

REMARKS OF
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
BEFORE STUDENT FORUM

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Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

September 9, 1968

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

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Burgundy Room
Bellevue-Stratford Hotel
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Monday, September 9, 1968
1:50 p.m.

Thank you very much. I wasn't sure whether we were buying this time or whether it was free.

(Laughter)

If we were buying it, I wanted you to sit down a little sooner. If it was free, why, stand up again.

(Laughter) (Applause)

It is a rare privilege to meet with you and it is a high honor to be introduced by a very distinguished, effective young Congressman like Congressman Bill Green. He has been very, very kind to me in his introduction.

Adlai Stevenson used to say that flattery was all right if you didn't inhale it. Did you notice how I was breathing?

(Laughter)

And what a joy it is to have alongside of me a man with whom I have worked in the Senate and when he was Mayor of this great city. Many, many years we worked together, and I believe in common cause and common purpose and the man that I hope is re-elected with an overwhelming majority to the United States Senate, Joe Clark.

(Applause)

And he sure looks like a winner. He waves like one, too.

(Laughter)

And thank you very much, Mr. Mayor, for once again welcoming me to Philadelphia. This city has been very kind to me. Of course, it has been very kind to, I think, all Americans and it certainly has a great reputation in our history, at least of the past, and I think it is going to have a better one in the future.

I am not going to take any time to talk about the past. I appreciated very much the comments, indeed the commentary, of Congressman Green about a record and I suppose that if you are going to hire somebody, sometimes you like to at least get their references. What do you know about them? What is the record? But there are times, and even despite a record, that you say, well, I don't buy it, and I want to take

1 a chance and I want to just look ahead without any regard to
2 the yesterdays.

3 I am proud of the public record that has been mine.
4 I don't say it is without blemish. I say in light of the
5 public life, where one has to at least think in terms of a
6 total nation and not just a small constituency, I believe that
7 it is a record of forward progress. But what is most important
8 is the future.

9 Somebody once said that America, if you spell it
10 backwards in two or three other languages would spell future.
11 I am not sure if that is true or not but it makes a good line.
12 I do know that this nation has spent very little time thinking
13 about the yesterdays. I know that Winston Churchill once said
14 that those who use the present to stand in judgment of the
15 past lose the future.

16 What is really important is the future because that
17 is what most of us are going to live through. Most of us are
18 going to spend our time in the future and I am talking to a
19 group of young Americans now that are all, with few exceptions,
20 and I hope all of you will be alive in the year 2000. I am
21 working on it myself. I haven't found quite the right pill
22 yet but I will keep trying until I do.

23 But what a fascinating future it is going to be
24 if we can live. I didn't say just survive because there is a
25 great deal of difference between survival which an animal
can do and to live and all the meaning of that precious word
"life" which a human being should have.

I would like to think of my political life as at
least based upon what kind of an America will we have in
1976. We all know what kind of an America we had in 1776 and
we note that much has happened since then and most of it to the
good. I would like also to keep in mind and I want you to
keep in mind that the majority of the people in America today
will be alive in the year 2000. So when we look ahead, we
are really looking to the 21st Century and isn't that an
exciting prospect, to live in the 21st Century.

I think I have got some chance because my grandfather
on my father's side lived to be 93 and my grandfather on my
mother's side lived to be 89, and if I live to be 89 I will
make it.

Now, if you have any remedies, you let me know.

What is the central issue of our times? I think it
is an issue that is both domestic and international. I just
jotted down very quickly here and I said it out in the
public square -- it is very difficult to speak in public
squares but I said we have to decide whether or not we are
really going to have one nation, one American community, in
which we share within the limits of our talents and our
abilities all of the privileges and all of the responsibilities

1 and all of the rights that belong to a citizen of the United
2 States of America.

3 We cannot afford two kinds of citizenship. We are
4 going to have to decide whether we are going to have one nation
5 or whether we are going to have two. As the Kerner Commission
6 report put it, two separate and unequal.

7 Now, we have been going through a long period of
8 time in which we have literally had for many Americans a
9 substandard citizenship. I think the greatest achievement of
10 the past decade is the breakthrough in the field of human
11 rights. Oh, I know the last decade has brought us material
12 prosperity, unprecedented; in the last eight years tremendous
13 increase in personal income and profits and wages, even
14 despite the rise in the cost of living, a fantastic increase,
15 three times better, 3-1/2 times better than in the preceding
16 seven years or eight years. But while that is important, what
17 is most important is that for the first time in the history
18 of this country, the promise of the Emancipation Proclamation
19 takes on some reality and there are literally today hundreds
20 of thousands, millions of people for the first time that
21 really feel that this country is theirs.

22 Let a man have nothing to do for his country and he
23 shall have no love for it. That was the statement of a great
24 English philosopher, John Stewart Mills. Many of you who are
25 in the field of social sciences have studied his writings. Let
26 a man have nothing to do for his country and he shall have
27 no love for it. And there are literally hundreds of thousands
28 of Americans today that have had nothing to do for their
29 country. They have been cut out, they have been left out;
30 well, they haven't been in on the action or on the benefits.

31 But they are coming in now. Ten million people
32 have come out of poverty in the last eight years, ten million.
33 Think of that. That is a remarkable record.

(Applause)

34 Time forbids that I should go through what is the
35 statistical evidence of the breakthroughs. We passed all
36 kinds of civil rights acts. We have a great bulwark, a frame-
37 work of law but really civil rights and human rights depend
38 on you, not so much on law -- your habits, your practices.
39 It takes a lot longer to overcome a bad habit than it does
40 to pass a good law and sometimes it takes a long time in the
41 Senate with the filibuster to pass a good law. I have been
42 there long enough to know.

