



news release

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE • PUBLIC AFFAIRS DIVISION • 2600 VIRGINIA AVE., N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20037 • 202/333-8750

For Release Friday PMs
October 25, 1968

For Further Information:
Ev Munsey, Ext. 201
DC-724

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY ASSAILS CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR U.S. SENATE

San Jose, Calif., October 25 -- Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey today assailed the candidacy of California GOP Senate nominee Max Rafferty as a sign of what experts view as a move to the right in America.

Speaking to the student body at San Jose State College, Humphrey said that Max Rafferty is a man "who has accused his opponent of disloyalty" and who carries around "a mysterious list of faculty members he is going to fire." The Vice President reminded the students that Nixon has endorsed Rafferty, saying "I need Max, but he didn't need Tom Kuchel."

"We may be going against the tide," he warned. "If that were not enough to worry about...public opinion polls tell us that 18 to 22 percent of our fellow citizens" will cast votes for "a man whose appeal is outright racism," he said. "That, my young friends, is the reality of what you and I face."

He expressed the belief that young people "have both the commitment and the willingness to work" in this election and warned that the consequences of a wrong choice are that "some child will have to live four years more in poverty; some black American will suffer degradation and injustice; some Mexican-American will still be denied the basic human dignity that is everyone's right." "If we lose this election, we may lose the chance to change the things you cannot tolerate."

A revised text of Mr. Humphrey's remarks follows.

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REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
SAN JOSE STATE COLLEGE
SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA
OCTOBER 25, 1968

SUBSTITUTE TEXT

For Release: Friday PMs
October 25, 1968

Fellow students: After hearing Dick Meynor's introduction I don't know whether to fight or to switch.

Better then that, though, I'd like to reply in kind.

I won't talk the old litany about the depression, how my wife made sandwiches and I sold them on the campus, or how tough it was in the old days -- or even about the civil rights battle of 1948.

It would bore you. In fact, I've told it so often it bores me.

But I think my generation and your generation have more in common then you might suspect.

What we have most in common is that we both care.

We care because we both see a lot that's wrong and want to change it.

Now, you talked about bombs falling in Vietnam.

You talked about rat-infested ghettos and the suppression of black people.

You talked about draft laws that are unjust.

You want to change all these things. So do I.

You want to know where I am? I am for getting it done. And I am right here to tell you how.

* * * *

Peace.

You may not agree with all I say. But you must agree that I have said it -- others haven't.

I made a speech not long ago in Salt Lake City. In that speech, I said exactly what I would do about the war in Vietnam when I become President.

I talked about the bombing.

I told how I would de-Americanize the war.

I went in detail into the why's and how's of free elections. And I tried to draw some lessons from what has happened there.

I want to get that war over just as much as you do. We don't have any argument there.

And you can be sure I'll do it my own way, and with a willingness to take some risks in doing it.

Now I know how much Vietnam means to all of you.

But I would respectfully point out that there is another issue in front of us that carries with it even more danger -- and that needs your thoughtful consideration and concern.

. . . more

I fought for many years to get nuclear fall-out out of the air and strontium-90 out of childrens' bones.

I did it, I might add, over the fevered opposition of one Richard Nixon and the bombing generals.

You may not remember strontium-90.

But it was a critical issue for human survival -- and a fight we almost lost.

We got the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. John Kennedy and I got it.

Now there is another treaty that is maybe even more important -- a treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons.

Nixon is playing games with that one, too. General Curtis LeMay is just plain opposed to it.

I think that one deserves some placards too.

Because let me tell you: 15 or 20 nations of the world already have the capacity to build their own nuclear bombs. If you don't want Mr. Nasser, among others, to have those weapons, I suggest you do something about this issue too.

Because: 25 minutes after the pressing of buttons in Omaha and Moscow, there would be 250 million dead Russians and Americans. We have got to stop the danger of that happening.

And the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is the next step toward stopping it.

I've got a lot of other ideas about the arms race. I've spelled them out in this campaign.

* * * *

Now the work at home is there for all of us to see.

I've been asked about the stakes in this election. Let me tell you. If we make the wrong choices:

- some child will have to live four years more in poverty;
- some black American will suffer degradation and injustice;
- some Mexican-American will still be denied the basic human dignity that is everyone's right.

Now how are we going to stop all of this?

As a man who has been at this for a few years I tell you it takes commitment -- but also hard, grinding work.

I think you have both commitment and the willingness to work.

But we have to face it: if we read and believe all the public opinion polls, we may be going against the tide.

The experts say "the country is moving right," and that the real American is the man watching television behind his closed window shades, while he worries about who might move in next door.

. . . more

Take a look at California.

Who is the Governor?

It is the man who has placed the integrity of this state's independent university system in question.

Who is the Republican candidate for Senate?

He is the man who has a mysterious list of faculty members he is going to fire...who has accused his opponent of disloyalty.

And who is the Republican candidate for the Presidency?

He is the man who says, "I need Max," but who didn't need Tom Kuchel.

If that were not enough to worry about, we have further on the outside a man whose appeal is outright racism -- and the public opinion polls tell us 18-22 percent of our fellow citizens think he ought to become President.

That, my young friends, is the reality of what you and I face.

* * * *

How do we overcome this?

We do it not by catering to public opinion...or following it...but by changing it.

A good place to begin is right on the American campus.

You say students ought to have more voice in the affairs of their university -- ought to be treated as adults until proven otherwise.

So do I.

In fact I have been trying to lower the voting age to 18 for 18 years.

You say that our collèges ought to offer more experimental courses... opportunities for tutoring...tuition-free programs...and play a more active role in the community.

I've been saying that for a long time. But the army behind me isn't big enough yet.

You say this country is unpardonably slow in practicing what it preaches. I agree.

You're in a hurry. So am I.

Now: here comes the commercial.

I've been out on the political stump since the end of April.

And, to be absolutely frank with out, it seems to me I've seen you before -- carrying somebody else's sign.

I'll be truthful: I haven't always like it.

But you got quite a bit done.

Like helping to bring the war to an end...helping reform a party...and awakening the conscience of this nation. . . . more

Now the question is: are you going to keep it going, or are you going to opt out?

I want to put your generation to work with the Democratic Party, not outside it.

I want to keep our two-Party system alive and responsive--not sterile and removed from the realities of our society.

I want to avoid a situation where young, progressive people by-pass the Democratic processes and lose themselves in a series of self-frustrating "movements."

If our parties are truly responsive, "movements" will be unnecessary.

I want a party where people like you will be the chairmen, the captains, the candidates -- a party built on issues and moral concern.

That's the kind of party I want to build.

Passing among you with collection plates shortly will be members of my new Student Coalition. They have decided not to opt out. Many of them were for somebody else. They are the ones who organized it. A few wear sandals.

What I am saying, not all that lightly, is that I am in the home stretch of a desperate fight.

The next President is going to appoint three or maybe more justices of the Supreme Court -- including the Chief Justice.

The next President is going to end the war in Vietnam -- or not end it.

The next President is either going to bring the full measure of justice to the black man, the Mexican-American and the left-out white -- or he is going to let their resentments build up into explosive proportions.

Now, San Jose, that is where we are. This is where you are.

Mr. Meynor, I hope this responds at least in some measure to your introduction.

What I mean to say is: if we lose this election, we may lose the chance to change the things you cannot tolerate.

If we win this election, we can change it all -- starting high noon, January 20, 1969.

I think of these lines by Langston Hughes:

"O, let my land be a land where liberty
Is crowned with no false patriotic wreath,
But opportunity is real, and life is free,
Equality is in the air we breathe.
(There's never been equality for me,
Nor freedom in this 'homeland of the free.')

* * *

I am the poor white, palled and pushed apart,
I am the Negro bearing slavery's scars,
I am the red man driven from the land,
I am the immigrant clutching the hope I seek --
And finding only the same old stupid plan
Of dog eat dog, of might crush the weak.

* * *

O, yes,
I say it plain,
America never was America to me.
And yet I swear this oath --
America will be!"



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VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY DETAILS 'CONSEQUENCES OF NON-INVOLVEMENT'

San Jose, Calif., October 25 -- Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey declared today that the "consequences of non-involvement" are an America in which the opportunity for reform may be lost for years.

Speaking to the student body at San Jose State College, Humphrey warned that "those who think justice can be postponed for four or eight years" must accept the results. "Some child will have to live for four years more in poverty; some black American will still suffer degradation and injustice; some Mexican American will still be denied the basic human dignity that is everyone's right," he said.

Calling America's youth the "children of hope," Humphrey asked for their help in ridding the country of "fear and hatred, oppression and injustice." He admitted that this is "an unpopular theme to many" but asserted that it is the only chance to "reform America."

He paid tribute to today's young people, saying that "despite the prosperity of your time, you have been a generation of conscience. You see America with unprecedented wealth, and say wealth is not enough." Noting that young people have called for a "renewal of moral spirit in America and in her institutions," Humphrey said that young people are demanding "a society that fosters more personal relations between the community and its residents, the government and its people, the university and its students."

Humphrey pledged that as President he would be responsive to the needs of youth. "When you call on me with your concerns and frustrations, your hopes and ideals, I will hear you," he said.

The text of the Vice President's remarks follows.

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NOTES

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
SAN JOSE STATE COLLEGE
SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA
OCTOBER 25, 1968

I have come to this great university today -- not just to talk about my campaign for President, but about our common concern for the future of America.

The problem is the frustration and anger and fear that so many of our people feel.

Yours is the generation that was born at the end of the Great Depression and World War II. You were the children of hope -- hope that at last Americans could grow up in pursuit of happiness, free of hunger, fear and war.

Despite the prosperity of your time, you have been a generation of conscience.

You see America with unprecedented wealth -- and say wealth is not enough.

You see a world of ingenious machines -- and ask how machines can better serve people.

You call for a renewal of moral spirit in America and in her institutions.

You demand a society that fosters more personal relations -- between the community and its residents, the government and its people, the university and its students.

And you want education that does more than confer credentials, and status.

You want education that asks hard questions ... and demands hard answers ... and education that is concerned primarily with human values in society.

PAGE TWO

In all this, you have my understanding ... and my support.

And I pledge this to you today:

When you call on me with your concerns and frustrations ...
your hopes and ideals, I will hear you.

* * *

Your first concern is peace -- peace in Vietnam, peace around
the world. And that is also my first concern.

As President, my first duty shall be to bring that peace in
Vietnam.

I spoke to the Nation from Salt Lake City on my plans for
peace in Vietnam.

And I pledge to you I shall carry out that program.

We have learned several lessons from Vietnam.

We have learned that we must take a hard look at just what is,
and is not, in our national interest.

We have learned that policies of the past need constant
reassessment.

Let me be clear: I do not counsel withdrawal from the world.

I do not swerve from international responsibility.

I only say that, as President, I will undertake a new strategy
for peace in this world -- based not on American omnipotence but
on American leadership -- moral leadership, as well as other
leadership.

But I shall need your help:

- Help in ending the Vietnam war;
- Help in ending the nuclear arms race;
- Help in building a lasting peace through the United Nations
and international institutions for peace;
- And help in meeting the great needs we face here at home.

* * *

PAGE THREE

There are forces in this land striving to divide and embitter our people.

There are demagogues who preach hate and fear and division. There are radical extremists of the left and the right.

But they will not prevail.

With your help we -- together -- can rid this Nation of fear and hatred ... oppression, and injustice.

This has been my constant theme -- an unpopular theme to many -- but it is the theme which had to be brought to the people in 1968.

Without your help, our chance to reform America may be lost for years:

-- Some child will have to live four years more in poverty;

-- Some black American will still suffer degradation and injustice;

-- Some Mexican-American will still be denied the basic human dignity that is everyone's right.

