

Chancellor Fortune

Airport Reception

Sen's Eastland + Skennis

Neal Gregory  
Tupelo  
Muller Robbins

Dean Morse

~~Oscar Co~~

x Gov. Sullivan

Gerald Jacks!

NOTES

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI

OXFORD, MISSISSIPPI

APRIL 25, 1968

8107

Old Miss  
in Basketball  
beat  
Marovitch  
+ LSU

America's Regional Age is past -- particularly when  
measured by the views of our university students.

The obvious fact is that the South is becoming more  
like the North, the East more like the West -- all of it  
more like America -- every day.

Miss America  
2 of last 5

Football Teams  
Johnny Rought  
"Rebels"

L This is hardly surprising. Young men from Minnesota  
and Mississippi go to war and fight side-by-side. So do  
white Americans and <sup>Black</sup> ~~American~~ ~~Negroes~~ and Spanish-Americans  
and Puerto Ricans and Indian Americans.

L The University of Mississippi Law School has <sup>a larger percentage of</sup> ~~more~~  
state university  
Negro students than any other law school in the country. It  
participates in a joint program with the Yale Law faculty.

The Cabinet of the United States Government contains  
a healthy sprinkling of Southerners.

↳ The Dean of Harvard College comes to Birmingham, Alabama, to join the faculty of an obscure Negro college -- not as a missionary of righteousness, but as an American educator trying to do his job.

↳ The Southern businessman deals with the northern businessman. Each invests in and sells in the other's territory. And, I might add, they all pay taxes to the same government.

↳ Tupelo, Mississippi is an all-American city according to Look Magazine and the National League of Cities.

↳ We are, in short, one nation, less divisible every day.

↳ That self-sufficient "New South" which Henry Grady urged on your fathers is clearly being swept up in something even grander -- a New America.

"Tell about the South," says Quentin Compson's  
roommate at Harvard, who is curious about that strange region.  
"What's it like there?" he asks. "What do they do there?"  
"Why do they live there?"

Quentin, whose background is a little like Faulkner's  
and who sometimes seems to speak for him, answers, "You  
can't understand it. You would have to be born there."

Not so today.

And we are drawing closer together not only because we  
are having more to do with each other, but because we are  
increasingly concerned with national issues -- national  
challenges and national opportunities -- that affect us all.

∟ The greatest challenge before us today is finally to  
guarantee every American citizen, urban and rural, white and  
black, of rich parents and poor -- an equal chance in life.

Every  
man  
has  
Chance.



↳ That is the unfinished business of America in the  
last third of the 20th century.

↳ It is business no American in any section of this  
country can ignore.

*The Business of America  
is America!*



When one neighborhood in America is sick today, all suffer. And when one progresses, all benefit.

Poverty, unemployment and discrimination are dreadful problems in the Mississippi Delta. Few would deny it.

*Dreadful  
anywhere*

But the poverty of the inner city slum ~~in almost any~~  
~~city is the same~~ is just as costly in terms of human resources lost, and in terms of explosive hopelessness and frustration.

⑤ And the answers -- better schools, skill training, job opportunities, housing, adequate diets and decent health care -- are just about the same everywhere.

*The answers*

Moreover, anybody who thinks our national "problem of the cities" as we have come to call it, can be solved while there is still a reservoir of poor and downtrodden people in rural America just doesn't know the facts of rural-urban migration in the last 20 years.

*Urban  
+  
Rural  
Balance*

How do we meet the challenge of poverty and blighted opportunity in America? Tupelo offers as good an example as any city I know.

Tupelo

Tupelo's record of taking advantage of federal assistance goes back at least to 1934, when it was the first city in the nation to sign a contract with TVA. Now it has federal assistance with urban renewal, manpower training and education. It has a Headstart project, a Neighborhood Youth Corps, and other federal programs -- good programs which, I want to emphasize, give us a significant start toward victory over poverty.

But Tupelo has something else, too -- a local government and local citizens who were willing to put time and money into the cause of a better, stronger, freer community.

So the prescription includes national commitment and national programs, local commitment and local initiative...

*Personal Commitment*  
and I would add one more ingredient -- confidence:

...confidence in the strength and compassion of America;

...confidence that our diversity can be a source of  
strength and not of separation;

...confidence that our free institutions will indeed permit  
both progress with order and order with progress;

...confidence that the American dream is not too grand  
for us.

Our country promised a lot when it set out to put the  
God-given, inalienable rights of man into practice. We have  
been only partially successful.

But I have talked to a lot of Americans across our country in the last few years and in the last few weeks.

And I think our country is ready to extend full citizenship and a real chance to all of its citizens.

∟ I think we have the resources and the imagination and the courage to do it.

*not by chance and not by*

∟ But we are going to have to do it together Δ not by hating and complaining, but by healing and building -- as one nation.

I think we can keep the promise of America.

I think we can give every American the right and the freedom to learn...to earn...to raise a family in dignity to realize his full potential...to be a man.

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1           At this time I would like to introduce them.

2           They are, from left to right, Mr. Alan Lackey,  
3           Alix Sanders, Miss Villia Mayer, Mr. Tommy McWilliams,  
4           Mr. Don Barrett and Mr. William Watkins.

5                           (APPLAUSE)

6           I would like to read to you a telegram received  
7           this morning.

8           "To the Honorable and Mrs. Hubert H. Humphrey:

9           "We are glad to extend to you a warm welcome  
10          to Mississippi and Ole Miss, and wish that  
11          we could be with you today.

12          "Regards and good wishes,

13          "Senators James O. Eastland and John C. Stennis."

14                           (APPLAUSE)

15          The University of Mississippi is honored today  
16          to have the Second Lady of our land seated in the audience.

17          At this time I would like to introduce to you  
18          the wife of the Vice President, Mrs. Hubert H. Humphrey.

19                           (Whereupon, Mrs. Humphrey stands.)

20                           (APPLAUSE)

21          MR. JACKS: Ladies and gentlemen, the Vice  
22          President of The United States.

23                           (STANDING OVATION)

24          VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much.



1 Mr. Jacks.

2 Chancellor Fortune, Governor Sullivan, members  
3 of the Law School, faculty, dean, and I want to particularly  
4 thank the two Senators who were kind and thoughtful enough  
5 to extend their greetings to Mrs. Humphrey and myself,  
6 Senators Eastland and Stennis, colleagues in The United  
7 States Senate, members of the faculty and students.

8 First of all, I want you to know how happy I  
9 am to be here.

10 And, secondly, I want you to know how much  
11 Mrs. Humphrey and I appreciated that wonderful welcome out  
12 at your airport last night.

13 I don't recall any time that we have been received  
14 with more warmth, friendship, hospitality or enthusiasm.  
15 I thank every student that was there.

16 Then, I want you to know also that since we  
17 arrived at the airport -- somebody told me out there they  
18 were having a little trouble with the lighting -- we have  
19 already taken prompt action.

20 I have a telegram here that is signed by  
21 Senator Stennis that says:

22 "Highly pleased. National Airport program  
23 being announced today."

24 (LAUGHTER)



1 (continuing) "including \$41,350.00 grant  
2 to the University of Oxford Airport."

3 (APPLAUSE)

4 If you have any other things you want, let me  
5 know, and I will come back again.

6 (APPLAUSE)

7 It is good to come to the University of Miss-  
8 issippi, Ole Miss.

9 I watched you good people for a long time.  
10 Sometimes I wasn't so sure how it was all going to come out.

11 I was a graduate student over at Louisiana  
12 State University, and how well I remember when Ole Miss  
13 would come over and mess us up. I gather you are still  
14 doing it. In fact, I was just told as I came to the podium  
15 that the Ole Miss basket ball team beat both Americus and  
16 LSU here in this coliseum. That is quite an assignment,  
17 and I want to congratulate you.

18 (APPLAUSE)

19 One of my associates on this journey is from  
20 T.C.U. They never let the Vice President of The United  
21 States go on any trip without at least one Texan in his  
22 entourage. (Laughter)

23 That watchful eye is always there, you see.  
24 Mr. Joe Shociate, who is helping me on this

1 visit, is a graduate of T.C.U.

2 He has reminded me that the architectural design  
3 of this coliseum is from T.C.U.; and he has told me about  
4 two or three other things.

5 And I said, "Did anybody from T.C.U. design the  
6 Washington Monument or Lincoln Memorial or the White House?"

7 And he said, "Well, if they didn't, they should  
8 have."

9 (LAUGHTER)

10 I come here to the home of great athletics,  
11 great scholarship, all of which is very interesting, but I  
12 want to tell you fellows when you have two Miss Americas in  
13 five years, is it any wonder that the enrollment is growing  
14 at this University?

15 (LAUGHTER)

16 I noticed last night as we came to the airport  
17 how you do recruiting here. I don't think we really need  
18 General Hershey; I think all we need are those sponsors we  
19 had out there at the airport with the R.O.T.C. units.

20 I turned around and I saw several fellows volun-  
21 teering. I don't think it was for military service, but they  
22 were volunteering.

23 (LAUGHTER)

24 Let me get right down to why we are here.

1           The format of this program is a Statement of the  
2 Vice President, which will be given in peace and quiet, I  
3 am sure. And then these friendly souls that are behind me  
4 will start to work me over. And I know that in the spirit  
5 of human compassion, that you will be on my side, and I  
6 hope so.

7                               (LAUGHTER)

8           I want to talk to you as a sort of base of dis-  
9 cussion, what I believe is happening in our country.

10           We like to think of our country as divided up  
11 into geographical areas and ethnic groups, cultural groups.

12           It is my belief that the promise of our country,  
13 from its inception, is coming closer to reality. We have  
14 been in the position of trying to create one nation ever  
15 since the birth of this Nation.

16           We have been trying to create one nation, without  
17 losing our individuality, without losing our cultural  
18 identity, without losing our own personality. And yet, I  
19 think it is fair to say that this era of regionalism, the  
20 age of regionalism, when we think of a part of America as  
21 a particular region, separate and distinct from another, is  
22 losing some of its meaning. And particularly is that true  
23 among University students.

24           There is a spirit of comradship among University



1 students all over America that binds them together.

2 The obvious fact is that the South is becoming  
3 more like the North, and the North like the South, and the  
4 East more like the West, and the West like the East. Modern  
5 communication does it to us. Science and technology, the  
6 mobility of our people. So that every day we become more  
7 and more what we said we were. E Pluribus Unum, one from  
8 many, one nation, indivisible.