(Applause)

43 So, we are going to have to have not only laws that

1 dictate open housing but we have to have open hearts and open
2 minds. So the first issue is whether or not we will have
3 one nation in which all people can really participate in the
benefits as well as the decision-making of this country.

4 Now, the second one is what kind of a world are we
going to live in? Wendell Wilkie back in 1940, I think a man
5 ahead of his time, used the phrase "one world" and he wrote a
book entitled: "One World" and you might want to get it. He
6 talked about the fact that this world was no longer just
principalities and sovereign nations but it had become in the
7 very real sense one world, one kind of brotherhood. Now,
brotherhood does not mean that you give up fratricidal warfare,
8 in fact, many brotherhoods have had too much of it, but we are
living in what we call the nuclear age and the space age
and you are going to live in it but plenty.

9 I think the greatest achievement since World War II
is the fact that we have been able to avoid a nuclear confronta-
10 tion, a nuclear holocaust. I can tell you as a member of
the National Security Council, as one who has worked diligently
11 in the field of nuclear energy, trying to curb its powers of
destruction, I can tell you that either the Soviet Union or the
12 United States presently has enough weapons, nuclear weapons,
to obliterate all of mankind and all of God's creation. You
13 talk about over kill, I can assure you that if we should
miss the first time or they should miss, there are plenty
14 of times again, and when I hear people say, well, the Russians
have fewer missiles than we have or we have more than they
15 have, I say, yes, I guess that is right. We have a superiority
in missilery but we all have enough to kill everybody.

16 Does that make you happy? It doesn't make me happy.

17 I think the greatest challenge of the coming decade
is to slow down the nuclear arms race and to call a halt to the
arms race before it calls a halt to humanity.

18 (Applause)

19 And I am not unaware of the difficulties. But
because it is difficult does not mean that you must not try.
It was difficult to get a nuclear test ban treaty but we got it.
20 I fought for it for ten years. Joe Clark stood alongside of
me, was one of our co-sponsors on that Senate resolution.

21 I see where Mr. Nixon said here the other day, just
yesterday, that he had doubts about the nonproliferation treaty.
22 Well, let me tell you, young Americans, that the one thing
this world does not need is an expansion of nuclear weaponry.
23 You don't need that.

(Applause)

24 Let me make it equally clear that the ratification
of that treaty by the United States Senate is in our national
interest. It is in our interest of national security. It is
25 in the interest of world peace. That treaty is a landmark since

1 World War II in the building blocks of the cathedral of peace
 2 and anyone that tells you that we ought to hesitate or that he
 3 has doubt about it is not a worker for peace. He is one who
 4 has doubt about what kind of world we ought to live in. And
 5 I draw the issue with Mr. Nixon on this matter and I want
 6 him to know it and I want his supporters to know it.

7 I happen to believe that the nuclear nonproliferation
 8 treaty is in the interest of the survival and the life of man-
 9 kind. I think it is in the interest of our nation. I think
 10 it is in the interest of world peace. I think it is in the
 11 interest of national security and for anyone to say that we
 12 ought not to proceed with it is to show a confusion about
 13 the kind of a world we live in and a confusion as to whether
 14 or not he is capable of giving this country the sense of
 15 security.

16 (Applause)

17 Now, let me hear from you. Questions, please.
 18 I don't want to be the picker and the chooser or some people
 19 will think I have a few people set out here. This is rawhide
 20 confrontation, now, unplanned, unorganized.

21 VOICE: Mr. Vice President, there have been some
 22 editorial allegations that as to the major issues confronting
 23 the candidates today, namely, the Vietnamese development,
 24 the urban crisis, the reconciliation between black and
 25 white, and rich and poor, labor and business, that the issues
 are mainly muddled between you and your adversary.

Would you care to comment on this?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I don't think they
 are muddled. I think I can maybe make them quite clear. Let's
 first of all, start at the end of the line and come up to what
 I think is the climatic and the crisis issues.

First of all, on issues of labor and management I
 think you just have to study the record and I think the
 record is rather clear. Mr. Nixon was in an administration
 that had three recessions in eight years, in which there was
 growth in personal income of nine per cent.

I have been in an Administration that has had no
 recessions in eight years, a personal income increase of 32
 per cent and adjusted for inflation and cost of living increases.
 So, these are true and what we call real percentages and
 real prices.

Mr. Nixon was in an Administration in which the
 increase in unemployment was two million. I have been in an
 Administration in which the increase in employment is two
 million, plus the increase in population which has been
 absorbed into the economy.

I happen to believe, for example, in the repeal
 of Section 14B in the Labor Relations Act. That happens to
 be my view. I think that national standards ought to govern

1 collective bargaining. I do not believe in what they call
2 the right to work laws. I do not intend to try to pass this
3 off lightly. I have worked hard all of my life for the
4 expansion of what we call the Fair Labor Standards Act to
include migrant farm workers which Mr. Nixon doesn't include.
I happen to believe --

(Applause)

5 -- I want it quite clear I believe in the dynamism and the
6 dynamic viability of our free enterprise system. I think this
7 is the greatest economic system this world has ever known
8 and the social dividends from that system depend upon its
9 profit and depends upon its constant growth, the rate of
growth in the previous eight years from 1953 to 1961 was
approximately 2.5 per cent. The rate of growth in the last
eight years has been 5.2 per cent. You just switch the
figures around. It is sort of Geritol spelled backwards.

