

Speech Of  
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

San Jacinto Room  
Rice Hotel  
Houston, Texas

September 10, 1968

*Campaign Kick-off*



*Crusade Cord*

25% COTTON FIBER

1                   MAYOR LOUIE WELCH: I want to express  
2 our regret that the hall isn't as big as the  
3 crowd. If you are going to miss anything, you  
4 better miss it now because the Vice President is  
5 going to speak in a minute.

6                   We appreciate the cooperation of  
7 the Fire Marshal's Office in opening up to let  
8 another hundred in the very rear.

9                   We are honored greatly tonight in  
10 having with us an outstanding American, an out-  
11 standing citizen, and I might add, at one time  
12 an outstanding Mayor of a major city in America.

13                   I first met our guest in 1958 in  
14 an elevator, at a Mayors Conference in  
15 California, and I have been seeing him at Mayors  
16 Conferences constantly since that time, even  
17 part of the time when I was not Mayor; a man who,  
18 as a part of his assignment as Vice President of  
19 the United States, has been given the task of  
20 working with the Mayors of America's great  
21 cities in solving the problems that are so  
22 pressing in a rapidly urbanizing society; a man  
23 who has compassion, knowledge and experience,  
24 who said, "It is not enough just to analyze the  
25 problem; a solution must be found."

1           It has been my pleasure as a member  
2 of the Executive Conference of the U. S.  
3 Conference of Mayors and as the Mayor of the  
4 National League of Cities, to work with the  
5 Vice President on many occasions.

6           You came here tonight to listen to  
7 him and not to me. It is my great pleasure to  
8 present to you a man chosen by another great  
9 Texan, Lyndon B. Johnson, as the man he felt  
10 best qualified in 1964 to succeed him in the  
11 event anything should happen.

12           The Vice President of the United  
13 States, the Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey.

14           VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you  
15 very much. Thank you. Thank you, Mayor Welch.  
16 Thank you, Mr. Mayor, for arranging with the  
17 Fire Commissioner so that we could get a few  
18 more good souls from Houston and other parts of  
19 Texas in to this fine hall this evening, this  
20 fine banquet room.

21           I can barely see to the very end, but  
22 it seems like it is jam-packed full, and might I  
23 say that is a good way to have it.

24           Mayor Welch, I have just left a  
25 wonderful Texan and a very fine public servant

1 who has been visiting with me earlier this  
2 evening, the Speaker of your House of Represen-  
3 tatives, Ben Barnes.

4 I am singularly honored tonight to  
5 have here at this platform with me two of the  
6 most dedicated, two of the most conscientious,  
7 forward-looking members of the House of  
8 Representatives, two men that you know from this  
9 District and this area, I should say, Congressman  
10 Bob Casey and Congressman Bob Eckhardt.

11 And I note also, and I am sure you  
12 do, that the Chairman of the Democratic State  
13 Central Committee, the Chairman of the Party in  
14 this state who has surely given a splendid  
15 account of himself in building this party, Will  
16 Davis, and I am very honored that you are with  
17 us.

18 Now, I am going to get right down to  
19 business, because this is an evening of not just  
20 speechmaking on my part, but of questions and  
21 answers of what I call the politics of contact  
22 and confrontation, where I go out to the public  
23 as a man that seeks the highest office within  
24 the government of the American people and submit  
25 myself to the privilege of hearing the questions



1 from the constituents and the citizens and,  
2 hopefully, to be able to present an intelligent  
3 and responsive answer.

4 I said, when I sought this nomination,  
5 the nomination of my Party, that I wanted to be  
6 able to talk to the American people about the  
7 realities that confront us, the realities of the  
8 world in which we live, torn, dangerous, and yet  
9 very promising; the realities of the America in  
10 which we live, richer, stronger than ever before,  
11 and yet, today, a scene of the conflict and  
12 tension of deep disturbances, ferments and change.

