. You are
4 voting to make me captain of the team, and that is the job
5 I am out for right now, and I would like to have your help.

6 (Applause.)

7 I leave you with a little statement, Mr. Chairman,
8 if you will permit me, because there has been a great deal of
9 concern and discussion in this country about an open conven-
10 tion. I thought today that this was as good a place as any
11 to make a very important announcement as far as my candidacy
12 is concerned, and those who are my supporters and delegates
13 pledged to me.

14 I personally believe that each delegate to the
15 Democratic National Convention, should have the right to
16 vote for the presidential nominee of his choice.

17 The question of the unit rule is one which is a
18 matter of self-determination by individual state delegations.
19 Nevertheless, it is my personal view that the presidential
20 nomination of the Democratic party this year must be won in
21 a completely open convention. Each delegate should be able
22 to stand up and be counted as an individual, casting his
23 vote for his preference. Consequently, I am today informing
24 each delegation that is bound to me under the unit rule that
25 I personally am willing to abide by the outcome of the
26

1 convention, with each delegate being free to vote without
2 regard to the unit rule.

3 And I would hope that Senator McCarthy would join
4 me in this effort to obtain a truly open convention by
5 releasing all delegations bound to him.

6 To those who have been looking upon the unit rule
7 as a one-edged sword which is of benefit only to me, I might
8 note that all 72 delegates of the Massachusetts delegation
9 are bound to Senator McCarthy by law on the first ballot, an
10 equivalent of the unit rule, just as all 35 delegates of
11 Oregon are pledged to him, although he only won 44 percent
12 of the vote in that state primary. I want an open convention.
13 I want a chance for the Massachusetts delegation and the
14 Oregon delegation.

15 Thank you very much.

16 (Applause.)

17
18 * * * * *

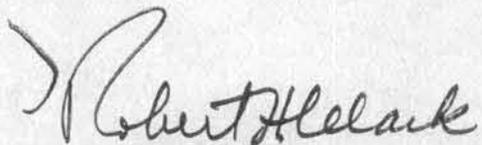
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STATE OF CALIFORNIA)
) SS.
COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES)

I, Robert H. Clark, CSR, a Notary Public in and for the State of California, do hereby certify:

That the foregoing, consisting of 36 pages, is a full, true and correct transcript of proceedings taken before me at the time and place therein set forth, and was taken down by me in shorthand and thereafter reduced to typewriting under my direction.

WITNESS my hand and seal this 6th day of August, 1968.



Notary Public in and for the County of Los Angeles, State of California

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

7-22
7/19/68

Bob:

Could you take a look at this
and give me your reaction? Thanks.



John Rielly

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

TOWN HALL LUNCHEON

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

JULY 29, 1968

There is one crucial question for any one running for President: What do I hope to accomplish, if I am elected?

No one who has spent his whole life in public office -- from Mayor of a great city to Vice President of the United States -- could fail to be moved by the opportunity to seek the highest office in the land.

There is, of course, some personal pride and fulfillment involved. It would be hypocritical to deny this.

But if that were all, one could not in good conscience ask the American people for their support. Simply to covet the job is not enough. A candidate's main motivation should be his desire to accomplish certain things in the life of his country.

From among the vast variety of issues that any new administration must address, what are the goals that I believe warrant priority attention?

I want to lay out my conclusions today.

I hope to do so in terms of concrete proposals -- not pie in the sky or ringing slogans.

I hope this kind of campaign -- one of substance and specifics -- makes sense. For I intend to stick to it.

The public will have to judge me as I am: a man trying to suggest how we can solve the terribly complex problems before us -- how we can take charge of America's future.

I. Peace

My first object will be to restore peace in Vietnam; to maintain that peace against the threat of future conflicts; and to strengthen that peace by seeking wider East-West agreements.

Those goals will not be achieved by prolonging sterile ideological conflicts of the past. But neither will they be achieved by pretending that future conflicts can be avoided if we ignore their potential causes.

America must seek, rather, to strengthen the alternative to conflict: in Vietnam -- after Vietnam -- beyond Vietnam.

In Vietnam, that alternative is clear: South Vietnam's affairs should be run by the people who live there, not by Washington or Hanoi.

This means free elections -- elections in which all can vote and all can run for office, with guarantees against force and intimidation; elections in which every group willing to do so can play its full part in the peaceful political process.

And it means being willing to accept the results of these elections, whether or not they involve a coalition government.

While seeking this kind of settlement in the Paris negotiations, we should work to turn over more and more of the fighting to the South Vietnamese. As they assume this burden, the U. S. role in the fighting should be reduced.

After Vietnam, the alternative to conflict must be found in a new concept of the U. S. role in developing areas.

That role is not to maintain the status quo -- where this has denied the people's aspirations for economic and political justice. Internal revolutions are the business of the people involved.

America's concern can only be with those wider forms of violence which threaten national frontiers. There are two such threats:

-- the threat of direct overt aggression. Our willingness to fulfill specific US defense commitments, approved by the President and the Congress, can help to deter this threat.

-- the threat of indirect aggression -- infiltration of arms and men across frontiers. This will be the greater danger in the period ahead.

In meeting this danger, main reliance must be placed on self-help by the threatened country, and on regional cooperation by its neighbors.

Beyond Vietnam, the alternative to conflict will be found in widening areas of East-West agreement.

The most important area is disarmament. The key question here is whether both the U.S. and U.S.S.R. will settle for strategic security -- which their deterrent forces already provide -- or whether they will insist on playing the game of strategic one-upmanship, with all its attendant risks and costs.

Either country could now destroy the other, regardless of which struck first. This situation will continue, regardless of additional expenditures. Any arms agreement must recognize this hard fact.

Such an agreement should thus seek to restrain the further buildup of both sides -- not merely to limit the expansion of one side, while the other seeks special advantage.

Such an agreement is essential if nations are to begin reducing arms expenditures in favor of greater investments in economic and social development.

Beyond disarmament, I look to expanding cooperation with the U. S. S. R. -- in space, in the oceans, in new areas of technology, and in the face of urgent crises in the third world.

And I would hope that East and West could come increasingly to cooperate in meeting the real challenge that both face: Endemic poverty in the Southern Hemisphere -- a festering source of conflict that threatens to embroil them both.

I would hope that North-South cooperation in meeting this challenge could eventually replace East-West conflict as the main theme of international affairs.

As I have declared earlier, new world conditions demand new priorities and new policies -- a shift from policies of confrontation and containment to policies of reconciliation and peaceful engagement.

II. Unity and Progress

In domestic affairs, too, I want to strengthen the alternative to conflict.

It is to the values which unite Americans, rather than to those which divide them, that I shall speak in the months ahead.

But this unity can have only one objective: to overcome the tragic deprivations and inequalities which still exist in America. Only as these diminish can we expect reconciliation and lasting peace.

And this unity can be achieved only by understanding the relationship between "law and order" on the one hand and "civil justice" on the other.

I have proposed that we draw up, in this year of national decision, two agenda:

An agenda for Civil Order.

