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REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

MICHIGAN STATE PRECINCT DELEGATES

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

in met

MAY 14, 1968

I come to you today with a large supply of Humphrey's

Election Year Democratic Elixir. I want you to drink deeply.

I also bring news: I feel good about this campaign.

I intend to win the nomination.

I will win in November.

Tonight I want to hear from you -- a session of "participatory

democracy."

Prudente Dernim -

But, first, a thought or two: We have some choices to make in America. Now is the time to plan ahead.

The answers to our urgent national business -- hard core unemployment ... poverty ... inadequate housing ... urban blight -- depend on our ability to keep our economy growing. They also depend on what share of our resources -material ... human and psychological resources -- we are willing to invest in those answers.

What will we do after Vietnam? I don't need to remind you of what happened after Korea. We had three recessions -- eight years of a nation at rest, but not at ease.

Unemployment here in Detroit shot up as high as 14 percent.

Think what unemployment rates like that would mean today -- to those Americans who have for the first time been given hope of training and jobs ... to all those families counting on America's promise of full and equal opportunity.

I don't mean to let either a failure of foresight -- or what has been called the deadly sin of cynicism -- rob us of the rewards of peace and economic prosperity.

We can have those rewards.

We can do it -- not through violence ... not through the pitting of Americans against each other.

We can do it through the Democratic process.

We can do it at the ballot box.

You can put even more progressive, forward-looking Democrats in the Michigan Congressional delegation ... in the Michigan legislature ... and in Michigan city halls. That's the work ahead.

Now let me hear from you.

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VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY

Followed by a

Question-and-Answer Period

Mich jan Precinit Delegates

At the Veterans Memorial Building, Detroit, Michigan, on Tuesday, May 14, 1968.

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#### CONGRESSWOMAN GRIFFITHS: Mr. Vice Presi-

dent, distinguished platform guests, and distinguished precinct delegates, and your friends, every life has some rewarding moments, and mine has had more than most. Yet, I count this moment one of its most rewarding, when I can pay public tribute to my favorite public figure.

#### (Applause)

Sitting in the front rows tonight, Mr.

Vice President, are men and women who followed Hubert Humphrey as he gave the 1948 National Democratic Convention its push into the last half of the Twentieth Century.

# (Applause)

But as importantly for Michigan and for most of the Midwestern States, that really had no organized Democratic Party in 1948, Hubert Humphrey became our unpaid Party organizer. He came when we asked him for causes that we had already lost. He gave us his all. He rejoiced with us when we won and he grieved with us when we had lost. No one could have been selected to come here tonight, no one in the Democratic Party, who could have made more clear to you the issues of this election than your neighbor, your teacher, our Vice President, and the next President of the United States, Hubert Humphrey.

(Enthusiastic applause.)

VICE PRES. HUMPHREY: Thank you.

It is always good to have a good introduction, and it is even better to have a good introducer who gives a good introduction; and I want to thank my dear and good friend, Congresswoman Martha Griffiths, for really just casting aside whatever objectivity she might have had and becoming very subjective about the subject matter of the evening.

Like our old friend, Adlai Stevenson, used to say, flattery is all right if you do not inhale it, but you may have noticed, I was breathing very deeply all the time when Martha was speaking.

I want to thank every one of the Party officers here of the Democratic Party in the great State of

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Michigan. I particularly want to thank the Chairman, Sandy Levin. I want to express to my colleagues in the Congress, because we have worked together so many years, my thanks for their attendance, their presence.

It was indeed a rare privilege to have Jim O'Hara, Bill Ford, Charlie Diggs, Martha Griffiths and others,- I don't know if Mr. Conyers is here with us tonight or not, but all of those who are here to share with us tonight on this occasion, and may I say share with us all day, the chance to be together and to talk together and visit.

I am pleased that our Secretary of State and the other State officers, Jim Hare and others are there; and I want to talk to you tonight a little bit on my own, and then we want to turn this into a town meeting, where you have a chance to ask any questions that might be on your mind and I shall do my level best to give you a forthright and candid answer to the best of my ability.

The first thing I want you to know is that I come here tonight with a large supply of Humphrey's elixir and that is good medicine for you just to start off with.

(Applause)

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I would like to have you take at least a cupful three times a day, to keep up your spirits and also to keep you in tune with what the Vice President wants to talk to you about.

