

REMARKS OF
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
AT DENVER CITIZENS FORUM

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Denver, Colorado

September 9, 1968

WARD & PAUL
OFFICIAL REPORTERS
25 K STREET, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20002

(202) 628-4266

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Grand Ballroom
Denver-Hilton Hotel
Denver, Colorado
Monday, September 9, 1968
9:30 p.m.

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Thank you very much, Governor Mark Hogan. That is the way I would like to have it.

(Applause)

I miss my good friend here but he may be in the audience, the Mayor of Denver, Tom Corrigan, one of our outstanding Mayors.

(Applause)

Can I join with Governor Hogan in suggesting that we do need a good Democratic voice, a good Democratic United States Senator, and you have the chance to select one tomorrow in your Tuesday primary and get him elected in November, so get on with the job.

(Applause)

I am so very pleased that we have two of your most able Congressmen with us. They have been presented to you, but both of them are extremely able and dedicated men. Byron Rogers always brsgged so much about Denver that I consider him the walking Chamber of Commerce of this city, except when I hear from Frank Evans, who tells me all about Pueblo. But both of these are extremely worthy Congressmen and I trust that you will see, any of you that are from their respective districts, that they get back to Washington as your representatives.

I want to take the moment here that is mine to ask particularly the young people that are here to help us in registration. The primary election is a vital and important election in this state tomorrow as it is in my state, Minnesota, tomorrow, but the general election is the one that is ultimately going to determine the course of this nation. And I hope that between now and the time that registration closes, that you will make it your business to see that every person that is eligible to vote becomes a registered voter, so that that eligibility is not merely one of age but, rather, it is one of fact with requirements of registration being fulfilled and then we can take our messages that we have from the respective candidates to those voters and have the outcome of this national election be decisive.

1 Now, I come to you for just a very brief statement
2 and then we are going to have some questions, and I shall try
3 to the best of my ability to give you some answers. I hope
4 that you will understand as much as I would like to stay here
5 most of the night, because I visit Denver more often than I
6 visit home --

(Applause)

7 -- I hope you will be understanding as to my time when I tell
8 you that we still must be in Los Angeles tonight. It seems
9 to me that if you were going to run for the office of President
10 of these United States that you ought to at least on the first
11 day be able to touch down in the east coast, come here to the
12 great heartland of America, get to the west coast from the
13 Atlantic to the Pacific, across the great plains, to the --
14 literally to the foothills of the Great Rockies, and see this
15 vast expanse of America. I have seen it in every one of the
16 50 states many times. And much of my life has been associated
17 with this city and with this nation.

18 Mark says that there were some Democrats somewhere
19 along the line, foolishly, that said the only time that we get
20 Colorado is when we don't need her. Well, let me tell you right
21 now so that there will be no doubt, I need Colorado and you
22 go out and get it for me.

(Applause)

23 This national election should be a national
24 referendum on the course of this nation in the next four
25 years. Whoever is elected President of the United States will
initiate policies and programs through deeds and actions and
words that will not only affect the lives of those in his
term of office but affect the lives of those yet unborn because
the Presidency is such a powerful and meaningful office within
our Constitutional system that the decisions of that man acting
under the authority of that office have a long term effect upon
not only this nation but upon the world.

I want to make it clear in the beginning that the
United States with all of its problems and difficulties, and we
have many, has a unique role to perform in helping to shape
a better and a more peaceful world, and that the Government of
the United States with all of its limitations and inadequacies
has an important role to play in helping to shape and
design and create a better America for Americans.

I do not underestimate the importance of the partner-
ship between the public agencies and the private sector.
In fact, whatever problem we face at home is so immense, so
complex and so demanding, that no single institution in our
country alone can come to grips with it and solve it, whether
it is the problem of air pollution or water pollution, the
problem of smog, whether it is the problem of communication
or transportation, or race relations or the urban crisis, or

1 education. Any one of them and all of them or part of them are
2 so big and so demanding and so complex that we need to mobilize
3 the resources of both the public and the private resources of
4 this country in a great national moral commitment if we intend
5 to achieve solution or to find answers to any of these prob-
6 lems.

7 I happen to think we have the resources to face up
8 to our needs. I believe that the central issue here at home in
9 the election of 1968 is whether or not we are going to continue
10 with our steady progress in the field of human rights and equal
11 opportunity or whether we are going to turn back the clock
12 or indeed, if not turn it back, to have it stand still. There
13 are millions of Americans that have been left out far too
14 long from both the benefits of this society and the right to
15 participate in the decisions of this country.

16 (Applause)

17 I intend if permitted by the election of the people,
18 I intend to see that these gates of opportunity are not only
19 opened but I intend to help extend the hand of fellowship, the
20 hand of help and assistance, to see to it that people can be
21 moved through those gates so that they can stand as self-
22 respecting, productive citizens. I know that we can overcome
23 the problem of the hard core unemployed. I have seen the
24 examples of it. I know that we can train workers that have
25 never had training. I know that we can take families that are
on welfare today and make them self-sustaining, productive
families. I know that most Americans want to work. They do
not want a handout. And I believe that the Government of the
United States in cooperation with state and local government
and in cooperation with the great private resources of this
country can make it possible for millions of Americans who
have never known what it was to live a good and full and an
enriched life to have the same chance that I have had and the
same chance that you have.

(Applause)

To put the proposition directly, you are going
to help decide whether or not this country is going to be a
divided nation between north and south, rich and poor, black
and white, city and suburban, metropolitan and rural, or whether
it is going to be a united community, whether we are going to be
one family where we reason out and work out our problems, or
whether we are going to be warring factions, whether we
spread hate and despair and bitterness and only to find out that
repression is the answer or the solution that some offer.

I believe in civil order and I shall, of course, if
elected, not only see to it that civil order is maintained,
because that is the first responsibility of an elected
official, but I also believe in civil justice.

(Applause)

1 I not only want to see the people are protected in
2 terms of their personal safety but I also want to see that
3 they are given an opportunity to develop their lives, to
4 become whatever their manhood and their vision can permit
5 them to become. I believe that if you are going to enforce the
6 laws, that you ought to enforce the building codes as well
7 and the health laws and the other laws that apply to this
8 land.

(Applause)

6 So, you are going to help decide, is this going to
be one nation or is it going to be two nations, separate and
unequal as the current commission report indicated that there
are trends in our midst that so indicate.

8 I think we can bind up the wounds but I don't think
we can do it through shouting at each other and I don't think
we can do it through bitterness and hatred. I don't think
we can do it through suspicion and fear. I think we can
do it when we give each other the benefit of the doubt and
recognize that possibly there is more goodness in this nation
than there is bad, that there is more greatness than there
is pettiness, and that there is more hope in this country than
there is fear.

(Applause)

13 My politics is the politics of hope. I believe this
country is rich enough and strong enough and good enough to
14 declare war on slumism, and all that it means, not only the
poverty of the purse, the economic poverty that grips millions,
15 but the poverty of the spirit, the despair, the frustration, the
feeling of being left out and not needed. I think we can over-
16 come this if we want to. We have the means. The only question
is do we have the will. And I call upon the young people in
17 particular in their sense of idealism and in their passion
for good, I call upon you to have the will to direct this
18 national towards the path of one nation under God, indivisible
with liberty and justice for all.