And an agenda for Civil Justice.

and that we pursue both relentlessly.

These items are at the top of my agenda for Civil Order:

First. The rioting in American cities must stop. And if it breaks out again it must be put down promptly, firmly, and effectively.

Riots are wrong. Their toll of life and property is unconscionable. Their first and worst victims are the poor themselves.

Without order there can be no progress. Without rules no society can endure.

And the rules must be obeyed. As Justice Holmes once said regarding stern sentences: "The law must keep its promises."

Second. The sale and the possession of firearms has to be governed by the sole consideration of what is necessary and effective to stop their criminal use.

President Johnson has urged the present Congress to control the interstate shipment and the sale to minors of rifles and shotguns and ammunition, as well as hand guns. This legislation must be passed.

There is more to be done.

If the states don't adopt -- and right away -- legislation requiring the registration of all firearms, then Congress must again take up this proposal.

Third: Councils of Civil Peace should be organized at the state, and where possible, the metropolitan level.

Such a Council should include representation from all racial, religious and economic groups in the state ... the state attorney general's office ... the National Guard ... law enforcement agencies and officials of local government.

It could provide a state community relations service designed to prevent violence and to gain community cooperation and hear the voices of those who have gone unheard.

It could set up a coordinated early warning system so that coming disorders might be detected in advance and, perhaps, be stopped before they begin. It could establish a central communications network -- vital to effective law enforcement.

In the course of this campaign, I will set forth a fully comprehensive program for law enforcement and civil order.

So, too, there must be an Agenda for Civil Justice.

Today civil justice means more than freedom from fear and want.

It also means a greater freedom for the communities that make up our country -- and the people who inhabit them -- to play a larger role in shaping their own destiny.

This is as true in our cities as in our suburbs and our countryside.

Existing institutions need to be reshaped to ~~this~~ end.

In the inner cities, this greater freedom means community self-help and involvement: minority entrepreneurship, locally controlled school boards, and neighborhood development corporations.

I have already called for a Marshall Plan for the Cities -- a plan of action founded on the principles of local initiative, sensible planning, coordinated policy, strict priorities and massive commitment of human and financial resources.

I have proposed creation of a National Urban Development Bank to underwrite the unusual financial risks involved in solving the hardest and most critical urban problems.

In the suburbs, this greater freedom means giving the people who live there the resources they need to meet expanding local needs: for more police protection, better schools, and improved transportation -- instead of trying to meet all these needs from Washington.

We must explore various ways to do this. I mean to keep an open mind on the proposals for sharing federal tax revenues with states and cities, under strict safeguards and guidelines.

We must surely provide strong incentives to promote metropolitan and regional planning and action -- a crucial element in achieving real progress in our suburban areas.

In the countryside, we should consider creating Community Development Councils -- as recommended by the President's Commission on Rural Poverty -- to assume local responsibility for needed self-help programs.

If these proposals for greater freedom and responsibility are to succeed, we must reorganize the federal programs and services related to urban, suburban, and rural development.

We must provide a structure which rewards innovation and local responsibility -- not one which destroys the effectiveness and vision of local leaders.

This includes implementing my concept of the Open Presidency -- an approach which welcomes direct citizen participation even in the decisions of the executive agencies of the federal government.

All Americans share an interest in this new freedom -- for all benefit from wider participation.

As I have already emphasized: We can only maintain peace, at home and abroad, if its rewards are widely shared.

But there is a more fundamental reason: It is morally wrong for those of us who live in comparative comfort to stand aside while others suffer.

At the core of those values which Americans cherish is a compassionate concern for their fellow men.

An American which does not fulfill the promise that she made to her poor -- an America which ignores those whom she has power to help abroad -- this will not be the country that we have known.

To make good this promise, we need more than good intentions.

We must act -- now -- to assure every citizen in this nation enough to eat.

There is no reason in America -- with its unequalled wealth and agricultural productivity -- for any one to go hungry. It is immoral to allow some babies to suffer from malnutrition while others in our population are concerned about the dangers of overeating.

We must provide every American with the opportunity to earn a living.

Jobs bring dignity to the individual and resources to his family -- and wealth to the nation.

The idea of guaranteeing decent jobs to everybody who will work at them makes sense -- with private employers providing job opportunities to the fullest extent possible, and with the government making whatever back-up or financing arrangements are necessary.

We must secure the right to a full education -- from age four on through college or advanced training -- and the right to grow up in a decent home and neighborhood.

We must act now to secure these rights.

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

Our Agenda for Civil Justice is realistic only if two requirements are met:

First: We need to involve private energies and private capital. The government has an important role to play. The programs I favor will cost money, and I don't intend to play games with you by trying to conceal this fact.

But the amounts of available government money will be far less than needed. Additional resources and personnel will have to be sought in the private sector, by new and creative approaches: loan guarantees, tax credits, joint ventures, and many more.

Second: We need to stimulate self-help by those whom we wish to assist. Our assistance can complement self-help; it cannot substitute for it, and it is wasted without it.

The poor, the black, the Mexican American, the Indian American want more than material improvement. They want -- above all -- to have their dignity acknowledged and respected.

They are not alone. Middle class Americans who labor in factories -- who keep the stores -- and who provide needed services want the same thing.

People achieve dignity by doing something worthwhile -- by helping to shape their own and their neighbor's future. As we move toward wider involvement, we move toward increased self-respect.

Only by acknowledging this dignity and self-respect, can we restore the national unity which now eludes us.

In a recent address to the Town Hall, Joseph Barr, the Under Secretary of the Treasury, expressed his doubts about the availability of additional federal funds for these domestic priorities -- given our existing defense and diplomatic objectives.

I respect these judgments from one of America's most talented public servants. But this is not an acceptable answer.

I want to make this perfectly clear: as the fighting in Vietnam subsides, and as we proceed to hammer out acceptable arms control agreements with the Soviet Union, I would devote myself totally to securing this peace and arms control dividend for the urgent tasks at home.

The survival of our democracy may well depend on this course of action.

* * *

I have tried today to lay out some of the key goals which I would hope to achieve as President:

-- Peace abroad -- in Vietnam, after Vietnam, and beyond Vietnam.

-- Unity and progress at home -- based on the simultaneous pursuit of civil order and civil justice.

Now, if I may be permitted to conclude with a strictly personal observation, I have heard it said that this is not the year in which to seek change and sacrifice.

If so, this is not my year. For that is not what I stand for. And it is not what I intend to stand for. There are some things more important than becoming President of the United States. And speaking out for the hard tasks of reconciliation and justice, at home and abroad, is one of them.

So I intend to keep on speaking out.

In each of the general elections that I have contested since I was first elected Mayor of my home city, I have followed a simple rule: To speak my mind, to raise my voice on behalf of reconciliation and progress, and to place my trust in the American people -- their good sense, their compassion, and their confidence in themselves and in their country.

And each time my trust was fulfilled.

I still have that trust: I still believe that the American people want to come together at home; that they want to seek reconciliation abroad; and that they are moved by compassion to help those less fortunate, at home as abroad.