I also bring to you tonight some good news. My good news is that I feel very good about this campaign. I feel that things are moving along just about as I would like them, and I feel that if we work together, if we can have a sense of common interest and common purpose, that there will not only be a convention in Chicago that will select the right candidate, but that that candidate of the Democratic Party will go on to win the election on the first Tuesday after the first Monday, November fifth, 1968, for the Democratic Party.

Now, having spoken in such sweeping generalities, let me be more specific. I intend to win this nomination.

# (Applause)

And I intend to win it with your help in such a way that our Party can work together, that we can be a united Party, because surely, my fellow Democrats and fellow citizens, if we cannot work together as a united Party, what makes us think that we could ever unite a country? So my campaign will be based around the proposition that we can talk on the issues without downgrading personalities. I seek not to tear anyone down to build myself up, and I will have no part of it.

## (Applause)

I do not intend in the months ahead and the weeks ahead, in order to attract the attention of the American people and of the media, I do not intend to sell America short in order that I can stand just a little bit forward.

## (Applause)

I intend to face up to every issue that confronts this nation. I have been in public life long enough to know something about those issues. They are not new to me, nor to you, serving sixteen years in the United States Senate, two terms as mayor of a large city, and over three and a half years now as your Vice President, facing the difficult decisions that confront us at home and the even more painful decisions confronting us abroad. I know that our age of innocence is long past, and I know this, there are no simple answers to problems that are generations, and some of them centuries, of age. I do not intend to come to the American people with panaceas and offer instant solutions, because there are none, but I do intend not only to project the concerns that we have and the problems that we have, which represent our weaknesses in times of limitations, but I intend also at the same time to match those problems and those weaknesses by an inventory of the strength of the American people, the strength of this American system of ours, and to show that if we will put that strength to work, with commitment and purpose, there isn't a single problem that we have or that we will face but what we can solve, if we set ourselves to it.

## (Applause)

I had no intention of becoming a candidate for the office of the Presidency until our President made his decision on March 31 to be a political candidate no longer, or as he put it, he did not seek the nomination nor would he accept it. It was on that evening that I was in Mexico City, and it was on that evening that I started thinking as to what my plans or future might be. I have been closely involved, as I said, with our Government since the days of Harry Truman, up to the very present moment. The Presidency is the most difficult assignment that has ever been given to

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any man. You do not seek it lightly, nor should you, and ambition should not be your motivation, - service, service should be it.

I thought it through as best I could, I listened to the advice and counsel of many, some who told me not to, others who told me I should, and others who said it was my duty. I suppose that in my heart and in my soul I knew that this would be my decision, because it is, in a sense, the fulfilment of a life of political and public service, - but I enter into this campaign with the full knowledge that a campaign should be an educational experience as well as an emotional one, and the emphasis should be upon education. I enter into it with the desire to talk to the American people, to visit with them about our country, our future and not our past. The past is good, but for one thing, inheritance that we receive, the knowledge that we gain from experience, the wisdom that comes to us through trial and error. We will not stand on the past. We will proceed from it, because it is the future that is challenging for our country, a young nation, young in spirit, and a nation that has changed dramatically, industrialized, urbanized, the victim of the impact of science and technology, in a world that is changing faster than many of us know. I

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happen to believe that the decisions that we make in the next four years will be crucial and critical decisions, they well may be decisive, - the decisions that we will make in our foreign policies as we seek to build the kind of world structure that can give some assurance of peace and security, and the decisions that we will make here at home to broaden the participation in our democracy, and to build the house of democracy to its full dimension and to make sure that in this country opportunity is no longer just a word, but it is a living fact for every person in this land regardless of race, color or creed.

#### (Applause)

You people in Michigan know my philosophy. I am not new to the realm of politics, but as I said to another group this evening, while we have been old friends and have worked together a long time, we have not grown old together, we have just grown together, and that is what is important. You know, youth is not a matter of age. This is what I told some of your County officials and District leaders and some of the delegates, youth is an attitude of mind and spirit. You are as old as your fears, and as young as your confidence; you are as old as your doubts and as young as your hope, and I

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submit to you that there is in this room tonight, from the person speaking to you, to those gathered here, people of hope and of confidence and of ideals, not of fear, doubts and despair. That belongs to others.