Those are some of the consequences of non-involvement. Those are the rewards to be gathered by those who think justice can be postponed four or eight years.

I say we cannot wait. I say we must go forward now. If you will help me, we will.

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VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much.

(Applause)

Thank you very much, Dick Miner. I guess I should say thank you.

(Laughter)

Dr. Clark, fellow students, Congressman Don Edwards, and the gentlemen that I hope will be your Congressman from the Tenth District, Grayson Makato, and all the supporters here of Alan Cranston who will be your next United States Senator.

Mayor Alioto, my very good friend, I am grateful for your presence. And may I thank Mark Fauchet and Senator Ahlquist for their willingness to fill in here while we were trying to find our way from Los Angeles here to lovely San Jose.

Now, after hearing Dick Miner's introduction, I don't know whether to fight or switch. But I think maybe what I am going to do is to talk very bluntly and very plainly, because this gentleman has issued a challenge to me that I readily accept, and I am going to reply in kind.

Before I do so, if you will just permit this one observation.

I am very delighted to be here at the home school of those Olympic medal winners, Lee Evans, Tom Smith (Applause) John Carlos (Applause) and Preston Clark.

If you will permit me, I would like to join with many, I am sure, in commending you on your splendid editorial which was brought to my attention about these fine athletes.

(Applause)

Now, Dick Miner has given me a rare opportunity, and this audience does the same, and I appreciate both the candor and the courtesy that is here today. And I don't intend to talk the old litany about the depression, and I don't intend to tell you about how my wife made sandwiches -- you have heard all of that stuff.

Frankly, they weren't as good as we said they were, anyway.

(Laughter)

And I don't intend to tell you how tough it was in the old days. You could care less, and frankly I would like to forget it.

And I don't intend to tell you about the civil rights battle of 1948 -- that is twenty years ago.

It bores you -- frankly, it has bored the living daylights out of me.

But I do think -- I do think that my generation, and your generation, need to do some talking, and I think we have much more in common, if we will talk it out, than any of us would even suspect.

What we have most in common, Dick, is that we do care. You care, I care, and this student body cares.

We care -- care about a lot of things.

We care because we both see, and I have seen plenty of it, a lot that is wrong -- and we want to change it. And no one wants to change it any sooner, any faster, any more dramatically or definitely than the man that is talking to you right now.

(Applause)

Now, you talked to me a moment ago about bombs falling in Vietnam. You talked about rat infested ghettos. You talked about suppression of black people. You talked about draft laws that are unjust, and they are, and I know it. And you want to change all of these things.

Well, let me tell you -- so do I. And I am prepared to do it, if you give me a chance, to change all of those things.

(Applause)

You have rightly asked and I wish everybody were as candid -- I wish everybody were as frank and courteous about it -- you ask where am I. You ask am I for getting it done. Well, I am for getting it done, and I am here to tell you how I think that we can get it done.

First -- peace.

On this platform is a gentleman that I didn't ask to come, that asked to join me -- but he happens to be an old friend. He was the right-hand man to the late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy. And his name is Kenny O'Donnell, and he is here.

Kenny O'Donnell was the author of the so-called peace plank, the minority plank, at the Democratic Convention. He is here because he believes in peace, and he is here because I believe in it.

Now, you may not agree with all that I say. But you must agree that I have said it, at least, and others have not. I have at least been willing to talk up.

(Applause)

I made a speech not long ago in Salt Lake City, and in that speech -- and I presume that you are attentive enough in matters of politics to know about it -- I said exactly what I would do about the war in Vietnam, if that war lingers on, when I become the President. And I said that I would place peace in Vietnam as the highest priority of the Humphrey-Muskie administration, and I didn't make any bones about it.

(Applause)

And I talked about the bombing. And I told how I would de-Americanize that war. And I went into detail of the whys and the hows, of free elections. And I tried to draw some lessons for the future from what has happened out there.

I want to get this war over just as much as you do. And we don't have any argument there. And no one has a monopoly upon the desire for peace -- at least I feel that I can be included in it, having worked a lifetime for peace, disarmament, Peace Corps, nuclear test ban treaty, and a dozen other measures.

And you can be sure of one thing -- that I will do it my way. And with a willingness to take some risks for peace in doing it my way.

I am running for President. The man who is President is retiring. I will be the next President of the United States.

(Applause)

I know how much this issue means to you, this issue of Vietnam. But I would respectfully point out to a highly articulate, concerned, intelligent audience, that there is yet another issue about peace that carries with it even more danger, and it needs your thoughtful consideration and concern, and I refer to the spiraling arms race which will soon be let loose upon this globe unless fundamental decisions are made to stop it.

Now, I fought for many years to get a nuclear test ban treaty, a treaty to prevent nuclear fall-out, strontium 90, radioactivity, to prevent it from infecting the lives of our people and children yet unborn.

Strontium may not be a subject of great concern today, primarily because we stopped the testing in the atmosphere.

But I fought for it. And, I might add over the feverish opposition of one Richard Nixon and his bombing generals. They were opposed to it.

(Applause)

But it was a critical issue for human survival. And thank goodness President Kennedy didn't listen to the sorry advice that came from Mr. Nixon.

It was a fight that we almost lost, but we did get it. It took seven years. John Kennedy negotiated it, I fought for it in the Senate. And when that treaty was signed, the late, beloved President handed me the pen with which he signed that treaty, and it is in the official records of this government that John Kennedy said "Hubert, this is your treaty".

And I want to say it was one of the high moments of my public life.

(Applause)

Now there is another treaty, my friends, that may be even more important, and that is the treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons technology and to spread the nuclear weapons themselves -- and Mr. Nixon is playing games with this one, too -- and General Curtis LeMay is just plain opposed to it. And I think this one deserves some placards of its own, because, let me tell you, a dozen or more nations of the world today have the capacity to build their own nuclear bombs. And if you don't want a Mr. Nasser or a Mr. Castro, among others, to have those weapons, I suggest that you do something about this issue, too, and let your voice be heard all across this land.

And why? Because 25 minutes after the pressing of buttons in Omaha and Offut Air Base and at Moscow, some 250 million dead Russians and Americans would be the result.

Therefore, I think we have got to face up to it, we have to stop that danger and stop the danger of that happening.

That is the first requirement of a civilized society, and surely of this generation.

(Applause)

And that nuclear non-proliferation treaty, as it is called, is the next step towards stopping it.

Now, I have got some other ideas about the arms race, and I have been talking about them, and I have been speaking on radio and television specifically until my throat is sore from it.

But let me say this.

We either halt the arms race or you are going to halt humanity. And you had better make up your mind that we are going to make that decision in the next four years, because that is the time of decision on the spiraling arms race danger.

Now, for a little work here at home -- because it gets a little closer when we start talking about home base.

I have been asked about the stakes in this election.

Well, let me tell you what I think they are.

If we make the wrong decisions, if we make the wrong choices, some child -- yes, millions of them -- will have to live four more years in poverty, in hopelessness, and in despair. And some -- yes, thousands of them, millions -- black Americans will suffer more degradation and injustice.

Yes -- some Mexican-Americans, thousands, millions of them, will stand to be denied the basic human dignity that is everyone's right. And our cities will be seething with anger and with despair.

And, my fellow students, these issues are not new to me. I have been in this struggle all of my life, and I am not afraid of it. I welcome the challenge.

How are we going to stop all of this?

Well, there is a man who has been at it, and I will tell you one thing that it takes -- it takes guts, and it takes commitment, and it takes a willingness to stick to it, and not merely to have a momentary sort of expression about it, but to stay at the nitty-gritty of the hard job, hard, grinding work. And I think that

I am talking to people here today who have that commitment, and I hope I am talking to people who have the willingness to go to work at it and to speak out your conscience about the things that affect millions of our people in this land, millions that have never had a chance, that deserve a chance. And they are going to get the chance if you give me the chance to let them have a chance.

(Applause)

Yes -- I have read all about the polls. I know what they say. And I realize that we are going against the tide. And I know also that those same polls tell me and tell others not to speak out on issues such as racial prejudice, they tell me about the backlash. They tell me all those things. And I throw them in the waste paper basket, because I had made up my mind a long time ago that if the price of seeking the Presidency was a compact with extremism or racism, then I don't want to be President of the United States.

(Applause)

The experts say -- the experts tell us that the tide is moving to the right, and that the real American, he is home watching the television, behind closed window shades, and he worries about who might move in next door.

Well, take a look at your home state. You have got a little work to do here.

Who is the Governor?

(Applause)

Yes, I know we would all like to save the world. But might I suggest that you start in your own precinct. Y-ou might also start in your own dorm. It works pretty well right there -- right where we are.

Who is the Governor? It is the man who has placed the integrity of this state's independent university system in question. And who is that Republican candidate around here for the Senate?

(Laughter)

He is the man who has a mysterious list of faculty members that he is going to fire.

And who has accused his opponent of disloyalty?

Well, I want to tell Mr. Max Rafferty something.

Senators don't fire faculty members or even hire them. He ought to know that.

(Applause)

Who is the Republican candidate for the Presidency?

Well, he is the man who says "I need Max". That is what he said.

But he didn't say he needed Tom Kuchel when the chips were down in this state. Oh, no. He says he now needs Max to put forward his forward-looking program.

Ladies and gentlemen, if the forward-looking program of the Republican administration depends on the Republican candidate for Senate in this state, we will return, may I say, to the primitive man. No doubt about it.

(Applause)

But if this isn't bad enough, something to worry about, I think we have further on the outside a man whose appeal is shocking, tragic. It is outright racism.

Yet, my fellow Americans, the public opinion polls tell us that 18 to 20 per cent of our fellow citizens think that that man ought to be President.

I submit to you that that is a danger sign in this society, and I submit to you that I am the only man that is out campaigning against him. Mr. Nixon is not doing it. But Hubert

Humphrey is, and he is speaking up against him, even if it costs votes.

(Applause)

That, my young friends, is the reality of what you and I face.

How do we overcome this?

Well, we don't do it by going around putting our political finger up in the air and getting the so-called public opinion breezes and then following them. But we do it by changing public opinion and a good place to start changing public opinion is right here on the college campus; that is where public opinion ought to have its best seedbed. And you say State students ought to have more voice in the affairs of their own university. You say they ought to be treated as adults until proven otherwise. Well, might I say I say so too, and I have been saying so for a long, long time.

(Applause)

And I know I have come to campuses where they say -- well, now, where do you stand on lowering the voting age to age 18? I say I stood for it 18 years ago -- in 1950 -- and I haven't changed my mind.

(Applause)

This is not a new thing.

And you say our colleges ought to offer more experimental courses, opportunities for tutoring, tuition--free programs, and play a more active role in the community. Well, I have been saying that for a long time.

I don't think a campus ought to be a meadow of -- just a meadow of meditation -- and I don't think it ought to be an island of just retreat. I think it ought to be a place of action, and I think the best place for social experimentation as to how we can improve American society ought to start on a college campus, and a university and a college ought to team up with the cities and the states, to see if we can't do something to improve the quality of life.

That is what I mean by experimental participating courses for which you get credit just like you would your regular courses.

(Applause)

Now, you say this country is unpardonably slow in practicing what it preaches.

Yes, it is -- and might I add it takes a lot of stick-to-it-iveness. Some of us fought for some of these things that we have taken for granted for ten years. It takes time, and it is slow, I agree.

You say you are in a hurry. Well, let me tell you -- I have been in a hurry all of my life, and I am in a greater hurry now because there isn't that much life left. I want to get them done.

And here comes my commercial.

I have been out on the political stump for months. And to be absolutely frank with you, it seems to me I have seen you before; and frankly, as was said here by your college leader, you were carrying some signs that I wasn't so sure that I always liked.

But I liked the fellows that you were talking about.