9 Now, this is hardly surprising, particularly when  
10 you take young men from Mississippi and Minnesota and put  
11 them side by side, and they fight side by side in a war and  
12 live side by side in barracks. And so do you find people  
13 of different groups. You find white Americans and black  
14 Americans and Spanish Americans and Puerto Ricans and  
15 Indian Americans, all having to perform common duties.

16 The University of Mississippi Law School, I was  
17 told, and I am frank to tell you I was surprised, has a  
18 larger percentage of Negro students than any other State  
19 University Law School in America. I wish some of my Northern  
20 brethren would take note of that, because I think that is a  
21 remarkable achievement.

22 (APPLAUSE)

23 And this same great Law School that sponsors this  
24 Meeting, participates in a joint program with Yale University

1 Law faculty.

2 The Cabinet of The United States Government has  
3 a very healthy sprinkling of Southerners. Even a few  
4 Northerners have been able to get in.

5 The Dean of Harvard College comes to Birmingham,  
6 Alabama, to join the faculty of an obscure Negro college,  
7 not as a missionary of righteousness, but as an American,  
8 an educator wanting to do his job.

9 The Southern businessman deals with the Northern  
10 businessman, and vice versa. Each invests in and sells in  
11 the other fellow's territory. And, I might add, there is  
12 one other common denominator. They all pay taxes to the  
13 same Government.

14 Tupelo, Mississippi is an All-American City.

15 (APPLAUSE)

16 Tupelo is well represented.

17 I think I should tell you that the reason for  
18 this reference and these remarks is that one of my staff  
19 members is from Tupelo, Mississippi. If any of you feel  
20 like I am over Tupeloizing this speech, I will give you  
21 his name.

22 (LAUGHTER)

23 But it has been selected by the National League  
24 of Cities and Look Magazine as the All-American City, which

1 is a high honor.

2 I think this is another way of saying that we  
3 are one nation, and we are less divisible every day.

4 Now, that self-sufficient new South which Henry  
5 Grady urged upon to your fathers is clearly being swept up  
6 in something even better and greater, and that is, a New  
7 America, of which the University student is a very key and  
8 integral part.

9 We are growing closer today, not only because we  
10 are having to do more together, but because we are increasingly  
11 concerned with national issues, national challenges and  
12 national opportunities that affect us all.

13 The greatest single challenge before this Nation  
14 today is finally to guarantee American citizens, urban or  
15 rural, white or black, or rich parents or poor an equal  
16 opportunity in life.

17 As a matter of fact, the great challenge to the  
18 American people today is to make this highest honor and the  
19 right of man, Citizenship in The United States, a reality, a  
20 living reality of fulfillment for every single person that  
21 lives within this land that claims the title of Citizen.  
22 That is your challenge, and it is mine.

23 This is the unfinished business of America. We  
24 can't have two Americas, rich and poor, North and South,



1 black and white. We can have an America in which there are  
2 many different voices, many different faces, many different  
3 points of view, many cultural patterns; but there have to  
4 be the life lines to tie us together.

5 And I believe what we are learning, more than  
6 anything else in the post-war years, in the last twenty  
7 years, is that the business of America is so big and so  
8 great that it requires the best of each and every one of  
9 us, that we cannot afford to have anyone in our midst that  
10 is not carrying his fair share of the load.

11 Or, to put it another way, we cannot afford to  
12 have anyone who is incapable, by lack of training, lack of  
13 education, lack of opportunity, from carrying his or her  
14 share of the load.

15 You see, the business of America is America.

16 And that is what this University, and that is  
17 what this State, and that is what each State in this Union  
18 must keep in mind, and I think has in mind.

19 When one neighborhood in this country of ours is  
20 sick, all suffer. When one progresses, all benefit.

21 A great English philosopher once said, John  
22 Stuart Mill, that when a man has nothing to do for his  
23 country, he shall have no love for it.

24 Those who are the left-outs are really the

1 drop-outs of American life.

2 And what I believe our task is, and it is not  
3 easy -- it is going to take a tremendous amount of courage  
4 and innovation and dedication, and it will take time, but  
5 we must get on with the business.

6 Our task is to see to it that every door to  
7 opportunity in this Nation is open to every person that wants  
8 to walk through that door; and we must, even in some instances,  
9 extend the helping hand to those who want to walk through.  
10 That is your job.

11 You and I have had the privilege of a college  
12 education. This is a rare privilege. So few have it. And  
13 those of us who had that privilege owe something to those  
14 who made it possible, others who have sacrificed to make it  
15 possible.

16 You know poverty and unemployment in rural  
17 America -- yes, in the Delta -- are dreadful problems. Few  
18 would deny it.

19 But poverty of the inner-city in any city in  
20 America is just as costly in terms of human waste, this  
21 incredible waste of human power. I wish we had people who  
22 were keeping an accounting of the human waste, rather than  
23 constantly making what we call a cost analysis of the  
24 physical or the monetary waste.



1           America needs some new bookkeeping, not merely  
2 the bookkeeping of the inventory of our supplies and our  
3 gross national product, but we need to have a fair account-  
4 ing of what is happening to the human waste, the human worth  
5 of this country, and see whether or not our ledgers, our  
6 account books, balance out.

7           Are we, each here, being able to salvage something  
8 of human kind? Each year do we add something to the inven-  
9 tory of human worth? And if we do, then, America is, indeed,  
10 the richest country on the face of the earth.

11           These are the problems that I see before you.  
12 And the answers to our problems are rather universal. Better  
13 schools, skill training, job opportunities, housing, adequate  
14 diets and decent health care. All of these are within the  
15 reach of the people of this land. None of it overnight;  
16 but all of it in our lifetime.

17           Anyone who thinks our national problem of the  
18 cities, as we have come to call it, can be solved while  
19 there is still a reservior of poor and down-trodden people  
20 in rural America just doesn't know the facts of rural-urban  
21 migration in the last twenty years.

22           There is a flood tide of people coming from the  
23 poverty stricken areas of rural America in every one of our  
24 states; many times, poorly educated, frequently totally

1 unacquainted with urban or industrial life, moving into our  
2 great metropolitan centers only to find more hopelessness  
3 and despair.

4 What is the answer?

5 Merely to try to repair the damage at the  
6 metropolitan level?

7 That is indeed part of it. But, the important  
8 way to control a flood is upstream, not by building higher  
9 dikes alone, but by tapping in and helping at the watersheds  
10 upstream.

11 My fellow Americans, what we need to do is  
12 to make America, not just its big cities, a better place  
13 in which to live, but we need to see to it that rural  
14 America, the smaller town and community, the Oxford,  
15 Mississippi, and others have every opportunity available  
16 for good living that you can find in the best area in the  
17 great metropolitan centers.

18 This is what I call the urban-rural balance.

19 We don't want just a better America in the big  
20 cities. We want a better America all over America, so that  
21 people really have a freedom of choice of where they want to  
22 live, so that they can attend the University of their choice,  
23 live in the community of their choice, have a job of their  
24 choice, but have it in an environment that provides for a

1 rich and meaningful life.

2 I think this is one of the basic answers to the  
3 problem of what we call our city or urban crisis.

4 So, the description includes national commitment  
5 and national programs, local commitment and local initiative.  
6 And I would add to you, personal commitment.

7 There isn't any better future unless you make  
8 it.

9 And I would add one other ingredient. It includes  
10 confidence.

11 And in the final words of my opening statement,  
12 let me say this. I am sick and tired of people who sell  
13 America short.

14 This is a country that has great promise. It  
15 is a country that has had, not only a great past, but an  
16 even greater future. And I don't believe that you help  
17 America solve its problems by telling it that it is a sick  
18 society. America is not a sick society. America is a growing  
19 society, a changing society.

20 (APPLAUSE)

21 We are not going to permit anybody to write our  
22 obituary. We are in the youth of our life as a nation.

23 And, remember, this thing called youth is some-  
24 thing more than a time of life; it is an attitude of mind.



1 You are as young as your ideals and as old as your fears.  
2 You are as young as your hope and as old as your doubts.  
3 You are as young as your confidence and faith and as old  
4 as your despair.

5 And I happen to think a nation that has ideals  
6 and hopes and has faith, if it will exemplify those qualities  
7 in life, is a young nation and has a vitality to cope with  
8 any problem. And I call upon young Americans, and particu-  
9 larly here in Mississippi, where fast changes are taking  
10 place, where you are charting a whole new course of life,  
11 which will be a better life and a better state, with a better  
12 and a greater contribution to your country.

13 I call upon you to have confidence. Yes,  
14 genuine confidence in the strength and the compassion of  
15 America.

16 Confidence that our diversity can be a source of  
17 strength and not separation.

18 Confidence that our free institutions will,  
19 indeed, permit both progress with order and order with  
20 progress.

21 Confidence that the American dream is not too  
22 grand for us.

23 And confidence in each other, confident that we  
24 can do what we need to do through the peaceful processes

1 of orderly change.

2 Confident that America can neither tolerate nor  
3 condone violence and looting; but confident also that  
4 America has the will and the means to provide social justice  
5 and opportunity.

6 Our country promised more than any other when  
7 it promised the fulfillment of those inalienable rights  
8 of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

9 I have talked to a lot of people across our  
10 country in the last few years and few weeks, and I think  
11 that our country is now ready to extend a full citizenship  
12 and a real chance to all of its citizens.

13 I think we have the resources and the imagination  
14 and the courage to do it.

15 And I want to say to this audience what I said  
16 to a Breakfast Meeting this morning: That any nation  
17 that has the means and the will and the resources and willing  
18 to expend those resources to put a man on the moon in this  
19 decade ought to have the means and the will and the resources  
20 to help put a fellow American on his feet in this same  
21 decade.

22 (APPLAUSE)

23 Yes, but we are going to have to do it together.  
24 We can't do it by violence; we can't do it by hating and

1 complaining, but we must do it by healing, by healing and  
2 building as one nation.

3 Those of you who are blessed with this opportunity  
4 of higher education, let higher education not merely be  
5 another diploma, but let it be a higher sense of values.  
6 That is the purpose of an education.

7 Let not your education be merely an accumulation  
8 of facts. Let it be a revelation of philosophy, a philosophy  
9 of life.