It is to voice and test this faith that I seek the Presidency this year.

#

LA / Speech

July 24, 1968

Memo to: John Reilly

From: Robert Nathan

If it is not too late maybe some of the marks on this might be of use to you. It came here Monday afternoon, July 22nd although it was dated the 19th.

REMARKS OF
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
INTERNATIONAL PLATFORM ASSOCIATION
WASHINGTON, D.C.
JULY 24, 1968

Draft No. II

I wish to reaffirm here tonight my belief that the challenge of the next decade will require new priorities, new policies, and a new sense of purpose in our ~~engagement in the world~~. In choosing these ^{foreign engagements} ~~these~~ priorities and formulating ~~these~~ policies, the relations between the United States and Latin America are of vital importance. ^{far more} ~~because of common interests than proximity!~~

During the past decade the United States and Latin America have moved far along the road of progress and harmony. We have moved far in the direction of giving high priority consideration to relations with Latin America in our global foreign policy considerations.

Only a decade ago an American Vice President was stoned and heckled in the streets of Lima and Caracas -- and too few protested. Only a decade ago Che Guevara was proclaiming that violent revolution would sweep the hemisphere. And many believed him.

It was only eight years ago that John F. Kennedy first called for a new Alliance for Progress among the nations of the hemisphere to deal with the political, social and economic ^ecrisis that pervaded the hemisphere. Reversing the policies of a decade, John Kennedy proposed:

"... an alliance of nations with a common interest in freedom and economic advance in the great common effort to develop the resources of the entire hemisphere, strengthen the forces of democracy, and widen the vocation and education opportunities of every person in the Americas."

Only eight years ago Fidel Castro dismissed the Alliance for Progress as "an alliance between one millionaire and twenty beggars" -- and many concurred.

Only this month we have seen ^{another} a symbol of the positive results of the Alliance for Progress -- in the widespread acclaim which an American President -- President Lyndon Johnson -- received on a visit to Central America.

During the past eight years, the nations of the hemisphere have waged what ^{former of Colombia} President Alberto Lleras Camargo called "the final assault in the age-old battle for the equality of all men in the hemisphere."

They have dedicated themselves to a common program of mutual help, to achieve rapid increases in economic growth and income, to expand education, to improve housing, to modernize the countryside, to build roads and factories and power plants -- and to enlarge the scope of life and opportunity for all the peoples of Latin America.

Much has been achieved toward reaching these goals during these eight years. Equally important, much has been learned.

We have learned that:

-- First, economic development is not enough. ^{Production} Growth and high

incomes are only a means to the larger goal of bettering the quality of life, the dignity and the freedom of man. And

growth in average per capita income should not be equated with improvement of the lot of the common man. An average per capita income of \$600 per year means nothing if half the population lives on \$100 per year.

-- Second, the high priority given to the reform of rural life must be pursued at a more intensive pace. Though we have made a good start in the direction of efficient agriculture and extending social justice in the rural areas, there is still a long way to go:

-- to end agricultural stagnation;

-- to end the isolation of rural Latin America from the booming cities that have sprung up across the continent;

-- to raise per capita food consumption, which is lower than a decade ago; and

Not right

-- to end the uneven distribution of land.

-- Third, we have learned that despite rapid progress in education in most Latin American countries, schools and universities are too few, too small, and too poor to meet the need. Increasingly the relevance of higher and secondary education is being questioned.

-- Fourth, we have learned the importance of developing national

and multi-national
markets in expanding and consolidating Latin American

industry. These must now be expanded to include the Latin

American market that should result from the economic integra-

entire
tion of the hemisphere. We have learned that industrialization

can be speeded -- and modern marketing and management

techniques widely disseminated -- through the influence of

foreign private investors.

Having learned these lessons during the first eight years, the nations of the Alliance now approach a new decade with a set of institutions and a developing methodology. Compared with only a decade ago, ~~when the very presence of the Vice President of the United States could ignite mass riots in almost every capital of Latin America,~~ our advances toward the goal of growth through democracy have been impressive. The Alliance has done better than many had hoped, but not as well as many would prefer.

As we approach the next decade, we should frankly recognize that the Alliance is entering a new era. This will require new programs, new emphases, new departures.

These will of course be based on the objectives of the Alliance as stated in the Charter of Punta del Este which committed the nations of the hemisphere to a program "established on the basic principle that free men working through the institution of representative democracy can best satisfy man's aspirations."

don't ~~say~~
over-brag
in view of
what happens
here

Our guide to development under the Alliance for Progress during the next decade was well stated by Pope Paul in the encyclical "On the Development of Peoples." He stated, "Development demands bold transformations, innovations that go deep. Urgent reforms should be undertaken without delay."

Yet as we approach the next decade, in too many Latin American countries today the political process is still viewed chiefly as the manipulation of governmental power in favor of the economically strong.

In too many countries -- even those where progress has been greatest -- the pace of basic reforms -- tax reform, land reform, education reform, administrative reform, industrial reform -- has been glacial. The redistribution of social, political and economic power within societies has been too slow, too little, and too late! This should be clear: The Alliance for Progress was not intended to be a "pacification program."

The development we desire, the progress we seek -- will require support of reform and social justice over stability and tranquility.

We know better today than yesterday that not all the insecurities of the hemisphere can be contained by "counterinsurgency." We know better the need to counter the causes of insurgency -- as well as to counter insurgency.

We can approach the new era of the Alliance with a deeper appreciation of the importance of social and political -- as well as economic development. Through modern communications, the political consciousness of the people has been awakened. They know that their condition can be changed through deliberate systematic political action. They know that economic progress is of little avail unless its benefits reach the ordinary man.

Those in charge of administering the Alliance must appreciate better the need for channeling assistance up -- as well as trickling it down. If aid is channeled exclusively from the top down, the result is often a neglect of the human factor in the development process, neglect of the man at the bottom -- his formation, his dignity, his leadership, his active participation in development.

The experience of the past decade in Latin America suggests that the economic progress sought, the social justice to which people have aspired, can be securely achieved only where political institutions are strong and resilient. Economic and social development can help significantly to provide the basis for progress and stability, but it will not guarantee it. The past and prospective inadequacy of economic and social progress argues strongly for more conscious action to develop political systems that can enable rapidly-changing societies to contain and manage explosive tensions within them.

Why this special concern with political development?

Because it will be necessary if modernizing Latin American societies are to accommodate the demand of their people for participation and progress without sacrificing the requirement of domestic peace.

These three elements -- participation, progress, and peace -- often conflict with one another, and even in the best of circumstances their reconciliation is difficult.

Peace -- or domestic order -- can temporarily be achieved by military dictatorship.

Progress -- the more abundant and equitable provision of goods and services to the citizens -- can be achieved through technocracy.

But participation -- full participation of the citizens -- is possible only in a democracy.

As we approach the next era, it is clear that the Alliance is primarily a Latin American venture. Its goals are Latin American. Its

aspirations are Latin American. Its purpose is Latin American. So its leadership, its direction and its scope must ^{serve the} ~~become~~ Latin American ^{people}.