(Laughter)

10 They have the Geritol.

11 We have some other differences, on the arms race,
for example, and what we should do about it. I have explained
that.

12 On Vietnam. Mr. Nixon in 1954 said that we should
13 at that time send in massive forces of air, naval and ground
units. His own President at that time had to disavow him.
14 I think Mr. Nixon is more of a cold war lawyer than I am.
I think he relies greater upon military power than he does
upon diplomatic and economic and political persuasion.

15 I happen to believe that in the world in which we
16 live a greater emphasis needs to be placed upon a balance
17 between what we call the strength that comes from the military
and the strength that comes from an economy and the third party,
the strength that comes from a moral purpose and the stature
of a country, how we treat our own people, what kind of an
image we give to the world.

18 And I am of the opinion that we will have very little
19 success in this world convincing people that we believe in
justice and that we believe in peace and that we believe in
social progress unless we can demonstrate it here at home
20 amongst the least of these that are in our own society.

21 The best foreign policy is a good domestic policy.
That happens to be my position. I don't think that is anything --

(Applause)

22 This gentleman.

23 QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, you are quoted as
24 saying you happen to believe we should stop the bombing if
we have some reason to believe it will expedite the -- of
power.

25 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

QUESTION: Since Hanoi's position seems clear, that

1 the first and primarily necessary condition for successful
2 negotiation is a complete halt in the bombing, wouldn't it
3 be logically consistent on your part to support, therefore, a
4 halt in the bombing??

5 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I believe that there has
6 been a great deal of overemphasis upon the differences that
7 exist among some of us, for example, like my friend, Senator
8 Clark here, and my self. No doubt but what we have had some
9 disagreements on what some people think are rather basic and
10 fundamental matters. I don't think they are fundamental
11 at all. In Vietnam none of us recommend unilateral withdrawal,
12 none of the men in contested candidacies in the Democratic
13 Party. None of us have recommended that we have a military
14 solution. All of us have said we needed a negotiated political
15 settlement. None of us have said America should have permanent
16 bases in South Vietna. All of us have said they should be
17 withdrawn as soon as the violence has subsided. All of us have
18 said that we should ask to seek to have more and more of the
19 defense responsibilities in South Vietnam placed upon the Army
20 of South Vietnam with a systematic phased withdrawal of
21 American forces.

22 May I say at that point that I think this is very
23 possible and it is possible in the short run that the Army of
24 South Vietnam today is a much better Army, more capable of its
25 own self-defense, and I think I can safely predict that
unless there are unusual developments that no one can see at
this time, that we will be able to start to remove some of
our troops, I hope we will be able to do it very promptly
if we can get these negotiations underway but I would think
negotiations or no negotiations we can start to be able to
remove someof the American forces in early 1969 or late 1968.

(Applause)

Let me present one more comment. Some of our very
prominent Senators and spokesmen in this country have said
as follows, that we should cease the bombing as soon as possible.
I agree with that.

(Applause)

Others have said we should cease the bombing
immediately. Others have said that we should cease the bombing
because all of us want to cease all of the bombing of North
Vietnam, cease the bombing when we have some indication of
restraint or response from Hanoi.

Now, that has been my position, or as soon as
possible.

I am sure of this, that you have to take calculated
risks, for peace just as you take calculated risks on the
battlefield and if I am permitted to be President of the
United States, my young friend, I will scan that horizon of
Vietnam with meticulous care and I will be prepared to take
those necessary calculated steps that will lead to the

1 success of substantive negotiations in Paris. It is my view that
2 those negotiations may very well start before I become a
3 President of the United States but if they do not start, I
4 want to give you and this audience my assurance that I will
5 leave no matter untouched and no proposition unexplored that
6 may lend itself to a more rapid success at the conference
7 table in Paris.

8 No one wants peace in Vietnam more than the man that
9 is looking at you. Every one of us want it. The only question
10 is, how do we best get it and I do not want Hanoi to think
11 between now and January that if they just keep up the killing,
12 just keep up the killing between now and January, they are
13 going to get a better deal out of me than they will get out Mr.
14 Harriman and Mr. Vance in Paris right now.

15 I want a cease fire. I want it now. I do not
16 believe that it is good to have fight and talk. I think it
17 is better to stop the fight and talk. And we are looking
18 for that.

19 (Applause)

20 I don't mean just to take the front rows here.
21 We have a lady back here next.

22 QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, there have been
23 many committees and commissions formed to investigate crime
24 in the streets. If you are elected what do you intend to
25 do about stopping the violence and crime that is waiving over
the nation?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Crime in the streets
is a very commonplace description of a rising crime rate in
our country and a period of ferment and restlessness, some
of which has burst out into violence, unorganized and
organized.

Let me speak to you as sincerely and as knowingly
as I can. I have been the mayor of a great city. I have
had the responsibility for law enforcement and it is not easy.
I never wanted my city, however, to be known only for its
police department. I wanted it to be known for its schools
and its hospitals and its jobs and its parks and its living
conditions and the things that we did for people, but I happen
to believe that the first duty of an elected public official
is to protect life, to provide personal security, to see
that neighborhoods are secure and safe. I think that is where
you start.

I do not think that you can make social progress
in lawlessness and violence. I do not believe so. I think
in this country of ours you can make general social progress
in order, that is, if there is reasonable order and that means,
of course, civil order and civil justice. They are one and
inseparable.