10 I happen to think that if we believe this way,  
11 we can keep the promise of America.

12 And I think we can provide to every American  
13 the right and the freedom to learn, to learn and to earn,  
14 to raise a family and to do it in dignity, and to realize  
15 his full potential to be a man.

16 That is what this country is all about, to  
17 permit everybody to be the best that is in him, to release  
18 the talent that God Almighty gave him, to develop those  
19 talents to the utmost, and to release this great, wonderful  
20 source of strength and energy, which is the human spirit,  
21 and do it in a way so that people will write of this  
22 generation a half a century from now, that this was the  
23 generation that dared to realize the best that was in them,  
24 and they not only dared, they achieved it.



1 Thank you very much.

2 (STANDING OVATION)

3 Every young, red-blooded American has waited  
4 for the opportunity to take a good bite of one politician.  
5 This is one of the fringe benefits of citizenship, and I  
6 thought I would make myself available.

7 They tell me the panel that I have behind me,  
8 and which is in front of you, consists of some of the most  
9 able and articulate gifted students in the Law School.

10 I imagine, when this little exercise is over,  
11 I will be asking myself: "Was this little trip really  
12 necessary?"

13 But, here I am, and let's start.

14 I don't know whether I am interfering with your  
15 cameras out here, but I prefer to stand.

16 How about it? Do you want to ask your first  
17 question?

18 I will back away from the microphone while you  
19 ask.

20 MR. LACKEY: Mr. Vice President, we are aware  
21 of the disadvantages to the United States in negotiating  
22 with the North Vietnamese in Poland or Cambodia, however, in  
23 view of the Administration's plans to go anywhere, any time,  
24 to negotiate, do you believe that the United States has

1 suffered a political setback in refusing to negotiate in  
2 either Cambodia or Poland?

3 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think the Communist  
4 Government in North Vietnam is going to make a great deal  
5 of propaganda out of this delay on the agreement on a place  
6 in which to hold talks.

7 I think that we have to expect that this will  
8 be the pattern of things from here on out.

9 I believe it was on the date of April 3rd, at  
10 least in the first few days of April that Hanoi indicated,  
11 expressed, a willingness to have a discussion with the  
12 United States.

13 Now, there are those who think we overspoke  
14 ourselves when we said we would go any place any time anywhere.

15 I guess most Americans would assume that that  
16 meant we would go any place any time anywhere where we could  
17 get a fair hearing, and where you were not put under duress.

18 We are now in the process of the first stages  
19 of negotiation. The argument as to where the talks will  
20 take place is Stage No. 1 of protracted, frustrating,  
21 difficult negotiations that will take place for months to  
22 come. And we had better get used to it.

23 Once we have agreed on where we are going to  
24 negotiate -- by the way, I can assure this audience, as I



1 did one yesterday -- I left the National Security Council  
2 Meeting yesterday, I am a member of that Council, and I  
3 can assure you that private discussions are going on right  
4 now to find a place that is mutually acceptable for both  
5 Hanoi and the United States.

6 I am sure you wouldn't want our Government to  
7 be put in a position where the environment for negotiations  
8 was totally hostile to any fair discussion or any fair  
9 treatment.

10 But, those private negotiations are going on,  
11 and I predict from this platform today that in a very  
12 short time, a place will be agreed upon for the preliminary  
13 talks.

14 Then, the next thing will be to agree on how  
15 many days you will negotiate, when you will negotiate, who  
16 will Chair the negotiations, will that be rotated, the  
17 Chairmanship.

18 And each one of these steps will be subject to  
19 a constant barrage of public propaganda out of the Communist  
20 Propaganda Organ. This happened at Pan Munjom, Korea,  
21 when, for over two years, we negotiated with them. We  
22 spent the first few months arguing on how we were going to  
23 Chair the meeting.

24 You see, our adversaries are a patient and

1 perservering people.

2 We Americans can hardly wait.

3 We now have instant coffee, and I think they  
4 are going to design something so that you don't even have  
5 to get up, it will just drip into you, your coffee, because  
6 we don't want to waste any time.

7 But, may I assure you that there is very little  
8 in negotiations that is instant.

9 We had a copper strike here in the United States  
10 that lasted for about a year, right in here, the same people  
11 that said they had the same interest, spoke the same language,  
12 and, by the way, they even got down to where they couldn't  
13 agree on where they were going to meet.

14 Finally, the President of the United States  
15 had to call in all the parties and use all the powers of  
16 his office of persuasion.

17 We have had strikes in the United States. For  
18 example, at the Koehler Plant in Wisconsin that lasted  
19 three years, and they negotiated week in and week out.  
20 The same people, in the same state, who spoke the same  
21 language, and most of them attending the same church, couldn't  
22 even agree to sit down and talk.

23 So, don't get excited and exasperated if people  
24 whom we don't hardly know how to spell their name, who speak

1 a strange language and who believe in a different philosophy  
2 want to argue with us all along the line.

3 That is what we mean by negotiation.

4 Now, if you have got the power and the will to  
5 stick it out, these negotiations can be a success.

6 But, if we are going to cut each other up in  
7 America and kind of join on the side of the opposition,  
8 then, maybe, they are right, maybe we ought to give in to  
9 them.

10 I doubt that there is going to be any successful  
11 negotiations.

12 So, I ask for your patience.

13 If we have made a mistake, then we just simply  
14 ought to say, every once in a while, you dropped the ball.

15 You know even in the hey day of Joe Di Maggio and  
16 Mickey Mantle, they were only batting .350. I don't know  
17 why you should expect a President to bat a thousand percent.  
18 And a Vice President, you wouldn't put any kind of standards  
19 that high on him.

20 (LAUGHTER)

21 (APPLAUSE)

22 MR. SANDERS: Mr. Vice President, if the  
23 Mississippi Democratic Party is not representative of the  
24 entire Democratic following in the State which has been



1 challenged in the past, it is conceivable that other  
2 Democratic factions will send rival delegations to the  
3 National Convention in Chicago in August.

4 To what extent is your visit to Mississippi an  
5 attempt toward unifying divided political factions; and  
6 will you support the seating of the delegation which  
7 this represents and remain loyal to the Democratic Party?

8 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: My visit to this  
9 State is the same as it would be to any other State.

10 I happen to believe that one of the prime  
11 responsibilities of a man in public life is to attempt to  
12 reconcile differences, to draw people together. Or, in  
13 the words of that famous and that great prophet, Isaiah,  
14 who asked, "Come and let us reason together."

15 Let's see if we can't work some of these things  
16 out.

17 Now, there comes a time when you have to make  
18 a decision. And the Democratic Party, in Convention, 1964,  
19 made it manifestly clear by Resolution that the delegations  
20 that were to come to the Convention in 1968 must be repre-  
21 sentative of the state and of the Democrats in that state;  
22 that they must have representatives of the different  
23 ethnic groups.

24 And that is the standard. I can't predict what

1 kind of delegation will come from Mississippi.

2 I urge upon the people of Mississippi and  
3 particularly my fellow Democrats in this non-partisan  
4 audience -- by the way, I did see one Nixon sign up when  
5 I came in at the airport.

6 I urge upon my fellow Democrats to try to bring  
7 together the delegation that offers the best of this state,  
8 a delegation that has white and black, a delegation that  
9 represents the different geographic interests of the State  
10 and the economic interests of your State.

11 You can solve your own problem a lot better  
12 here than it can be solved in the emotion of Chicago.

13 And I know there are Young Democrats, and I  
14 know there are Democrats of different age groups that want  
15 to see a Democratic delegation come from this State that is  
16 truly representative. And I want that kind of a delegation.

17 I am not at all sure that I will be on the  
18 Credentials Committee, or what will be happening to me, as  
19 a matter of fact. If I were sure what would be happening  
20 to me at the Democratic Convention, I think I would be a  
21 little more tranquilized at this particular moment.

22 But I will take my stand, as I always have, on  
23 equal rights, full and equal opportunity, recognizing people  
24 on the basis of merit, and insisting that the Democratic

1 Party live up to its pledge and live up to its commitment  
2 in 1964 when it asked each state to send a delegation  
3 that was truly representative of the people of this state.  
4 That means an integrated delegation from Mississippi. That  
5 is what it means.

6 (APPLAUSE)

7 MISS MAYER: Mr. Vice President, the drive for  
8 a guaranteed annual income, according to an article in the  
9 April 30th issue of Look expects to move up and approach  
10 the means used to repeal prohibition.

11 I should like to know what your opinion is of  
12 this issue, and specifically, your attitude toward plans  
13 such as Mr. Freidman's own negative income tax.

14 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Mr. Freidman, as I  
15 recall, was the Economic Advisor to Barry Goldwater. He  
16 is an accomplished economist. The fact that he is recommending  
17 a Negative Income Tax, I think, indicates that it is a  
18 subject of serious import, and being given serious attention.

19 At this very hour and this very time, the  
20 President of the United States has, working a special  
21 commission on the whole subject of the broad -- of the  
22 large numbers of proposals on what we call "Guaranteed  
23 Annual Income".

24 Now, there are more proposals on this than there



1 are names in a telephone book. And to say that you are  
2 for one or against one, really doesn't say very much. What  
3 we are really saying is this: That the present program of  
4 welfare, based on the Elizabethan Code of the Sixteenth  
5 century, which is the Welfare Code in the United States,  
6 is totally inadequate for Twentieth Century America and,  
7 indeed, for Twenty-first Century America. You can just  
8 start with that.

9 (APPLAUSE)

10 And any man that is worthy of your consideration  
11 in public life does not make what I call "shooting from  
12 the hip" judgments on one of the most complex economic  
13 and social problems or social equations of our time.

14 The Guaranteed Annual Income is one of several  
15 ways to change a pattern of providing reasonable economic  
16 living conditions for the needy families of America.

17 The negative income tax is another way.

18 And on top of all of this, what I consider to  
19 be the most important way is to be willing to make the  
20 investments that are required in training, in the acquiring  
21 of skill, so that the person that ought to be working, that  
22 is today called the hard core unemployed, and, therefore, a  
23 welfare client, that that person can become self-sustaining,  
24 productive, and have self respect through his own earnings

1 on a job.

2 I realize that everyone can't have that, the  
3 crippled and the maimed, the sick. There are those that  
4 can't have it.

5 But, every person that is physically and mentally  
6 capable of holding a job, if given education and training  
7 and motivation, ought to have that, regardless of the cost  
8 of bringing it about.