So we proceed with a spirit of youthful enthusiasm but maturity and experience and responsibility because if there has ever been a time that this nation needed all of those qualities, it is now, maturity, experience, judgment, responsibility and action, and we will seek the answers to our problems, as we do here tonight, not from one man but from one nation, not from one group but from all peoples, and the answers to our urgent business of hard-core unemployment, poverty, inadequate housing, urban blight, slumism, all of these depend upon what we the people seek to do, not merely the national policy but the personal commitment, the capacity of a President and his leaders to mobilize the resources, material and spiritual of this country.

Yet, to get the American people to understand that there is no lack of capacity, no lack of know-how, no lack of experience, science or technology, we have all of this, the only thing we need to have, my dear friends, is the will, and as Franklin Roosevelt once said, "The only thing we need to fear is fear itself."

# (Applause)

Your President now is concentrating his total energies, time and ability, upon two all-important purposes; the first, to try to end the divisiveness in our country and to bring it back to a sense of national purpose and national unity, not a nation of one mind, but of one spirit, and, secondly, to concentrate his total resources and energies of this nation upon the highest goal of civilized man, the attainment of a just and a genuine and enduring peace; and I want this audience to know that, as your Vice President, not as a candidate, because I am also Vice President of these United States, the second highest office within the Government of the American people, that I intend to serve in that office with the dignity, the responsibility and the decorum that you would expect from one in that office.

# (Applause)

And I shall say nothing or do nothing, at least knowingly, that will in any way limit or impair the President's efforts, and the efforts of this nation to find an honorable end, a negotiated settlement, a peace in Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

#### (Applause)

It is easy to be a critic, but as I have

said, to some of my friends here tonight from the labor movement, when you are in the process of negotiation, you are not much of a union member if you spend all of your time whacking away at your negotiators, running down your President or your leader. If there ever was a time that a nation ought to try to minimize its differences, to bind up its wounds, to pull together, to demonstrate to the world a commitment and sense of strength and purpose and unity, I think that time is now.

# (Applause)

Surely as I stand before you tonight, we are on the road, tortuous, twisting, difficult as it may be, and it will be time-consuming, I am sure, it will be frustrating, I am confident, at least I imagine so, but we are on the road to that precious prize of peace, we are on that road.

#### (Applause)

And the day of peace will come, it will

come.

Now, the question is, what will we do with that prize of peace, because peace itself is neutral unless mankind puts it to work. The purpose of peace is to enrich the human life, to have human betterment, and I mention to you one example and then I shall turn this back to you.

I served in the Congress after Korea, when our nation had long been engaged, for three long years, and just as we have now, in a tragic and difficult and costly war in Asia, and it was a war that divided our nation, and yet the peace came, ladies and gentlemen. I ask you tonight, in all honesty, what did we we do with it? Did the monies that we were expending in resources that we had utilized for the battlefield revert to the economy? Did they combat illiteracy, were they turned around to clean up the slums, were they invested in education and health? You know better. Here in Detroit your rate of unemployment stood at 14 to 15 percent, three recessions in eight years, and there were more poor in America in 1954 than there are in 1968, there were more illiterates, there was more poverty, there was more of the deprived, more of the needy, and yet we did not convert those resources that were saved from the battlefield into the battle for human betterment.

So this man says to you, now is the time that we make the fateful decision, because the peace will come, it is inevitable, - I cannot predict the hour or the time or even the place, but it will come, and if it comes, and when it comes, what shall we do with it? Shall we waste it as we

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once did, or shall we put it to work? Shall we put it to work in building our cities and rebuilding them and conquering the poverty that grips people not only in their purse but in their spirit? Shall we put it to work in seeing to it that those who have been long deprived have a chance to catch up,not only Project Headstart, not only Project Upward-Bound, but project catch-up, for the people who have for years, and some of them for even better than a century, been denied their rightful place in the American community?

#### (Applause)

I want to lead this fight, I want to lead in the works of peace. I have dedicated a lifetime to peace. I have dedicated myself to the Peace Corps, to the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. I have dedicated myself, if you please, to the Food For Peace program, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

I submit to you that now is the time for the American people in the election year of 1968 to make the decision, the great decision, as to the kind of people that they will have in Congress, people who understand, for example, the possible power of this nation for good, people that will understand that is happening in this world, the process of emancipation that is taking place even behind the Iron Curtain the whole spirit with which we shall overcome. Freedom now, does not belong to an ethnic group, but belongs to all of us. We need people that understand that.