Might I add that I have known these men much longer than most have. I spent a lifetime of public life with my college from Minnesota. We built a political party together. And I was in the forefront of that battle, getting the battle stars. And I stood alongside of the late Robert Kennedy and fought with him for every major issue in that Congress, and was with him in 1964 when he fought to go to that Congress.

But, you know, you have got a lot done in this work that you have been doing, and I don't think you ought to sell yourselves short in helping to bring this war to an end --- and make no mistake about it, the voices of students across America have had an impact on public policy -- a great impact upon it -- and you are helping reform a political party, and you have helped awaken the conscience of the nation.

Now the question is are you going to keep at it or are you going to pack up and opt out. That is what the question is. And I think I have to put it right to you.

I want your generation to work within the Democratic Party and not outside of it. You can remake this party and you can remake it in your own image if you really want to do it. It has been done before, it can be done again.

(Applause)

I want to keep our two-party system alive, and I want it responsive, and I want it refreshed with dissent, and I want it refreshed with young idealism. And I don't want it sterile, and I don't want it removed from the realities of our society.

I helped build a party like that, and I want to avoid a situation where the young progressive people decide to bypass the democratic process and lose themselves in a series of self-frustrating what they call movements.

Now, if our parties are truly responsive, movements will be unnecessary. The movement can be within the party, to get the job done, to make the decisions, to change the laws, to change whatever needs to be changed in America, to right the old wrongs. It can be done. It has been done before.

Opting out won't help.

And I want a party where people like you will be the chairmen, the captains, the candidates -- and a party that is built on issues and moral concern. And that is the kind of a party that I am going to help build. That is the kind of a party I want to lead. And if I am your President, that is the kind of a party we will build, and that is the kind of a party that you will have your share in and your right to lead.

(Applause)

Now, friends, passing among you I hope will be some members of our new student coalition. We always ought to do something spiritual at these occasions. And I hope they will pass amongst you with collection plates.

Now, they have decided not to opt out. Many of them were for somebody else.

In 1960 I fought John Kennedy in the primaries, but when it came down to the election, the State of Minnesota was one of two midwestern states, from the Appalachians to California, that carried for John Kennedy, and I helped carry it for him. I didn't opt out.

And in 1961 when he became President, and he needed a floor leader for his programs of the New Frontier, he didn't have to ask me twice. I was there, because I knew that we had a great President, and I knew that working together we could do much more than working separately.. We didn't opt out.

What I am saying, in other words, is simply this --- is that I am in the home stretch of the desperate fight, and you know it.

Maybe the alternatives are not all you want. But let me tell you something, my friends. We dare not -- we dare not stop the process that has been under way.

There are three choices. One that says go backward; one that says stand still; and one that says move steadily forward. And the Humphrey-Muskie team represents the forward-moving

operation in this campaign.

(Applause)

Now, the next President is going to end the war in Vietnam or not end it, and the next President is going to appoint three or more justices of the Supreme Court, including the Chief Justice. The next President is either going to bring full measure of justice to the black man, the Mexican-American, the left-out white, or he is going to let their resentments build up into dynamite and explosion. And I intend to be that next President. And I intend to end that war if it is not done by that time. And I intend to achieve the peace. And I intend to appoint forward-looking, progressive-minded judges, and I intend, as I have all of my life, to bring a full measure of justice to the black man, to the Mexican-American and to the left-outs, because that is the life story of the man that is -talking to you here today. And I intend to get it done.

(Applause)

I know that this country- is rich and powerful. The question is, is it just and decent. I want America to be all of this, and more. I want it to have the strength that comes from a people that participate in their country, that love it through participation. I want it to have compassion that comes from a concern for the needs of humanity. Compassion is not weakness; it is the real strength of character. And I want America to have genuine justice that comes based from a sincere believe in human dignity and the work of a human being. And I want Americans to trust one another, a trust that comes from the respect for one another.

I want an America that will be characterized by the words "strength" and "compassion" and "justice" and "trust".

My friends, that is what the issue is in this campaign. Will we have leadership that can bind us together? Will we be able to build the trust that we should have in each other? I think that we can.

But what I say is if we lose this election, we may lose the chance to change the things that you dislike and that you cannot tolerate.

If we win this election we can change it together, and starting at high noon, January 20, 1968.

I found a few lines of poetry that told my whole story, and I think tells yours, from the black poet, Langston Hughes. Listen to these words that cry out and yet tell us a message, not only of despair, but of faith.

"Oh, that my land be a land where liberty is crowned,
With no false patriotic wreath,
But opportunity is real, life is free, equality is in the air
we breath.
There has never been equality for me nor freedom in this
home land of the free.
I am the poor white, cold and pushed apart.
I am the Negro bearing the slavery scars.
I am the red man driven from the land.
I am the immigrant clutching the hope I seek and finding
only the same old stupid plan of dog eat dog,
of the mighty crush the weak.
Oh, yes, I say the plan never was America to me --
and yet I swear this oath, American will be."

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
SAN JOSE STATE COLLEGE
SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA
OCTOBER 25, 1968

Fellow Students: After hearing Dick Meyner's introduction I don't know whether to fight or to switch.

Better than that, though, I'd like to reply in kind.

I won't talk the old litany about the depression, how my wife made sandwiches and I sold them on the campus, or how tough it was in the old days -- or even about the civil rights battle of 1948.

It would bore you. In fact, I've told it so often it bores me.

But I think my generation and your generation have more in common than you might suspect.

What we have most in common is that we both care.

We care because we both see a lot that's wrong and want to change it.

Now you talked about bombs falling in Vietnam.

You talked about rat-infested ghettos and the suppression of black people.

You talked about draft laws that are unjust.

You want to change all these things. So do I.

You want to know where I am? I am for getting it done. And I am right here to tell you how.

Peace.

You may not agree with all I say. But you must agree that I have said it -- others haven't.

I made a speech not long ago in Salt Lake City. In that speech, I said exactly what I would do about the war in Vietnam when I become President.

I talked about the bombing.

I told how I would de-Americanize the war.

I went in detail into the why's and how's of free elections. And I tried to draw some lessons from what has happened there.

I want to get that war over just as much as you do. We don't have any argument there.

And you can be sure I'll do it my own way, and with a willingness to take some risks in doing it.

Now I know how much Vietnam means to all of you.

But I would respectfully point out that there is another issue in front of us that carries with it even more danger -- and that needs your thoughtful consideration and concern.

I fought for many years to get nuclear fall-out out of the air and strontium-90 ~~and~~ out of children's bones.

I did it, I might add, over the fevered opposition of one Richard Nixon and the bombing generals.

You may not remember Strontium-90.

But it was a critical issue for human survival -- and a fight we almost lost.

We got the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. John Kennedy and I got it.

Now there is another treaty that is maybe even more important -- a treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons.

Mr. Nixon is playing games with that one, too. General Curtis LeMay is just plain opposed to it.

I think that one deserves some placards too.

Because let me tell you: 15 or 20 nations of the world already have the capacity to build their own nuclear bombs. If you don't want Mr. Nasser, among others, to have those weapons, I suggest you do something about this issue too.

Because: 25 minutes after the pressing of buttons in Omaha and Moscow, there would be 250 million dead Russians and Americans. We have got to stop the danger of that happening.

And the Nuclear Non-Froliferation Treaty is the next step toward stopping it.

I've got a lot of other ideas about the arms race. I've spelled them out in this campaign.

* * *

Now the work at home is there for all of us to see.

I've been asked about the stakes in this election. Let me tell you.

If we make the wrong choices:

- some child will have to live four years more in poverty;
- some black American will suffer degradation and injustice;
- some Mexican-American will still be denied the basic human dignity that is everyone's right.

Now how are we going to stop all of this?

As a man who has been at this for a few years I tell you it takes commitment -- but also hard, grinding work.

I think you have both commitment and the willingness to work.

But we have to face it: If we read and believe all the public opinion polls, we may be going against the tide.

The experts say "The country is moving right," and that the real American is the man watching television behind his closed window shades, while he worries about who might move in next door.

Take a look at California.

Who is the Governor?

It is the man who has placed the integrity of this state's independent university system in question.

Who is the Republican candidate for Senate?

He is the man who has a mysterious list of faculty members he is going to fire. . . who has accused his opponent of disloyalty.

And who is the Republican candidate for the Presidency?

He is the man who says, "I need Max," but who didn't need Tom Kuchel.

If that were not enough to worry about, we have further on the outside a man whose appeal is outright racism -- and the public opinion polls tell us 18-20% of our fellow citizens think he ought to become President.

That, my young friends, is the reality of what you and I face.

* * *

How do we overcome this?

We do it not by catering to public opinion. . .or following it. . .but by changing it.

A good place to begin is right on the American campus.

You say students ought to have more voice in the affairs of their university -- ought to be treated as adults until proven otherwise.

So do I.

In fact I have been trying to lower the voting age to 18 for 18 years.

You say that our colleges ought to offer more experimental courses. . . opportunities for tutoring. . .tuition-free programs. . .and play a more active role in the community.

I've been saying that for a long time. But the army behind me isn't big enough yet.

You say this country is unpardonably slow in practicing what it preaches. I agree.

You're in a hurry. So am I.

Now: Here comes the commercial.

I've been out on the political stump since the end of April.

And, to be absolutely frank with you, it seems to me I've seen you before -- carrying somebody else's sign.

I'll be truthful: I haven't always liked it.

But you got quite a bit done.

Like helping to bring the war to an end. . . helping reform a party. . . and awakening the conscience of this nation.

Now the question is: Are you going to keep it going, or are you going to opt out?

I want to put your generation to work within the Democratic Party, not outside it.

I want to keep our two-party system alive and responsive -- not sterile and removed from the realities of our society.

I want to avoid a situation where young, progressive people by-pass the democratic processes and lose themselves in a series of self-frustrating "movements".

If our parties are truly responsive, "movements" will be unnecessary.

I want a party where people like you will be the chairmen, the captains, the candidates -- a party built on issues and moral concern.

That's the kind of party I want to build.

Passing among you with collection plates shortly will be members of my new Student Coalition. They have decided not to opt out. Many of them were for somebody else. They are the ones who organized it. A few wear sandals.

What I am saying, not all that lightly, is that I am in the home stretch of a desperate fight.

The next President is going to appoint three or maybe more justices of the Supreme Court -- including the Chief Justice.

The next President is going to end the war in Vietnam -- or not end it.

The next President is either going to bring the full measure of justice of the black man, the Mexican-American and the left-out white -- or he is going to let their resentments build up into explosive proportions.

Now, San Jose, that is where we are. This is where you are.

Mr. Meyner, I hope this responds at least in some measure to your introduction.

What I mean to say is: If we lose this election, we may lose the chance to change the things you cannot tolerate.

If we win this election, we can change it all -- starting high noon, January 20, 1969.

I think of these lines by Langston Hughes:

"O, let my land be a land where

Liberty

Is crowned with no false patriotic wreath,

But opportunity is real, and life is free,

Equality is in the air we breathe.

(There's never been equality for me,

Nor freedom in this "homeland of the free.")

I am the poor white, pulled and pushed apart,

I am the Negro bearing slavery's scars,

I am the Red man driven from the land,

I am the immigrant clutching the hope I seek --

And finding only the same old stupid plan

Of dog eat dog, of might crush the weak.

* * *

O, yes,

I say it plain,

America never was America to me.

And yet I swear this oath --

America will be! "

* * *

October 25, 1968

#22

REMARKS VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
SAN JOSE STATE COLLEGE
SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA
October 25, 1968

I have come to this great university today -- not just to talk about my campaign for President, but about our common concern for the future of America.

The problem is the frustration and anger and fear that so many of our people feel.