(Applause)

19 May I also say that all that we hope for in this
country cannot come to mean that the world is torn apart by
20 war and doubt and hatred and bitterness, that the real test of
greatness for a people, for a leader, for a society is
21 whether or not it can have progress in order and whether or
not it can sustain and maintain order and still have social
22 progress. I think we can, and abroad -- well, I think we
joined the issue already in this campaign. I believe that this
23 is one world in which we are all going to have to live. There
will be very few that escape it alive. They tell me that we
24 will have a few astronauts that will go to the moon but we
plan on bringing them back.

25 The fact is, you can't get off and you can't get out,

1 and this world of ours today is our home, and it is a smaller
2 world every day through science and technology and it is a very
3 changed world. And yet, it is a dangerous world. I think
4 that one of the most convincing and yet one of the most perceptive
5 and prophetic statements ever made by a President were those
6 words of prophesy and yet a truth, John Kennedy, when he told
7 us in 1963 these words: "Peace and freedom are not
8 cheap."

(Applause)

9 He went on to say that all of us, I believe the way
10 he put it, most of us, possibly all of us, will live out the
11 rest of our lives in times of peril, of change, and danger,
12 and surely the events of recent weeks and the past years have
13 told us that this is the truth. A dangerous time and yet a
14 time of the greatest promise and the greatest hope, a
15 changing time. Incredible changes are taking place, peril
16 beyond anything any of us ever dreamed.

17 And yet, with all the danger, change and peril, there
18 is really more hope than ever before. If there is one word that
19 characterizes the recent decade, it is the word emancipation.
20 Many of our own Americans are at long last beginning to realize
21 the promise of emancipation given over 100 years ago, and many
22 people throughout the world are beginning to realize for the
23 first time, some hope for emancipation in their lives. We saw
24 some of it in Czechoslovakia, only to see it subdued and again
25 suppressed. We see it all over Africa. We see it in Latin
America and Asia and we see it here at home, people that want a
breath of freedom and a meaning of freedom. I hope we will help
people obtain it.

(Applause)

16 Now, in this election, you are going to decide whether
17 or not you want to have a President that will try his best to
18 stop the dangerous nuclear arms race or whether you have a
19 President who only said yesterday that he thought the nonpro-
20 liferation treaty which took years to negotiate, which is in our
21 national interest, which is one of the building blocks in
22 peace, that he thought that that treaty ought to be looked at
23 again and he had some doubt as to whether or not it should be
24 ratified.

21 Ladies and gentlemen, we are creating instruments of
22 destruction that are so horrendous that there ought not to be
23 any doubt as to whether or not we ought to halt the arms race.
24 We are going to halt the arms race or we are going to halt
25 humanity, one or the other, and we ought to make up our minds.

(Applause)

24 Now, I know that you have questions, some that are
25 written here, that I have been told that -- I guess you have
got a pad of them here. I intend to field a few from you, too.
I gather these have come in from you. I didn't arrange this

1 audience. I am well aware of what is here, all of you.

(Applause)

2 And I want you to know that you had better be well aware of
3 what is up here, all of you.

(Applause)

4 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR HOGAN: Ladies and gentlemen,
5 as I mentioned to you, the Vice President insisted that we
6 do this, that I read them like they come so that he could
7 tell it like it is, because that is the kind of man that he is.

(Applause)

8 And here is a question from one of our neighbors.

9 "Do you feel that serving with LBJ, that your policy
10 on the war and riots can be any different? Don't you think
11 that to serve with someone that your ideas are generally the
12 same?" Signed Richard Nixon.

(Applause and laughter)

13 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Would you please send that
14 question airmail to me. I want to keep it, signed Richard
15 Nixon.

16 I think I know what the intent of that question is.
17 I don't know who signed it but there must be a Richard Nixon
18 in Colorado because I know there are quite a few Republican
19 votes on occasion. Why don't you ship him some place else
20 as soon as you can find him?

(Applause)

21 I have had a varied public life, starting out as
22 Mayor of a great city, a city about the same size as Denver,
23 where I had to face up to the problems of what we call law
24 enforcement, and I did. I did not speak of it theoretically.
25 I ask people to examine the record, a city that had a reputa-
tion for organized crime. We broke its back. A city that
had the reputation of Cary McWilliams in one of his famous
articles as being the second most anti-semitic city in the
United States, that won the annual national award of the
National Conference of Christians and Jews for having accom-
plished more in the field of human relations than any other city
in the United States under my leadership as Mayor of that city.

(Applause)

26 I did not want my city to be known only for a better
27 police department, even though we did have a better one.
28 Might I just say here that when I became Mayor of my city, the
29 police had a 52 hour work week. When I left they had a 40
30 hour work week. They had their pay doubled.

31 Law enforcement is not cheap. If you want to have
32 law and order you have got to pay for it. If you want good edu-
33 cation you have to pay for it.

(Applause)

34 I point with a reasonable degree of pride to the
35 fact that it was the Minneapolis Police Department that was the

1 first police department in the United States to take regular
2 training at the University of Minnesota, in that instance, in
3 the field of community relations and race relations because
4 I feel law enforcement is also relative to law observance and
5 I believe a man on the beat, a police officer, has a responsi-
6 bility to engender observance of the law just as well he
7 does have responsibilities to enforce the law. And we did a
8 good job on it.

9 But I wanted my city to be known, I wanted my city
10 to be known primarily for its schools, for its jobs, for its
11 parks, for its housing. That was my beginning. 16 years in
12 the United States Senate, of which I believe I had some role
13 of individualism and some role of creativity, I think most of
14 you know about it.

15 I see young people here. I remember when I advanced
16 the Peace Corps and I remember when Mr. Nixon said it was a
17 fanciful idea for draft dodgers. That is what has been said.

18 (Applause)

19 But today the Peace Corps is a great part of our
20 foreign policy and one of the finest institutions that
21 America has for a better world.

22 (Applause)

23 I think I was my own man then. When we advanced the
24 proposal for a nuclear test ban treaty, for a disarmament
25 agency and an arms control agency, these bills bear my name,
the floor leader in each instance for them. And the comprehensive
Civil Rights Act of 1964, the first time we were able to
break a massive filibuster. The debate started on the tenth
day of March and ended on the 26th day of June, and we passed
the most comprehensive program of civil rights legislation
ever passed in the history of this country or any other
country, and it didn't come easy. It came because we had people
that were willing to work together and help one another.

I served for four years as the Majority Whip of the
United States Senate, a 1000 of those days as President
Kennedy's floor leader, the balance of those days as the
floor leader for the then President that came into office after
the death of President Kennedy, President Johnson.

I have served the four years now as the Vice
President of these United States. Now, you have one President
at a time, ladies and gentlemen.

(Applause)

A Vice President -- the Vice Presidency at best is
an awkward office. It generally requires a man who has a
passion for anonymity. I seldom lived up to that requirement.