# (Appaluse)

This is why I am in this race. There are others seeking the Democratic nomination, they are good men, they are men that I know and respect; I have the feeling, however, having traveled this nation in all fifty states, having been to four continents representing your country, having been to many countries of different cultures and backgrounds, having seen the richest of the rich and the poorest of the poor, having been on the Indian Reservation as well as the plains and the plateaus, having been in the penthouses as well as the hovels, having seen the educated as well as the illiterate, I have a feeling that if we work together, that if we can plan together, that if we can talk together, and if we can concentrate our attention upon the problems of our nation together, we can do anything that needs to be done to repair this nation.

## (Applause)

Now, my friends, a town meeting is open

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for you, and I will do my level best to respond to your questions.

Thank you.

(Applause)

MR. WILLIAM FORD: Now, the questions that you send up will be asked, and I would like to ask Democratic Vice Chairman Ken Hylton if he would come to the podium to direct the questions to the Vice President.

MR. HYLTON: Thank you very much.

The first question, Mr. Vice President:

Do you think a further cut in the space program would be advisable at this time?

VICE PRES. HUMPHREY: First of all, I think you ought to see that we have quite a few questions, so please lean back, it is going to be quite an evening. Thank goodness, what an inquisitive group of people.

The space program has already been reduced by about six hundred million dollars, as I recollect. I believe that any other reduction, any substantial reduction in that program beyond that figure would seriously impair that program, and in the long run, impair our scientific and technological advance. I happen to be Chairman of the Space Council, and I have a little interest in the program as well as other programs that are more earth-bound. I have said a number of times and I want to repeat to you, because it is my philosophy and my belief, that any nation that has the resources that it is willing to commit itself to put a man on the moon also ought to be able to marshall the resources to help put a man on his feet right here on this earth. I think that ought to be done.

#### (Applause)

And I happen to believe that an economy that is running at the rate of over eight hundred and fifty billions of dollars is able to do both.

Now, the space program is not something for "Buck Rogers". The space program has tremendous spinoffs that are related to the whole economy. For example, some of the most forward-looking advances in medicine have come out of the space program. The whole subject, the whole matter of miniaturization which is so vital to automation and modern industry has been maximized and intensified by the space program. The computer technology has received much of its impetus from the space program. Your great universities all across this land are recipients of

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large grants in the field of engineering, development, science and technology, as a result of the space program.

By the way, every dollar of the space program is also spent within the American economy, it is money that is used to hire American workers, to develop American scientists and American technicians.

When you read in the press that Europe is concerned about what they call the technological gap, which is another way of saying the difference between our industrial efficiency and our industrial capacity and theirs, - the main reason for it is because we have invested, both public and private, large sums of money, and research and development means jobs. If we are going to build new industries, if we are going to build new cities, if we are going to keep this economy growing as it needs to, we are going to have to rest not on yesterday's laurels, we are going to have to have new developments, new adventures in science and technology; this is the only way that the American economy, that has reasonably good wages, a high standard of living, can compete with economies that have low wages and low standards of living.

Now, I say this because too many people have made the space program look as if somehow or other it was sort of a luxury item that we had. I can tell you that

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as we are cutting our space program, the Soviet Union is expanding it. As we have cut back our space program and space flights, the Soviet Union is expanding their space program and their space flights.

Space today represents science, invention, industry, new materials, medicine, the development, if you please, of a higher standard of education based upon one principle, excellence.

So while I think we have to put everything in its proper relationship, and I recognize that we have to slow it down because of other urgent needs, I believe I can say here in response to that question that we have cut it about as much as we dare, lest we wake up some day and find out that the Soviets and others have taken a big leap forward, and then we are going to hear from you, the American people, why did Congress and the executive branch permit this to happen? We let it happen once with Sputnik, and we had to spend billions to get caught up. Now we are relatively caught up, we are slowing down, as they are accelerating.

I suggest that it is all right to put the space program in a cruising speed, but don't slam on the brakes or you are apt to go through the windshield. MR. HYLTON: The next question, Mr. Vice President:

> What are your feelings in regard to the repeal of Section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act?

VICE PRES. HUMPHREY: Same as they always have been,- I think it ought to be repealed.

(Applause)

MR. HYLTON: Next question, Mr. Vice

President:

Do you feel we are materially strong enough to help any and all of our allies in case of further Communist aggression?