9 That, to me, is the change that is needed in  
10 America.

11 I am not for a Welfare State. I think welfare-ism  
12 is unhealthy in this country.

13 (APPLAUSE)

14 I am for a state of full opportunity for every  
15 citizen that wants that opportunity; they ought to have it,  
16 and I am willing to lead the fight to make those investments.

17 I support today, for example, as one of our  
18 programs, this National Alliance of Businessmen, where we  
19 are going to private enterprise, with the help of the  
20 Government, in one of the most productive partnerships that  
21 we have ever had, to see to it that hundreds of thousands  
22 of hard core unemployed, that never held a job in their  
23 life, that have been welfare clients for a decade, or a  
24 generation, those people are trained, placed and employed.



1 That is the way you answer this problem.

2 And on top of it, the proposals of the Guaranteed  
3 Annual Income, the proposals of a Negative Income Tax,  
4 never should be shunted aside. You shouldn't look at these  
5 with blind dogma or doctrine.

6 We should take a look at them as to whether or  
7 not they are better alternatives for the needy than we  
8 presently have.

9 And I have a feeling that when the study is  
10 made, that there will be a substantial change in the pattern  
11 of a guaranteed income, as compared to what we now have  
12 in our Welfare laws.

13 And I look with a great deal of favor and  
14 interest on that prospect.

15 MR. McWILLIAMS: Mr. Vice President, it was  
16 reported Tuesday that some of America's sixteen new  
17 astronauts are unhappy with the Astronaut Program and  
18 that one astronaut has resigned, giving as one reason  
19 for doing so, the space budget cutting by Congress, which  
20 will delay their first flight until 1970 or later.

21 In light of these developments and our needed  
22 expenditures for relieving the burden of the American poor  
23 and in light of your statements here today, would you recommend  
24 further space budget cutting at this time, or would you

1 recommend an entire scrapping of this program until we  
2 meet the needs of the American people?

3 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: No, I would not.

4 I am Chairman of the Space Council. I am the  
5 Chairman, by law, of the National Council on Space and  
6 Aeurnautics.

7 The space program of the United States, which  
8 you referred to has been cut. But you may be interested  
9 to know that there is still over seven and a half billion  
10 dollars in it. And as we used to say in Minnesota, "That  
11 ain't peanuts. That is quite an investment."

12 Now, of that about two billion plus is for  
13 National Security, and a little over four billion plus, about  
14 four and one-half billion is in what we call the NASA  
15 Program, the National Aeurnautics and Space Administration  
16 Program.

17 I can well understand that some of our astro-  
18 naughts may be a bit unhappy with cuts. Everybody is a  
19 little unhappy if they do not get what they think they  
20 want. And they get particularly unhappy if somebody is  
21 willing to print that they are unhappy, because that helps.

22 That is a part of the free society.

23 When we cut back on a program of construction,  
24 or delay it for a little while because we don't really need

1 it as much as we need something else, that person is  
2 unhappy. It always is the same.

3 You have to have priorities.

4 I don't believe that we should scrap our  
5 space program. I think it would be a tragic mistake.

6 The space program is not merely putting a man  
7 on the moon. That is the symbolism of it; that is the  
8 drama of it.

9 The space program is a university. Hundreds  
10 of millions of dollars go into universities for science  
11 and technology and engineering.

12 The space program is medicine. Some of the most  
13 revolutionary developments in modern medicine have come  
14 out of the space program.

15 The space program is what we call earth resource  
16 satellites. We discovered the largest gold mine on the  
17 American Continent out of the space program. A high flying  
18 plane with sensory devices discovered a large deposit of  
19 gold in Carlsbad, Nevada.

20 The space program is the mapping of the seas by  
21 space satellites with sea resource satellites.

22 The space program is the creation of new metals,  
23 fantastic new metals and new coverings that will stand weather  
24 and erosion.



1           The space program is not just an astronaut  
2       flying in a Gemini capsule or an Apollo capsule. That is  
3       the visibility of it.

4           The space program is the great team work of  
5       Government, management and the university and the finance  
6       community, and the science.

7           We have learned more from the space program and  
8       how to get things done in this country than anything we  
9       have ever done.

10          And now, we are taking the techniques of the  
11       space program and applying them to cities, called the  
12       "Systems Analysis Approach".

13          We are using our space resources right now in  
14       our air pollution program.

15          We are using our space technology right now  
16       on transportation bottlenecks.

17          No, let's not be canceling out, trimming back  
18       too far your space program. It is a part of modern science.  
19       And what is more, the Nation that leads in science and  
20       technology is a Nation that will lead in the long time in  
21       gross national products.

22          Every dollar in the space program is spent here  
23       in the United States of America. Vast amounts of it are  
24       spent at universities. Large amounts of it are spent on the



1 development of the human brain, on knowledge, basic  
2 research.

3 The space program has produced tremendous  
4 constructive results for the United States. And it is  
5 part of the War on Poverty, because, out of the space  
6 program, we have learned more about how to deal with the  
7 problems of our cities, how to deal with this inter mixture,  
8 physical and human disability, what I call "slum-ism".

9 And space effort, I think, will have much to  
10 offer in the future.

11 You opened up my speech on the space program.  
12 I happen to believe it is a great thing, and I want to  
13 tell you about it.

14 One other thing. In a two-man race, when you  
15 come in second, you are last. Remember that.

16 (APPLAUSE)

17 Remember this country, when the Russians put up  
18 Sputnik. We were looking for a culprit. We said, "Why  
19 didn't we do something about it? Why did we let them get  
20 ahead of us?"

21 The Russians exploited Sputnik as a tremendous  
22 propaganda offensive, and we were frightened half to death.  
23 And we said, "Oh, the Russians are going to control all of  
24 outer space."

1 And then you picked on the President and the  
2 Congress and the universities.

3 Now, finally, we have caught up; and we have  
4 not only caught up, but we are out in front.

5 And while we are having many people say today,  
6 "Slash that program; cut it out. It has no relationship  
7 to what we need." The Soviet Union is plowing in ever more  
8 billions and billions of dollars on space.

9 I don't think the Soviets are doing that just  
10 because they like to get on up and look at the stars. I  
11 think the Soviets are a rather pragmatic and practical  
12 people who understand the implications of power.

13 And it is to the national interest of the United  
14 States of America to maintain preeminence in the fields of  
15 science and technology. And, then, it is also to our interest  
16 to have science and technology serving the community, rather  
17 than victimizing it.

18 And that is why you have a civilian government  
19 and that is why you have universities, and that is why you  
20 have liberal arts education and that is why you have the  
21 humanities.

22 Thank you.

23 (APPLAUSE)

24 MR. BARRETT: Mr. Vice President, in New Orleans

1 on July 18, 1966, speaking to the National Association of  
2 County Officials about conditions in America's slums, you  
3 stated:

4 "I want to tell you that if I were in those  
5 conditions and that should happen to have been  
6 my situation, I think you'd have had a little  
7 more trouble than you've had already -- because  
8 I've got enough spark left in me to lead a  
9 mighty good revolt under those conditions."

10 In Havana, Cuba, on his recent world tour,  
11 Stokley Carmichael urged American Negroes to wage a  
12 Vietnam-style guerilla war against the U. S. Government.  
13 In Paris, Hanoi, and other cities, he again called on  
14 American Negroes, "To develop a resistance movement that  
15 will disrupt the entire United States."

16 My question is: Whether the apparent similarity  
17 of your two viewpoints has had anything to do with the failure  
18 of the Justice Department to seek an indictment for sedition  
19 against Carmichael?



1           VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I guess I had  
2 better put you in one of my Government courses. You  
3 don't know just how powerless the Vice President  
4 really is.

5           No, I am afraid there is no relationship,  
6 whatsoever, any more than there would be a relation-  
7 ship if you were in New York and you said hello to  
8 somebody and then they got run over, and to say you  
9 were involved in it.

10           What the Vice President said in New Orleans  
11 was simply this. That when people live in conditions,  
12 where the tenement house is rat infested and the child  
13 is bitten by a rat, where the water is turned off,  
14 where the sewage and modern sanitary facilities are  
15 non-existent, where there is nothing but blight and  
16 filth and unemployment and degradation, those are the  
17 conditions that are almost, if not unbearable, and,  
18 may I say, inexcusable in this great, great rich land  
19 of ours.

20           And I said, if that happened to my family,  
21 or if it happened to my loved ones or myself, that I  
22 would have enough spunk and spark, I am sure, left in  
23 me to revolt.

24           I didn't say, to commit violence.



1           In fact, the very next sentence, the very  
2 next sentence, was: "But this does not condone  
3 lawlessness or violence."

4           (Applause)

5           I saw it on television, and I read it in  
6 the paper, and I noticed that they just had a nice  
7 extract. This is what you call, quoting substance --  
8 quoting a message out of context.

9           You know, we have, many times, people who  
10 lead revolts.

11           The farmers in my part of America have  
12 poured their milk into a ditch. Sometime back in the  
13 '30s, down here, they plowed up their corn and their  
14 cotton. They marched in the streets, and they were  
15 good people.

16           But the difference between a peaceful  
17 protest or a revolt through peaceful processes, is a  
18 great deal different from violence and looting and  
19 burning and arson. There isn't a single problem in  
20 this country that cannot be answered through the power  
21 of the ballot or through the redress of grievances  
22 through the power of the processes of our Democracy.  
23 Every single one of them can be handled that way.

24           The greatest danger of this nation today,

1 that we let the extremists, on the left or the right,  
2 the black or the white, that handfull of extremists  
3 that are loud and voluble, and at times, unbelievably  
4 destructive, to let them set the guidelines of our  
5 conduct, to let them be the leaders. I call upon the  
6 great middle, which represents about 95 to 96 per cent  
7 of the American people. I call upon this vast, huge  
8 consensus in America, this great majority, to establish  
9 its own leadership, and to try to do what is needed to  
10 be done in this country because it is right to do it,  
11 and not to have ourselves be jogged into action or  
12 volted into action, simply because of Stokley  
13 Carmichael who calls for rebellion and calls for  
14 revolution and calls, if you please, for violence.

15 The Stokley Carmichaels have no legitimate  
16 place in the American political and social scene.

17 (Applause)

18 But with equal candor, let me say, that  
19 those who are white and feel that they can indulge in  
20 brutality, those who are the extremists that would deny  
21 people those basic rights of human life and human  
22 dignity, those extremists that advocate violence  
23 against their black brother and neighbor, they have no  
24 rightful place in this society either.