Yours is the generation that was born at the end of the Great Depression and World War II. You were the children of hope -- hope that at last Americans could grow up in pursuit of happiness, free of hunger, fear and war.

Despite the prosperity of your time, you have been a generation of conscience.

You see America with unprecedented wealth -- and say wealth is not enough.

You see a world of ingenious machines -- and ask how machines can better serve people.

You call for a renewal of moral spirit in America and in her institutions.

You demand a society that fosters more personal relations -- between the community and its residents, the government and its people, the university and its students.

And you want education that does more than confer credentials and status.

You want education that asks hard questions. . .and demands hard answers . . .and education that is concerned primarily with human values in society.

In all this, you have my support.

And I pledge this to you today:

When you call on me with your concerns and frustrations . . . your hopes and ideals, I will hear you.

* * *

Your first concern is peace -- peace in Vietnam, peace around the world. And that is also my first concern.

As President, my first duty shall be to bring that peace in Vietnam.

I spoke to the nation from Salt Lake City on my plans for peace in Vietnam.

And I pledge to you I shall carry out that program.

We have learned several lessons from Vietnam.

We have learned that we must take a hard look at just what is, and is not, in our national interest.

We have learned that policies of the past need constant reassessment.

Let me be clear. I do not counsel withdrawal from the world.

I do not swerve from international responsibility.

I only say that, as President, I will undertake a New Strategy for Peace in this world -- based not on American omnipotence but on American leadership -- moral leadership, as well as other leadership.

But I shall need your help.

--help in ending the Vietnam war;

--help in ending the nuclear arms race;

--help in building a lasting peace through the United Nations and international institutions for peace;

--and help in meeting the great needs we face here at home.

* * *

There are forces in this land striving to divide and embitter our people.

There are demagogues who preach hate and fear and division. There are radical extremists of the Left and the Right.

But they will not prevail.

With your help we -- together -- can rid this nation of fear and hatred . . . oppression, and injustice.

This has been my constant theme -- an unpopular theme to many -- but it is the theme which had to be brought to the people in 1968.

Without your help, our chance to reform America may be lost for years;

--some child will have to live four years more in poverty;

--some black American will still suffer degradation and injustice;

--some Mexican-American will still be denied the basic human dignity that is everyone's right.

Those are some of the consequences of non-involvement. Those are the rewards to be gathered by those who think justice can be postponed four or eight years.

I say we cannot wait. I say we must go forward now. If you will help me, we will.

#



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

October 24, 1968

TO: Ted

FROM: Gene

Following the the introduction of the Vice President
by Student body president Dick Meyner at San Jose State tomorrow:

* * * *

"Mr. Humphrey, the theme of your campaign is to unite
this country. But do you really know what it would take to get this
country behind you? Do you really know what it would take to get
us moving?

Let's put it this way. Mr. Vice President. What is it
that many of us here today are on the verge of supporting you
despite the fact ~~that~~ bombs still ~~fall~~ in Vietnam, that the war
continues, that the rat-infested ghettos and barriers still exist,
that black and brown people are still suppressed, that tens of
thousands of people break their backs in the fields of agriculture
for unreasonable wages, and that draft laws are still unjust?

Why is it, Mr. Vice President, that even today, many people
across this land are only on the brink of voting for you instead of
getting out there and beating the bandwagon, campaigning and selling
you, when we know damned well that it was Hubert Humphrey that
(...list of accomplishments)

Why is it that Richard Nixon, a man that has consistently

refused to debate the issues, is ahead in the polls?

Why is it that a racist demagogue, like George Wallace has attracted the following of millions?

And why has a man who was one of the most sensible, vigorous, progressive and far-sighted Senators been unable to light a fire in the hearts of those very people who supported him most enthusiastically four years ago.

Mr. Humphrey, we're not looking for cliches about partisan politics.

We're not here to listen to programs, platitudes or promises. Our nation cries out for leadership, for a man of strength, dignity and purpose.

Just a few years ago it was you who walked the same streets and fought the same battles for the same people who rallied to Bobby Kennedy and Gene McCarthy.

Mr. Vice President, we know where Richard Nixon is. We know where George Wallace is. Robert Kennedy not only told us but showed us where they are. We know where you were four years ago. But where are you now?

#

Above comes from Fred LeClercq, California coordinator of the Student Coalition. (San Jose Advance Office telephone 408-298-0300 #331S)

Local issue of importance: San Jose State is the school of sprinters Tommy Smith and John Carlos who were dismissed from the U.S. Olympic team for giving the Black Power salute on the victory stand at Mexico City.

San Jose State College President Robert Clark wrote an editorial in the school paper, (Oct 24) to the effect: "We are proud of their (Smith and Carlos) achievements. We should question the ambiguous posture of the

U. S. Olympic Committee which itself refuses to follow the Olympic custom of dipping the national flag during the parade. I regret our treatment of black athletes such that they must use the Olympics as a forum to communicate their real concern for the black people of America. They do not return home in disgrace, but as honorable young men."

SPEECH OF

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

At San Jose State College
On Friday, October 25th, 1968

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SPEECH OF
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

At San Jose State College
On Friday, October 25th, 1968

MR. MINER: Could I ask the newsmen to please be as courteous to our audience as possible. There are a lot of people here that want to watch and those of you who are holding banners up, could you put them down for a moment, please.

Mr. Humphrey, the theme of your campaign is to unite this country, but do you really know what it is going to take to get this country behind you? Do you really know what it's going to take to get these people moving? Let's put it this way, Mr. Vice-President: Why is it that many of us here today are on the verge of supporting you despite the fact that bombs are still falling in Vietnam; despite the fact that the war continues; that rat-infested ghettos and barrios still shackle our poor; that Black and Brown are still denied their freedom; and that tens of thousands of people still break their backs in our fields and factories to earn decent wages?

Why is it, Mr. Vice-President, that even today many people across this land are only on the brink of voting for you as the lesser of three evils when they know damn well --

(Loud applause.)

-- when they know damn well that somewhere there is a Hubert

1 H. Humphrey, the authentic and effective liberal, the humani-
2 tarian, the man who worked hard and long to begin to achieve
3 equality and freedom for all Americans, Medicare for the aged,
4 arms control and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, the
5 Food for Peace Program, and the Peace Corps -- the Peace
6 Corps, Mr. Vice-President?

7 Why is it that Richard Nixon, a man who has constantly
8 and consistently refused to debate the issues is ahead in
9 the polls; why is it that a demagogue like George Wallace has
10 attracted the following of millions; and why is it that you,
11 Mr. Humphrey, a man who was once most -- once one of the most
12 sensitive, vigorous, progressive and farsighted senators,
13 seem to have been unable to capture the imagination of the
14 very people who supported you most enthusiastically just four
15 years ago?

16 Mr. Humphrey, we are not looking for cliches about parti-
17 san politics; we are not here to listen to platitudes and
18 promises --

19 (Applause.)

20 We seek here today a leader -- a man of strength, dignity
21 and purpose.

22 Just a few years ago it was you who walked the same
23 streets and fought the same battles for the same people who
24 rallied to Robert F. Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy.

25 I challenge you to give those same peaceful armies of
26 enthusiastic Americans a reason to remobilize for a two-week

1 blitz on into November.

2 Mr. Vice-President, we know where Richard Nixon is --

3 (Laughter.)

4 We know where George Wallace is. We know where Robert
5 Kennedy and Gene McCarthy were because they showed us where
6 they were.

7 (Applause.)

8 And if you can't show us what is truly in your heart to-
9 day because to do so would tend to damage your existing popu-
10 larity or the reputation of the Johnson Administration, then
11 for any of us, for many of us, you are no different than any
12 other candidate.

13 (Applause.)

14 We knew where you were four years ago, Mr. Humphrey. The
15 question is: Where are you now?

16 May I present the Vice-President of the United States.

17 (Loud applause.)

18 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much.

19 (Loud applause.)

20 Thank you very much, Dick Miner. I guess I should say
21 thank you. Doctor Clark, fellow students, Congressman Don
22 Edwards, and a gentleman that I hope will be your Congressman
23 from the 10th District, Grayson Taketa, and all the support-
24 ers here of Alan Cranston, who will be your next United States
25 Senator.

26 (Loud applause.)

1 Mayor Alioto, my very good friend, I am grateful for your
2 presence. May I thank Marc Poche and Senator Alquist for
3 their willingness to fill in here while we were trying to find
4 our way from Los Angeles here to lovely San Jose.

5 Now, after hearing Dick Miner's introduction, I don't
6 know whether to fight or switch.

7 (Laughter.)

8 But I think maybe what I am going to do is to talk very
9 bluntly and very plainly because this gentleman has issued a
10 challenge to me that I readily accept, and I am going to re-
11 ply in kind; but before I do so, if you will just permit this
12 one observation: I am very delighted to be here at the home
13 school of those Olympic Medal Winners, Lee Evans, Tommie Smith
14 and John Carlos.

15 (Loud applause.)

16 And President Clark, if you will permit me, I would like
17 to join with many, I am sure, commending you on your splen-
18 did editorial which was brought to my attention about these
19 fine athletes.

20 Now, Dick Miner has given me a rare opportunity and this
21 audience does the same, and I appreciate both the candor and
22 the courtesy that is here today, and I don't intend to talk
23 the old litany about the depression, and I don't intend to
24 tell you about how my wife made sandwiches; now you've heard
25 that stuff. Frankly, they weren't as good as we said they
26 were, anyway, and I don't intend to tell you how tough

1 it was in the old days. You could care less, and frankly,
2 I'd like to forget it, and I don't even intend to tell you
3 about the Civil Rights battles of 1948. That's twenty years
4 gone. It bores you. Frankly, it's bored the living daylights
5 out of me. But I do think -- I do think that my generation
6 and your generation need to do some talking, and I think we
7 have much more in common if we'll talk it out than any of us
8 would even suspect. What we have most in common, Dick, is that
9 we do care. You care, I care, and this Student Body cares.

10 (Applause.)

11 We care. We care about a lot of things. We care because
12 we both see -- and I've seen plenty of it -- a lot that's
13 wrong, and we want to change it, and no one wants to change
14 it any sooner, any faster, anymore dramatically, or definitely
15 than the man that's talking to you right now.

16 (Applause.)

17 Now, you talked to me just a moment ago about bombs fall-
18 ing in Vietnam; you talked about rat-infested ghettos; you
19 talked about suppression of Black people; you talked about
20 draft laws that are unjust, and they are, and I know it; and
21 you want to change all of these things. Well, let me tell
22 you: So do I, and I'm prepared to do it if you give me a
23 chance -- to change all of those things.

24 (Applause.)

25 You would like to ask -- and I wish everybody were as
26 candid -- I wish everybody were as frank and courteous about

1 it -- you asked where am I. You ask, am I for getting it
2 done. Well, I am for getting it done. And I'm here to tell
3 you how I think that we can get it done.

4 First, peace. On this platform is a gentleman that I
5 didn't ask to come, that asked to join me, but he happens to
6 be an old friend. He was the right-hand man to the late
7 President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, and his name is Kenny
8 O'Donnell, and he's here. Kenny O'Donnell was the author of
9 the so-called Peace Plank, the Minority Plank, at the Demo-
10 cratic Convention, and he's here because he believes in
11 peace, and he's here because I believe in it.

12 Now, you may not agree with all that I say, but you
13 must agree that I have said it at least, and others haven't.
14 I've at least been willing to talk up.

15 (Applause.)

16 I made a speech not long ago from Salt Lake City, and
17 in that speech -- and I presume that you are attentive enough
18 to matters of politics to know about it-- I said exactly what
19 I would do about the war in Vietnam if that war lingers on
20 when I become the President. And I said that I would place
21 peace in Vietnam as the highest priority of the Humphrey -
22 Muskie Administration, and I didn't make any bones about it.

23 (Applause.)