(Applause)

The Vice President is an adviser. As I have said
from many a platform and rightly so, I was a member of the team.
On occasion I did some downfield blocking as a member of the

1 team. I now seek to be the captain of the team, and there is
2 a great deal of difference between being a member and being
3 captain.

(Applause)

4 You know, when I was nominated as Vice President, I
5 came here to Denver. I was elected as Vice President of the
6 United States. I run no department of this government but I
7 want to tell you what I thought was my first obligation under
8 our Constitution, and I took an oath to uphold that Constitution.
9 I didn't take an oath to uphold the bylaws of any private
10 organization. I took an oath to uphold the Constitution of the
11 United States and recognized what the responsibilities of the
12 Vice President are and were under that Constitution. And I
13 thought that my first obligation was to be loyal to the
14 President of the United States.

(Applause)

15 I am now not just the Vice President of the United
16 States. I am the candidate for my party, the nominee of my
17 party for the office of the Presidency of the United States.
18 And I have no inhibitions whatsoever. I have spoken out in
19 the past, some people thought too much. In fact, there were
20 the critics in the press and elsewhere that said I had more
21 solutions than there were problems. That may be the case.
22 And for some of you who think I don't have enough solutions
23 now, just remember, I have enough left over to take care of any
24 that come up.

(Applause)

25 But I shall speak my mind. I shall say it like it
is. I shall tell the people what I believe. I have said that
winning the Presidency is too high a price if you have to make
a compact with extremism, and I don't intend to do it.

(Applause)

I took my stand a long time ago. A long time ago
when it wasn't popular, I took my stand on nuclear weaponry
and disarmament, a long time ago. I took my stand on human
rights and civil rights a long time ago. I have never flinched
in my loyalty to those principles and I don't expect to in the
days ahead. I do not think that it is necessary, I do not
believe that the office of the Presidency ought to be auctioned
away on the block of popularity. I think it ought to be won
on the basis of principle.

(Applause)

"Mr. Vice President, would you have accepted the
Vietnam minority report if it had passed." This question was
handed to me. The answer is that the Vietnam minority report
was so mildly different from the Vietnam majority report that
I would have had no problem in accepting it whatsoever.

(Applause)

"Are you against a coalition government in Vietnam?"

1 I am against it if somebody imposes it from the
2 outside.

(Applause)

3 If the peoples of Vietnam in a free election that includes
4 all members of their society who are willing to accept the
5 results of an election and who are willing to engage peacefully
6 in that election, if those people in their sovereignty as
7 individuals elect a government in which there are members that
8 are Communists, neutrals, or non-Communists, whatever the kind
9 of government, I believe that we who believe in self-determina-
10 tion have to stand by self-determination. In other words,
11 free elections, one man, one vote, and accept the results of
12 what takes place.

(Applause)

13 "How will you end the existing welfare system?"
14 There is a supplementary question.

15 Well, first of all, I think there isn't a candidate
16 for public office today that has studied our present problems
17 of welfare that doesn't understand that the present welfare
18 system is a hodge podge, that it is filled with inequities,
19 that it has little to commend it, and that it encourages
20 welfareism in all too many places rather than encouraging self-
21 reliance.

22 So, how should we do -- what should we do about it?
23 Well, the very first thing we should do about it is to step up
24 the programs, training for jobs, placement for jobs, and being
25 willing to pay the costs and take the time and make the
26 sacrifices that inevitably will be required if you are going
27 to cut into the roles of the welfare clients and see to it that
28 many of them become self-sustaining, productive citizens.

29 The welfare system is also a part of the ghetto. It
30 is tied in with the urban crisis.

31 I wonder how many people out of this vast expanse
32 of America recognize that if the same density of population
33 that exists in Harlem were to be applied to the balance of
34 New York, that all 200 million Americans could be shoved into
35 three of the five boroughs of metropolitan New York. It is in-
36 evitable that there will be welfare and welfareism under such
37 miserable living conditions.

38 We have to make a massive attack upon the agony of
39 the slums, living space, neighborhoods, community centers, play-
40 grounds, the best schools in the worst areas, the biggest and
41 better parks in the most densely populated areas, the best
42 teachers where the students have had the least chance. In
43 other words, we need to turn some things upside down. What
44 we generally have are the oldest and the poorest schools in the
45 poorest areas and we frequently have the less developed and
46 less trained teachers where the best are really needed.
47 The attack on welfareism comes from many fronts.

1 Now, do I advocate negative income tax or a guaranteed
2 annual wage? I can only tell you that an off-the-cuff answer
3 to that would be about as responsive as just what an off-the-
4 cuff answer generally is. We have a task force headed by some
5 of the most prominent economists in this land studying all
6 forms of income maintenance. It is imperative that for those
7 that cannot work that there be a decent standard of income and
8 the present welfare structure does not provide it.

9 I am not prepared at this time to advocate the negative
10 income tax but I am prepared to say that we must have an
11 entirely new form of income maintenance that provides a sense
12 of dignity for those that cannot work and have no way of sus-
13 taining themselves.

14 (Applause)

15 "What do you think about the voting age being lowered
16 to 18 years"?

17 (Applause)

18 Well, it was exactly 18 years ago in 1950 that I
19 introduced such a bill in the Congress of the United States.

20 (Applause)

21 My co-sponsor was the late Senator William Langer of North
22 Dakota. I believed in lowering the voting age then. I think
23 we ought to lower it now. I think it would be good for this
24 country.

25 (Applause)

"Well, given the chance, how would you have stopped
the Chicago convention riot?"

Well, first of all, may I say that there was no need
of any riot and let me be very blunt about it. There were
some people, a handful of people, that came there with the avowed
purpose of causing trouble and everybody knows it.

VOICE: Avoidable trouble?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: A handful of people who
came there with the avowed purpose of causing trouble. There
were literally hundreds and thousands of young people that
were caught up in that trouble through no fault of their own
and were the victims --

(Applause)

-- and were the victims of violence on both sides. Violence
breeds violence. I don't really believe that you can hold the
authorities in Chicago much more responsible for what happened
there than you can hold Mayor Lindsay responsible for what
happened at Columbia University.

(Applause and boos)

Might I say there will never be a single problem or
question in this country settled by loud boos from educated
people.

(Applause and boos)

VOICE: Sit down they yell at me.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: It is my view that the --

1 I would like to just make a suggestion to those of us that have
2 had the privilege of an education, that the first characteristic
of an educated person is good manners.

3 (Applause)

4 Oh, don't throw anybody out. My goodness, it is hard
to get anybody to come in.

(Applause)

5 Now, if my friends over here will just permit me,
6 I was going to tell you that it seemed to me that one of the
7 great needs of this country is to see to it that our police
8 departments are not only departments where men are physically
fit but where they are trained, professional police that under-
stand human relations, that have a high quality of training
and education.

9 I remember one city that was recently brought to our
10 attention that has a force of approximately 5,000 in which
11 almost 800 of the police officers have less than an eighth
12 grade education. The same communities today that require social
workers with a college education have police officers with
less than a high school education. If you want law enforcement,
and I do, and if you want to remove the scourge of police
brutality, which I do -- I do not believe in any kind of
brutality -- then, may I say that the way to do it --

13 VOICE: -- Vietnam.

14 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: May I say that the way to
do it is to make the investments that are necessary in training
and recruitment and placement, to pay the bill, and I believe
15 that America is going to do it if you will help us get it done.