Now, the differences in this campaign are again of

1 emphasis. I do not accuse my opposition of being uninterested
2 in the welfare of people, but I do say that they are arousing
3 the passions of people when they put all of the emphasis
4 upon just law and order as if law and order could be obtained
5 in a community by an increase in the police departments and
6 an increase in repression without any regard to some of the
7 conditions that fester in a community like an abscess or a
8 sore that breaks out into a serious social condition.

9 So, I believe that we have to take two directions.
10 On the one hand, assure law and order. On the other hand, assure
11 with equal emphasis the respect for the laws of the right of a
12 man to life in a decent neighborhood, the laws of building
13 codes, of public health laws, the right of a man for a job,
14 the right of a young person for an education. These are the
15 new Bill of Rights of our times, by the way. They have
16 never been written.

17 (Applause)

18 Might I just add quickly on the police state. Our
19 police departments today need professionalization, they need
20 upgrading, they need an increase in number. Law enforcement
21 is not cheap but lawlessness is more expensive and crime is
22 far more expensive.

23 For example, how many universities in the U.S.
24 today have police training courses. The same neighborhoods
25 where you want to have better police protection has a police
officer that frequently does not have a high school education,
but that same neighborhood has a social worker that has to have
a college education. You insist that your librarian in the slum
have a college education. You insist that the social worker
in the slum at least have part of a college education. But
you insist that your police officer be healthy, strong.

Now, many of them are much better, by far, don't
misunderstand me. One city that I know of without mentioning
names and it is not this city, one city that has approximately
4,500 police officers has approximately 800 who have less
than an 8th grade education.

Now, I don't say that a man without an 8th grade
education doesn't have judgment but I do think an education
helps him and I think we need to upgrade the training and the
quality of our police departments. We have to increase the
numbers and we have to increase the pay. We have to profes-
sionalize our police services. We have to train them not
only in how they enforce a law but we have to train them in
community relations, in human relations, and we have to train
them in a host of disciplines that relate to social order.

Now, when we start doing that we are going to start
to get law enforcement but -- now, we used to have teachers that
that could teach school with an 8th grade diploma and we found
out that wasn't good enough. Then we had teachers who used

1 to teach school if they had a high school diploma. If you
2 want to get good education you have got to have a good
3 teacher. If you want law enforcement you have got to have
4 a highly professionalized trained and well paid police
department. There is no other way to get it and instead of
accusing police departments of misdeeds, I think the American
public stands accused.

5 Let's give our mayors and our cities, let's give
6 our police chiefs and police commissioners the kind of manpower
that permits them not only to exercise law enforcement but
7 to encourage law observance and there is a whole lot of
difference between law enforcement and law observance.

8 (Applause)

9 I am trying to keep this balanced. A young lady
here, please.

10 CONGRESSMAN GREEN: Before that question is asked,
may I say just one thing. They tell me you are running very
late.

11 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, let's get this one.
My long answers.

12 QUESTION: Thank you. Mr. Vice President, what do
you think of the Fortas appointment and what do you think of
Nixon's failure to take part in it?

13 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I think that Justice
Fortas is one of the most gifted and talented Americans of
our time.

14 (Applause)

15 Now, Mr. Nixon has said about the same thing about
him but there is one thing he hasn't said, which I am about
to say. I think his nomination ought to be confirmed.

16 (Applause)

17 And from this platform I call upon Mr. Nixon to tell
his coalition of Republicans and Dixiecrats in the Senate to
break up that filibuster and to confirm Justice Fortas.

18 (Applause and shouts)

19 You know, I have a suspicion that that little man
you have that went down -- that was underway in Miami between
Mr. Thurmond, who is the leader of the opposition against Mr.
20 Fortas, that that little deal between Mr. Nixon and Mr.
Thurmond has something to do with Mr. Fortas's problems of
21 confirmation and I repeat I think if Mr. Nixon believes what
he said, that Mr. Fortas is a fine, distinguished patriotic
22 American, then I call upon Mr. Nixon to call upon his supporters
in the Senate to call off the filibuster and confirm the
23 nomination of Mr. Fortas.

24 One more question.

25 QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, Mr. Nixon has said
that Israel should be sold jets to maintain at least a
major balance of power against the Arab nations which are

1 being given arms by Russia. How do you feel?

2 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Nixon has
3 come around late. I am pleased that he has seen my point of
4 view.

5 (Applause)

6 In early July of this year, at the request -- I
7 believe Senator Clark and Senator Gruening and several Senators
8 in the U.S. Senate, wrote to me and said, Mr. Vice President,
9 we are people in the Congress that believe that the United
10 States policy towards Israel needs to be strengthened and
11 we would like to have your views.

12 Now, many people say, well, when are you going to be
13 your own man? Well, if I wasn't my own man on that day my
14 name is not Hubert Horatio Humphrey.

15 I submitted to several of the U.S. Senators in
16 letter --

17 (Applause)

18 -- my views outlining what I consider to be the essential
19 principles of foreign policy for the United States in the
20 Middle East. For example, not only the recognition of the
21 right of Israel to survive but to live, and there is a great
22 deal of difference. The end of towards her. Free
23 navigational rights in the Suez Canal and all international
24 waters, and so forth.

25 Now, let's get on to the point of the military
equipment. What we ought to be seeking everywhere is arms
control, not arms escalation. That is where we ought to be.
That is what we ought to have.