The United States has been too prominent in the Alliance. Perhaps in no area of the world are we more vulnerable to what the French philosopher Henri Dumery called "the temptation to do good" -- the temptation to insist not only that virtue be done, but that our particular version of virtue be implemented in our particular way.

Whether true or not, it has seemed to many ~~in this country and~~ ^{- and often in this country too -} in Latin America that what the Alliance did -- what road projects, school programs, agricultural efforts were undertaken -- were determined, not by the nation whose development we were attempting to aid, but by the United States.

Our purposes were beneficent, our motives unimpeachable -- and our presence, on occasion, all too pervasive.

The Alliance is passing beyond the era of self-help, to an era of self-management. We applaud and encourage this fundamental change.

We know it will mean a more emphatic, clearer, stronger definition by Latin America of its own purposes and interests in democratic development, and a sharper definition of the course the nations and peoples of Latin America must follow in the effort.

Most of all, it will mean a stronger, more self-confident Latin America with which we shall be cooperating.

And this is well. For our vision of the hemisphere of the future is not of a Latin America dominated by the United States. We seek only an alliance of sovereign nations -- not a community of client states. Our vision is of a community of nations, fully independent, each with its own identity and dignity, extending to all its people the promises and possibilities of life in the Twentieth Century.

We know that this new era of self-management will require further modification of the machinery of the Alliance -- in the direction of greater multilateral decision-making. For our part, we should be prepared to continue to shift more of our aid from bilateral programs to the channels of multilateral organizations.

But this does not mean a reduction in the level of United States assistance. In my view neither we -- nor the international institutions -- have ever contributed aid on the scale originally envisaged under the Alliance for Progress. The need for aid -- and the capacity to use it well -- vastly exceeds the present scale. We should renew our commitment to the Alliance by being prepared to substantially increase our financial contribution in the decade ahead.

*No
much of this* We should help bring to an end the era when Latin America seemed to be a region predominantly under the influence of the United States. There

is no reason why the vision or the hopes of Latin Americans should be confined to the Western Hemisphere.

Instead, in the last third of this century we should look to the nations of Latin America, jointly and singly, to assume their own rightful role as actively participating members of the Western community.

Our hope must be that they become active partners with Europe ^{and other countries} ~~and other~~ and the United States in influencing and shaping the new pattern of relations which are beginning to emerge, east and west, north and south.

Why should this not be so? Latin America has seen great poets, great novelists, great leaders of men, great scientists, great thinkers.

A continent which has produced Nobel Prize winners, developed the miracle strains of wheat which are now revolutionizing the lives of millions of the rural poor in India, and written some of the great music

Means what ↗

Japan too / agreed

and poetry of our time can surely play a more active and creative role on the stage of world history.

And just as Latin America has a role to play in the affairs of Europe and the world, so Europe must be welcomed to a larger interest ~~and responsibility~~ in Latin America.

One area where Latin Americans may value the contribution of Europe is in the field of political development.

Among the Latin American countries which seek inspiration and cooperation in the political development field, some may find the European political experience more relevant than our own. The two major post-war political parties of Western Europe -- the Social Democratic and the Christian Democratic -- have demonstrated a commitment to economic and social progress and a program capable of integrating all groups into society. For certain Latin American countries, the contribution of these

parties and of other non-governmental institutions -- can be of greater significance than conventional government economic assistance programs.

I have spoken on other occasions of the great future challenge in shifting from policies of confrontation and containment to policies of reconciliation and peaceful engagement between east and west. In the new era of the Alliance, Latin America has a vital role to play in developing an agenda for peace here in this hemisphere. Through programs of nuclear self-denial, such as the Treaty of Tlatelolco and conventional weapon disarmament, we can make this hemisphere the world's first example of the achievement of a lasting peace and harmony among nations.

If the two superpowers of the world can begin to discuss limitations on their own stock of ultimate weapons, can Latin American nations do likewise? If nations, as diverse as the U.S. and Russia, can agree to limit weapons of international violence, is it too much to expect that

the nations of Latin America can agree to discuss the effective reduction of weapons which contribute nothing to the protection of internal peace?

Any realistic solution to the arms race in Latin America is impossible without the joint cooperation of the United States and Europe.

Too complex

So long as Europe and America compete for conventional arms sales in Latin America, no solution is likely. It is estimated that approximately 70% of European conventional arms sales are made outside of Europe.

What is needed is an understanding between the U.S. and Europe on conventional arms production and dissemination, one which would rationalize the European arms industry, make it more responsive to the military needs of Europe as a region, and less dependent for its economic survival on dissemination of unneeded arms to Latin America, the Middle East and other developing areas.

For our part, we should make it clear that we shall not attempt to solve our balance of payments problem either by tempting or pressuring our neighbors to buy weapons they do not need and can ill afford. We shall never do anything to abet a policy which encourages ill-fed children and well-fed armies. With this end in mind, I would propose to end all subsidized U.S. military assistance to Latin America beginning next year.

There may be those in the hemisphere who do not welcome the possibility of reconciliation between the two superpowers. The United States, they believe, has been moved to its great efforts in Latin America over the past eight years of the Alliance only because of the Cold War and its extension to the hemisphere.

It should be clear that, after consultations with the members of the Organization of American States, the United States should be prepared to extend a policy of reconciliation and peaceful engagement to Cuba -- as

well as the Socialist States of Europe. Though we do not hide our preference for democratic regimes or our abhorrence of tyranny of any kind, we do not attempt to dictate the type of social system or the structure of government which a nation may decide to follow. But reconciliation with her neighbors remains impossible so long as Cuba promotes and aids a policy of armed insurrection in neighboring states.

But those who fear that if the United States and the Soviet Union move beyond Cold War to peaceful engagement, our interest in hemispheric development will wane and our aid will be reduced, are wrong. American policy need not revert once again to oscillation between eager fraternalism and outraged paternalism. The constancy of our cause in support of democratic development in Latin America will not be tempered by our search for understanding with the Soviet Union. We have dedicated ourselves to the Alliance for Progress, not out of fear and defensiveness,

Why
bring
this
up

but because it is right and just that we should join in partnership with those who are dedicated to the betterment of the lives of their peoples through democracy in this hemisphere.

In the new era of the Alliance we must find a way to give new emphasis and meaning to the essential original ideal of the Alliance: development through democracy.

In the past our voice has sometimes seemed muted, our fundamental concern about democracy misunderstood. We may recognize that each nation is different, that there is no single pattern to the struggle for effective democracy. Other nations cannot duplicate our own experience or institutions. And yet our preference must be clear.

There is a sense of special friendship between the United States and these Latin American leaders and nations who are dedicated to opening the doors of political, social and economic privilege and opportunity to all

their people. I suggest a new and frank admission of this sense of special friendship, an Operacion Abrazo, if you will, which will make clear once again our deep conviction that, as former President Betancourt has said:

"... development programs are impossible unless they are conducted by democratic, freely-elected governments which are subject to free analysis and criticism by public opinion."