1 (Applause)

2 But let us, who believe that we can work  
3 these things out, let's have our say for a change.  
4 Let's demand that we have law and order. And let's  
5 remember that a society that wants law enforcement  
6 and must have it, must also have conditions that  
7 produce law observance. When you have law observance,  
8 you have it because people find in the law, justice;  
9 find in the law, an opportunity. And that is what we  
10 need to have.

11 By the way, that is what you are building  
12 here. Don't sell yourselves short down here in  
13 Mississippi. There are great changes taking place  
14 here. And as I have said from every platform, and  
15 repeat it again, don't sell America short. We are  
16 doing the right thing in this country right now.

17 (Applause)

18 MR. WATKINS: Mr. Vice President, you were  
19 warning us just six months ago against "The militant,  
20 aggressive Asian communism with its headquarters in  
21 Peking, China."

22 Earlier this week, you stated that the  
23 United States should begin to build peaceful bridges  
24 to the people of Mainland China.



1           How do you believe this should be done,  
2           and is there any indication that the "militant,  
3           aggressive" government in Peking is willing to reach  
4           a rapport with the United States?

5           VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: None that I see  
6           at the moment.

7           But let me use the analogy of history.

8           I think it is fair to say that in the  
9           immediate postwar period, in the Stalinist Government  
10          of the Soviet Union was not very peaceful; it was  
11          very imperialistic; it was very militant. But never-  
12          theless, your Government pursued the policy on the one  
13          hand of containment, military containment of that  
14          militant, aggressive power that had been moving over  
15          Eastern Europe; but on the other hand, it sought every  
16          conceivable way to build bridges of better understand-  
17          ing and communication with the Soviet Union, and  
18          particularly its people, through the Cultural Exchange  
19          Program, The Radio-Free Europe, through our programs  
20          of culture and science and technology. And it has  
21          taken us almost 20 years to make the progress we have  
22          made today.

23          There isn't any doubt but that the central  
24          power of communism in Europe today is Moscow. But



1 there is equally no doubt that the so-called Communist  
2 monolith has been fractured, that that spirit of  
3 emancipation and nationalism and of freedom which the  
4 Communist Police State thought it could submerge has  
5 broken through. It is like a seed that seems to break  
6 out of the rock, and to flower.

7 It is there, and you see it in Czechoslovakia  
8 today, and in Poland and in Rumania. You saw it in  
9 Poland almost 15 years ago. It is there -- or in  
10 Yugoslavia, I should say, 15 years ago.

11 There is a desire on the part of the people  
12 as individuals for individualism. There is a desire  
13 on the part of nations as societies for their national  
14 identity in the Communist monolith, which was a fact,  
15 which was literally a fact, 20 years ago, which is  
16 today broken.

17 Now, let's take a look at Asia.

18 Peking, China is the center of the most  
19 militant form of Asian Communism. That is a fact, not  
20 subject to, really, discussion, unless you want to be  
21 wrong. It is a fact.

22 But Asian Communism is no longer a monolith.

23 There are Communist Parties in India, some  
24 Russian oriented, some are Communist Chinese oriented.

1           There is a Communist Party in North Vietnam  
2   that is under great pressure and influence from Peking.  
3   But, nevertheless, that same North Vietnamese Govern-  
4   ment, in the last month, Communist as it is, without  
5   ever consulting either Peking, China, or Moscow,  
6   agreed to, at least, start to talk with the Government  
7   of the United States.

8           I said that Asian Communism had its--  
9   Asian militant aggressive Communism had its headquarters  
10   in Peking. It does. It almost took over the fifth  
11   largest nation in the world, Indonesia.

12           Three years ago, as I stand here this  
13   month, in April, three years ago, Indonesia was on  
14   the verge of total Communist take-over, headquarters,  
15   Peking, China. Today, Indonesia, the fifth largest  
16   country in the world, has purged itself of this kind  
17   of government and that kind of regime.

18           The Chinese tried to expand. They were  
19   imperialistic, aggressive and militant.

20           Now, you say, how do we build bridges to  
21   this kind of country?

22           Well, we do it in the way we try in all  
23   societies.

24           We know that the government in Peking is

1 anything but friendly and conducive to this kind of  
2 thinking. But governments come and governments go.  
3 Who could ever have predicted what has happened in  
4 Czechoslovakia?

5 Who could ever have predicted what has  
6 happened in the Soviet Union?

7 Who could have ever predicted what has  
8 happened in Rumania? In fact, some people today don't  
9 even believe it has happened. That is part of our  
10 problem.

11 I submit that time erodes even the worst  
12 of these institutions. And it is our job to use that  
13 time.

14 When I talked about building peaceful  
15 bridges, which is exactly what President Johnson  
16 talked about two years ago at White Sulphur Springs.

17 I talked about the possibility of encourag-  
18 ing journalists, American journalists, to go, to be  
19 able to get into China..

20 I talked about the possibility of American  
21 literary artists, painters, cultural experts, getting  
22 into China, and vice versa, we accepting some of  
23 theirs.

24 I think that in the contest of ideas, that



1 we have no reason to fear which idea will prevail. I  
2 know we have no reason at all.

3 (Applause)

4 And very frankly, eight hundred million  
5 people in Mainland China are not all Communists, and it  
6 is not to our advantage to let them be continuously  
7 propagandized with no effort or interest on our part to  
8 change that pattern.

9 There is, today, in China, a revolution.  
10 We know very little about it. It is our job, as  
11 people in Government and in this economy, to try to  
12 find ways and means, once again, of establishing con-  
13 tact with a great people, the Chinese people, who, 20  
14 years ago, were great friends of the United States.  
15 The children of those families have been taught to  
16 hate the United States.

17 This man, your Vice President of the United  
18 States, thinks we ought to try to contact those  
19 children; we ought to do everything we can; we ought  
20 to be as ingenuous as we can, to try to repair that  
21 imbalance. That is what I mean by building bridges.  
22 Trade, cultural exchanges, scientists, journalists,  
23 writers, actors, drama people. We can do it, and we  
24 better make up our minds to get it done.



1           We are either going to learn to live with  
2           them, or some of you are going to die with them.

3           And I am for living. I happen to think  
4           there are a lot more prospects for us, for what I want,  
5           in the Living Department than in the Dying Department.

6           (Applause)

7           MR. LACKEY: I know that our Administration  
8           is not likely to admit that the current contact with  
9           the North Vietnamese will be unsuccessful. But if we  
10          are unable to establish meaningful negotiations with  
11          the North Vietnamese within a reasonable time, would  
12          there be a change in our military strategy?

13          I have specific reference to the partial  
14          bombing pause and possible troop entries.

15          VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I do not think it  
16          would serve the cause of peace and our national  
17          security for the Vice President of the United States  
18          to assume for one minute that our present efforts will  
19          not be successful. I think, what we need to do, is to  
20          pursue this effort relentlessly, ingenuously with  
21          every means at our command.

22          I can only say, to this young man who has  
23          asked this question, and to this audience, that the  
24          Government of the United States, its ally, South

1 Vietnam, and the other allies in South Vietnam, are  
2 perfectly capable of taking care of any military  
3 adventure, any military assault of the Viet Cong  
4 or North Vietnam.

5 We are adequately prepared; the Forces are  
6 there. The South Vietnamese are fighting bravely;  
7 they are doing much better. The equipment is there.  
8 And it is quite true that North Vietnam cannot gain a  
9 military victory in Vietnam. We won't let it gain one;  
10 it won't gain one, and therefore, I think our task  
11 should be to find every way that we can to secure a  
12 negotiated peace with honor, a genuine lasting peace  
13 in Vietnam.

14 (Applause)

15 MR. SANDERS: Mr. Vice President, you have  
16 been quoted in the Press as saying, "The American  
17 Revolution of social change can be accomplished amidst  
18 order, while the United States opened the doors of  
19 freedom around the world."

20 Many citizens in this country do not share  
21 this view. Their view is, there should be an establish-  
22 ment of national priorities.

23 More specifically, my question concerns the  
24 Administration's priorities as they relate to the

1 spending for well documented domestic needs. I am  
2 speaking of the recent OEO cutback in the Mississippi  
3 Head-Start Program.

4 Several leaders of the Head-Start Program  
5 has learned that OEO still has some several million  
6 dollars uncommitted which it intends to transfer to  
7 the Department of Agriculture, if that department can  
8 devise a suitable plan for spending it.

9 In the light of your comments here today,  
10 would you be willing to use your influence with the  
11 President in getting him to direct those funds, if  
12 they are available, to the Mississippi Head-Start  
13 Program?

14 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, the man  
15 you have addressed that question to saved the Head-  
16 Start Program in Mississippi once before, CDGM Program,  
17 along with some others, with great controversy, I  
18 might add.

19 The Congress of the United States has a  
20 Bill before it right now in which there is twenty-five  
21 million dollars in extra Head-Start funds that would  
22 permit considerable expansion of our Head-Start  
23 Program, which I think is one of our very best, by  
24 the way.



1           That Bill has been passed twice by the  
2   United States Senate. I cast the deciding vote. You  
3   know, they don't let the Vice President do much.  
4   They don't let him do any talking there. That is why  
5   I come out here. And they only let him vote when  
6   there is a tie.

7           Well, I cast the deciding vote on twenty-  
8   five million dollars for additional funds for Project  
9   Head Start.

10          I help get through that Senate seventy-five  
11   million dollars for an additional Summer Youth Program.  
12   It went to the House of Representatives, and it was  
13   there for five or six weeks, and they turned it down.

14          We brought it back to the Senate, and we  
15   sent it back to the House again, and it has been there  
16   for another two weeks.

17          Let me just make it quite clear. The  
18   problem we have is that we don't have the means. We  
19   have much of the means that we need; not all that  
20   some people ask for because you can't do everything  
21   at once. You have to have some priorities.

22          The problem is, we don't have the votes,  
23   sometimes.

24          I will be very political about it. We lost

1 47 good Head-Start votes in 1966, 47 members of the  
2 House of Representatives, 47 members who were  
3 interested in OEO, 47 members who were interested in  
4 Head Start, 47 members that would give us a little  
5 extra help in our Summer Youth Program. We lost  
6 those in the election.