(Applause)

16 I have a question here from a young lady by the name
of Sue Young. It says, "Mr. Vice President, what are your
17 thoughts on farm programs"?

18 Well, my first thought is that what we are doing
apparently is not good enough, but I can add that what we are
doing at least is better than what was done. My view is that the
19 American farmer, if he is going to share in the prosperity of
this country, must also be able to have the same bargaining rights
20 the same opportunity to join hands in bargaining, indeed, yes,
in collective bargaining, so that he can compete in the
market place for a fair price for his product.

21 This does not mean that we abandon the programs
that we have. It means that we build on those programs by
22 strengthening our farm cooperatives, by strengthening the
ability and capacity of farmers and farm organizations to
23 bargain, so that farmers at long last can start to get a fair
share of the prosperity of this country which they have been
24 denied far too long.

(Applause)

25 "Mr. Vice President, if you are elected what do you

1 intend to do about the vanishing American, the American
2 Indian welfare"?

(Applause)

3 I am pleased that someone in this audience asked a
4 question about the American Indian because if there is any tragedy
5 in this land of ours it is the manner in which we have treated
6 the first Americans of this country, and we had better make sure
7 that the programs that we have of welfareism are abandoned or
8 at least revised so that entrepreneurship, education, economic
9 opportunity, which can be made available to Indians, to Mexican-
10 Americans, to Puerto Ricans, to Negroes, to Anglo-Saxons, to one
11 and all to make sure that those programs are made available.

12 I happen to be Chairman of the Indian Economic
13 Opportunity Council that has just been formed. I believe
14 that we are beginning to show some results. Through the
15 Economic Development Administration, through the Small
16 Business Administration, through the Bureau of Indian Affairs,
17 we are beginning at long last to show some positive results.
18 But I would be less than honest if I didn't tell you that the
19 one great failure that we have had through all administrations
20 that I can think of is the failure to come to grips with
21 the problem of poverty with the American Indian and on the Indian
22 reservation.

23 I will do my best to consult with the leaders of
24 the Indian Council. I will do my best to try to find ways
25 to leave the spirit of welfareism and move to that position of
social opportunity which I believe is what our Indians are
asking for.

Now, I have one other question here. "How will you
get Congress to pass the Marshall Plan for the cities when it
has been so reluctant to pass LBJ's poverty and model cities
program"?

It won't be easy. That is what a campaign is about.
If we can get our people as aroused about the plight of our
fellow Americans as some people are aroused about other things,
we will get somewhere with this. We simply have got to concen-
trate on this.

(Applause)

Model cities legislation is a breakthrough. It
represents a beginning on what I believe is a more comprehensive
program, and what are its characteristics? First of all, a
long-term commitment because as surely as it took time to
rebuild a war devastated Europe, it is going to take even more
time to rebuild some of our cities.

I have suggested that rather than rely upon the
appropriations processes of Congress which are always difficult
and also uncertain in terms of the amounts, that we establish
a National Urban Development Bank just as we established one
time in this country federal farm banks, farm land banks, that

1 this bank would have a capitalization just like the World
 2 Bank or the Inter-American Development Bank, or the Asian
 3 Development Bank. We develop all kinds of financial institutions
 for foreign aid. Might I suggest that we might develop one
 for domestic aid, for our own cities?

(Applause)

4 And the capital for this bank would be only in part public
 5 capital. A subscription, indeed an initial subscription by
 the Congress, but at least three-fourths of the capital to be
 6 raised in private subscription in the money markets of this
 country where the Government of the United States as its part
 7 would guarantee the value of that subscription or that invest-
 ment.

8 That way we would be able to bring in the many
 9 billions of dollars that are required and we would be able to
 remove the temptation for the ups and downs that come in the
 appropriation process and the mayors of cities and the urban
 10 coalition and the groups in cities that will make long-term
 plans would have the funds that were necessary to properly
 11 program a ten-year or a five-year or a 15-year or a 20-year
 development program in their cities, and that is exactly what
 is going to be needed.

(Applause)

I want to thank this audience for its --

13 VOICE: How about questions from the audience?

14 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I would be glad to take yours,
 sir.

(Laughter and applause)

15 If you will drop your sign so I can see your face so I know who
 I am talking to, I would be glad to take your question.

16 VOICE: Mr. President --

17 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: This gentlemen.

18 QUESTION: When a man is a representative of the
 present Administration which has prosecuted a war in Vietnam
 against defenseless small nations --

(Boos)

19 QUESTION: -- dictator war today in Guatemala, U.S.
 20 planes are using napalm on guerrillas to such an -- I do not
 have a question.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well --

21 QUESTION: To such an -- I would say that isn't
 helping anything about them.

(Applause)

22 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: First of all, there are no
 23 United States planes releasing napalm on anybody in Guatemala.
 Let's get that straight.

(Applause)

24 Number 2. An American ambassador was shot in cold
 25 blood in Guatemala and he wasn't shot by a God fearing, loving,
 beloved citizen. He was shot by a hater and an agitator and

1 people ought to know that.

2 QUESTION: What about the people of Guatemala?

3 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: May I say furthermore
4 that little nations that the gentleman speaks about, North
5 Vietnam, if it is as dear and as sweet as he pretends it to
6 be, there is one way to end this war and that is to get to that
7 conference table in Paris and negotiate a political settlement
8 and a cease fire promptly.

9 (Applause)

10 QUESTION: Mr. Vice President --

11 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

12 QUESTION: Recognizing your liberality being engen-
13 dered from the dust bowl and the farm disaster following World
14 War I, might you not eradicate, if you become President, the
15 bad parts of the free enterprise system and resolve it into
16 a socialist form in some manner whereby the living conditions
17 of each will be pretty well matched?

18 (Applause)

19 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I have never sub-
20 scribed to the principles of socialism. I have subscribed,
21 may I say, to the principles of social concern. I believe that
22 our government has a direct responsibility to help the needy.
23 I believe there are vast public services that this government,
24 federal, state and local, must perform. Whatever term you wish
25 to apply to those services is indeed within your right. I
believe, for example, that our government can aid large numbers
of people in low income housing, subsidized low income housing.
Some people call that socialism. I call it just decency. I
think that is what is needed.

I think that our government can help millions and
millions of young people with scholarships so that they can
attend universities. Some people say that is socialism. I
think it is just an opportunity for an education.

I believe that there are many things that a government
can do. Some people think that Medicare is socialism. I
think it is just sound social insurance and compassion and I
believe that a great country ought to be compassionate and
I believe that a strong country ought to have concern for the
weak and I believe that a rich country ought to be able to
take care of the poor and I believe that a free enterprise
country ought to have social concern for everybody and that is
why I stand for President of the United States.