Latin America is a part of the western world. Yet the vast majority of Latin Americans still live in poverty, are not integrated into modern society, do not participate in the political process.

One of the major crises of our generation is the crisis of world poverty.

Latin America is a testing ground as to whether this generation can come to grips with the crisis of world poverty and underdevelopment. We will discover in Latin America whether poverty and chaos and violence can be forestalled through political, economic and social development within a democratic framework.

If any area should succeed in this endeavor, it should be Latin America. For Latin America is already the most developed, the most western, and the richest of the developing regions of the world.

There is a fair chance of witnessing the next great breakthrough of freedom, social justice and opportunity, in this very hemisphere.

If free men can accomplish this in our lifetime, it will give encouragement and support to the cause of peace and democracy throughout the world.

It is this which will inspire our continued commitment to the principles of the Alliance for Progress in the years ahead.

* * * * *

[July 29, 1968?]

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Helene ---

We did not use this speech for the
Town Hall mtg in Los Angeles. Ted said
to save it for some other time.

Marsha

REMARKS
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
TOWN HALL LUNCHEON
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
JULY 29, 1968

I intend to be brief today in my opening remarks. I want to give you enough time to ask the questions you want to ask.

I would like to spend my time in some plain talk.

When he visited this country a century ago, Thomas Huxley wrote:

"I cannot say that I am in the slightest degree impressed by your bigness, or your material resources, as such. Size is not grandeur, and territory does not make a nation. The great issue about which hangs the terror of overhanging fate,

is what are you

is what are you going to do with all these things?"

That is the question we as Americans must ask ourselves today.

In terms of Gross National Product country club memberships electric tooth-brushes and second cars, we are the unchallenged number One. But now, in a country that professes belief in the principles of justice and equality, we must ask ourselves: Are we number One in the things that really count?

There is a revolution of rising expectations going on around this world --- and it is right here in America, too.

People on the outside of affluence, and of human dignity, in this country are lifting their voices and asking: When is America finally going to practice what it preaches?

I say it is

I say it is up to us right here in this room to give the answer and to give it right now.

There isn't a comfortable suburb in this country that lies distant enough to escape the blight that we see remaining in our great cities and in the hidden hollows of rural America.

There isn't a business corporation or a labor union or a tax payer in this country that can afford to pay much longer the social cost of poverty, crime, ignorance and discrimination that we are still paying out every day.

This isn't a problem for somebody else.

It is a problem for you and me.

And if I am elected President, I intend to use the Presidency not to abdicate its responsibilities ---- but to act.

If I am elected

If I am elected President, I intend to lead and to call on this country for whatever needs to be done to finally break loose from the old failings and prejudices which have no place in the modern world.

I have talked about a Marshall Plan for the cities ---- and the creation of a National Urban Development Bank to help generate the billions of dollars we will need to defeat poverty and provide decent housing and job opportunities.

I have proposed a full education plan for America ---- with quality education from age 4 through college or advanced training for every American child, regardless of his ability to pay.

I have proposed the concept of the Open Presidency --- throwing open the office to the maximum participation by ordinary people a Presidency conducted openly with its

decisions debated openly . . .and with the creation of new channels of communication between all the people of this country and their President.

I have pledged that every citizen of this country shall have enough to eat;

that every American shall have the right to an honest job;

that those who cannot work shall have sufficient income to live a decent, self-respecting life.

I have pledged my full commitment to the safety and peace of every single American neighborhood -- including those neighborhoods where the poor, the black, and the Spanish-American are the daily victims of crime and violence.

I am talking about those neighborhoods where the garbage is picked up last . . .where the building codes are seldom enforced . . .where police protection is the least adequate . . .where the schools are inferior more often than not.

We need to provide these things not only because it will be cheaper in the long run than the cost of disorder ... not only because we have the resources to avoid it ... but because it is morally wrong for those of us who live in comparative comfort to live complacently while others suffer.

The net result of all these efforts is not to give anyone something for nothing. It is to give people a real stake in their country.

No man lives by bread alone. The left-out people of this country want more than bread. They want to have their dignity acknowledged and respected. They are not alone. All of us want these things. And until all of us have these things, this nation will not truly be one nation.

* * *

There are priorities, too, in the outside world that are every bit as urgent and important.

And they will equally require the support and commitment of this whole nation.

I have spent all of my public life fighting for arms control and disarmament -- the nuclear test ban treaty ... the treaty banning nuclear weapons from outer space ... the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

Now we begin discussions with the Soviet Union about the whole subject of offensive and defensive weapons systems.

I believe those discussions can be successful. I believe we can slow down and stop the spiral of the arms race.

I want to go beyond these discussions with the Soviet Union. I want to see a worldwide reduction of arms expenditures -- so that resources can go to the right things:

things that make every day life better for ordinary people.

This whole business of first things first is one that the next President must challenge. Just the other day, Joseph Barr, the Under Secretary of the Treasury, told an audience here in Town Hall, that he doubted whether we would have additional resources for priorities in America -- given our existing defense burdens.

That is exactly what ~~America~~^{I am} is talking about. The people of this world simply cannot continue to carry the massive military and arms burden on their backs.

We must get to the conference table

with all the major powers to reduce this burden.

We must have the courage to continue our efforts to build peaceful bridges to Communist China . . . even if our efforts are at first rebuffed.

National isolation breeds national neurosis. We must do everything we can to help break the Chinese people out of their unhealthy isolation and to bring Mainland China back in the community of nations.



Once Vietnam is over -- and if we have the courage to see these discussions in Paris through, I think it can be over -- the nations of Southeast Asia can get down to the work of peaceful development, without regard to ideology. I think we should help.

We must set as a high priority the closing of the gap between rich and poor nations -- a gap that is growing larger every day, and one that I believe is far more a threat to our ultimate security than any other, with the possible exception of the arms race itself.

We can get on, too, with the work of building better peace-keeping machinery in the United Nations and in regional organizations so that the United States will not find itself standing alone as world policeman. We do not have that role now. But it is a danger, unless international machinery can be built to help prevent it.

* * *

I have heard it said that the American people are in a mood for repression at home and withdrawal from the outside world.

If that is so, this is not my year. That is not what I stand for. If I lose the Presidency by taking that line, I shall lose it. But I don't believe that repression and withdrawal are what the American people want.

I believe in the basic strength and sense of responsibility of the American people.

I don't believe they want escapism. I don't believe they want repression. I think they want solutions. I think they are willing to pay the price -- in resources . . . in sacrifice . . . and in personal commitment to do the work that everyone of us knows must be done.

I believe that there is a vast majority of Americans -- black and white, rich and poor, young and old -- who want safety and equal rights for everyone. They bear no ill will against other Americans. They want change, but they want it without violence.

And I believe this same majority believes in its responsibility to other members of the human family outside our own country.

These are the people I mean to awaken and arouse. These are the people on which I am betting my personal future. These are the people I believe are ready to act -- unequivocally and now -- to get on with our national business.