(Applause)

But since the Soviet Union has seen fit to pour,
and I repeat, pour hundreds of millions of dollars, running
into the billions of dollars of arms into the Middle East,
arms which are directed against the safety and territorial
integrity and sovereignty of Israel, I have said that it is
not only right but it is the duty of this country to honor
the requests of Israel and they are not requests of gifts. They
are requests of purchase, of the necessary military equipment
to give her adequate defense and deter any aggression against
her and that equipment must include not only conventional
military equipment that is necessary for land forces and for
naval forces but the supersonic, the most modern type of
jet which is what we call the Phantom jet, and I made that clear
a long time ago.

(Applause)

And as I say, I was happy to note last week that Mr. Nixon
agreed with me. Thank you.

I will take one more question. The young man in
the middle back there. This young man -- that young lady, if
you will forgive me. We have got to balance this off some.

1 Yes, ma'am.

2 QUESTION: If you become President --

3 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Would you wait for the mike
4 there?

5 QUESTION: If you become President, will you accept
6 a coalition with the National Liberation Front in Paris in
7 order to obtain peace in Vietnam?

8 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, may I make it quite
9 clear that there has never been any problem on our part as to
10 the representation of the different groups that are at war in
11 Vietnam as to the conference in Paris. Never been any problem
12 at all, and I am happy to tell you that the President of
13 South Vietnam, Mr. Tsieu himself, has said that he is prepared
14 to negotiate with the representatives of the NLF. So, there
15 is no problem here.

16 The problem that we have today is that North Vietnam
17 is unwilling to sit down with the Government of South Vietnam,
18 and when those governments are ready to sit down with each
19 other, there will be no problem about the representation of
20 the NLF or the Viet Cong. That is the answer.

21 (Applause)

22 QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, would you please
23 give us your views on the gun control bill?

24 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: The gun control bill?

25 VOICE: Yes.

26 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I will have to end up on
27 this one. I have supported strong legislation for gun control.
28 I believe that it is necessary. I don't think that it impairs
29 anyone's legitimate rights. I, for example, like to go duck
30 hunting, I like trap shooting and skeet shooting. This is one
31 of my hobbies.

32 I don't think it is going to interfere with my right
33 to have all of those hobbies and pleasures if I have to
34 register my gun. I have to get a fishing license, I have to
35 get a hunting license, I have to get an automobile license and
36 I did get a marriage license.

37 (Laughter)

38 And I have no objections to any of them.

39 Thank you very much.

40 (Standing ovation).

41 # # #

1 Sept 9
TRANSCRIPT
Jerry,
hope this
suffices!

The Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Q & A With Students

I wasn't sure whether we were buying this time or whether it was free. And if we were buying it, I wanted you to sit down a little sooner. If it was free, ^{what} stand up again.

It's a rare privilege to meet with you and a high honor to be introduced by a very distinguished and effective young Congressman, ^{like} Bill Green. He has been very, very kind to me in his introduction. ^{my} Adlai Stevenson used to say that flattery was all right if you didn't inhale it. ^{But} Did you notice how I was breathing. And what a joy it is to have alongside of me a man with whom I've worked in the Senate and when he was Mayor of this great city. Many, many years we worked together, And I believe in common cause and common purpose, and a man that I hope is re-elected with an overwhelming majority to the United States Senate, Joe Clark. He sure looks like a winner; he waves like one too. And thank you very much Mr. Mayor for welcoming me once again, to Philadelphia. ^{This city has} ~~XXXXXX~~ been very kind to me. Of course it's been very kind to all Americans and it surely has a great reputation in our history. At least in the past - I think its going to have a better one in the future. I'm not going to take any time to talk about the past. I appreciate very much the commentary of Cong. Green about a record. And I suppose that if you're going to hire somebody, sometimes you would like ^{at least} to get their references. What do you know about them, what's their record? But there are times that even despite a record you say "I don't buy it". And I want to take a chance and I want to just look ahead without any regard to the yesterdays. I am proud of the public record that has been mine. I don't say ^{it was} ~~with this~~ without blemish. I say that in in light of public life one has to at least in terms of a total nation and not just a small constituency.

2.

I believe it is a record of forward progress. / But What's most important is the future. Somebody once said that America, if you spell it backwards in two or three other languages, ^{would spell} spelled future. I'm not sure if that's true or not, but it makes a good line. I do know that this nation has spent very little time thinking about yesterdays. I know that Winston Churchill once said that those who use the present to stand in judgment of the past lose the future. And what's really important is the future cause that's what most of us are going to live through. Most of us are going to spend our time in the future. And I'm talking to a group of young Americans now that are all, with a few exceptions, and I hope all of you will be alive in the year 2000. I'm working on it myself. I haven't found quite the right ^{pill} ~~plan~~ yet, but I'll keep taking them until I do. But what a fascinating future its going to be if we can live. I didn't say just survive. Cause there's a great deal of difference between survival which an animal can do and to live, in all the meaning ^d in that precious word life which a human being should do. I would like to think of my political life as at least based upon what kind of an America will we have in 1976. We all know what kind of an America we had in 1776, and we know that much has happened since then and most of it to the good. I would like also to keep in mind, and I want you to keep in mind, ^{that} the majority of the people ^{in America} alive today will be alive in the year 2000. So when we look ahead, we're really looking to the 21st century and isn't that an exciting prospect to live to the 21st century. But I've got some chance because my grandfather on my father's side lived to be 93 and my grandfather on my mother's side lived to be 89. And if I live to be 89, I'll make it. Now if you have any remedies, you let me know.