VICE PRES. HUMPHREY: Well, I am not at all sure that we should try to be the world's policeman. We are not.

We are capable of keeping our commitments to our allies. Our major allies that we have concern about today, of course, are in western Europe, that is where our largest commitment is. We have, of course, the treaty, the Bogota Treaty,

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the Rio Treaty, for our friends and neighbors in Latin America. I doublt if there is any problem in Latin America that cannot be handled by the coordinate effort of the nations there and ourselves. I think that is relatively clear.

Our commitments have been kept at great cost in Asia. At the present time we are having to help the South Koreans, as they are under severe pressure from the North, but we are able to do this, and they themselves are a very strong people, very capable of their own self-defense with the nominal help from us.

We have today a very powerful military establishment, a very, very power military establishment. I doubt that there is any nation on the face of the earth that would have any doubt at all about the capacity of that military establishment to take care of itself and to take care of our security and to fullfill our commitments.

I believe that with our allies we can defend what we have committed to defend, but I happen to believe that the fact of our strength will most likely make it unnecessary for us to have to commit those forces to our own defense. That is the important thing to remember.

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Military forces have two purposes: one in case they are needed. But the first purpose is to make sure that they are not needed by having the strength available, to let people understand what that power is.

(Applause)

MR. HYLTON: The next question, is:

Many of us in the suburban area --

and from the next question behind that one, I will add also, -

-- in the inner city, are concerned about the racial crisis, and the recommendations of the President's Commission on Racial Disorders, the Kerner Report, What do you think of it and what would you do about it?

VICE PRES. HUMPHREY: The so-called Kerner Report, or the Riot Commission Report, should be understood in this context. It is not an obituary of the American body politic. It is a health report on the social, political and economic condition of America.

The report gives warnings to a nation

that it has abused itself or permitted itself to be abused; just as a doctor's report, when you go to a clinic, will tell you that certain things are wrong, that you have certain ailments, certain weaknesses, and then the doctor or the clinic prescribes certain corrective measures.

This report is a very significant document and should be understood by every public official and studied very carefully. I think it is a constructive report. I believe that most of its recommendations, if not all, are essential for the economic and social health of this country.

I have been very close to the report. My co-chairman of my campaign, Senator Harris of Oklahoma, was one of the members of the Kerner Commission, and one of its most dedicated, effective and alert members.

I consider that the President for the next four years has the principal responsibility to see to it that the recommendations of the Kerner Report are implemented, and that they shall be implemented as soon as possible.

#### (Applause)

We cannot tolerate nor permit two societies separate and unequal. It violates everything that this country stands for.

You cannot ask your children to go to

school and repeat the pledge of allegiance to the flag and ask their parents to ignore everything that it means. You cannot talk about one nation under God indivisible with liberty and justice for all, and then permit conditions to prevail in your country that make it two nations.

(Applause)

You just cannot do that.

(Applause)

And remember this, that there is no

liberty for anyone unless there is liberty for everyone and there is ultimately no justice for you unless there is justice for the other fellow. It is just that simple and we have to understand it.

## (Applause)

MR. HYLTON: Mr. Vice President, some

people think that the present administration's stand on Vietnam will hinder you in your campaign. How do you feel about this?

VICE PRES. HUMPHREY: Well, if it does, it does. A man cannot have it easy. I never have had it easy in my life.

The administration has done what it thought it ought to do. The President and his advisers, and I have been one of them, have done what we thought we had to do, and our purpose has not been the war, our purpose is now in Paris.

This Government since the beginning, and I have been a part of this Government in the Cabinet and National Security Council, has not sought to have this war or this struggle decided on a military basis. We have sought to have this struggle decided on a political settlement, a negotiated settlement at the conference table. We have pleaded for three years to take the conflict from the battlefield to the conference room. We have pleaded time and time after time with the North Vietnamese and their associates to come to the conference table under any kind of auspices, the United Nations, the Geneva Conference, the non-allied nations, under the aegis or the mantle of the Pope, of many others, and finally by our perseverance, by our own unilateral action, without any request from the enemy, but on our part, finally we were able to achieve the beginnings, and as I said to you, the road to peace is not an easy one. The struggle for peace is, as John Kennedy put it, is a long and lonely fight.