7 We didn't lose them because I wanted them  
8 lost. I worked my head off around this country to  
9 save them, but we lost them. And when I hear people  
10 say, "Well, you know, we ought to do more."

11 And I say, "Amen. I agree. And I have  
12 some candidates that you ought to vote for that will  
13 get more done."

14 If we will put as much energy in electing  
15 the people that want to do something in this country  
16 as we do in picketing and demonstrating and rioting  
17 and violating the law, we will get a whole lot done  
18 in America.

19 I call for the peaceful process.

20 (Applause)

21 In answer to your question, I will look  
22 into this matter immediately.

23 I am not at all sure that the OEO has  
24 uncommitted funds. If it has, it sure escaped my

1 attention. I have been trying to get every dollar I  
2 could from them for our Summer Youth Program.

3 But if those funds are available for the  
4 Department of Agriculture, let me tell you this. The  
5 greatest areas of poverty in America, really are in  
6 rural America, not in urban America.

7 But, sir, your question will be noted by  
8 a member of my staff, and we will get back to you and  
9 try to tell you what the situation is.

10 I have got to go, but I will take one more  
11 question.

12 MR. WATKINS: Mr. Vice President, we don't  
13 expect a formal announcement for the Presidency today,  
14 but we would like to have some comment concerning your  
15 candidacy.

16 (Laughter and Applause)

17 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Before I forget  
18 it, I want to thank this band. Really great.

19 (Laughter)

20 Really great. I think they deserve some  
21 good applause.

22 (Applause)

23 Now, that question is going to be answered  
24 on Saturday.



1                   And as they say, in some places "Y'all  
2   come."

3                   If you can come up to Washington, D. C.,  
4   on Saturday, I am going to expose this well-guarded  
5   secret.

6                   (Laughter)

7                   I want to say to my friend who has asked  
8   this question, I have been in public life now, since  
9   1945. I suppose, when you are in public life, you  
10   feel that this is a kind of lifetime work.

11                  I have been very close to the President of  
12   the United States. I have seen his burdens. I have  
13   seen him, I should say, carrying these burdens. I  
14   have watched him go, very tired and weary, on many  
15   occasions; I have seen the unbelievable criticism that  
16   he has had to take from people who weren't quite so  
17   sure of all their facts.

18                  But that is what happens in a free country.

19                  I have watched this President wrestle with  
20   the most difficult problems of any AGE. A society  
21   in great change. The change of racial relations in  
22   America alone is nothing short of revolutionary in  
23   its impact. A society, if you please, in which we  
24   are being tested, in a world in which we are being

1 tested everywhere, the danger of unbelievable  
2 destruction in the Middle East, a serious war and a  
3 cruel war in Southeast Asia, none of which he made;  
4 all of which he inherited.

5 I have watched this President try to build  
6 better understanding at home and abroad.

7 I have yet to hear President Johnson make  
8 an unkind word or comment about a single leader of  
9 another country. And I think you might ponder that  
10 for a moment.

11 He has not indulged in the demagoguery of  
12 yesterday by attacking the Soviets or the leaders of  
13 different countries. And even when some of our old  
14 friends and allies have caused us trouble, he has  
15 exercised great personal discipline and restraint.

16 I know that President Johnson is disliked  
17 in some quarters because of the stand he has taken  
18 on the great fundamental of Democracy known as human  
19 rights.

20 He is a Southerner who has done more for  
21 Civil Rights than any Northerner in the history of  
22 this nation, and a lot of people didn't like it. But  
23 he has been willing to stand up to and to speak his  
24 convictions.

1 I have watched this President as he has  
2 tried to deal with a Europe that has been fully  
3 recovered, and at times, has forgotten its benefactor.

4 I have watched him come to grips with the  
5 problem of trade and tariffs, and difficult problems  
6 of international finances and monetary policies in a  
7 world that is capital scarred, because the old monetary  
8 system had no relationship to the, really, expediencies  
9 of millions of people throughout the world.

10 I have been very close to the Presidency,  
11 and to the President.

12 I can only say this, that no man will ever  
13 know what it means to be President until he is the  
14 President. And you can't safely predict what a man  
15 will do in that position until he is there.

16 All the training in the world, while it  
17 may help, and I have tried to learn as Vice President,  
18 to learn the factors in our security and our general  
19 policies, and to learn the world in which we live,  
20 but I couldn't predict what kind of a man I would be  
21 if that high office were mine.

22 I can hope, I can try to condition myself  
23 to those grave responsibilities.

24 But this I do know, that is no picnic.



1 And I know that it is the most trying and taxing, the  
2 most difficult and the most demanding job in the world.

3 And that is exactly why, whenever you  
4 decide to take the step that might lead to that office,  
5 that you ought to do it with prayer, with careful  
6 thought and with a willingness to literally commit  
7 your life and the life of your family and, indeed, of  
8 many of your friends who take responsibility of the  
9 decision process which is a difficult one.

10 I am moving to that decision one way or the  
11 other. I have very much made up my mind as to how I  
12 am going, and I will have something to say to you and  
13 the American people this week end, on Saturday.

14 Until then, I think it would be better if  
15 I didn't say anything, except to tell you that I have  
16 always liked Mississippi.

17 The Mississippi River starts in Minnesota,  
18 and we named it after you.

19 (Laughter)

20 I have found in Mississippi, not only what  
21 you call good living and Southern hospitality, which  
22 I would have expected, but I have found an ideal  
23 audience, the leaders of this State.

24 As I said this morning at breakfast, that

1 something great is happening in Mississippi.

2 I have said from every platform in America,  
3 that the New America is going to receive a great deal  
4 of new inspiration and new strength from the Southland,  
5 where people are proud to be patriots, where you are  
6 proud of your country, where you are willing to stand  
7 up and be an old fashioned patriot, loving the flag  
8 and the people, and willing to be a new patriot,  
9 willing to do the quite difficult job of changing  
10 things that need to be changed, building institutions  
11 and educating our ignorant.

12 I want to thank the University of Mississippi,  
13 I want to thank Ole Miss. I want to thank the people  
14 who have come here, and I want to thank the students  
15 for making me feel a little better, and making me be  
16 a little better American, and a good friend and  
17 neighbor to you.

18 Thank you.

19 (Applause)

20 MR. JACKS: We want to express our apprecia-  
21 tion for your kindly remarks, and for taking the time  
22 out of your busy schedule to come to Mississippi.

23 (Standing ovation.)

24 -o-o-o-

B R E A K F A S T

HONORING VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

University of Mississippi  
Paul Johnson Commons  
Oxford, Mississippi  
April 25, 1968

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DEAN MORSE: Would everyone please rise for the Invocation.

(Everyone rises.)

DEAN MORSE: The Invocation will be given by Reverend R. L. T. Smith of Jackson, Mississippi.

Reverend Smith.

(Whereupon, the Invocation was given by Reverend Smith.)

DEAN MORSE: I have a telegram here that I would like to read at this time.

It is to the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President of the United States.

"We are glad to extend to you a warm welcome to Mississippi and to Ole Miss, and wish we could be with you today. Regards and good wishes."

James O. Eastland and John C. Stennis.

(APPLAUSE)

DEAN MORSE: At this time I would like to present to you the man who really, I think, is responsible for us all being here this morning, and who has done a great part of the work, a business man from Clarksdale, Mississippi, Oscar Carr.

(APPLAUSE)

MR. CARR: Mr. Vice President, Mrs. Humphrey, all of us, including the Honorable Charles Sullivan, Lt. Governor of Mississippi, are gathered here this morning with one accord, to extend to you both a most, most cordial welcome to our city.



Mrs. Humphrey, since we will be hearing from the Vice President momentarily, would you please stand so that we may recognize you.

(Whereupon, Mrs. Humphrey stands.)

(APPLAUSE)

Although protocol requires that on formal occasions the President and Vice President receive no introduction other than by title of office, we understand that on an occasion such as an informal breakfast such as this, that an introduction is in order.

Although the Vice President of the United States certainly comes to us not as a stranger, this is his first visit to Mississippi, and a few brief remarks regarding his background might be enlightening.

Hubert Horatio Humphrey, Democrat, from Waverly, Minnesota, born in South Dakota in 1911.

He received degrees from the Denver College of Pharmacy, the University of Minnesota, and a Master's Degree from our neighboring Louisiana State University in 1940.

He was twice elected Mayor of Minneapolis in 1945 and 1947. And from that record, vaulted to the United States Senate in 1948, to which office he was re-elected twice, in 1954 and 1960.

His democratic colleagues, those who knew him best, elected him to the position of Assistant Majority Leader of the United States Senate in 1961.

In 1964 he was selected by our President, nominated by our Party and elected by the people to serve as Vice President of the United States for the term beginning January 20, 1965.

As Vice President, among many other duties, he serves as President of the United States Senate, a Member of the Cabinet, a Member of the National Security Council, Chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, Chairman of the Peace Corp Advisory Council, Honorary Chairman of the National Advisory Council to the Office of Economic Opportunity, Chairman of the Special Cabinet Task Force Travel, U.S.A., a Member of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, Chairman of President's Council on Youth Opportunity, and Chairman of the National Council of Marine Resources and Engineering Developments.

From these multitudinous tasks, where daily he has the awesome responsibility of helping lead this nation in a most complex world, he has graciously accepted this invitation to be with us, and to share with us his views and opinions.

We are most gratified that such a broad spectrum of responsible Mississippi leadership is here to listen.

And, Mr. Vice President, I would like to say, I have never seen such a gathering in the 45 years of my life in the State of Mississippi.

There is an old Chinese curse that says: "May you live in interesting times."

(Laughter)

I think we all would agree that we live in interesting times.

It has been our personal privilege to hear the Vice President on more than one occasion speak to these interesting times, and I can assure you that he does not regard them as a curse, but rather as a challenge, a responsibility, and an opportunity for leadership, which he readily accepts.

For a positive approach to the vast problems which confront this nation and this world at this time, there is no more eloquent and articulate spokesman on the American political scene than Hubert Horatio Humphrey.

Suffice it to say, Mr. Vice President, that you know that we know that it is a distinct honor to breakfast with you and Mrs. Humphrey this morning, and we welcome any remarks that you deem apropos to this occasion.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Vice President of the United States.

(Standing ovation.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Governor Sullivan, Mr. Carr, Dean Morse, Reverend Smith, Friends and Fellow Citizens.