What is the central issue of our time? I think it is an issue that is both domestic and international. I just jotted it down very quickly here and I said it out in the public square. It's very difficult to speak in public squares but I said that we have to decide whether or not we are really going to have one nation, one American community in which we

share within the limits of our talents ^{and capabilities} all of the privileges and all of the responsibilities; ^{and} all of the rights that belong to a citizen of the United States of America. We cannot afford two kinds of citizenship. We are going to have to decide whether we are going to have one nation or whether we are going to have two as the Kerner ^{Commission} Report put it--two separate and unequal. Now we have been going through a long period of time in which we have literally had for many Americans a substandard citizenship. I think the greatest achievement of the past decade is the breakthrough in the field of human rights. Oh I know the last decade had brought us material prosperity unprecedented. The last eight years tremendous increase in personal income and profits and wages even despite the raise in the cost of living, a fantastic increase. Three and a half times ^{better} ^{than} in the preceding seven years or eight years. ^{But} While that is important, ^{what is} most important is that for the first time in the history of this country the promise of the emansipation proclamation takes on some reality, and there are today literally hundreds, thousands, millions of people that for the first time feel that this country is theirs.

Let a man have nothing to do for his country and he will have no love for it. That was the statement of a great English philosopher John Stuart ^{Mill} ^{where} many of you in the field of sociology ^{social sciences} have studied his ^{workings} ^{work} "Let a man have nothing to do for his country and he shall have no love for it." And there are literally hundreds of thousands of Americans today ^{that} who have had nothing to do for their country. They've been cut out, they've been left out, they've been well they haven't been in on the action or the benefits, but they're coming in now. Ten million people have come out of poverty in the past eight years. Ten million. Think of that. That's a remarkable record. Time forbids that I should go through what is the statistical evidence of the breakthroughs, how we passed all kinds of civil rights acts

We have a great bulwark a framework of law. But really civil rights and human rights depend on you and not so much on law. Your habits, your practices. It takes a lot longer to ^{reverse} break a bad habit than it does to pass a good law. And sometimes it takes a long time in the Senate, with a filibuster, to pass a good law. I've been there long enough to know. So we are going to have to have not only laws that dictate open housing but we have to have open hearts and open minds. So the first issue is whether or not we will have one nation in which all people can really participate in the benefits as well as the decision making of this country.

The second one is what kind of a world are we going to live in? Wendell Wilkie back in 1940, I think a man ahead of his time, used the phrase "one world" and he wrote a book entitled "One World" and you might want to get it. He talked about the fact that this world was no longer just principalities and sovereign nations but it had become in a very real sense "one world." One ^{world} world of brotherhood. ^{B.L.} New brotherhood does not mean that you mean that you give up fratricidal warfare. In fact too many brotherhoods have had too much of it. But we are living in what we call the nuclear age and the space age. And you are going to live in it but plenty. I think the greatest achievement since World War II is ^{this fact} that we have been able to avoid a nuclear confrontation or a nuclear holocaust. I can tell you as a member of the National Security Council, as one who has worked diligently in the field of nuclear energy trying to curb it's powers of destruction, I can tell you that either the Soviet Union or the United States presently has enough weapons, nuclear weapons, to obliterate all of ^{most of and all of} God's creations, and all of civilization. You talk about overkill. I can assure you that if we should miss the first time, ^{even if they should miss} that there are plenty of times again. ^{And} But when I hear people say that the Russians have fewer missiles ^{or that we have more than they have} than we have, I say "Yes, I guess that right. We have a superiority in

missellry but we all have enough to kill everybody. Does that make you happy? It didn't make me happy. I think the greatest challenge of the coming decade is to ^{slow down} call a halt to the nuclear arms race, ^{and to call a halt to the arms race} before it calls a halt to humanity.

And I'm not unaware of the difficulties. But because it is difficult does not mean that you must not try. It was difficult to get a nuclear test ban treaty, but ~~I fought~~ we got it. I fought for it for 10 years. Joe Clark stood along side of me and was one of our ⁶⁰sponsors on that Senate resolution. I see where Mr. Nixon said here the other day, just yesterday, that he doubts about the non-proliferation treaty. ~~Well~~ Well let me tell you, young Americans, that the one thing this world does not heed is an expansion of nuclear weaponry. You don't need that. And let me make it equally clear that the ratification of that treaty ^{by} in the United States Senate is in our ^{national} interest, it's in our interest of national security, it's in the interest of world peace. That treaty is a landmark since World War II in the building blocks of the cathedral of peace, and anyone that tells you that we ought to hesitate or whose ^{he has} ~~in~~ doubt about it is not a worker for peace. He's one who has doubt about what kind of a world we ought to live in. And I draw ^{the} issue with Mr. Nixon on this matter and I want ~~him~~ to know it and I want his supporters to know it. I happen to believe that the nuclear non-proliferation treaty is in the interest of the survival and life of mankind. I think it's in the interest of our nation and I think it's in the interest of world peace. I think it's in the interest of national security and for anyone to say that we ought not to procede with it, is ^{to show} a confusion about the kind of world we live in and a kind of confusion about whether or ~~not~~ ^{since} he is capable of giving this country the kind of direction it needs.

Now let me hear from you. Questions please.

I don't want to be ^{the} a picker or the chooser and let people think I have somebody set out there because this is rawhide confrontation you know.

Unplanned, unorganized.