But we have achieved one of our purposes now, and one of those purposes was at least to begin the conference, the talks, hopefully the negotiations, and your Government is prepared to follow through on those negotiations in an honorable, patient, tolerant, persevering manner, to get not a phony peace, not a sellout, but an honorable, genuine, lasting peace, that can mean something not only to you in this front row but to your children and to your children's children.

# That is what we are trying to do.

#### (Applause)

My friends, I do not know what this is all going to mean to my campaign. I have had some people say that if there is peace, Mr. Vice President, why, it certainly will benefit you. I have heard other people say, well, Mr. Vice President, if there isn't peace your cause is going to be very difficult, your cause may be hopeless.

Ladies and gentlemen, if there isn't any peace, it is not my cause that is only in difficulty, it is everybody's cause.

# (Applause)

And if there is the hope of peace, and if it seems to be materializing, if the prospects do seem good, this is not of particular benefit to Hubert Humphrey any more than it is to Joe Smith or Jim O'Hara or somebody else, - it is to everybody's benefit, and that is what we are trying to find.

# (Applause)

MR. HYLTON: Fellow Democrats, we are going to take one more question from this stack of cards, and then we are going to ask for questions from the floor, and we will ask the three gentlemen with the mikes if they will get in position so they can be recognized and take questions from the floor.

# Question:

Mr. Vice President, what do you feel will be the future of the war on poverty?

VICE PRES. HUMPHREY: The greatest thing about the war on poverty is that it was started and it has a good start.

The war on poverty in many ways is like a laboratory experiment, and we have been testing new techniques, new ways and means to combat a curse that is afflicting, that has afflicted mankind since the beginning of civilization, called poverty. Even the Scriptures say, "The poor shall always be with us." We are trying to find a way tonot merely alleviate the pain of poverty, but to eliminate poverty itself, to eradicate its causes, and quite frankly, we have had to experiment, - sometimes we have succeeded and sometimes we have not.

I often wondered what people would say, what the medical profession would feel like if they had to take as much criticism of the failures of experimentation in the laboratory of medicine as those of us, who are in the political life, have to take criticism for the failures of experimentation in the laboratories of social betterment.

For example, your nation spends billions on trying to find a cure for cancer. I lost my brother from cancer last summer; I have a son that had cancer of the lymphatic gland,- I would give anything if we could find an answer. We have spent billions, billions and billions of dollars, and yet we have not found the answer to cancer.

You do not go around and burn down the laboratories, and you do not go around and say those doctors are no good, and you do not call it a "boondogee"; in fact, every year the Congress appropriates more and every year private industry puts in more, and every year there are more doctors that are assigning their lives to more research, to find the cure for heart disease, for arthritis, for cancer, and many of them we have not even come close to touching, but you say "Try, keep at it."

Now, my dear friends, there are more people that die of broken hearts and disillusionment and frustration and despair from poverty than from cancer.

#### (Applause)

And we are experimenting; some things work; for example, Project Headstart,- it works, we know it works, and we ought to do more of it. We know that between the ages of four and seven is the greatest learning period in a child's life, and yet we know most children never have a school experience until after age six; we know that with poor children diet means everything,- protein deficiency means intellectual deficiency; we know these things.

Now, we have discovered this, in the war on poverty now, let us put it to work; we ought to have a school program in America for every child from the age four right up through the university.

#### (Applause)

We know that we can take a hard-core unemployed person that never had a job, that has lost his sense of motivation and self-respect, we know we can take that person and through training, through counseling, through all sorts of efforts that are made, to literally bring back the spark of life and hope to that person. We know we can make him into a productive citizen. We have proven it.

Now, my dear friends, if we know we can do it with a million, and we have, then we know we can do it with two, three, four, five million. This is what I mean about the experimentation that is going on in the war on poverty.

This is why I say we can divert some resources that we ought to be able to put our hands on. We can wage the most incredible war in this country on poverty that the world has ever known and, by our example, people shall respect us. By our example, the best foreign policy that America can have is a successful, human domestic policy. That is what counts.

## (Applause)

Now, as we continue to take these questions from the floor, I want our friends to know there are always a few that are slightly suspicious. If we run out of any questions from the floor, we will just run through the deck and we will draw, jacks or better.

(Laughter)

#### Question:

Do you feel that we could get world peace through world law?

VICE PRES. HUMPHREY: Yes, my friend. The whole purpose of the United Nations and its Charter is to try to have accepted a body of international law that relates to the conditions of modern times.