13 I also said that I would, if per-  
14 mitted to be the standardbearer of our Party,  
15 see to it that we had as a Vice President  
16 running mate, not someone that was the product  
17 of compromise or arrangement, but, rather,  
18 someone, by his talent and his skills, his  
19 character and his experience, his background and  
20 his maturity, who was thoroughly capable of  
21 occupying the highest office of this land,  
22 namely, the Presidency. And I have had a hand  
23 in selecting that sort of person. I suggested  
24 to the Democratic Convention that they nominate  
25 and give me the privilege of having as my

1 running mate one of the finest of the United  
2 States Senate, a Governor of two terms, a  
3 Senator of two terms, a man who has a reputation  
4 for personal integrity and political foresight,  
5 and the man's name is Edmund Muskie, Senator  
6 from Maine.

7 Senator Muskie started his campaign  
8 here in the Lone Star State of Texas, and if  
9 you have not read into that what you should, let  
10 me spell it out.

11 The ticket of Humphrey and Muskie,  
12 the Democratic ticket, intends to carry the State  
13 of Texas and have the electoral votes of this  
14 state, and we intend to rely on you, the people  
15 from every walk of life, of every race, creed  
16 and color, Catholic, Protestant, and Jew,  
17 Regular Democrat, Conservative Democrat,  
18 concerned Democrat, independent citizens, a lot  
19 of Republicans that can't take what has been  
20 offered on their ticket.

21 We intend to have you carry this  
22 fight. I am going to give it everything I have,  
23 but I am going to ask you to give a full measure  
24 of devotion to this cause, as well, and I say  
25 that tonight starts the victory march from Texas

1 to the White House and we are going to do it.

2 I know all the headlines. I know all  
3 the stories that have been written. But I want  
4 to tell you the greatest story of this, as far  
5 as this election is concerned, will be unity  
6 behind the Democratic ticket and--mark it down--  
7 tonight we are going to march together, Governor,  
8 Senator, every one of us.

9 I thought we ought to dispense with  
10 those matters early.

11 Now, let me talk about some of the  
12 substantive matters.

13 We are going to make a great  
14 decision in this country. Every election is a  
15 great decision. There has never been one that  
16 wasn't, but I think the times that we live in  
17 indicate that the decision that we make in 1968,  
18 November, will have a great bearing upon the  
19 future of this land.

20 A little over a hundred years ago,  
21 a hundred and fifty, to be exact, Abraham Lincoln  
22 proclaimed the Emancipation Proclamation. We had  
23 to wait almost a hundred years before we could  
24 translate that Proclamation into legal reality,  
25 and now we are in the business of translating it



1       into practical reality.

2               I am not merely talking about the  
3       emancipation of the slaves or the black. I am  
4       talking about the emancipation of the deprived  
5       in this country, white and black, and let it be  
6       quite clear--let it be not only quite clear, but  
7       very clear that there are more poor whites than  
8       blacks, more poor rural Americans than urban,  
9       that slummism is not just a characteristic of just  
10      the cities, but sometimes of the countryside.

11             We are not talking about a race, we  
12      are not talking about a color tonight, Ladies and  
13      Gentlemen; we are talking about Americans, every  
14      kind of an American. And it is the many kinds  
15      of Americans that inhabit this state, because  
16      Texas is like a little United Nations within  
17      itself. It is these many kinds of Americans  
18      that make up the vitality, the vibrancy, the  
19      strength, the great power of this nation, and I  
20      intend, if I am permitted to be the President of  
21      this land, to mobilize the resources of the yet  
22      untapped human resources of the millions of  
23      Americans that have never had a chance.

24             I think that America has just  
25      begun to live. I think that our better days are



1 yet to come. I think that our better days are  
2 yet to come. I know that there are always the  
3 cynics that say, "Well, why does he say that?"  
4 Or, "Does he mean it?"

5 But I remember in my young days when  
6 people said, in the Depression, that our system  
7 was through. I remember there were those that  
8 were the great intellectuals of our day that said  
9 we never again would be able to give vibrancy  
10 and vitality and drive to our free enterprise  
11 system. I didn't believe it then and I don't  
12 believe it now.