O. Mr. V.P.

A. Well I don't think they are muddled and I think I can make them quite clear. Now let's first of all start at the end of the line and come ^{issues.}

up to what I think is the climatic and the crisis. First of all, ^{the} on issues of labor and management, you just have to study the record

and I think the record is ^{rather} pretty clear. Mr. Nixon was in an administration that had three recessions ^{in eight years} in which there was a growth in ^{personal} income of 9% ^{in eight years}

p. I have been in an administration that has had no recession and ^{in eight years} there is a growth in personal income increase of 32% and ^{adjusted} for

inflation and cost of living increases. So these are ^{true and} what we call

true and real ^{percentages and real} prices. Mr. Nixon was in an administration in which the

increase in unemployment was two million. I've been in an administration

in ^{which} the increase in employment is two million. Plus the increase

in population which has been absorbed into the economy, I happen to believe for example

in the repeal of Section 14B of the Labor Relations ^{Act} That happens

to be my view. ^{I think} I believe that National Standards ought to govern collective

bargaining. I do not believe in what they call the "right to work laws."

I don't intend to try to pass this off lightly. I have worked hard all

of my life for ^{the} expansion of what we call the fair labor standards act

^{for migrant} for migrant farm workers which Mr. Nixon doesn't include, and I ^{happen to believe} think ~~the~~

this is important.

~~I was in the dynamism and the~~

I want it quite clear I believe in the dynamism and the dynamic viability of our free enterprise system. I think it's the greatest economic ~~xxx~~ ^{thing is} system our world has every known. And the ~~greatest~~ ^{depend} social dividends from that system depend ~~xxxxxx~~ upon its profits, and upon its constant growth. The rate of that growth for the ^{in business} past eight years--from '53 to '61 was approximately 2.5%. The rate of growth in the ¹ past eight years has been 5.2%. Just switch the figures around. It's sort of Geritol spelled backwards. They had the Geritol.

We have some other differences. On the arms race for example and what we should do about it. I've explained that. On Vietnam. Mr. Nixon in 1954 said ^{we should} at that time that ~~we~~ should send in ^{massive} forces of air, naval and ground units. His own President at that time had to disavow. ^{him} I think Mr. Nixon is more of a cold war warrior than I am. I think he relies ^{greater} more upon military power than he does upon diplomatic, ^{and} economic, and political persuasion. I happen to believe that in the world in which we live a greater emphasis ^{contribute} should be placed upon a balance ^{between} on what the ^{we} call the strength that come from the military and the strength that comes from ^{an} the economy and the third part, the strength that comes from a moral purpose and stature of a country. How we treat our own people, what kind of a image that we give to the world. But I am of the opinion that we will have very little success in this world convincing people that we believe in justice and that we believe in peace and that we believe in social progress unless we can demonstrate it here at home ^{to} the least of these that are in our own society. ^{The least} A good foreign policy is a good domestic policy. That happens to be my position. And I don't think Mr. Nixon agrees with that.

Yes
Yes, gentleman.

Q:

A: I believe that there has been a great deal of ^{emphasis} emphasis put upon the differences that exist among some of us. for example, like my friend Sen. Clark here and myself. ^{He} I don't doubt but what we've had some differences on what some people think is rather basic fundamental matters. I don't think they are fundamental at all.. It's essentially emphasis on rhetoric. For example, ^{in Vietnam} non of us recommend unilateral withdrawal. That is non of the men who contested for the candidacy in the Democratic party. Non of us ^{have} recommended that we should have a military solution. All of us have said that we needed a negotiated political settlement. Non of us have said that ^{we} we should have permanent bases in ^{South} Vietnam. All of us have said that they should be withdrawn as soon as possible. ^{and when} once the violence has subsided. All of us have said that we should seek to have more and more of the defense responsibility of ⁱⁿ South Vietnam ^{rest} upon the Army of South Vietnam with a systematic phased withdrawal of American forces. And may I say at that point that I think this is very possible and it's possible in the short run. ^{South} The Army of South Vietnam today is a much better Army and ^{more} capable of its own self defense. And I can safely predict that unless there are unusual developments that no one can see at this time that we will be able to start to remove some of our troops. I hope that we will be able to do it very promptly if we can get ^{the} negotiations underway. But I think negotiations or no negotiations that we would be able to start to be able to remove some of the American forces in late 1968 or early 1969. I think that can be done.

Now let me make just one more comment. Some of our very prominent Senators and spokesmen in this country have said as follows; that we should cease the bombing as soon as possible. I agree with that. Others have said ~~that~~ we should cease the bombing immediately. Others have said that we should cease all of the bombing because all of us want to cease all of the bombing of North Vietnam, ^{cease the bombing} when we have some indication of restraint or response from Hanoi. Now that has been my position or as soon as possible. I'm sure of this that you have to take calculated risks for peace just as you take calculated risks in the battlefield. If I am permitted to be President of the United States, my young friends, I will ^{soon} scan that horizon of Vietnam with meticulous care and I will be prepared to take those necessary calculated steps that will lead to the success of substantive negotiations. ^{in Paris} It is my view that those negotiations may very well start before I become a President of the United States. But if they do not, ^{start} I want to give you and this audience my assurance that I will leave no matter untouched and no proposition unexplored ^{that} which may lend itself to a more rapid ~~that may lend itself to~~ success at the conference table in Paris. No one wants peace in Vietnam more than the man that is looking at you. Everyone of us want it. The only ^{question} difference is, ^{how} to best get it. And I do not Hanoi to think that between now and January that if they just keep up the killing, just keep up the killing between now and January, they are going a better deal out of me than they are getting out of Mr. Harriman and Mr. Vance in Paris right now. I want a cease fire. I want it now. I do not believe that it is good to have fight and talk. I think it is better to stop the fight, and talk. And we're looking for that.