There isn't any doubt but we must continue to develop every one of these instrumentalities, the peacekeeping machinery of the United Nations. If we ever learn the necessity of that, we surely should have done so from what is happening in the Middle East or South Asia.

The development of an international court of justice, with proper jurisdiction, is one of the things that I think can be done, - the improvement of regional organizations, regional organizations not only of economic means but like the Organization of American States, the Organization of African Unity.

Let me give you one example. I was in the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity, in Ethiopia and on the continent of Africa, which they say is a developing area, and which some people call backward, they have been able to settle more of their disputes, the peoples of Africa and the nations of Africa, through the Organization of African Unity, than many of the developed countries of Western Europe, and, indeed, of this hemisphere.

So you can develop a body of law through precedent, through precept, through example, through tradition, indeed, through treaty and agreement, - indeed, this should be our objective.

(Applause)

Question:

Mr. Vice President, I would like to ask at this time, what is your position on the Pueblo incident?

VICE PRES. HUMPHREY: Trying to find a peaceful answer to it, hopefully to exercise the patience that is required in this very emotional and difficult situation, to try to bring to bear through diplomacy, through third parties, through the United Nations, through eight nations in Eastern Europe, through every conceivable means, a peaceful release of those who are being held captive, and hopefully a peaceful release of the ship itself,- primary concern is with the people and with the men; indeed, we still have the option of going to the World Court which may very well be an option that we will have to exercise, before it is over with.

#### Question:

Mr. Vice President, you speak in favor of expanding programs to solve our domestic problems, and then you are in favor also now of cutting six billion dollars from our budget.

How do you reconcile the two?

VICE PRES. HUMPHREY: I was not in favor of cutting six billion dollars from our federal budget.

(Applause)

I doubt that the Congressmen who are here are in favor of it, either.

I might say that they vary uniquely from the coalition which has plagued this country for years, and we have been aware of the Republican coalition with a handful of conservative Democrats, and the only way to offset that is to elect some more liberal Congressmen and a man like Humphrey President.

I might just say one thing further on this question.

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Your President did not ask for a six billion dollars cut either and the cut that we were willing to make consisted of half of them in the military and half of them on withholding of projects that were not too urgent to our urban needs or social needs, we were not going to cut back on poverty and education and urban programs, contrary to the attitude of the House of Representatives, which only a year ago was taking a dim view on these matters; but I repeat what I said before, which is the truth, and you might take a good look right here in the State of Michigan because the minority leader from the State of Michigan had his hand in that six billion dollar cut, and you know who I mean, Mr. Ford, not Bill Ford.

#### Question:

Mr. Vice President, I have people come into my post office, the general run of people, they keep asking me or discussing, will our taxes ever stop going up, and that is the thing that the average person wants to know, how much longer can they increase, now that we have federal, state and city and local real estate taxes,-

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I just want to know if there is anything that can stop it?

VICE PRES. HUMPHREY: Lady, this administration, the Johnson-Humphrey administration, has reduced your taxes three times; the federal taxes have been reduced, and we have the same rate of taxation today that we had in 1964, when we were running for office.

We would have twenty-five billion dollars revenue in the treasury had we maintained that same rate of taxation.

Now we are asking for a little old ten percent surtax increase, which is one cent on a dollar, and that does not take you anyways near our goal, that still leaves you fifteen billion dollars short of what we would have taxed under the old tax program.

I know real estate taxes have gone up. I have a little property out in Minnesota, a little country place in the township; the taxes are heavy.

People usually identify the taxes with what the federal tax is. If you want better schools, if you are going to meet the problems that we have, if you want better health, better highways, - in other words, if you want everything better, you have to pay more for it. If you want to look better you have to buy more clothes.

(Laughter)

#### Question:

If peace talks in Paris or anywhere else were to fail and you became our next President, what would your policy be?

VICE PRES. HUMPHREY: To try to reestablish them, constantly pursue the hopeful effort of peaceful negotiation.

I surely want to make it crystal clear, I do not think it would be a wise policy on the part of the Government, after having made the sacrifices that it has made, to up and just pull out and run away and leave a country demoralized, destroyed and overrun, and I do not think we have to do that.

(Applause)

# Question:

Mr. Vice President, I am not a delegate but I am the husband of

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a delegate.