I like these words by Victor Hugo:

"The future has several names. For the weak, it is the impossible. For the faint-hearted, it is the unknown. For the thoughtful and valiant, it is the ideal. The challenge is urgent. The task is large. The time is now."

If I am elected President, the time for action will be now.

I would like to hear from you.

#

1-7-4-4

HHH

7/29

HHH Humphrey

FOR RELEASE
MONDAY PM'S
JULY 29, 1968
Telephone 202/225-2961

REMARKS
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
TOWN HALL
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
JULY 29, 1968

In the delivery, HHH did NOT discuss Vietnam.

I want to hear from you today in our question and answer period.

But, first, I would like to offer some thoughts about the priorities that our country faces and that the next President must be ready to deal with.

I have been accused in the past of being a man with more solutions than there are problems.

If that is so, maybe that is what they mean when they say my time has finally come.

I. Peace

My first object will be to restore peace in Vietnam...to maintain that peace against the threat of future conflicts...and to strengthen that peace by seeking wider East-West agreements.

Those goals will not be achieved by prolonging sterile ideological conflicts of the past. But neither will they be achieved by pretending that future conflicts can be avoided if we ignore their potential causes.

America must seek, rather, to strengthen the alternative to conflict:

In Vietnam...after Vietnam...beyond Vietnam.

In Vietnam, that alternative is clear: South Vietnam's affairs should be run by the people who live there, not by Washington or Hanoi.

This means free elections -- elections in which all can vote and all can run for office, with guarantees against force and intimidation -- elections in which every group willing to do so can play its full part in the peaceful political process.

And it means being willing to accept the results of these elections.

While seeking this kind of settlement in the Paris negotiations, we should through training and modern equipment turn over more and more of the defense to South Vietnam.

As they assume this burden, the US role in the fighting should be systematically reduced.

② After Vietnam, the alternative to conflict must be found in a new concept of our security role in developing areas.

Our concern must be with those wider forms of violence which threaten national frontiers. There are two such threats:

--the threat of direct overt aggression. Our willingness to fulfill specific defense commitments, approved by the President and the Congress, can help to deter this threat.

--the threat of indirect aggression -- infiltration of arms and men across frontiers. This will be the greater danger in the period ahead.

In meeting this second danger, main reliance must be placed on self-help by the threatened country, and on regional cooperation by its neighbors.

③ Beyond Vietnam, the alternative to conflict will be found in widening areas of East-West agreement.

The most important area is disarmament.

The key question here is whether both we and the Soviet Union will settle for strategic security -- which their deterrent forces already provide -- or whether both nations will insist on playing the game of strategic one-upmanship, with all its attendant risks and costs.

Either country could now destroy the other, regardless of which struck first.

This situation will continue, regardless of additional expenditures. Any arms agreement must recognize this hard fact.

Such an agreement should seek to restrain the further build-up of both sides -- not merely to limit the expansion of one side, while the other seeks special advantage.

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Such an agreement is essential if nations are to begin reducing arms expenditures in favor of greater investments in economic and social development.

I believe we should take the lead in seeking a worldwide reduction in armaments expenditures, so that the desperately needed resources of the world can be put to work on behalf of people and not the arms burden which they now carry on their backs.

Beyond arms control, I look to expanding cooperation with the Soviet Union -- in space, in the oceans, in new areas of technology, and in the face of urgent crises in the so-called third world.

And I would hope that East and West could come increasingly to cooperate in meeting the real challenge that both face: endemic poverty in the Southern Hemisphere -- a festering source of conflict that threatens to embroil them both.

I would hope that North-South cooperation in meeting this challenge could eventually replace East-West conflict as the main theme of international affairs.

Yes, new world conditions demand new priorities and new policies -- a shift from policies of confrontation and containment to policies of reconciliation and peaceful engagement

II. Unity and Progress

Here at home, too, I want to strengthen the alternative to conflict.

It is to the values which unite Americans, rather than to those which divide them, that I shall speak in the months ahead.

But this unity must have one objective: to overcome the tragic deprivations and inequalities which still exist in America. Only as these diminish can we expect reconciliation and domestic peace.

And this unity can be achieved only by understanding the relationship between "law and order" on the one hand and "civil justice" on the other.

I have proposed that we draw up, in this year of national decision, two agenda:

An agenda for civil order...and an agenda for civil justice...and that we pursue both relentlessly.

These items are at the top of my agenda for civil order:

First. The rioting in American cities must stop. And if it breaks out again it must be put down promptly, firmly, and effectively.

Riots are wrong. Their toll of life and property is unconscionable. Their first and worst victims are the poor themselves.

Without order there can be no progress. Without rules no society can endure.

And the rules must be obeyed. As Justice Holmes once said regarding stern sentences: "The law must keep its promises."

Second. The sale and the possession of firearms has to be governed by the sole consideration of what is necessary and effective to stop their criminal use.

Third. Councils of civil peace should be organized at the state, and where possible, the metropolitan level.

Such councils should include representation from all racial, religious and economic groups in the state...the state attorney general's office...the national guard...law enforcement agencies and officials of local government.

It could provide a state community relations service designed to prevent violence and to gain community cooperation and hear the voices of those who have gone unheard.

It could set up a coordinated early warning system so that coming disorders might be detected in advance and, perhaps be stopped before they begin. It could establish a central communications network -- vital to effective law enforcement.

So, too, there must be an agenda for civil justice.

Today civil justice means more than freedom from fear and want.

It also means a greater freedom for the communities that

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make up our country -- and the people who inhabit them -- to play a larger role in making their own future.

This is as true in our cities as in our suburbs and our countryside.

Existing institutions need to be reshaped to this end.

In the inner cities, this greater freedom means community self-help and involvement: minority entrepreneurship, locally controlled school boards, and neighborhood development corporations.

I have already called for a Marshall Plan for the cities -- a plan of action founded on the principles of local initiative, sensible planning, coordinated policy, strict priorities and massive commitment of human and financial resources.

I have proposed creation of a National Urban Development Bank to underwrite unusual financial risks involved in solving the hardest and most critical urban problems.

In the suburbs this greater freedom means providing the people who live there the resources they need to meet expanding local needs: for more police protection, better schools, and improved transportation -- instead of trying to meet all these needs from Washington.

We must explore various ways to do this. I mean to keep an open mind on the proposals for sharing federal tax revenues with states and cities, under appropriate safeguards and guidelines.

We must surely provide strong incentives to promote metropolitan and regional planning and action -- a crucial element in achieving real progress in our suburban areas.

In the countryside, we should consider creating community developing councils -- as recommended by the President's Commission on Rural Poverty -- to assume local responsibility for needed self-help programs.

If these proposals for greater freedom and responsibility are to succeed, we must reorganize the federal programs and services related to urban, suburban, and rural development.

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We must provide a structure which rewards innovation and local responsibility -- not one which destroys the effectiveness and vision of local leaders.

This includes implementing my concept of the open presidency -- an approach which welcomes direct citizen participation even in the decisions of the executive agencies of the Federal Government.

All Americans share an interest in this new freedom -- for all benefit from wider participation.