I don't mean to just take the front rows here. We'll take a lady back there next ,

W. there have been many and many ^{cases} to investigate crime in the streets

A: Crime in the streets is a very commonplace description of a rising crime rate in our country and a period of ferment and restlessness some of which has burst out into violence--unorganized and organized. Let me speak to you as sincerely and as knowingly as I can. I have been mayor of a great city and I have had the responsibilities for law enforcement and it's not easy. I never wanted my city however to be known only for its police department. I wanted it to be known for its hospitals, for its schools, its jobs and its parks and its living conditions and the things that we did for people. But I happen to believe that ~~it is~~ ^{it is the} duty of an elected public official to protect life, to provide personal security, to see that neighborhoods are secure and safe. I think that is where you start. I do not think that you can make social progress in lawlessness and violence. I do not believe so. I think that you can in this great country of ours ^{genuine social} make progress in order, that is if there is reasonable order and ^{that means of course civil order and} civil justice. They are one and inseparable. Now the differences in this campaign are again ~~one~~ of emphasis. I do not accuse my opposition of being uninterested in the welfare of people, but I do say they are arousing the passions of people when they put all the emphasis on law and order. And if law and order ^{could} be obtained in a community by an increase in the police departments and in increase in ~~the~~ ^{oppression} without any regard to some of the conditions that fester in a community like an abysses or a sore ^{that} breaks out into a serious social condition, so I believe that we have to take two directions. On ~~the~~ ^{the} one hand, assure law and order. On the other hand, assure with equal

emphasis the respect for the laws of ^{the right of} a man to live in a decent neighborhood,
of the laws of building codes, ~~an~~ of public health ^{laws} codes, the right
of a man for a job, the right of a young man for an education. These are

^{the} a new bill of rights ^{of our times} by the way. They have never been written.

And may I just add quickly on the police side. Our police departments
today need professionalization. They need upgrading and increase in
number. Law enforcement is not cheap. But lawlessness is far more

expensive. And ~~crime is~~ far more expensive. For example, how many
universities in the United States today have police ^{training} courses. The same
neighborhood where you ^{want to} have better police protection has

frequently has a police officer that ^{is} does not have a high school education.

But that same neighborhood has a social worker that had to have a college

education. You insist that a librarian in a slum has to have a college

education. You insist that a social worker in the slum ~~have~~ at least

part of a college education, but you insist that your police officer be
healthy, strong. Now many of them are much better by far. ^{don't misunderstand me,} One city that

I know of without mentioning names, ~~is~~ not this city. One city that has

approximately 4,500 police officers has approximately 800 who have less

than a 8th grade education. Now I don't say that a man without an 8th

grade education doesn't have judgment. But I do think that an education

helps him. And I do think we ^{must} should upgrade the training and the quality
of the police departments, we have to increase ^{the number} the pay and we have to

professionalize ^{the} the police services. We have to train them not only ⁱⁿ

on how they enforce a law, but we have to train them in how they-

community relations ^{and human relations} and we have to train them in a host of disciplines

that relate to social order. ^{when we} And we start doing that, we are going to

start to get law enforcement. You know we used to have teachers that

could teach school with an 8th grad diploma, and we found out that wasn't

good enough. Then we had teachers that used to teach school with a

highschool diploma. We found out that wasn't good enough. If you want a good education, you have to have a good teacher. If you want law enforcement, you have to have a highly professionalized, trained and well-paid police department. There is no other way to get it, ^{And} instead of accusing police departments of misdeeds, I think the American public ^{Trends} should be accused. ^{Let's give} I think our mayors in our cities, let's give our police chiefs and our police commissioners the kind of manpower that permits them to not only exercise law enforcement but to encourage law observance. There is a whole lot of difference between law enforcement and law observance.

Now wait. Just a moment. I'm trying to keep this balanced. A young lady here please.

~~Q:~~ Mr. Vice President, before that question, ^{is that} may I say just one thing? They tell me that you are running ~~xxx~~ very late.

~~Humphrey:~~ Well let's get this one

Q: Mr. Vice President what do you think of the Fortas appointment and what do you think of Mr. Nixon's

A: Well, I think that Justice Fortas is one of the most gifted and talented ~~xxxxx~~ Americans of our time. One of the finest. Now Mr. Nixon has said about the same thing about him but ^{stated one thing} he hasn't said what I am about to say. ^{I think} His nomination ought to be confirmed. And from this platform I call upon Mr. Nixon to tell his coalition of Republicans and Dixiecrats ^{in the Senate} to break up that filibuster and to confirm Mr. Fortas. You know I have a ~~little~~ suspicion that that little ^{maneuver} that took place in Miami with Mr. Thurmond who is the leader of the opposition against Mr. Fortas, that that little deal between Mr. Nixon and Mr. Thurmond has something to do with Mr. Fortas' problems of confirmation. And I

and I repeat that I think ^{that} Mr. Nixon believes what he said. That Mr. Fortas is a fine distinguished patriotic American. ^{And} I call upon Mr. Nixon to call upon his supporters to call off the filibuster and to confirm the nomination of Mr. Fortas.

One more question

Q:

A: While Mr. Nixon has come around late. I am pleased that he has seen my view.



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