24 And I talked about the bombing. And I told how I would
25 de-Americanize that war and I went into detail of the why's
26 and the how's of free elections, and I tried to draw some

1 lessons for the future from what has happened out there. I
2 want to get this war over just as much as you do, and we
3 don't have any argument there, and no one has a monopoly upon
4 the desire for peace. At least, I feel that I can be included
5 in it, having worked a lifetime for peace, disarmament, Peace
6 Corps, Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, and a dozen other measures,
7 and you can be sure of one thing: that I'll do it my way and
8 with the willingness to take some risk for peace in doing it
9 my way. I'm running for President; the man who is President
10 is retiring. I will be the next President of the United
11 States.

12 (Applause.)

13 So I know how much this issue means to you, this issue
14 of Vietnam, but I would respectfully point out to a highly
15 articulate, concerned, intelligent audience that there is
16 yet another issue about peace that carries with it even more
17 danger, and it needs your thoughtful consideration and con-
18 cern, and I refer to the spiraling arms race which will soon
19 be let loose upon this globe unless fundamental decisions are
20 made to stop it.

21 Now, I fought for many years to get a Nuclear Test Ban
22 Treaty, a treaty to prevent nuclear fallout, Strontium 90,
23 radioactivity, to prevent it from infecting the lives of our
24 people and children yet unborn. Strontium 90 may not be a
25 subject of great concern today, primarily because we've
26 stopped the testing in the atmosphere, but I fought for it,

1 and I might add over the feverish opposition of one Richard
2 Nixon and his bombing generals. They were opposed to it, but
3 it was a critical issue for human survival and thank goodness
4 President Kennedy didn't listen to the sorry advice that came
5 from Mr. Nixon. It was a fight that we almost lost, but we
6 did get it. It took seven years. John Kennedy negotiated
7 it. I fought for it in the Senate, and when that treaty was
8 signed, the late beloved President handed me the pen with
9 which he signed that treaty, and it is in the official rec-
10 ords of this government that John Kennedy said, "Hubert, this
11 is your treaty." And I want to say it was one of the high
12 moments of my public life.

13 (Applause.)

14 Now, there's another treaty, my friends, that may be
15 even more important, and that's the treaty to stop the spread
16 of nuclear weapons technology and to stop the spread of
17 nuclear weapons themselves, and Mr. Nixon is playing games
18 with this one, too, and General Curtis LeMay is just plain
19 opposed to it, but I think this one deserves some placards
20 of its own because, let me tell you: A dozen or more nations
21 of the world today have the capacity to build their own
22 nuclear bombs, and if you don't want a Mr. Nasser or a Mr.
23 Castro, among others, to have those weapons, I suggest that
24 you do something about this issue, too, and let your voice
25 be heard all across this land. And why? Because twenty-five
26 minutes after the pressing of buttons in Omaha at Offutt Air

1 Base, and in Moscow, some two hundred and fifty million dead
2 Russians and Americans would be the result. Therefore, I
3 think we've got to face up to it. We have to stop that danger
4 and stop the danger of that happening. That's the first re-
5 quirement of a civilized society, and surely of this gen-
6 eration.

7 (Applause.)

8 And that Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, as it is
9 called, is the next step toward stopping it.

10 Now, I've got some other ideas about the arms race and
11 I've been talking about them, and I've been listing them out
12 on the radio and television and speech until my throat is
13 sore from it, but let me say this: We either halt the arms
14 race or you're going to halt humanity, and you better make
15 up your mind that we're going to make that decision in the
16 next four years because that's the time of decision on the
17 spiraling arms race danger.

18 Now, for a little work here at home, because it gets a
19 little closer when we start talking about home base, I've
20 been asked about the stakes in this election. Let me tell
21 you what I think they are: If we make the wrong decisions,
22 if we make the wrong choices, some child -- yes, millions of
23 them -- will have to live four more years in poverty, in
24 hopelessness and in despair. And some -- yes, thousands of
25 them, millions, Black Americans -- will suffer more degrada-
26 tion and injustice. Yes, some Mexican-Americans-- thousands,

1 millions of them -- will stand to be denied the basic human
2 dignity that is everyone's right, and our cities will be
3 seething with anger and with despair; and, my fellow stu-
4 dents, these issues are not new to me. I have been in this
5 struggle all of my life, and I'm unafraid of it. I welcome
6 the challenge.

7 Now, how are we going to stop all of this?

8 Well, as a man who's been at it -- I tell you one thing
9 that it takes: It takes guts and it takes commitments and it
10 takes a willingness to stick to it and not merely to have a
11 momentary sort of expression about it, but to stay at the
12 nitty-gritty of the hard job, hard grinding work, and I think
13 that I'm talking to people here today who have that commit-
14 ment, and I hope I'm talking to people who have the willing-
15 ness to go to work at it and to speak out your conscience
16 about the things that affect millions of our people in this
17 land, millions that have never had the chance, that deserve
18 the chance, and they are going to get the chance if you give
19 me the chance to let them have the chance.

20 (Applause.)

21 Yes, I've read -- I've read all about the polls. I know
22 what they say, and I realize that we are going against the
23 tide, and I know also that those same polls tell me and tell
24 others not to speak out on issues such as racial prejudice.
25 They tell me about the backlash; they tell me all those
26 things; and I throw them in the wastepaper basket because I

1 made up my mind a long time ago that if the price of seeking
2 the Presidency was a compact with extremism or racism, then
3 I don't want to be President of the United States.

4 The experts say -- the experts tell us that the tide is
5 moving to the right and that the real American, he's home
6 watching the television, behind closed window shades, and he
7 worries about who might move in next door. Well, take a
8 look at your Home State. You've got a little work to do here.

9 Who is the Governor?

10 (Applause.)

11 Yes, I know we'd all like to save the world, but might
12 I suggest you start in your own precinct? You might even
13 start in your own dorm. It works pretty well right there,
14 right where we are. Who is this Governor? It's the man who
15 has placed the integrity of this State's independent univer-
16 sity system in question. And who's that Republican candidate
17 around here for the Senate? He's the man -- he's the man who
18 has the mysterious list of faculty members that he's going to
19 fire and who has accused his opponent of disloyalty.

20 Well, I want to tell Mr. Max Rafferty something: Sena-
21 tors don't fire faculty members, or even hire them. He ought
22 to know that.

23 (Applause.)

24 Now, who is the Republican candidate for the Presidency?

25 Well, he's the man who says, "I need Max." That's what
26 he said, but he didn't say he needed Tommy Kuchel when the

1 chips were down in his State. Oh, no. He said he now needs
2 Max to put forward his forward-looking program.

3 Ladies and gentlemen, if the forward-looking program of
4 a Republican Administration depends on the Republican candi-
5 date for Senate in this State, we'll return, may I say, to
6 the primitive man. No doubt about it.

7 (Applause.)

8 But if this isn't bad enough, and something to worry
9 about, I think we have further on the outside a man whose
10 appeal is shocking, tragic, it's outright racism, and yet,
11 my fellow Americans, the public opinion polls tell us that
12 eighteen to twenty per cent of our fellow citizens think that
13 that man ought to be President. I submit to you that that is
14 a danger sign in this society, and I submit to you that I am
15 the only man that's out campaigning against him. Mr. Nixon's
16 not doing it, but Hubert Humphrey is, and he's speaking up
17 against him, even if it costs votes. And that, my young
18 friends, is the reality of what you and I face.

19 Now, how do we overcome this?

20 Well, we don't do it by going around putting our politi-
21 cal finger up in the air and getting the so-called public
22 opinion breezes and then following them, but we do it by
23 changing public opinion, and a good place to start changing
24 public opinion is right here on the college campus. That's
25 where public opinion ought to have its best seedbed.

26 And you say State students ought to have more voice in

1 the affairs of their university; you say they ought to be
2 treated as adults until proven otherwise.

3 Well, might I say, I say so, too, and I've been saying
4 so for a long, long time.

5 (Applause.)

6 And, I know I've come to campuses where they say, well,
7 now, where do you stand on lowering the voting age to eight-
8 een? I say I stood for it eighteen years ago in 1950, and I
9 haven't changed my mind. It's not a thing you --

10 (Applause.)

11 -- and you say that our colleges ought to offer more
12 experimental courses, opportunities for tutoring, tuition-
13 free programs, and play a more active role in the community.
14 Well, I've been saying that for a long time. I don't think
15 the campus ought to be a meadow of -- just a meadow of medi-
16 tation, and I don't think it ought to be an island of just
17 retreat. I think it ought to be a place of action, and I
18 think the best place for social experimentation as to how
19 we can improve American Society ought to start on a college
20 campus, and a university, and a college ought to team up with
21 the cities and the states to see if we can't do something to
22 improve the quality of life. That's what I mean by experi-
23 mental participating courses for which you get credit, just
24 like you would your regular courses.

25 (Applause.)

26 Now, you say this country is unpardonably slow in prac-

1 ticing what it preaches. Yes, it is. Might I add, it takes
2 a lot of stick-to-itiveness. Some of us fought for some of
3 these things that we have taken today for granted for ten
4 years. It takes time and it is slow. I agree. You say
5 you're in a hurry? Well, let me tell you, I've been in a
6 hurry all of my life, and I'm in a greater hurry now because
7 there isn't that much life left. I want to get them done.

8 And here comes my commercial: I've been out on the po-
9 litical stump for months and, to be absolutely frank with you,
10 it seems to me I've seen you before. And frankly, as was
11 said here by your college leader, you were carrying some signs
12 that I wasn't so sure that I always liked, but I like the
13 fellows that you were talking about. Might I add that I've
14 known these men much longer than most have. I spent a life-
15 time of public life with my colleague from Minnesota. We
16 built a political party together and I was in the forefront
17 of that battle getting the battle scars, and I stood along-
18 side of the late Robert Kennedy and fought with him for every
19 major issue in that Congress, and was with him in 1964 when
20 he fought to go to that Congress. But you know, you've got
21 a lot done in this work that you've been doing, and I don't
22 think you ought to sell yourselves short, like helping to
23 bring this war to an end, and make no mistake about it, the
24 voices of students across America have had an impact on pub-
25 lic policy, a great impact upon it, and you're helping
26 reform a political party, and you have helped awaken the con-

1 science of a nation.

2 Now, the question is: Are you going to keep at it, or
3 are you going to pack up and opt out? That's what the ques-
4 tion is, and I think I have to put it right to you. I want
5 your generation to work within the Democratic Party and not
6 outside of it. You can remake the Party and you can remake
7 it in your own image if you really want to do it. It's been
8 done before and it can be done again. I want to keep our
9 two-party system alive and I want it responsive and I want
10 it refreshed with dissent and I want it refreshed with young
11 idealism, and I don't want it sterile, and I don't want it
12 removed from the realities of our society. I helped build
13 a party like that, and I want to avoid the situation where
14 the young progressive people decide to bypass the democratic
15 process and lose themselves in a series of self-frustrating,
16 what they call, movements.

17 Now, if our parties are truly responsive, movements will
18 be unnecessary. The movement can be within the party to get
19 the job done, to make the decisions, to change the laws, to
20 change whatever needs to be changed in America, to right the
21 old wrongs. It can be done; it's been done before. Opting
22 out won't help. And I want a party where people like you will
23 be the chairmen, the captains, the candidates, and a party
24 that's built on issues and moral concern and that's the kind
25 of a party that I'm going to help build. That's the kind
26 of a party that I want to lead, and if I'm your President,

1 that's the kind of a party we will build, and that's the kind
2 of a party that you will have your share in and your right to
3 lead.

4 (Applause.)