(Applause)

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR HOGAN: Ladies and gentlemen, in
just a moment you will have the opportunity that I know you are
waiting for that you show by your applause and enthusiasm,
how much we appreciate this visit with the Vice President and
this innovation. I would point out to you for those sitting
close enough to notice that those questions that didn't get

1 answered, Mrs. Humphrey insisted upon me gathering them up and
2 putting them in her purse.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Oh, my gosh.

3 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR HOGAN: Those of you who know the
4 power of a pillow talk, I think you have no doubt that those
5 questions will be discussed.

6 I wish that we had your names and addresses because
7 the Democratic Party in Colorado would have been pleased to
8 undertake to get you specific responses and send them back to
9 you. We can't do that but I think we know we have the kind of
10 Presidential candidate who will be addressing himself to
11 these issues in the same forthright tones that he has used
12 here tonight.

13 We are very grateful for him being here. We thank him
14 and Mrs. Humphrey. We are glad to have an opportunity to say
15 bon voyage and come back and see us as President of the
16 United States.

17 (Applause)

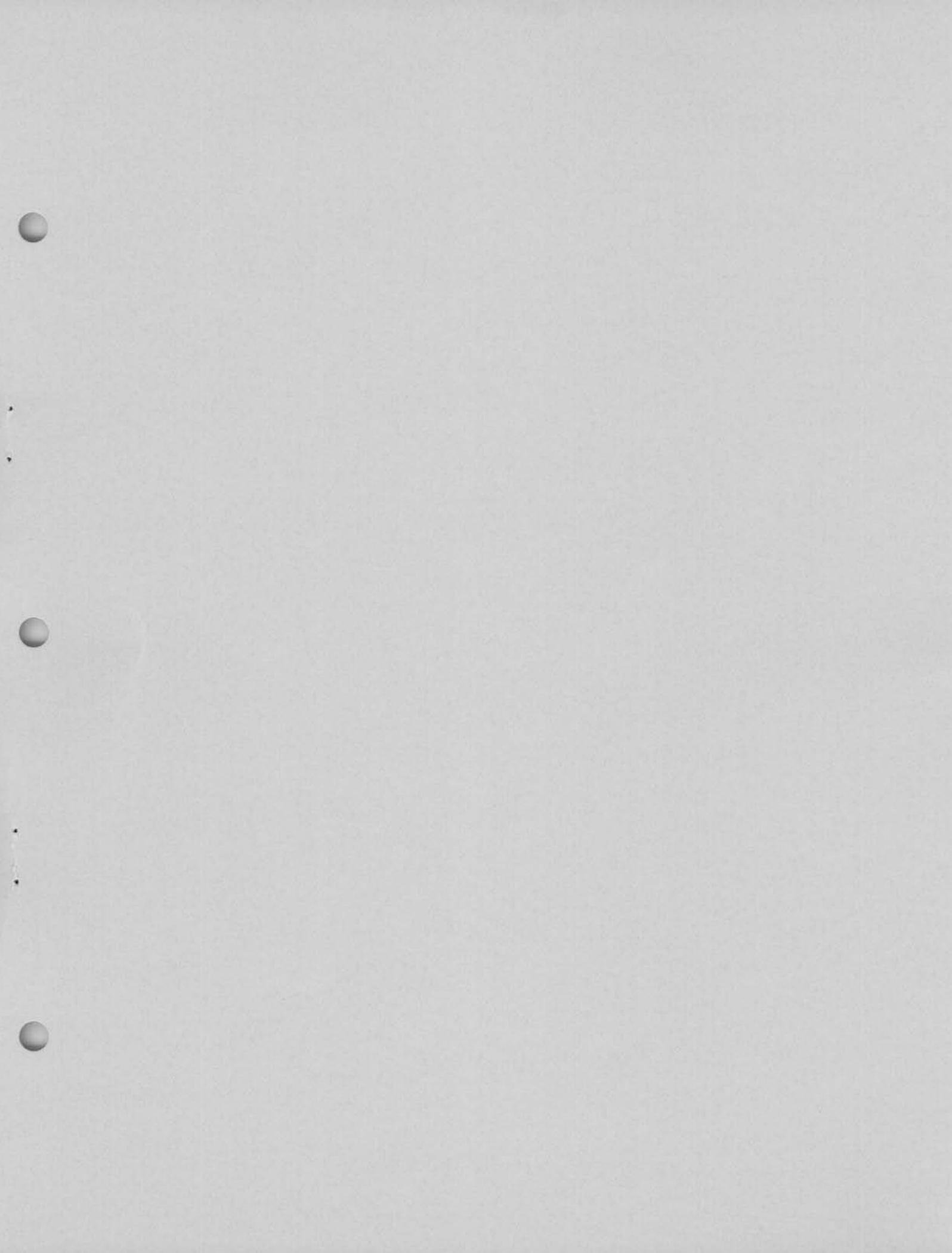
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ADDRESS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

CITIZEN'S FORUM

DENVER HILTON HOTEL

September 9, 1968

LT. GOVERNOR, MARK HOGAN: Ladies and gentlemen, the standard bearer of our great party, a dynamic and creative leader, a warm and wonderful human being, the next president of the United States, Hubert H. Humphrey.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Governor Mark Hogan. That's the way I'd like to have it. I might have my good friend here, but he may be in the audience -- the mayor of Denver, Tom Currigan, one of our outstanding mayors.

Can I join with Governor Hogan in suggesting that we do need a good democratic voice, a good democratic United States Senator, and you have the chance to select one tomorrow in your Tuesday primary and get him elected in November, so get on with the job.

I am so very pleased that we have two of your most able Congressmen with us. They have been presented to you, but both of them are extremely able and dedicated men -- Byron Rogers, who always brags so much about Denver that I consider him the walking Chamber of Commerce of this city, except when I hear Frank Evans, who tells me all about Pueblo. But both of these are extremely worthy Congressmen, and I trust that you will see in their respective districts that they get back to Washington.

I want to ask particularly the young people that are here to help us in registration. The primary election is a vital and important election in this state tomorrow, as it is in my state in Minnesota tomorrow, but the general election is the one that is ultimately going to determine the course of this nation, and I hope that between now and the time that registration closes that you will make it your business to see that every person that is eligible to vote becomes a registered voter so that that eligibility is not merely one of age, but rather as one of fact, with the requirement of registration being fulfilled, and then we can take our messages that we have from the respective candidates to those voters and have the outcome of this national election be decisive.

Now I come to you for just a very brief statement, and then we are going to have some questions, and I shall try to the best of my ability to give you some answers. I hope that you will understand as much as I'd like to stay here most of the night, because I visited Denver more often than I visit home, I hope you will have the understanding as to my time when I tell you we still must be in Los Angeles tonight.

It seems to me if you're going to run for office of the presidency of these United States, you ought to at least on the first day be able to touch down in the East Coast, come here to the great heartland of America, get to the West Coast, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, across the Great Plains, literally to

the hills of the great Rockies, and see this vast expanse of America. I have seen it in every one of the fifty states many times, and much of my life has been associated with this city and with this state.

Mark says that there were some Democrats somewhere along the line foolishly that said the only time that we get Colorado is when we don't need her. Well, let me tell you right now so there will be no doubt: I need Colorado, and you go out and get it for me.