The first thing I want to say is how much Mrs. Humphrey and I appreciate this wonderful welcome you have given us. We always knew of and have experienced, many times, Southern hospitality, but I can honestly say that we have never been more warmly and more kindly received than we have on the instance of our visit here to Mississippi, and to Oxford, Mississippi.

Last evening at the Airport was a memorable occasion for us. That wonderful crowd of young people, with enthusiasm, good feeling and friendship that was there to greet us, it was like a reward for a lifetime of public service, and I want to thank the leaders of this campus. And I certainly want to take this occasion, as I shall later on this morning, to thank Chancellor Fortune, and thank you, Governor Sullivan, and thank the people of Mississippi, for extending the welcome that made this old Yankee heart of mine just swell up with happiness and joy. You have really given us a wonderful day and a wonderful time.

I know this is a very unique morning.

I think you ought also to know that I seldom speak before 9:00 o'clock.

(Laughter)

My wife will tell you I am seldom even civil before that time.

(Laughter)

My office staff will tell you that they stay at least 50 feet away from me before 9:00 o'clock.

(Laughter)

I am a night man myself.

But for some reason or other, because I had to be back in Washington tonight, we decided that if we could have a gathering, we should do it in the morning.

I will do the best I can under these most difficult and trying personal circumstances.

I have been introduced, as you know, very generously. Of course, you know I am very honored to be your Vice President. This is a high office. It is the second highest office within the gift of the American people. It is also a very, well, it is an awkward office, an unusual office.

One Vice President said he spent most of his time presiding over the Senate, listening to boring debates and having no opportunity to reply, and then picking up the morning newspaper and looking and inquiring as to the state of the health of the President.

(Laughter)



Those are bygone days. Things have changed since that time. I think that was Charles Daws that said that.

There was someone else -- I had a little note -- that says, "Being Vice President," as one story goes, "is like being placed in charge of answering anonymous letters."

(Laughter)

That has changed somewhat, too. And it has changed the whole office and its responsibilities have changed, because of the many problems confronting our country, the growth of our nation, and the necessity of those of us in public life to do our part, to try to share our part of the burden and grasp our part of the opportunity.

This morning, in the few moments we have together, I want to share with you some of my personal feelings. I want to talk to you about our country as I see it, and I hope I can impart to you a little of the basic optimism that is mine about this nation. I hope I can speak to you in terms that are both meaningful and direct, and yet rather simple, but profound.

I am a student of Government.

I said to a group at Marshall University in Huntington, West Virginia, about having taught American Government to thousands of young Americans as a young professor, and after having been in Government over 20 years, and seeing what really happens in Government, I feel I owe all my students a refund.

(Laughter)

Because what is written and what is taught sometimes has very little relevance to what happens. And particularly in times of great change.

But there are some parodies in every walk of life.

I suppose that we, as a nation, and we, as a people, are literally God-blessed by the gift of great scholarship and great philosophical depth of understanding in our founding Fathers.

I used to have my students spend a good deal of time just reading the Preamble of the Constitution of the United States and try to get them to understand what was a living document and not a piece of historical document.

That Preamble says, in part: "We, the people of these United States do, do, establish and ordain," and then it goes on in its more extended description of what we seek.

I emphasize the word "do", because the men who wrote that Constitution did not say, "We, these people, of this time and this place in these 13 United States did establish, and ordain," as if it were in the past tense.

It says that you, that each and every one of us, every one of us present at this very moment of history, even now, as if we could pick up our own pen, we, now, we the people of these United States, do, at this moment, establish and ordain this Constitution of these United States, the living Constitution, a living instrument that is to grow as the nation grows; the living Constitution, the living instrument, that is to be applied as the needs of this Republic requires; the living Constitution that belongs to the American people of every generation in their time and in their place with their needs.

And I submit to you that that Constitution with that philosophy has stood us well, particularly if we understand that it is not the historical document, that it is a living document, that it is not a recollection of the greatness of the past, but it is a challenge to the greatness of the future.

That has been my philosophy of Government.

And then I would add this: That we have always known that this business of building a Democratic and a free society is the unfinished business of every generation. There is always work to do.

And when I see young people restless, as I see them many times now, it is not unusual. As a matter of fact, their restlessness is a part of their emancipation. Their restlessness and, at times, their discontent is only symbolic of the fact that they have been able to perceive the injustices and the inequities and the opportunities and the privileges that are theirs or could be theirs.

So, we are in a constant process of extending the frontiers and the horizons of liberty and freedom, and I just call it "emancipation."

A great University has as its prime purpose, to emancipate man from his fears, doubts, suspicions, prejudices, and to enrich his soul and spirit and his mind.

The University is really an instrument of discovery, so that the individual can discover himself, and his relationship between himself and his God, so that he can add to the heritage that is given unto him and make his own contribution.

I have said, many times, to my young friends, as I visit with them, that it is a good thing to study Ancient History, but it is better to make your own, your own personal history.

Every generation should add a chapter of its own achievements and its own accomplishments.

Now, what does all this boil down to as far as we are concerned this morning?

We have a columnist in Washington, and I guess they have them around in other parts of the country, that writes about what they call the "beautiful people."

Well, I like beautiful people, and I saw a large number of beautiful young ladies at the Airport last evening. Mrs. Humphrey has never been so close to me at any time.

(Laughter)

Every time I would pause just a little longer, she would be a little closer.

Sometimes people, interpreters of these days and times, think of beautiful people in terms of their clothes or their hair-dos, or style. I will tell you what I think. I will tell you who I think are the beautiful people, the people who make this country: The working people, the University people, the spiritual leaders, the white people, the black people.

They are the beautiful people. The people who are willing to put something constructive into the building of this country.



America The Beautiful is not America The Beautiful just because of this beautiful morning we have out here, because I can take you to other parts of the world where there is every bit as much physical beauty, geographical beauty, floral beauty, as you have right here in Mississippi or any other place in the United States. In fact, there are places in the world where I have visited that may be a little more beautiful. But the beauty that you really want is not there, because the most beautiful thing is people living in freedom. That is what is really beautiful. People who are constantly extending the frontiers of opportunity. That is why, to me, a Democratic society, with all of its disorderliness-- Do you know what Winston Churchill once said about Democracy?

He said, it is the worst possible form of Government, except all others that have ever been tried.

(Laughter)

And it is. It is a very difficult social structure and its governmental institutions. It is frequently a sort of a jerry-built; it is pragmatic in its approach; it sometimes looks very disorderly; but it is also a very beautiful system, because it permits individuality, it encourages it. It permits individual identification; it encourages it. And above all, it permits the development of the human spirit.

Thomas Jefferson was always saying the right thing, as far as I am concerned. I don't know how a man could be so wise. He was a remarkable human being, and how fortunate that he was our fellow citizen.

He said, "Education is the plowing and the planting of human thought, producing the universal food of human progress."

Now, whenever I see a state or a community that has placed a high emphasis or a high priority on education, I know that that community is on the way to a better future.

And I believe that all over America, and particularly in the Southland, there is a new emphasis upon education and educational excellence.

I am not unaware of the difficulties. I am not unaware of the fact that we are having to break old patterns. I know that it hasn't been easy for the pioneers and those who have struggled to make a society that is based upon equal treatment, human equality and full and equal opportunity. This is a monumental task. I know it is not easy. But I know that it cannot be done in ignorance.

Jefferson also said, "You cannot be both free and ignorant. You have to make a choice." And I believe that Mississippi, like my home state of Minnesota, has made the choice.

I think you want to be free, and that means that you have to literally move Heaven and earth to abolish ignorance from our midst, because ignorance is the milieu, the environment in which all of man's evils and sins flourish. And the worst of those sins is when one treats unkindly, indecently, in a prejudicial, discriminatory manner, another human being.

I don't mean to take over Reverend Smith's prerogatives. He gave us a beautiful prayer. But I had an experience not long ago in our own church out in Minnesota where a minister said these words: "The way you treat people is the way you treat God."

And the people who profess great religious faith, I think they ought to remember, that the living expression of God on this earth is the human being that was created in the image of the Maker. And the way you treat that person is the way you treat your God. And, in fact, it is the way you treat your Nation, because there can be no doubt but that this Nation has a great spiritual message.

I often ask myself, why is it that we are in public service?

You are not in it because you get a lot of sleep.

(Laughter)

And you are certainly not in public service because you expect people to constantly have gratitude for the things you seem to do; and you are not in it because you are going to be understood and appreciated in your time; you are seldom in it because it gives you a great deal of time to be with your family. The first casualty of public service is time with your family and your loved ones.

You are in public service because it is sort of a mission for you; that is, if you really become a public man. You are in it because you really believe that through the processes of self-government, through these democratic processes, we can redress our grievances. We all have some, you know.

We are in it because we believe that we can, stage by stage, year by year, decade by decade, build a better society or a great society, or discover a new frontier, or have a new deal, or whatever you wish to call it.

We are in it because we really believe that with the tools we have and with the resources that we have, and with the knowhow that we have, that if there is but commitment, personal and national commitment, that you can make a better day. And this is why I have said, that public life is maybe the greatest of all callings, because it permits you to do so much for so many, and it challenges you so often, and it makes you be just a little bit better than you possibly ever had a chance or ever had a hope to be.

I like public service, and I like it because I consider it a constant opportunity, and an opportunity for continuing teaching. And I think that is what we are doing here today. Just by our presence, just the fact that we are here in this hall today, there is a great lesson that is being learned, and a great message that is going from this State.

I want my Fellow Americans in other parts of America to know all of Mississippi, this part of Mississippi.

I want my Fellow Americans to know all of Minnesota.

We have it good, and we have it bad. We have made some progress, and we have some almost, well, we have some of the most difficult circumstances.

Every part of America is this way. We don't need to select somebody out for special abuse.

What I think Americans need to do is to understand the way we build a better America is to start where we live, in our town, in our county, in our State, and the sum total of the better villages, towns, counties, cities and States adds up to a more perfect Union. Because, remember, what we seek to do is to establish justice, to insure domestic tranquility and to create a more perfect Union.



No one ever said that we fully accomplished it. All we can say is we are trying to accomplish it.

Democracy's house is constantly being built, and the children of Democracy come in waves, generation after generation.

So, when I hear people say that they think our society is at a point, well, of its final hour, and I know there are a number of people these days who feel they can point all the transgressions, all the limitations that they have exemplified in great intellectual integrity.