5 Now, friends, passing among you, I hope, will be some mem-
6 bers of our new student coalition. We always ought to do some-
7 thing spiritual at these occasions, and I hope they'll pass a-
8 mongst you with collection plates. Now, they've decided not
9 to opt out. Many of them were for somebody else. In 1960, I
10 fought John Kennedy in the primaries, but when it came down to
11 the election, the State of Minnesota was one of two Midwestern
12 States from the Appalachians to California that carried for
13 John Kennedy, and I helped carry it for him. I didn't opt
14 out. And in 1961, when he became President and he needed a
15 floor leader for his programs of the New Frontier, he didn't
16 have to ask me twice; I was there because I knew that we had
17 a great President, and I knew that working together we could
18 do much more than working separately. We didn't opt out.

19 What I am saying, in other words, is simply this: Is
20 that I am in the homestretch of a desperate fight, and you
21 know it. Maybe the alternatives are not all you want, but
22 let me tell you something, my friends: We dare not, we dare
23 not stop the process that's been underway. There are three
24 choices: One that says go backward; one that says stand
25 still; and one that says move steadily forward; and the
26 Humphrey - Muskie Team represents the forward-moving opera-

1 tion in this campaign.

2 (Applause.)

3 Now, the next President is going to end the war in
4 Vietnam or not end it; and the next President is going to ap-
5 point three or more Justices of the Supreme Court, including
6 the Chief Justice; the next President is either going to
7 bring full measure of justice to the Black man, the Mexican-
8 American, the left-out White, or he is going to let their re-
9 sentments build up into dynamite and explosion, and I intend
10 to be that next President, and I intend to end that war if
11 it's not done by that time. And I intend to achieve the
12 peace, and I intend to appoint forward-looking progressive-
13 minded Judges, and I intend, as I have all of my life, to
14 bring a full measure of justice to the Black man, to the
15 Mexican-American, and to the left-outs because that is the
16 life story of the man that's talking to you here today. And
17 I intend to get it done.

18 (Loud applause.)

19 I know that this country is rich and powerful. The
20 question is: Is it just and decent? I want America to be
21 all of this and more; I want it to have the strength that
22 comes from a people that participate in their country, that
23 love it through participation; I want it to have compassion
24 that comes from a concern for the needs of humanity. Com-
25 passion is not weakness; it's the real strength of charac-
26 ter; and I want America to have genuine justice that comes

1 based from a sincere belief in human dignity and the worth
2 of a human being; and I want Americans to trust one another,
3 a trust that comes from the respect for one another. I want
4 an America that will be characterized by the words strength
5 and compassion and justice and trust, and, my friends, that's
6 what the issue is in this campaign. Will we have leadership
7 that can bind us together? Will we be able to build a trust
8 that we should have in each other? I think that we can, but
9 what I say is, if we lose this election, we may lose the
10 chance to change the things that you dislike and that you
11 cannot tolerate. If we win this election, we can change it
12 together and starting at high noon, January 20th, 1969.

13 I found a few lines of poetry that told my whole story,
14 and I think tells yours. From the Black Poet, Langston
15 Hughes. Listen to these words that cry out and yet tell us
16 a message, not only of despair but of fate:

17 "O, let my land be a land where liberty
18 Is crowned with no false patriotic wreath,
19 But opportunity is real, and life is free,
20 Equality is in the air we breathe.

21 "(There's never been equality for me,
22 Nor freedom in this 'Homeland of the Free.')

23 "I am the poor White, palled and pushed apart,
24 I am the Negro bearing slavery's scars,
25 I am the Red Man driven from the land,
26 I am the immigrant clutching the hope I seek --
And finding only the same old stupid plan
Of dog eat dog, of might crush the weak.

"O, yes, I say it plain,
American never was America to me.
And yet I swear this oath --
America will be!"

1 Ladies and gentlemen, the poet has said it; he has told
2 us all of inequities; all of the inhumanities, all of the in-
3 justices. He has borne his heart and opened it to us and yet
4 he has a faith that it can be changed.

5 Now, my friends, I lived all of my life in this period
6 of change as you have. Some people talk change, other people
7 cause it, and I happen to believe that this generation can
8 cause the changes that are needed if you stay within the
9 democratic process of changing things the way it ought to be
10 done, and I want the chance to work with you and I pledge it,
11 as your President, the White House will not be an historical
12 monument, but it will be a house of welcome. It will be a
13 place where there is a man that will seek to understand the
14 voices of those who have been unheard and listen to those
15 that have never been listened to. And it will be a place
16 where there is a President that will listen to the voice of
17 young men and women, not always agreeing with it, not always
18 saying that it's right, but being willing to learn and to
19 listen. The White House belongs to the people and the Presi-
20 dent is the only national officer that is the lobbyist for
21 the people. I seek not to serve just some people; I seek
22 not to serve just the Black or the White or the rich or the
23 poor; I seek to serve those whom I served all my life, and
24 now the moment comes when I can do a great service to serve
25 all of our people, and in serving them, if you please, all
26 of humanity, because, make no mistake about it, the foreign

1 policy of this country will be no better than its domestic
2 morality. The foreign policy of this nation will be deter-
3 mined by the way we treat each other, and if this country is
4 to be torn and divided by doubt and fear and suspicion, if
5 our cities are to be communities of animosity and enemies,
6 rather than friends and neighbors, there is no hope. Then
7 the last best hope is gone.

8 But if we work together, if we try to be tolerant of
9 one another, to dialogue, to talk, to listen, to dissent with
10 reason and with respect, there is nothing that we cannot do.

11 I'm convinced that the unfinished business of America is
12 our business, and I am convinced that the best days of this
13 country are yet to be lived, and I am convinced that there
14 are voices in America that if listened to, can help us, and
15 I am convinced that the human resources of America are yet to
16 be touched. The great potential of the poor, the great possi-
17 bilities of the children of the slums and of rural poverty,
18 that great potential can be brought forth, and I want to be
19 a man that helps this country call forth its goodness, not
20 its evil, to call forth its greatness, not its pettiness,
21 and I'd like to have young Americans stand up now and give
22 us a chance to do what this nation needs to be done: To bind
23 up its wounds, to bring justice to our laws, to help people
24 make something out of their lives, to give them the chance
25 that you have and that I've had, and there are millions that
26 don't have it. To reach out, not to help somebody by relief,

1 not to give them a handout, but rather to stretch the hand
2 of fellowship in assistance to help somebody stand on his
3 own feet.

4 America will be no better abroad than it is at home, and
5 the way that you bring peace to this world is to bring har-
6 mony and peace to your own country; and if we do it here,
7 then maybe we have a moral right to talk about it elsewhere.
8 If we can't do it here, God only knows we will be an utter
9 failure anyplace else.

10 Thank you very much.

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REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

San Jose State College

San Jose, California

October 25, 1968

Miner's
L Fellow Students: After hearing Dick ~~Meyner~~'s introduction I
don't know whether to fight or to switch.

L Better than that, though, I'd like to reply in kind. *> But first*
I won't talk the old litany about the depression, how my wife
made sandwiches and I sold them on the campus, or how tough it was in
the old days -- or even about the civil rights battle of 1948.

John Carlos
Bronx
I am delighted to hear at the Home School of those
~~Two~~ Olympic ~~Medal~~ Medal Winners, Lee Evans and
Tommy Smith - and I commend & applaud to
Edmond & President Robert Clark of San Jose State (Oct 24)

L It would bore you. In fact, I've told it so often, it bores me.!

But I think my generation and your generation have more in common than you might suspect.

L What we have most in common is that we both care.

*we
care*

L We care because we both see a lot that's wrong and want to change it.

L Now you talked about bombs falling in Vietnam.

You talked about rat-infested ghettos and the suppression of black people.

L You talked about draft laws that are unjust.

L You want to change all these things. So do I.

L You want to know where I am? ^{*well*} I am for getting it done. And I am right here to tell you how.

Ken O'D.

Peace.

You may not agree with all I say, But you must agree that I
have said it -- others haven't!

I made a speech not long ago in Salt Lake City. In that speech, I
said exactly what I would do about the war in Vietnam when I become
President.

I talked about the bombing.

I told how I would de-Americanize the war.

I went in detail into the why's and how's of free elections, And
I tried to draw some lessons ^{for the future} from what has happened there.

I want to get that war over just as much as you do, We don't have
any argument there.!

And you can be sure I'll do it my own way, and with a willingness
to take some risks for peace in doing it.

Now I know how much Vietnam means to all of you.

But I would respectfully point out that there is another issue in front of us that carries with it even more danger -- and ^{it} ~~that~~ needs your thoughtful consideration and concern. / I refer to arms control - reduction

I fought for many years to get nuclear fall-out out of the air and strontium-90 out of childrens' bones. - Nuclear Test Ban Treaty

I did it, I might add, over the fevered opposition of one Richard Nixon and the bombing generals.

You may not remember Strontium-90.

But it was a critical issue for human survival -- and a fight we almost lost.

We got the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. John Kennedy and I got it.

Now there is another treaty that is maybe even more important -- a treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons.

Mr. Nixon is playing games with that one, too. General Curtis LeMay is just plain opposed to it.

L I think that one deserves some placards too.

Because let me tell you: ~~about~~ ^{a dozen or more} nations of the world already have the capacity to build their own nuclear bombs. If you don't want

Mr. Nasser, among others, to have those weapons, I suggest you do something about this issue too.

And why — well because

~~Because~~ 25 minutes after the pressing of buttons in Omaha and Moscow, there would be 250 million dead Russians and Americans.

We have got to stop the danger of that happening.

And the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is the next step toward stopping it.

L I've got a lot of other ideas about the arms race. I've spelled them out in this campaign. *We either halt the arms race or it shall halt humanity.*

Home L Now the work at home is there for all of us to see.

I've been asked about the stakes in this election. ^{so} Let me tell you —

If we make the wrong choices:

If we make the wrong ⁶ choices - the wrong decision

-- some child will have to live four years more in poverty;

-- some black American will suffer ^{more} degradation and injustice;

-- some Mexican-American will still be denied the basic human dignity that is everyone's right. • Our cities will seethe with anger, and despair.

L Now how are we going to stop all of this?

As a man who has been at this for a few years, I tell you it takes commitment -- but also hard, grinding work.

L I think you have both commitment and the willingness to work. !

L But we have to face it: If we read and believe all the public opinion polls, we may be going against the tide.

L The experts say "The country is moving ^{to the} right," and that the real American is the man watching television behind his closed window shades, while he worries about who might move in next door. ☺

h Take a look at California.

h Who is the Governor?

h It is the man who has placed the integrity of this state's independent university system in question.

Who is the Republican candidate for Senate?

He is the man who has a mysterious list of faculty members he is going to fire... who has accused his opponent of disloyalty.

And who is the Republican candidate for the Presidency?

He is the man who says, "I need Max," but who didn't need Tom Kuchel.

If that were not enough to worry about, we have further on the outside a man whose appeal is outright racism -- and the public opinion polls tell us 18-20% of our fellow citizens think he ought to become President.

That, my young friends, is the reality of what you and I face.

* * *

How do we overcome this?

Don't do it
We ~~do it not~~ by catering to public opinion... or following it... but by changing it. !

A good place to begin is right on the American campus.

L You say students ought to have more voice in the affairs of
their university -- ought to be treated as adults until proven otherwise.

L So do I.

L In fact I have been trying to lower the voting age to 18 for 18
years.

L You say that our colleges ought to offer more experimental
courses ... opportunities for tutoring ... tuition-free programs ... and
play a more active role in the community.

L I've been saying that for a long time. But the ^{force} ~~army~~ behind me
isn't big enough yet.


L You say this country is unpardonably slow in practicing what
it preaches. I agree.

L You're in a hurry. So am I.

L Now: Here comes the commercial.

I've been out on the political stump since the end of April.

And, to be absolutely frank with you, it seems to me I've seen
you before -- carrying somebody else's sign.