This national election should be a national referendum on the course of this nation in the next four years. Whomever is elected President of the United States will initiate policies and programs through deeds and actions and words that will not only effect the lives of those in his term of office, but will effect the lives of those yet unborn, because the presidency is such a powerful and meaningful office within our constitutional system that the decisions of that man acting under the authority of that office have a long-term effect upon not only this nation, but upon the world.

I want to make it clear in the beginning that the United States, with all of it's problems and difficulties -- and we have many -- has a unique role to perform in helping to shape and better a more peaceful world. The government of the United States, with all of it's limitations and inadeqacies, has an important role to play in helping to shape and design and create

a better America for Americans.

I do not underestimate the importance of the partnership between the public agencies and the private sector. In fact, whatever problem we face at home is so immense, so complex, and so demanding that no single institution in our country alone can come to grips with it and solve it -- whether it's the problem of air pollution or water pollution, the problem of smog, whether it's the problem of communication or transportation, or race relations or the urban crises or education. Any one of them and all of them or part of them are so big and so demanding and so complex that we need to mobilize the resources of both the public and private resources of this country in a great national, moral commitment if we intend to achieve solutions or to find answers to any of these problems. I happen to think we have the resources to face up to our needs.

I believe that the central issue here at home in the election of 1968 is whether or not we are going to continue with our steady progress in the field of human rights and equal opportunity, or whether we are going to turn back the clock, or indeed if not turn it back, to have it stand still.

There are millions of Americans that have been left out far too long from both the benefits of this society and the right to participate in the decisions of this country. I intend, if permitted by the election of the people, I intend to see that these gates of opportunity are not only opened, but I intend to

help extend the hand of fellowship, the hand of help and assistance, to see to it that people can be moved through those gates so that they can stand as self respecting, productive citizens.

I know that we can overcome the problem of the hard-core unemployed. I have seen the samples of it. I know that we can train workers that have never had training. I know that we can take families that are on welfare today and make them self-sustaining, productive families. I know that most Americans want to work. They do not want a handout, and I believe that the government of the United States, in cooperation with state and local government, and in cooperation with the great private resources of this country, can make it possible for millions of Americans who have never known what it was to live a good and full and enriched life to have the same chance that I have had and the same chance that you had.

To put the proposition directly, you are going to help decide whether or not this country is going to be a divided nation between the North and the South, rich and poor, black and white, city and suburban-metropolitan and rural, or whether it's going to be a united community -- whether we are going to be one family where we reason out and work out our problems, or whether we are going to be warring factions where we spread hate and despair and bitterness, only to find out that repression is the answer or the solution that some offer.

I believe in civil order, and I shall, of course if elected, not only see to it that civil order is maintained, because that is the first responsibility of an elected official, but I also believe in civil justice. I not only want to see that people are protected in terms of their personal safety, but I also want to see that they are given an opportunity to develop their lives -- to become whatever their manhood and their vision can permit them to become.

I believe that if you are going to enforce the laws that you ought to enforce the building codes as well, and the health laws, and the other laws that relate to this land. So you're going to help decide is this going to be one nation, or is it going to be two nations, separate and unequal, as the Kerner Commission report indicated that there are trends in our midst that so indicate.

I think we can bind up the wounds, but I don't think we can do it through shouting at each other, and I don't think we can do it through bitterness and hatred. I don't think we can do it through suspicion and fear. I think we can do it when we give each other the benefit of the doubt and recognize that possibly there is more goodness in this nation than there is bad; that there is more greatness than pettyness and more hope in this country than there is fear, and my politics is the politics of hope. I believe this country is rich enough and strong enough and good enough to declare war on slumism and all that it means. Not only the poverty of the purse, the economic poverty that

grips millions, but the poverty of the spirit, the despair and frustration, the feeling of being left out and not needed. I think we can overcome this if we want to. We have the means. The only question is, do we have the will.

I call upon the young people in particular in their sense of idealism and their passion for good. I call upon you to have the will to direct this nation toward the path of one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

May I also say that all that we hope for in this country can't come to being if the world is torn apart by war and doubt and hatred and bitterness. The real test of greatness for a people and for a leader and for a society is whether or not it can have progress and order, and whether or not it can sustain and maintain order and still have social progress. I think we can.

And abroad -- well, I think we have joined the issue already in this campaign. I believe that this is one world in which we are all going to have to live. There will be very few that escape it alive. They tell me we will have a few astronauts that will go to the moon, but we plan on bringing them back. The fact is, you can't get off and you can't get out, and this world of ours today is our home, and it's a smaller world every day through science and technology, and it is a very changed world, and yet it is a dangerous world.

I think that one of the most convincing and yet one of the most perceptive and prophetic statements ever made by a president

were those words of prophesy and yet of truth of John Kennedy when he told us in 1963 these words: "Peace and freedom are not cheap." He went on to say that all of us -- I believe the way he put it -- most of us, possibly all of us, will live out the rest of our lives in times of peril, of change and danger, and surely the events of recent weeks and the past years have told us that this is the truth. A dangerous time, and yet a time of the greatest promise and the greatest hope -- a changing time. Incredible changes have taken place -- peril beyond anything any of us ever dreamed, and yet with all the danger, change and peril, there is really more hope than ever before.

If there is one word that characterizes the recent decade, it is the word "emancipation". Many of our own Americans are at long last beginning to realize the promise of emancipation given over a hundred years ago, and many people around the world are beginning to realize for the first time some hope of emancipation in their lives. We saw some of it in Czechoslovakia, only to see it subdued and again suppressed. We see it all over Africa. We see it in Latin America and Asia, and we see it here at home -- people that want a breath of freedom and a meaning of freedom. I hope that we will help people obtain it.

Now in this election you are going to decide whether or not you want to have a president that will try his best to stop the dangerous nuclear arms race or whether you have a president who only said yesterday that he thought the nonproliferation treaty,

which took years to negotiate, which is in our national interest, which is one of the building blocks in peace; that he thought that that treaty ought to be looked at again; that he had some doubts as to whether or not it should be ratified. Ladies and gentlemen, we are creating instruments of destruction that are so horrendous, there ought not to be any doubt as to whether or not we ought to halt the arms race. We are going to halt the arms race or we are going to halt humanity, one or the other, and we better make up our minds to it.

Now I know that you have some questions that are written here, I have been told. I guess you have got a pad of them there, and I intend to field a few from you too. I gather these have come in from you. I didn't arrange this audience. I am well aware of what is here -- all of it -- and I want you to know that you better be well aware of what is up here -- all of it.

MR. HOGAN: Ladies and gentlemen, as I mentioned to you, the Vice President insisted if I do this, I read them like they come so he can tell it like it is, because that's the kind of man that he is, and here's a funny little question from one of our neighbors: Do you feel that serving with L.B.J. your policies on the war and rights can be any different? Don't you think that to serve with someone that your ideas are generally the same?
Signed, Richard Nixon.