As I have already emphasized: we can only maintain peace, at home and abroad, if its rewards are widely shared.

But there is a more fundamental reason: it is morally wrong for those of us who live in comparative comfort to stand aside while others suffer.

At the core of those values which Americans cherish is a compassionate concern for their fellow men.

An America which does not fulfill the promise that she made to her poor -- an America which ignores those whom she has power to help abroad -- this will not be the country that we have known.

To make good this promise, we need more than good intentions.

We must act -- now -- to assure every citizen in this nation enough to eat.

There is no reason in America -- with its unequaled wealth and agricultural productivity -- for any one to go hungry. It is immoral to allow some babies to suffer from malnutrition while others in our population are concerned about the dangers of overeating.

We must provide every American with the opportunity to earn a living.

Jobs bring dignity to the individual and resources to his family -- and wealth to the nation.

The idea of guaranteeing decent jobs to everybody who will work at them makes sense -- with private employers providing job opportunities to the fullest extent possible, and with

the government making whatever back-up or financing arrangements are necessary.

We must secure the right to a full education -- from age four on through college or advanced to training technical or vocational -- and the right to grow up in a decent home and neighborhood.

We must act now to secure these rights.

It won't come free. It isn't cheap.

Our agenda for civil justice is realistic only if two requirements are met:

First. We need to involve private energies and private capital. The government has an important role to play. The programs I favor will cost money, and I don't intend to play games with you by trying to conceal this fact.

But the amounts of available government money will be far less than needed. Additional resources and personnel will have to be sought in the private sector, by new and creative approaches: loan guarantees, tax credits, joint ventures, and many more.

Second. We need to stimulate self-help by those whom we wish to assist. Our assistance can complement self-help; it cannot substitute for it, and it is wasted without it.

The poor, the black, and Mexican American, the Indian American want more than material improvement. They want -- above all -- to have their dignity acknowledged and respected.

Only by acknowledging this dignity and self-respect, can we restore the national unity which now eludes us.

I want to make this perfectly clear: as the fighting in Vietnam subsides, and as we proceed to hammer out acceptable arms control agreements with the Soviet Union, I would devote myself totally to securing this peace and arms control dividend for the urgent tasks at home.

This survival of our democracy may well depend on this course of action.

I have tried today to lay out some of the key goals which I would hope to achieve as President:

--peace abroad -- in Vietnam, after Vietnam, and beyond Vietnam.

--unity and progress at home -- based on the simultaneous pursuit of civil order and civil justice.

Now, if I may be permitted to conclude with a strictly personal observation, I have heard it said that this is not the year in which to seek change and sacrifice.

In each of the general elections that I have contested since I was first elected Mayor of my home city, I have followed a simple rule: to speak my mind, to raise my voice on behalf of reconciliation and progress, and to place my trust in the American people -- their good sense, their compassion, and their confidence in themselves and in their country.

And each time my trust was fulfilled.

I still have that trust: I still believe that the American people want to come together at home; that they want to seek reconciliation abroad; and that they are moved by compassion to help those less fortunate, at home as abroad.

It is to voice and test this faith that I seek the Presidency this year.

#####

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

TOWN HALL LUNCHEON

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

JULY 29, 1968

There is one crucial question for any one in my position: What do I hope to accomplish, if I am elected President?

Of course there is a certain amount of personal pride and fulfillment involved in running for President. It would be hypocritical to deny this. No one who has spent his whole life in public ^{service} life -- in every office from Mayor of a great city to Vice President of the United States -- could fail to be moved by the opportunity to seek the highest office in the land.

But if that were all, I could not in good conscience ask the American people for their support. No one should be elected President simply because he covets the job. His main motivation should be that he wants to accomplish certain things in the life of his country.

From among the vast variety of issues that any new administration must address, what are the key goals that I would hope to attain?

I want to lay out my conclusions today.

I hope to do so in terms of concrete proposals -- not pie in the sky or ringing slogans.

I'll not run away from the hard questions that this involves -- seeking refuge in cynicism or grandiose generalities.

Nor will I shift my views from week to week with the public opinion polls. I don't need to consult these polls to know what I think.

I hope this kind of campaign -- talking sense and talking substance -- will appeal to the voters. For I intend to stick to it.

The public will have to judge me as I am: a man trying to suggest how we can solve the terribly complex problems before us -- how we can take charge of America's future.

I. Peace

My first object will be to restore peace in Vietnam; to maintain that peace against the threat of future conflicts; and to strengthen that peace by seeking wider East-West agreements.

Those goals will not be achieved by prolonging sterile ideological conflicts of the past. But neither will they be achieved by pretending that future conflicts can be avoided if we ignore their potential causes.

America must seek, rather, to strengthen the alternative to conflict: in Vietnam, after Vietnam, beyond Vietnam.

In Vietnam, that alternative is clear: South Vietnam's affairs should be run by the people who live there, not by Washington or Hanoi.

This means free elections -- elections in which all can vote and all can run for office, with iron-clad guarantees against force and intimidation; elections in which every group willing to do so can play its full part in the peaceful political process.

And it means being willing to accept the results of these elections, whether or not they involve a coalition government.

While seeking this kind of settlement in the Paris negotiations, we should work to turn over more and more of the fighting to the South Vietnamese. As they assume this burden, the US role in the fighting should be reduced.

After Vietnam, the alternative to conflict must be found in a new concept of the US role in developing areas.

That role is not to maintain the status quo -- where this has denied the peoples' aspirations for economic and political justice. Internal revolutions are the business of the people involved. Sometimes they are the road to progress.

America's concern should be with those wider forms of violence which threaten national frontiers. There are two such threats:

-- The threat of direct overt aggression. Our willingness to fulfill specific US defense commitments, approved by the President and the Congress, can help to deter this threat.

-- The threat of indirect aggression -- infiltration of arms and men across frontiers. This will be the greater danger in the period ahead.

In meeting this danger, main reliance must be placed on self-help by the threatened country, and on regional cooperation by its neighbors.

Beyond Vietnam, the alternative to conflict will be found in widening areas of East-West agreement.

The most important area is disarmament. The key question here is whether both the US and USSR will settle for strategic security -- which their deterrent forces already provide -- or whether they will insist on playing the game of strategic one-upmanship, with all its attendant risks and costs.

Either country could now destroy the other, regardless of which struck first. This situation will continue, regardless of additional expenditures. Any arms agreement must recognize this hard fact.

Such an agreement should thus seek to restrain the further buildup of both sides -- not merely to limit the expansion of one side, while the other seeks special advantage.

Such an agreement is essential if nations are to begin reducing arms expenditures in favor of greater investments in economic and social development.

Beyond disarmament, I look to growing areas of cooperation with the USSR -- in space, in the oceans, in new areas of technology, and in the face of urgent crises in the third world.

And I would hope that East and West could come increasingly to cooperate in meeting the real challenge that both face: Endemic poverty in the Southern Hemisphere -- a festering source of conflict that threatens to embroil them both.

I would hope that North-South cooperation in meeting this challenge could eventually replace East-West conflict as the main theme of international affairs.