L I'll be truthful: I haven't always liked it.

But you got quite a bit done.

L Like helping to bring the war to an end ... helping reform a party ... and awakening the conscience of this nation.

L Now the question is: Are you going to keep it going, or are you going to opt out?

L I want to put your generation to work within the Democratic Party, not outside it. — *We can remake this Party.*

L I want to keep our two-party system alive and responsive -- not sterile and removed from the realities of our society.

L I want to avoid a situation where young, progressive people by-pass the democratic processes and lose themselves in a series of self-frustrating "movements."

L If our parties are truly responsive, "movements" will be unnecessary.

L I want a party where people like you will be the chairmen, the captains, the candidates -- a party built on issues and moral concern.

L That's the kind of party I want to build. - I did it in Minn.

L Passing among you with collection plates shortly will be members of ^{our} ~~my~~ new Student Coalition. They have decided not to opt out. Many of them were for somebody else. They are the ones who organized it.

L A few wear sandals,

L What I am saying, not all that lightly, is that I am in the home stretch of a desperate fight. !!

L The next President is going to appoint three or maybe more justices of the Supreme Court -- including the Chief Justice.

L The next President is going to end the war in Vietnam -- or not end it.

L The next President is either going to bring the full measure of justice to the black man, the Mexican-American and the left-out white -- or he is going to let their resentments build up into explosive proportions.

{ I intend to be that Next President - end of the war as not war, I intend to achieve the Peace - to Appoint Forward looking Judges, to bring a full measure of justice to the Black man, the Mex-amer - the Leftouts -

America is Powerful + Rich -

I want America to be all of
this and more - I want it to have

Strength, that comes from
a people that love their Country

Compassion, that comes from
a concern for the needs
of humanity

Justice - that comes from
a belief in human dignity

+ Trust - that comes from
a respect for one
another -

Yes, Strength, Compassion, Justice
+ Trust

← So that the way it is, with me - I care.

- 11 -

Now, San Jose, that is where we are. This is where you are.

Mr. ^{Minor} ~~Meyner~~, I hope this responds at least in some measure to your introduction.

What I mean to say is: If we lose this election, we may lose the chance to change the things you cannot tolerate.

If we win this election, we can change it all -- starting high noon, January 20, 1969.

the Black Poet
I think of these lines by Langston Hughes. ~~the~~

"O, let my land be a land where

Liberty

Is crowned with no false patriotic wreath,

But opportunity is real, and life is free.

Equality is in the air we breathe,

(There's never been equality for me,

Nor freedom in this "homeland of the free."?)

* * *

I am the poor white, pulled and pushed apart,
I am the Negro bearing slavery's scars,
I am the Red man driven from the land,
I am the immigrant clutching the hope I seek --
And finding only the same old stupid plan.
Of dog eat dog, of might crush the weak.

* * *

O, yes,
I say it plain,
America never was America to me.
And yet I swear this oath --
America will be !"

#

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
SAN JOSE STATE COLLEGE
SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA
OCTOBER 25, 1968

For Friday pm 5
Replaces earlier text.

Stenil also

Fellow Students: After hearing Dick Meyner's introduction
I don't know whether to fight or to switch.

Better than that, though, I'd like to reply in kind.

I hope you know that a not-so-old fogey like myself may
have a slightly different view of the world than you do.

But that is not to say you still can't get together to get
the right things done.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

I won't go talk the old litany about the depression, how my
wife made sandwiches on the campus and I sold them on the campus,
or how tough it was in the old days. — or even about the civil right battle
of 1948.

It would bore you. In fact, I've told it so many often it bores
me.

But I think my generation and your generation have more
in common than you might suspect.

What we have most in common is that we both care.

We care because we both see a lot that's wrong and
want to change it.

Now, you talked ~~about~~ bombs falling in Vietnam. ~~You talked~~
~~about the war in Vietnam.~~

You talked about rat-infested ghettos and the suppression
of black people.

You talked about draft laws that are unjust.

You want to change all these things. So do I.

You want to know where I am? I am for getting it done. And I am right here to tell you how.

* * *

Peace. *You may not agree with all I say. But you must agree that I have said it. — others haven't.*

I made a speech not long ago in Salt Lake City. In that speech, I said exactly what I would do about the war in Vietnam when I become President.

the I talked about ~~this~~ bombing. *I told how I would de-Americanize the war. I went in detail into the why's and how's of free elections. And I tried to draw some lessons from what has happened there.*

The largest and most overwhelming lesson is this one: We have to remember who we are. We have to make sure what we're doing jibes with that. I want to get that war over just as much as you do. We don't have any argument there.

And you can be sure I'll do it my own way, ~~with my own advisors~~, and with a willingness to take some risks in doing it.

*Now I know how much Vietnam means to all of you. But I would respectfully point out that there is another issue in front of us all that carries with it even more danger -- and that needs your thoughtful consideration and concern. I fought for many years to get nuclear fall-out *out of the air* and strontium-90 out of children's bones. I did it, I might add, over the fevered opposition of one Richard Nixon and the bombing generals.*

You may not remember
~~Now if you don't remember what Strontium-90 is I suggest you look~~
it up. But it was an issue the critical issue for human survival
and a fight we almost lost.
We got the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. John Kennedy and I got it.

Now there is another treaty that is maybe even more important --
a treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons.

Mr. Nixon ^{games} is playing ~~gains~~ with that one, too. General Curtis
LeMay is just plain opposed to it.

I think that one deserves ^{some} a placard too.
~~How about a placard or two for that one?~~

Because let me tell you: 15 or 20 nations of the world already
have the capacity to build ~~make~~ their own nuclear bombs. If you
don't want Mr. Nassar, among others, to have those weapons, I
suggest you do something about this issue too.

Because: 25 minutes after ^{the} pressing of buttons in Omaha
and Moscow, there would be 250 million dead Russians and Americans.
We have got to stop the danger of that happening. And the Nuclear
Non-Proliferation ^{the} Treaty is ~~the~~ next step toward stopping it.

I've got a lot of other ideas about the arms race. I've spelled
them out in this campaign. ~~I'll leave behind a goodly supply of~~
~~speeches for anyone who's interested.~~

* * *

Now the work ~~it~~ home is there for all of us to see.

I've been asked about the stakes in this election. Let me tell
you. If we make the wrong choices:

- some child will have to live four years more in poverty;
- some black American ~~se~~ will suffer degradation and injustice;
- some Mexican-American will still be ~~denied~~ the basic human
dignity that is everyone's right.

Now how are we going to stop all of this?

As a man who has been at this for a few years I tell you it takes commitment, but also hard grinding work.

I think you have both commitment and the willingness to work.

But we have to face it: If we ~~do~~ read and believe all the public opinion polls, we may be going against the tide.

The experts say "The country is moving right," and that the real American is the man watching television behind his closed window shades while he worries about who might move in next door.

Take a look at California.

Who is the Governor? It is the man who has placed the integrity of this state's independent university system in question.

Who is the Republican candidate for Senate? He is the man who has a mysterious list of faculty members he is going to fire... ^{who} he has accused his opponent of disloyalty. And who is the Republican candidate for ^{the} Presidency?

He is the man who says, "I need Max," *but who didn't need Tom Kuchel.*

If that were not enough to worry about, we have further on the outside a man whose appeal is outright racism -- and the public opinion polls tell us 18-22% of our fellow citizens think ^{he} is ought to become President.

That, my young friends, is the reality of what you and I face.

* * *

How do we overcome this?

We do it not by catering to public opinion...or following it...but by changing it.

A good place to begin is right on the American campus.

You say students ought to have more voice in the affairs of their university -- ought to be treated as adults until proven otherwise.

So do I
In fact I have been trying to lower the voting age to 18 for 18 years.

You say that our colleges ought to offer more experimental courses...opportunities for tutoring...tuition-free programs... and playing a more active role in the community.

I've been saying that for a long time. But the army behind me isn't big enough yet.

You say this country is unpardonably slow in practicing what it preaches. I agree.

You're in a hurry. So am I.

Now: ~~XXXX~~ Here comes the commercial.

I've been out on the political stump since the end of April.

And, to be absolutely frank with you, it seems to me I've seen you ~~here~~ before -- carrying somebody else's sign.

I'll be truthful: I haven't always liked it.

But you got quite a bit done.

Like helping to bring the war to an end...and awakening the conscience of this nation. *for help helping reform a party...*
Now the question is: Are you going to keep it going, or are you going to opt out?

Passing among you with collection plates shortly will be members of my new Student Coalition. *they have decided not to opt out.*
They are clean-shaven, neatly dressed, and

Many of them were for somebody else. They are the ones who organized it.

I want to put ~~the~~ your generation to work within
the Democratic Party, not outside it

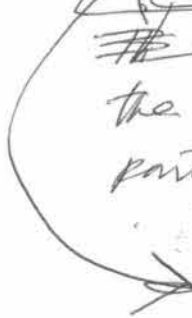
I want to keep our two-party ^{system} alive and responsive —
not sterile and removed from the realities of our society.

~~I want to~~
I want to avoid a situation where young, progressive
people by-pass the democratic processes and lose themselves in
a series of self-frustrating "movements."

If our parties are truly responsive, "movements"
will be unnecessary.

That's the kind of party I want to build.

~~I~~ I want a party where people like you will be
the chairmen, the captains, the candidates — a
party built on issues, ~~not on~~ and moral concerns



A few wear sandals.

~~respectful students who have decided not to opt out. A few wear sandals.~~

What I am saying, not all that lightly, is that ~~XXXXXX~~ I am in the home stretch of a desperate fight. The next President is going to appoint three or maybe more justices of the Supreme Court -- including the Chief Justice.

~~XXXXXX~~

The next President is going to end the war in Vietnam -- or not end it.

The next President is ~~right~~ either going to bring the full measure of justice to the black man, the Mexican-Americans and the left-out white -- or he is going to let their resentments build up into explosive proportions.

Now, San Jose, That is where we are. This is where you are.

Mr. Meyner, I hope this responds at least in some measure to your introduction.

What I mean to say is: If we lose this election, we may lose the chance to change the things you cannot tolerate.

If we win this election, we can change it all -- starting high noon, January 20, 1969.

I think of these lines by Langston Hughes:

"O, let my land be a land where

Liberty

Is crowned with no false patri-

otic wreath,

But opportunity is ~~real~~, and life is free,

Equality is in the air we breathe.

(There's ~~an~~ never been equality for me,

Nor freedom in this "homeland of the free.")

* * *

I am the ~~ppor~~ white, ^{palled} ~~folled~~ and pushed apart,

I am the Negro bearing slavery's scars,

I am the ~~R~~^Ed man driven from the land,

I am the immigrant clutching the hope I seek --

And finding only the same old stupid plan

Of dog eat dog, of mighty crush the weak.

* * *

O, yes,

I say it plain,

America~~n~~ never was America to me.

And yet I swear this oath --

America will be! "



John Stewart-

I did a new
one. Here it is.

~~Th~~

TW⁷ to
Wash

San Jose

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

SAN JOSE STATE COLLEGE

SAN JOSE , CALIFORNIA

OCTOBER 25, LXXX 1968

I HAVE COME TO THIS GREAT UNIVERSITY TODAY, NOT TO TALK ABOUT MY CAMPAIGN FOR PRESIDENT, BUT ABOUT OUR COMMON CONCERN FOR THE FUTURE OF AMERICA.

THE PROBLEM IS THE FRUSTRATION AND ANGER AND FEAR THAT SO MANY OF OUR PEOPLE FEEL.

YOURS IS THE GENERATION THAT WAS BORN AT THE END OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND WORLD WAR TWO. YOU WERE THE CHILDREN OF HOPE . . . HOPE THAT AT LAST AMERICANS COULD GROW UP IN PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS, FREE OF HUNGER, FEAR AND WAR.