MR. HUMPHREY: Would you please send that question air mail to me. I want to keep it. Signed, Richard Nixon. Well, I think

I know the intent of that question. I don't know who signed it, but there must be a Richard Nixon in Colorado, because I notice there is quite a few Republican votes on occasion. Why don't you ship him some place else as soon as you can find him.

1 I had a very public life, starting out as the mayor of the great city about the same size as Denver where I had to face up to the problems of what we call law enforcement, and I did. I do not speak of it theoretically. I ask people to examine the record. A city that had a reputation for organized crime. We broke it's back. A city that had a reputation with Terry McWilliams in one of his famous articles of being the second most anti-Semetic cities in the United States; that won the annual national award for the National Conference of Christians and Jews for having accomplished more in the field of human relations in the United States under my leadership as mayor of that city.

I did not want my city to be known only for a better police department, even though we did have a better one. And might I just say here that when I became mayor of my city, the police had a 52-hour work week. When I left they had a 40-hour work week. They had their pay doubled. Law enforcement is not cheap. If you want to have law and order you have got to pay for it. I point with a reasonable degree of pride to the fact the Minneapolis Police Department was the first police department in the United States to take a regular training at the University

of Minnesota, in that instance in the field of community relations and race relations, because I believe that law enforcement is also related to law observance, and I believe that a man on the beat -- a police officer -- has a responsibility to engender observance of the law, just as well as he does have the responsibility to enforce the law. We did a good job at it, but I wanted my city to be known primarily for it's schools, for it's jobs, for it's housing.

That was my beginning -- 16 years in the United States Senate, in which I believe I had some role of individualism and some role of creativity. I think most of you know about it. I see young people here. I remember when I advanced the Peace Corps, and I remember when Mr. Nixon said "it's a fanciful idea for draft dodgers". Yes, that's what he said. But today the Peace Corps is a great part of our foreign policy, and one of the finest institutions that America has for a better world.

I think I was my own man then when we advanced the proposal for a nuclear test ban treaty, for a disarmament agency, and an arms control agency. These bills bear my name. I was the floor leader in each instance for them and the comprehensive Civil Rights Act of 1964. It was the first time we were able to break a massive filibuster. The debate started on the 10th day of March and ended on the 26th day of June, and we passed the most comprehensive program of civil rights legislation ever passed in

the history of this country or any other country, and it didn't come easy. It came because we had people that were willing to work together and help one another.

I served for four years as the majority whip of the United States Senate -- a thousand of those days as President Kennedy's floor leader -- the balance of those days as the floor leader for the then president that came into office after the death of President Kennedy, President Johnson. I have served the four years now as the Vice President of these United States.

Now you have one president at a time, ladies and gentlemen. A Vice Presidency at best is an awkward office. It generally requires a man who has a passion for anonymity. I seldom lived up to that requirement. The Vice President is an advisor, as I have said, for many a platform, and rightly so. I was a member of the team. On occasion I did some down-field blocking as a member of the team. I now seek to be the captain of the team, and there is a great deal of difference between being a member and being captain.

You know, when I was nominated as Vice President I came here to Denver. I was elected as Vice President of the United States. I run no department of this government, but I want to tell you what I thought was my first obligation under our constitution. I didn't take an oath to uphold the by-laws of any private organization. I took an oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States and recognized what the responsibilities of the Vice-

President are and were under that constitution, and I thought that my first obligation was to be loyal to the President of the United States.

I am now not just the Vice President of the United States. I am the candidate of my party, the nominee of my party for the office of the presidency of the United States and I have no inhibitions whatsoever. I have spoken out in the past -- some people thought too much. In fact, there were the critics in the press and elsewhere that said I had more solutions than there were problems, and that may be the case. For some of you that think I don't have enough solutions now, just remember I have enough left over to take care of for the next four years, but I shall speak my mind. I shall say it like it is. I shall tell the people what I believe. I have said that winning the presidency is too high a price if you have to make a compact with extremism, and I don't intend to do it. I took my stand a long time ago. A long time ago when it wasn't popular I took my stand on nuclear weaponry and disarmament -- a long time ago. I took my stand on human rights and civil rights a long time ago. I have never flinched in my loyalty to those principles, and I don't expect to in the days ahead. I do not think that it is necessary. I do not believe the office of the presidency ought to be auctioned away on the block of popularity. I think it ought to be won on the basis of principle.

Mr. Vice President, would you have accepted the minority

Viet Nam report if it had passed? This question was handed to me. The answer is that the Viet Nam minority report was so mildly different from the majority report that I would have had no problem in accepting it whatsoever.

Are you against a coalition government in Viet Nam? I am against it if somebody imposes it from the outside. If the people of Viet Nam in a free election that includes all members of their society who are willing to accept the results of an election, and who are willing to engage peacefully in that election, if those people in their sovereignty as individuals elect a government in which there are members that are Communist neutrals over non-Communists, whatever the kind of government, I believe that we who believe in self determination have to stand by self determination. In other words, free elections, one man one vote, and accept the results, whatever takes place.

How would you end the existing welfare system? There is a supplementary question. Well, first of all I think there isn't a candidate for public office today that studies our present problems of welfare that doesn't understand that the present welfare system is a hodge-podge; that it is filled with inequities; that it has little to commend it; and that it encourages welfareism in all too many places, rather than encouraging self reliance. So what should we do about it. Well, the very first thing we should do about it is to step up the programs of training for jobs placement, for jobs and be willing to pay the cost and take the

time and make the sacrifices that inevitably are required if you are going to cut into the roles of the welfare clients and see to it that many of them become self-sustaining, productive citizens. The welfare system is also a part of the ghetto. It's tied in with the urban crises. I wonder how many people out of this vast expanse of America recognize that if the same density of population that exists in Harlem were to be applied to the balance of New York, that all 200,000,000 Americans could be shoved into three of the five burroughs of metropolitan New York. It is inevitable that there be welfare and welfareism under such miserable living conditions. We have to make a massive attack upon the agony of the slums -- living space, neighborhoods, community centers, playgrounds, the best schools in the worst areas, the biggest and best parks in the most densely populated areas, the best teachers where the students have had the least chance.

In other words, we need to turn some things upside down. What we generally have are the oldest and poorest schools in the poorest areas, and we frequently have the least trained teachers where the best are really needed. The attack on welfareism comes from many fronts.

Now, do I advocate the negative income tax or a guaranteed annual wage. I can only tell you that an off-the-cuff answer to that would be about as responsive as just what an off-the-cuff answer generally is. We have a task force headed by some of the

most prominent economists in this land studying all forms of maintenance. It is imperative for those that can't work there be a decent standard of income, and the present welfare structure does not provide it. I am not prepared at this time to advocate the negative income tax, but I am prepared to say that we must have an entirely new form of income maintenance that provides a sense of dignity for those that cannot work and have no way of sustaining themselves.

What do you think about the voting age being lowered to 18 years? Well, it was exactly 18 years ago in 1950 that I introduced such a bill in the Congress of the United States. My co-sponsor was the late Senator William Langer of North Dakota. I believed in lowering the voting age then. I think we ought to lower it now. I think it would be good for this country.