VICE PRES. HUMPHREY: Man, you are important.

> There are many important questions to be raised; I realize that; but I am taking this opportunity to be here tonight in the same room with my next President of the United States.

## (Applause)

Question: Mr. Vice President, I am not a delegate but I am a former delegate. I would like to ask a question.

I have a copy of your biography, and under social program I note that you were the President's liaison, and you indicated you were in favor of local authorities having something to do with the federal policy-making. Along this vein, I feel this campaign will be won by the person who comes up with new ideas and new approaches politically.

What will you suggest to the persons here in Michigan so far as trying to bring in grassroot people to be involved in your campaign, other than saying that a person has to have a certain title?

What are you going to tell your people here in Michigan as to the new approach to use to get to people, get them involved?

VICE PRES. HUMPHREY: One of the reasons that I am holding this kind of meeting tonight, which was at my desire, was because I did not have the chance to file in any primary; there was only one that the law would have permitted me to file in, and that was in my native state of South Dakota, and I had a feeling even if I won it might not impress some people; and I have had the feeling that I could win it hands down going away, from every public opinion poll that was taken in the state, so I have tried to go on out as the Vice President of the United States.

Many programs that are strictly nonpartisan, I ought not as a candidate to place myself before an inquiring audience, and intelligent people, to try to respond to their questions, and at the same time to express my views, but I am going to continue to do that. I have spoken at over one hundred colleges and universities since I have been Vice President on what I call a low budget press, where we have five of the student leaders at a panel that asked any questions that they wanted to, and they geared up for two weeks, - you can imagine the kind of questions they asked, the toughest ones you could think of, and then to answer the questions from an audience, - I have gone across this country to do that, because I believe that a man in public life ought to, both expose himself to the public, and at the same time permit himself to receive the inspiration and the ideas that come from the people in this country.

Now, I have been liaison of your Government, your President, your administration, with the local government officials. I have had over forty meetings in three years with the mayors, the county commissioners, and local government officials. I worked intimately day by day with the mayors of big cities and small cities. We prepared for them for the first time catalogs of descriptive material showing how federal-local programs work together, and how you apply for them, how you proceed to get the federal grants or the federal assistance.

All of this has been an effort to involve government in a decision-making process and in a cooperative partnership with the federal government.

I shall be doing this in every part of our land, and when we seek answers, as you are indicating here, we are not just going to ask our government people, even though they are very good, some of the very nicest talent in this nation has been brought into the government, many at a personal sacrifice to the person who came in, but we are going out right now, even this week, getting people who are building new communities, so they will show us how we can best do that to help build the great hinterland of America.

I think one of the answers somewhat relevant to the urban crisis is to try to make what we call rural America a more modern and attractive place in which to live for many more people, to help build cities that are not the great megapolis, but a city of two hundred thousand, three hundred fifty thousand, five hundred thousand, where there will be jobs and new industries and hospitals and schools and libraries and cultural programs, so that the young people today will want to live there, and not everybody rush into the big city, and where the poor will find their greatest advantage and their greatest opportunity.

You see, I am one that believes that the problem of the big city today is that it has ceased to be a neighborhood, it has become a mess, and we have to have our new modern American city to be like a confederation, a cluster of neighborhoods around a great service center, and that each neighborhood in itself is a living, vital unit, with government services, private industry, with schools and hospitals and community colleges and university branches, so that people do not have to travel fifty miles to go to see their doctor or to go to their job, or where they do not have to go fifteen miles to an employment center, or where they do not have to go another twenty-five or thirty miles to go to a good theater or to hear a good orchestra.

This is the kind of thinking that I believe we ought to bring in.

Now, I have lived with these problems as a reasonably alert citizen for a long time. I have a lot of ideas. I do not want to expose them all because if I do

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then the Republicans are going to copy some of them. I want to save them.

## (Applause)

May I say, if many of you do not get your questions answered, I know a lot of you did not, and if you feel that you would desire an answer from me, please send me a letter. I am the darndest letter-writer in the country. I write thousands of them, much to the chagrin of my staff. They think I spend too much time writing letters, but I consider a letter a personal conversation, and if you have something you want answered, and you wonder how this man who seeks your confidence and support for the Presidency, if you wonder how he feels, let me know. I respect your judgment.

Frankly, I need you, and I come to you asking for your help, and I cannot do it unless I come to you honestly.

(Applause)

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