INSTEAD, YOU HAVE FOUND A SOCIETY THAT HAS EXCLUDED 29 MILLION OF ITS MEMBERS FROM ITS AFFLUENCE, THAT HAS GONE TO WAR, THAT HAS MURDERED YOUR HEROES -- JOHN F. KENNEDY, ROBERT F. KENNEDY, AND MARTIN LUTHER KING.

AND MANY OF YOU HAVE FOUND AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM THAT IS OVERBURDENED, UNDERMANNED, AND OUT OF DATE.

THE RESULT -- AND IT IS NOT EXCLUSIVELY AN AMERICAN PHENOMENON -- HAS BEEN STUDENT PROTEST -- SOMETIMES PEACEABLE AND SOMETIMES VIOLENT -- SOMETIMES REASONABLE AND SOMETIMES SENSELESS -- AND ALMOST ALWAYS INEXPLICABLE TO YOUR ELDERS.

YOUR FRUSTRATIONS -- AND THOSE OF THE POOR, AND OPPRESSED IN

2. AMERICA -- HAVE CREATED A YEAR OF RAGE, (ULINE YEAR OF RAGE) AND THAT YEAR OF RAGE (ULINE YEAR OF RAGE) IS PUTTING OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM TO ITS MOST SEVERE TEST IN MODERN TIMES.

WHETHER IT CAN PASS THIS TEST -- WHETHER WE CAN CONTINUE TO SURVIVE AS A FREE SOCEITY -- WHETHER WE CAN BE A PEOPLE OF MORAL PURPOSE -- DEPENDS LARGELY ON YOU.

SINCE THE EARLY 196'S WITH THE FREEDOM MARCHES, WITH THE PEACE CORPS, AND WITH A GROWING STUDENT INTEREST IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, THE UNITED STATES HAS COME TO COUNT VERY HEAVILY ON YOU FOR LEADERSHIP AND FOR A SENSE OF MORAL PURPOSE.

IN CONSIDER THIS ONE OF THE MOST ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENTS OF THIS CENTURY (I IN LIEU OF IN). AT NO TIME HAVE YOUNG PEOPLE BEEN MORE IMPORTANT, NEVER HAVE THEY HAD MORE IMPACT -- THAN IN POLITICS, LXXX 1968.

YOU SEEN AMERICA WITH UNPRECEDENTED WEALTH -- AND SAY WEALTH IS NOT ENOUGH.

YOU LOOK AT A WORLD OF INGENIOUS MACHINES -- AND ASK HOW MACHINES CAN BETTER SERVE PEOPLE.

YOU CALL FOR A RENEWAL OF MORAL SPIRIT IN AMERICA AND IN HER INSTITUTIONS. YOU DEMAND (ULINE DEMAND) A SOCIETY THAT FOSTERS MORE PERSONAL RELATIONS -- BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY AND ITS RESIDENTS, THE GOVERNMENT AND ITS PEOPLE, THE UNIVERSITY AND ITS STUDENTS.

AND YOU WANT EDUCATION THAT DOES MORE THAN CONFER CREDENTIALS AND STATUS. YOU WANT EDUCATION THAT ASKS HARD QUESTIONS . . . AND DEMANDS HARD WOXXX ANSWERS . . . AND THAT IS CONCERNED PRIMARILY WITH HUMAN VALUES IN SOCIETY.

IN ALL THIS, YOU HAVE MY UNDERSTANDING (ULINE UNDERSTANDING) . . . AND MY SUPPORT (ULINE SUPPORT).

AND I PLEDGE THIS TO YOU, TODAY:

WHEN YOU CALL ON ME WITH YOUR CONCERNS AND FRUSTRATIONS . . . YOUR HOPES AND IDEALS, I WILL HEAR YOU. (ULINE I WILL HEAR YOU)

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AND I WILL RESPOND (ULINE AND I WILL RESPOND).

YOUR FIRST CONCERN IS PEACE . . . PEACE IN VIETNAM, PLEAXXX
PEACE AROUND THE WORLD. AND THAT IS ALSO MY FIRST CONCERN.

AS PRESIDENT, MY FIRST DUTY SHALL BE TO BRING THAT PEACE IN
VIETNAM.

I HAVE SPOKEN TO THE NATION ON MY PLANS FOR PEACE:

--HOW I WOULD STOP THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM AS AN
ACCEPTABLE RISK FOR PEACE;

--HOW I WOULD REDUCE THE ROLE OF AMERICAN FORCES IN THAT WAR;

--AND HOW I WOULD CALL ONCE AGAIN FOR AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE
IN VIETNAM, WITH UNITED NATIONS OR OTHER INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION
AND SUPERVISED WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM WOTHXXX SOUTH
VIETNAM.

AND I WILL NOT ALLOW POLITICIANS AND GENERALS IN SAIGON TO VETO
AMERICA'S SEARCH FOR PEACE.

WE HAVE LEARNED SEVERAL LESSONS FROM VIETNAM.

WE HAVE LEARNED TO TAILOR OUR INVOLVEMENTS IN THE WORLD TO OUR
REAL INTERESTS;

WE HAVE LEARNED THAT THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA MUST TAKE PART
ACTIVELY IN THE MAKING OF FOREIGN POLICY;

--THAT GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON MUST NEVER LOSE CONTACT WITH
THE PEOPLE . . . NOR THE PEOPLE WITH THEIR GOVERNMENT;

--THAT WE MUST EDUCATE OUR PEOPLE IN THE HARD REALITIES OF THE
WORLD;

--AND THAT WE MUST ALWAYS HAVE A DECENT RESPECT FOR THE OPINIONS
OF MANKIND.

LET ME BE CLEAR: I DO NOT COUNSEL WITHDRAWAL FROM THE WORLD.

ID XXX I DO NOT SWERVE FROM INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

I ONLY SAY THAT, AS PRESIDENT, I WILL UNDERTAKE A NEW STRATEGY FOR

4
PEACE IN THIS WORLD, BASED NOT ON AMERICAN IXXX OMNIPOTENCE, BUT ON

AMERICAN LEADERSHIP -- A MORAL (ULINE MORAL) LEADERSHIP.
DEM FOR HHH DC

DEM FOR HHH DC

910-874-1391 CLG ON CONF PLS HOLD THE LINE.

WE MUST ALSO STOP THE DEADLY RACE IN NUCLEAR ARMS.

THIS IS A STRATEGIC NECESSITY, IF WE ARE NOT TO CONTINUE THE MAD
MOMENTUM OF AN ARMS RACE THAT CAN ONLY LEAD US TO THE POINT WHERE
WE CANNOT STOP THE PLUNGE TO NUCLEAR WAR.

AND IT IS A MORAL IMPERATIVE (ULINE MORAL IMPERATIVE), IF
WE ARE NOT TO LOSE OUR CLAIM TO BE CIVILIZED.

AS PRESIDENT, I SHALL DO ALL IN MY POWER TO END THAT ARMS RACE,
AND START THE WORLD ON THE SEARCH FOR A TRULY LASTING PEACE.

BUT I NEED YOUR HELP . . . YOU, A GENERATION OF AMERICANS
INSPIRED BY MORAL CONCERN;

--HELP IN ENDING THE VIETNAM WAR;

--HELP IN ENDING THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE;

--HELP IN BUILDING A LASTING PEACE;

--AND HELP IN MEEIXXX MEETING THE GREAT NEEDS WE FACE HERE AT
HOME.

THERE ARE FORCES IN THIS LAND STRIVING TO DIVIDE AND EMBITTER
OUR PEOPLE. THEY ARE DEMAGOGUES WHO PREACH HATE AND FEAR AND
DIVISION. THEY ARE RADICAL EXTREMISTS OF THE LEFT AND THE RIGHT.

BUT THEY WILL NOT PREVAIL AGAINST YOU . . . A GENERATION OF
AMERICANS WHO WILL NOT SEE DISCONTENT RESOLVED THROUGH OPPRESSIONS,
WHO WILL NOT SEE INJUSTICES COMPOUNDED BY GREATER TYRANNY.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH, OF ASSEMBLY, OF DISSENT ARE AMONG THE MOST
SACRED LIBERTIES WE POSSESS -- AND I WILL DEFEND THEM IN THIS YEAR

5 .
OF RAGE AS I HAVE DEFENDED THEM ALL MY LIFE.

A STUDENTS AND TEACHERS (AS IN LIEU OF A), YOU HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY . . . FOR PROTECTING FREEDOM OF SPEECH . . . FOR LEADING US TO THE IDEALS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

IF OUR SOCIETY IS TO CHANGE . . . IF WE ARE TO REASSERT VALUES OF HUMAN CONCERN . . . IT MUST BEGIN HERE (ULINE HERE).

CHANGE BEGINS IN THE UNIVERSITIES . . . IT BEGINS WITH MEN WHO THINK . . . AND CARE; MEN WHO ARE WILLING TO ASSERT HUMAN VALUES HOWEVER UNPOPULAR THEY MAY BE . . . WHO HAVE THE COURAGE . . . THE STRENGTH . . . TO WORK FOR THE FULFILLMENT OF THEIR VISION OF JUSTICE AND HOPE (ULINE JUSTICE AND HOPE).

I CALL UPON YOU TO HELP AMERICA IN ITS HOUR OF NEE.

P YOU FACE A GRAVE CHOICE, THIS YEAR.

WITH YOUR HELP WE -- TOGETHER -- CAN RID THIS NATION OF FEAR AND HATRED . . . OPPRESSION, AND INJUSTICE. THIS HAS BEEN A CONSTANT THEME IN THIS DIFFICULT POLITICAL YEAR . . . BUT IT IS THE THEME WHICH HAD (ULINE HAD) TO BE BOXXX BROUGHT TO THE PEOPLE.

WITHOUT YOUR HELP, OUR CHANCE TO REFORM AMERICA MAY BE LOST FOR YEARS;

--SOME CHILD WILL HAVE TO LIVE FOUR YEARS MORE IN POVERTY;

--SOME BLACK AMERICAN WILL STILL SUFFER DEGRADATION AND INJUSTICE;

--SOME MEXICAN-AMERICAN WILL STILL BE DENIED THE BASIC HUMAN DIGNITY THAT IS EVERYONE'S RIGHT (ULINE RIGHT).

THOSE ARE THE CONSEQUENCES OF NON-INVOLVEMENT -- THOSE ARE THE REWARDS TO BE GATHERED BY THOSE WHO THINK JUSTICE CAN BE POSTPONED FOUR OR EIGHT YEARS.

I SAY WE CANNOT WAIT. I SAY WE MUST GO FORWARD NOW (ULINE NOW).

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THIS IS PERHAPS THE HOUR OF OUR GREATEST TESTING AS A FREE
PEOPLE.

WE MUST BE A NATION OF PEACE . . . NOT OF WAR.

WE MUST BE A NATION, NOT OF REPRESSION, BUT OF JUSTICE.

I OFFER YOU NO EASY SOLUTIONS. IN THIS YEAR OF RAGE -- IN THIS
DEADLY DANGER ABROAD AND AT HOM -- THERE ARE NONE (ULINE THERE ARE
NNONE).

I OFFER YOU NO HIDING PLACE. THERE IS NONE (ULINE THERE IS NONE).

BUT I OFFER YOU THIS -- MY CREDO -- THE WORDS OF NATAXXX NATHAN
HALE* "I AM ONLY ONE BUT I AM ONE. I CANNOT DO EVERYTHING, BUT I
CAN DO SOMETHING. AND WHAT I CAN DO, THAT I OUGHT TO DO. AND WHAT
I OUGHT TO DO, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, I SHALL DO."

#

END OF TEXT

END OF MESSAGE



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