Given the chance, how would you have stopped the Chicago convention riot? First of all, may I say there was no need of any riot. Let me be very blunt about it. There were a handful of people that came there with the avowed purpose of causing trouble, and everybody knows it. A handful of people that came there with the avowed purpose of causing trouble. There were literally hundreds and thousands of young people that were caught up in that trouble, through no fault of their own, and were the victims of violence on both sides. Violence breeds violence.

I don't really believe that you can hold the authorities in Chicago much more responsible for what happened there than

you can hold Mayor Lindsay responsible for what happened at Columbia University. I think we just have to take a look at it, and might I say there may never be a single problem this country settled by loud boos from educated people.

I'd like to just make a suggestion to those of us that have had the privilege of an education, that the first characteristic of an educated person is good manners. Don't throw anybody out. My goodness, it's hard to get anybody to come in.

Now, if my friends over here would permit me, I was going to tell you that it seemed to me one of the great needs in this country is to see to it that our police departments are not only departments of where men are physically fit, but where they are trained professional police that understand human relations; that have a high quality of training and education.

I remember one city that was recently brought to our attention that has a force of approximately 5,000 in which almost 800 of the police officers have less than an eighth-grade education -- the same community today that requires social workers with a college education have police officers with less than a high school education. If you want law enforcement -- and I do -- and if you want to remove the scourge of police brutality, which I do -- I do not believe in any kind of brutality -- then may I say the way to do it is to make the investments that are necessary in training and recruitment and placement to pay the bill. I believe that America is going to do it if you help us get it done.

I have a question here from a young lady by the name of Sue Young. Mr. Vice President, what are your thoughts on the farm program? Well, my first thought is what we are doing apparently is not good enough, but I can add that what we are doing at least is better than what was done. My view is that the American farmer, if he is going to share in the prosperity of this country, must also be able to have the same bargaining rights, the same opportunity to join hands in bargaining. Yes, in collective bargaining so he can get in the market place for a fair price for his product. This does not mean we abandon the programs we have. It means we build on those programs by strengthening our farm cooperatives; by strengthening the ability and the capacity of farmers and farm organizations to bargain so farmers at long last can start to get a fair share of the prosperity of this country which they have been denied too long.

Mr. Vice President, if you are elected, what do you intend to do about the vanishing American -- the American Indian's welfare? I am pleased that someone in this audience asked the question about the American Indian, because if there is any tragedy in this land of ours, it is the manner in which we have treated the first Americans of this country. We better make sure that the programs that we have had of welfareism are abandoned, or at least revised, so that entrepreneurship, education, economic opportunity which can be made available to Indians, the Mexican-Americans, the Puerto Ricans, the Negroes, the

Anglo-Saxons -- to one and all -- to make sure those programs are made available.

I happen to be chairman of the Indian Economic Opportunity Council that has just been formed. I believe that we are beginning to show some results through the Economic Development Administration, through the Small Business Administration, through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. We are beginning at long last to show some positive results, but I would be less than honest if I didn't tell you that the one great failure that we have had through all administrations that I can think of is the failure to come to grips with the problem of poverty with the American Indian and on the Indian reservations.

I will do my best to consult with the leaders of the Indian consul. I will do my best to try to find ways to leave the spirit of welfareism and move to that position of social opportunity, which I believe is what our Indians are asking for.

Now I have one other question here. How will you get Congress to pass the Marshall Plan for the cities when it has been so reluctant to pass L.B.J.'s poverty and model cities program? It won't be easy. That's what a campaign is about. If we can get our people as aroused about the plight of our fellow Americans as some people are aroused about other things, we will get somewhere with this. We simply have got to concentrate on this. Model cities legislation is a break through. It represents a beginning.

I have outlined what I believe is a more comprehensive program. It's first of all a long-term commitment, because just as surely as it took time to rebuild a war devastated Europe, it's going to take even more time to rebuild some of our cities. I have suggested that rather than rely upon the appropriation processes of Congress, which are always difficult and always uncertain in terms of the amount, that we establish a national urban development bank, just as we established one time in this country -- Federal Farm Banks. This bank would have a capitalization just like the World Bank or the Inter-American Development Bank or the Asian Development Bank. We develop all kinds of financial institutions for foreign aid. Might I suggest we develop one for domestic aid for our own cities.

The capital for this bank would be only in part public capital. Indeed, an initial subscription by the Congress, but at least three-fourths of the capital would be raised in private subscription and the money markets of this country where the government of the United States as its part would guarantee the value of that subscription or that investment. That way we would be able to bring in the many billions of dollars that are required, and we would be able to remove the temptation for the ups and downs that come in the appropriation process. The mayors of cities and the urban coalition, and the groups and cities that will make long term plans would have the funds that were necessary to properly program a ten-year or a five-year or a fifteen-year

or a twenty-year development program in the cities, and that is exactly what is going to be needed.

I want to thank you -- this audience -- for its courtesy.

UNIDENTIFIED GENTLEMAN: How about some questions from the audience?

MR. HUMPHREY: I'd be glad to take your's, sir, if you'd drop your sign so I could see your face so I know who I am talking to. I will be glad to take your question.

GENTLEMAN FROM THE PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY OF COLORADO:

For a man who is a representative of the present administration which has prosecuted a war in Viet Nam, against a defenseless, small nation . . . (The question is drowned out by boos from the audience) . . . today where in Guatemala U.S. planes are using napalm on guerrillas -- to such a man I do not have a question. This type of man cannot tell me anything about manners.

MR. HUMPHREY: First of all, there are no United States planes releasing napalm on anybody in Guatemala. Let's get that straight, number one. Number two, an American ambassador was shot in cold blood in Guatemala, and he wasn't shot by a God-fearing, beloved citizen. He was shot by a hater and an agitator and people ought to know that.

May I say furthermore, that the little nation that the gentleman speaks about, North Viet Nam, if it is as dear and as sweet as he pretends it to be, there's one way to end this war, and that is to get to that conference table in Paris and

negotiate a political settlement and a cease fire properly.

UNIDENTIFIED GENTLEMAN: We recognize your liberality being engendered from the dust bowl and a farm disaster following World War I, might you not eradicate as you become president the vast part of the free enterprise system and resolve it into a socialistic form in some manner whereby the living conditions of each will be pretty well matched?

MR. HUMPHREY: Well, I have never subscribed to the principles of socialism. I have subscribed, may I say, to the principles of social concern. I believe that our government has a direct responsibility to help the needy. I believe there are vast public services that this government -- Federal, state and local -- must perform, whatever term you wish to apply to those services is indeed within your right.

I believe, for example, that our government can aid a large number of people in low-income housing -- subsidized low-income housing. Some people call that socialism. I call it decency. I think that is what is needed. I think our government can help millions of people with scholarships so they can attend universities. Some people say that is socialism. I think it's just an opportunity for an education.

I believe there are many things a government can do. Some people think Medicare is socialism. I think it's sound, and I believe a great country ought to be compassionate, and I believe a strong country ought to be concerned for the weak, and I

believe a rich country ought to be able to take care of the poor,
and I believe a free enterprise country ought to have social
concern for everybody, and that is why I stand for president
of the United States.



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