II. Unity at Home

In domestic affairs, too, I want to strengthen the alternative to conflict.

It has been said that the best way to gain high office is by making decisive appeals to the different groups that make up America's voting public.

Well, that isn't the path I intend to follow. I'm interested in ending -- not intensifying -- divisions within our country.

It is to the values which unite Americans, rather than to those which divide them, that I shall speak in the months ahead.

But the unity can have only one objective: to overcome the tragic deprivations and inequalities which still flourish in America. Only as these diminish can we expect lasting reconciliation and peace.

Some have argued that a just cause and a deep grievance warrant violence.

They are wrong.

Without order there can be no progress. Without rules, no society can endure.

And the rules must be obeyed. As Justice Holmes once said in upholding stern sentences: "The law must keep its promises."

All Americans have a common interest in maintaining civil order. None suffer more from disorder than the poor.

Last week we saw how some men can provoke disorder and -- yes, let's call a spade a spade -- commit murder in Cleveland. No words are too strong to condemn their action.

A great and good mayor, Carl Stokes, by calling for citizen support, met the threat. Order was restored. All the citizens of Cleveland will benefit from this effective response.

Within this framework of civil order, civil justice can flourish.

Today civil justice means more than freedom from fear and want.

It also means freedom for the communities that make up our country -- and the people who inhabit them -- to play a larger role in shaping their own destiny.

This is as true in our cities as in our suburbs and our countryside.

Existing institutions need to be reshaped to this end.

In the inner cities, this means community self-help and involvement: black entrepreneurship, ^{some local school of} locally controlled school boards, and much else besides.

I have already spoken of a Marshall Plan for the Cities -- a plan of action founded on the principles of local initiative, sensible planning, coordinated policy, strict priorities and massive commitment of human and financial resources.

I have proposed creation of a National Urban Development Bank to underwrite the unusual risk elements involved in solving the hardest and most critical urban problems.

In the suburbs, it means giving the people who live there the resources they need to meet expanding local needs: for more police protection, better schools, and improved transportation -- instead of trying to meet all these needs from Washington.

We must explore various ways to do this, including the proposals for sharing federal tax revenues with local state and cities, under strict safeguards and guidelines.

We must provide incentives to promote metropolitan and regional planning and action -- a crucial element in achieving real progress in our suburban areas.

In the countryside, it means creating Community Development Councils -- as recommended by the President's Commission on Rural Poverty -- to assume local responsibility for needed self-help programs. It means giving farmers and farm workers ^{a fair} return for their labors -- through collective and bargaining and a just price/wage structure.

It surely means a thorough reorganization of federal programs and services related to urban, suburban and rural development. We must provide a structure which rewards innovation and local responsibility -- not one which destroys the effectiveness and vision of local leaders.

It means implementing my concept of the Open Presidency -- an approach which welcomes direct citizen participation even in the decisions of the executive agencies of the federal government.

All Americans share an interest in this new freedom -- for all benefit from wider participation.

The poor, the black, the Mexican American, the Indian American want more than material improvement. They want -- above all -- to have their dignity acknowledged and respected.

They are not alone. Middle class Americans who labor in our factories -- who keep the stores -- and who provide needed services want the same thing.

People achieve dignity by doing something worthwhile -- by helping to shape their own and their neighbors' future. As we move toward wider involvement, we move toward increased self-respect.

Only by acknowledging this dignity and self-respect, can we restore the national unity which now eludes us.

The makings of that unity are at hand. It comes to the surface in moments of tragedy and crisis -- as after the deaths of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy. Americans want to come together, in fulfillment of the values they hold
as
in common -- now/at the birth of this Republic.

It will be the task of the next President to help them do just this.

III. Progress

His third great task will be to improve the lot of those who suffer in our midst.

As I have already emphasized: We can only maintain peace, at home and abroad, if its rewards are widely shared.

But there is a more fundamental reason: It is morally wrong for those of us who live in comparative comfort to stand aside while others suffer.

The Pope spoke well, when he warned that "if today's flourishing civilizations remain selfishly wrapped up in themselves, they could easily place their highest values in jeopardy, sacrificing their will to be great to the desire to possess more."

No doubt, America will remain great in wealth and power.

What concerns me more is whether it will remain great in the moral values which lend meaning to its existence.

At the core of these values is a compassionate concern for our fellow men.

An America which does not fulfill the promise that she made to her poor -- an America which ignores those whom she has power to help abroad -- this will not be the country that we have known.

To make good this promise and provide that help, we need more than good intentions.

We must talk specifically of guaranteed jobs for all those able to work.

-- of a welfare system which provides a decent standard of living, in dignity, and which motivates recipients to break the welfare cycle;

-- of food so that no one goes hungry or mal-nourished in a country where most people worry about overeating;

-- of housing in decent neighborhoods where a sense of community can flourish;

These proposals are possible only if they meet two requirements:

First: We need to involve private energies and private capital. The government has an important role to play. The programs I favor will cost money, and I don't intend to play games with you by trying to conceal this fact.

But the amounts will be far less than needed.

Additional resources and personnel will have to be sought in the private sector, by new and creative approaches: loan guarantees, tax credits, joint ventures, and many more.

Second: We need to stimulate self-help by those whom we wish to assist. Our assistance can complement self-help; it cannot substitute for it, and it is wasted without it. So we must look for ways to stimulate and reward.

There is one group, however, whom we want to assist and who cannot do much to help themselves or to attract private capital: Young children. We are moved to help them not only by compassion but also by an awareness that they are the future.

So I would propose to give special priority to programs which would aid the health and education and happiness of young children.

I have tried today to lay out some of the key goals which I would hope to achieve if I become President:

-- Peace abroad - in Vietnam, after Vietnam, and beyond Vietnam.

-- Unity at home - based on the right to life in an ordered society, to liberty in shaping one's destiny, and to dignity through wider participation.

-- Helping the poor and the disadvantaged, at home and abroad - by private involvement and self-help, and by investing in our children's future.

I have tried to suggest some of the steps that I have in mind to these ends. I will be discussing them at greater length in the months ahead.

These steps, and others to achieve the goals that I have described, will involve change, and innovation, and sacrifice -- sacrifice of prejudice, as well as resources.

I have heard it said that this is not the year in which to seek change and sacrifices.

If so, this is not my year. For that is not what I stand for. And it is not what I intend to stand for. There are some things more important than becoming President of the United States. And speaking out for the hard tasks of reconciliation and justice, at home and abroad, is one of them.

So I intend to keep on speaking out.

In each of the general elections that I have contested since I was first elected Mayor of my home city, I have followed a simple rule: To speak my mind, to raise my voice on behalf of reconciliation and progress, and to place my trust in the American people -- their good sense, their compassion, and their confidence in themselves in their country.

And each time my trust was fulfilled.

I still have that trust: I still believe that the American people want to come together at home; that they want to seek reconciliation abroad; and that they are moved by compassion to help those less fortunate, at home as abroad.

It is to voice and test this faith that I seek the Presidency this year.

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