Well, great intellectual integrity, my friends, includes seeing the good as well as the bad. Intellectual integrity requires, above all, that you have a sense of confidence a sense of faith; confidence in what you are trying to do, and faith in what you believe. I think that is a part of an educated man. I do not believe an educated man turns out to be a cynic. I do not believe an educated man leads a life of skepticism. I do not believe that an educated man leads a life of suspicion and doubt and fear.

I think an educated man is one who lives a life of faith, backed up by works. I think he is one who demonstrates great confidence about the knowledge he has been able to acquire. I think he is one, above all, who understands that whatever we will to do, we can do.

I want you to feel that way here this morning. What you will to do in this State, you can do.

The great untapped power in America is not atomic power. The great untapped power is not gold stock at Fort Knox. As a matter of fact, several people have already tapped that.

(Laughter)

The great untapped power in America is people power; not black power, not white power, not money power, not military power, people power. People power is right here, people that join together to do something, but above all, people who have made up their mind they are going to do something with their lives and not pointing the finger at somebody else saying, "You have denied me my chance," or pointing your finger at somebody else and saying, "You will never amount to anything."

The untapped human resources of this nation are unbelievable, unlimited, and it is my view that we cannot afford the waste of leaving those great human resources untapped. We must convert human waste into human worth. We must try to help people help themselves. We must understand that there isn't anything called freedom without pride and human dignity. And we must understand that the United States of America is not fulfilling its calling if it has, as some have put it, two societies separate and unequal. It cannot. That day is all over.

I know it is difficult to face up to it, but it is over.

It is like some people who long for those good old days. I don't know where they are. I have been looking around.

I am a child of the depression, and they weren't very good, those days. I am glad they haven't been around.

Were those the good old days? The depression? The good old days, World War II? The good old days of recession?

I don't think so. I think those were not nearly as good as the days we have today.

So this business of having people go around in nostalgic fervor and emotion and say, "Oh, if we could only return to the good old days."

The only thing you will ever return to is dust unto dust.

(Laughter)

There is no return. The only thing to do is to look to the future and know that that is what belongs to you. At least, this day belongs to us. And I am not so foolish as not to know that it is difficult to make change and to do it with order.

The amazing thing to me, my fellow Americans, is that we have been able to change so much in the last ten years with so little disorder. It is amazing. The test of this Nation, which historians will reflect upon, is the fact that we were able to create a social-political system that had the durability and the flexibility to adjust itself to the most unbelievable social revolutions that the world has ever known.

No other society, ladies and gentlemen, has ever been able to even boldly think out loud of one Nation with a diversity of people and cultures blended into a oneness, E Pluribus Unum, and to do it in a Democratic free manner, without police state methods, without the brutal power of the State and its police apparatus. No other country has ever been able to do it. No other country has ever been confronted with the same social problems that we have here in America.

A nation that has come from slavery into emancipation, from an agrarian society into an industrialized society, from a rural society into an urbanized society; a nation that never wanted to go to war, but had to save the world from annihilation and exploitation; a nation of nation builders that has had to take up the sword several times in the defense of freedom; it is nothing short of miraculous that we have survived it. But one of the reasons that we have is that we are constantly drawing on new strength. There is a yeast in us. There is a yeast in this dough, so to speak, that we call our society. There is a ferment, and from it, we constantly find new strength. New people are coming into our midst, new thought, new ability, new creativity, from the many different ethnic groups that make up America.

John Kennedy once said, "We want to make this world safe for diversity." Diversity. We Americans are not all alike, and we are never going to be, and I hope we aren't. Because then, we would all have to be like me, or I would be like you, and we wouldn't like each other. It could happen that way. Just imagine what it would be like if every woman wore the same hat.

We don't want a monolith. This is a pluralistic society; this is a diverse society; this is a mosaic. But the only way a mosaic has any beauty is when the different parts of that mosaic respect their neighbors, so to speak.

I guess what we are really talking about is: Can we really be neighbors and not strangers in the same land?

I think so. I think we are learning how to be neighbors.

The same Nation that learned how to split the atom ought to learn how to split the difference.

(Applause)

Well, in the worst of times -- and I heard that, what was it, that Chinese quotation, these were interesting times.

Are you telling me?

(Laughter)

I will say they are interesting. And they are apt to get a little more interesting, from what I hear.

(Laughter and applause)

As an old English Preacher said, in the worst of days, we must do the greatest and the best of things. And I guess the English have learned that that is what you have to do. The nation of Dunkirk; the nation of the Nazi Blitz. In the worst of days, they had to do the greatest and best of things.

Every time I read about riots and violence and expression of extremism, the right or the left, the black or the white, I say, "Well, these are the worst of things, and therefore, they call upon us to do the best and the greatest of things."

I think that the great body of the American people want to do the greatest and the best of things. And I don't think that we ought to let those who are a very small minority, articulate and sometimes vicious, I don't think we ought to let them set the guidelines and standards for human conduct in this country.

(Applause)

There isn't a single problem that we have that can't be reasoned out if men and women are willing to be reasonable. There isn't a single difficulty that faces this nation that cannot be mastered if we apply ourselves to it. Any nation that thinks it can put a man on the moon ought to be able to help put a man on his feet right here on this earth.

(Applause)

Let me quote to you my favorite Southern Poet. Oh, I had better be careful because every State has its own poet.

(Laughter)

It's pretty dangerous to quote poetry nowadays, anyway. People get suspicious of you.

(Laughter)



When I was down in North Carolina not long ago, I quoted their Carolinian Poet, Thomas Wolfe. And I go all over America quoting this poetry. This is what I believe. Everybody has to have his own articles of faith.

People have asked me many times: What are you trying to do? What is the message? What are you up to? What is the Government up to?

Well, there are a lot of interpretations about that, you know.

(Laughter)

But, really, when you settle down in the quiet of your home and your own consciousness, I think you know what we are up to. We are up to just one thing. We are trying to add that extra dimension to our Democracy, called "Full Opportunity." "Full Opportunity."

You don't prove you are a compassionate individual by a bigger welfare check. That just proves you can afford it.

You prove that you are a compassionate individual, a concerned individual, when you seek to help somebody help themselves, when you design programs, policies so that real opportunity for self-respect and for earning and learning is made available to that individual.

I have tried to dedicate my public life to the quest for full opportunity for every American, for those who are handicapped, for those who are crippled, for those who are mentally deficient, for those who can't earn their own way -- then all the charity and kindness that we can possibly extend because we can afford to do it -- for those who are hungry in a land that is blessed with an abundance of food.

There ought not to be a hungry child in Mississippi or Minnesota or New York or California, or anywhere else.

(Applause)

And I will tell you, if I have any intolerance in my heart and soul, it is on that subject. I guess you can sometimes forgive us for the way we treat fellow adults, because that is an engrained pattern of prejudice on occasion. But a child. Remember, a child is God's expression of faith in this world. The birth of every child is nothing, more or less, than the expression of Divine Providence in his continuing faith in mankind. Therefore, children, at least, should have every opportunity, every possible opportunity. I think we ought to have a sort of starting point, and I believe we ought to start with the child.

Thomas Wolfe was that great depression poet. The President has quoted him, and the Vice President has quoted him.

Of course, if the President quotes him, then, the Vice President will frequently quote him.

(Laughter)

I will let you in on a secret. I found this quote before the President got his hands on it.

Somebody said, now, Humphrey will have to be his own man. I want you men of the press to note that I stood up here and was my own man.

(Laughter and applause)

Well, this quote of Thomas Wolfe summarizes the whole thing. This is what he said:

"Every man, regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity.

"To every man, the right to live, to work, to be himself.

"And to become whatever thing his manhood and vision can combine to make him."

"This is the promise of America."

I think those are beautiful words. And I think it is a perfectly wonderful thoroughly American thought. That every man, regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity; to every man, the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and vision can combine to make him. This is the promise of America.

To every man his chance; to every man our task, our duty, emancipate him. Not the Lincoln's Emancipation of 1863, but your emancipation of 1968.

The emancipation through education; the emancipation that comes through respect; the emancipation that comes through a job.

What good does it do to give a man legal rights, if he has no way of exercising them?

(Applause)

I want to thank you very much for doing what you are doing here. I think this meeting is one of the most important meetings that I will ever attend.

I know the struggle that has gone on here, and in other parts of America.

I want to make it quite clear. You are not the only part of America that has problems. You are not the only part of America that has to wrestle with the constant human frailty of prejudice. Every part of America has that. Don't feel set upon, even though there are a good number of people who want to point at you rather than look in the mirror.

(Applause)

But what I think what we would do well to do to help each other is to say that we will try to put our house in order; you try to put yours in order. Then let's communicate; let's exchange thoughts and experiences.

I want to ask every person here to redouble your effort to make this State a progressive forward-looking enterprising, growing, expanding State. You have a wonderful heritage; you have a rich land; you have fine people.

You have literally hundreds of thousands of people who are leaving your State every year that ought not to go. You need them here. The drain of human resources is much more serious than the drain of gold resources. There is talent leaving Mississippi, going into the great urban areas of America, only to be lost there, only to be swallowed up in the slums. If you, somehow, can find a way here to develop that human resource, to enrich that life, to provide an opportunity for that person, white or black. You have poor whites and poor blacks. We have them. We even have poor Indians; and possibly you have them, too.

But every person is a treasure; every person is much more valued than any block of gold bullion. And I want to see America as concerned about its human resources as it is about its gold resources. I want to see America concerned as much about its people power, and seeing that that people power is developed, strengthened, enriched and blessed, as some people are about their so-called white power or black power.

We don't need to divide ourselves artificially. We are what we are, as we were created, and each of us should be proud of what we are and who we are and how we look. And each of us should have enough pride so that we want to do a little better. A nation that is filled with pride, and yet not arrogant; a nation that is filled with confidence, and yet not boisterous; a nation that is filled with faith, and yet not dogmatic, I think that is the nation of the future.

That is why I have always believed that Lincoln was right when he said that America was the last best hope on earth. We are, and you are.

I hope that, together, we can make it even a better hope next year than it has been this year.

Thank you, very much.

(Standing ovation)

DEAN MORSE: Thank you very much.

We accept the challenge of that message.

I think, to look at this group and the group at the Airport last night will give lie to the idea that Mississippi is a closed monolithic society.

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