13 There have always been the doubters.  
14 There have always been the purveyors of fear and  
15 suspicion. They get a little more attention than  
16 the regular people. They get a little more  
17 attention than the people who are the advocates.  
18 They get a little more attention than the people  
19 who are positive. It is always the man who  
20 spreads the doom and the gloom who is called the  
21 prophet; but the greatest prophets were those  
22 who saw a better day, not those that saw the end,  
23 but those who saw the beginning.

24 And, Ladies and Gentlemen, I don't  
25 claim to be a prophet, but I claim to have some

1 understanding of this American people and I say  
2 to this audience, particularly to the young  
3 people, our greatest is yet to come. Our best  
4 days are yet to live. The future belongs to us  
5 and we intend to use it and to develop it. We  
6 intend to set new standards for this nation,  
7 the likes of which it has never known, and I ask  
8 you to help me.

9 I don't believe that the American  
10 people are going to elect a candidate who likes  
11 to parry over our problems or gives generaliza-  
12 tions to specific deeds.

13 I place my confidence in the people  
14 and I will tell you why: Because I am of the  
15 people, not separated from them, but from them,  
16 and I believe that I know that this country has  
17 within it tremendous resources, tremendous  
18 resources of good, to do whatever needs to be  
19 done.

20 I have asked my fellow citizens to  
21 have confidence in me. That is a great request,  
22 but I ask that because I have confidence in them,  
23 confidence in their ability to know that when  
24 they are being sold a bill of goods, and, believe  
25 me, some of them are being sold a bill of goods

1 today or, at least, the attempt is being made,  
2 and I have confidence in the people's under-  
3 standing that he who buries his head in the sand  
4 and sets his face against the wind of inevitable  
5 changes can never stop that change, but he will  
6 be buried by the sandstorm of Time as it passes  
7 him by.

8 I believe that there are those who  
9 would bury their head in the sand and I have  
10 confidence in the good will of the American  
11 people, in their good judgment, in their common  
12 sense, and like Adlai Stevenson before me, I  
13 intend to talk sense to the American people.

14 I have great confidence in the  
15 uncommon decency that characterizes this nation.  
16 In short, as I have said, I trust the people and  
17 it is because I trust the great, unfrightened,  
18 and sometimes silent majority of Americans, that  
19 I choose to speak, not to their fears, but to  
20 their hopes.

21 Now, let me say a word about this  
22 younger generation. It is because I trust this  
23 new generation of Americans, this young genera-  
24 tion that seems to get so much attention, that I  
25 view the occasional excesses and the poor



1 judgment of a few of the young in its proper  
2 perspective, and I sense that it is relatively  
3 less significant than the decent, energetic and  
4 wholesome and creative force which this young  
5 generation represents; potentially, the most  
6 promising generation that this country has ever  
7 produced.

8 My Presidency will be characterized  
9 by the open door of the White House to the young.  
10 That place will sing with the music of the young.  
11 Their voices will be heard, their advice and  
12 counsel will be sought, because my public life  
13 has been a life of association with young men  
14 and women, young in spirit, many young in age,  
15 but very young in their hopes and their desires,  
16 and it is because I trust this process of  
17 democratic decisionmaking that I do not fear, but,  
18 indeed, I welcome the free and the frank debate  
19 about the issues of our time, which characterize  
20 the sometimes troublesome, but fundamentally  
21 healthy development within the Democratic Party  
22 during the past several months.

23 I would rather have our confusion  
24 and our arguments than to have the boredom of  
25 Republicanism. I gather you feel exactly the



1 same way.

2 I said to a friend the other day,  
3 "America has many firsts." We do many things and  
4 we do them in a big way, but it is the first time  
5 we have ever had a national wake before the  
6 political demise of a candidate.

7 I have also told you some things  
8 about my sense of values and I want to represent  
9 them to you tonight so that you may know your  
10 candidate and you may know what I believe and why  
11 I think winning the Presidency so important.  
12 To be sure, no greater honor or greater responsi-  
13 bility could come to anyone, but winning the  
14 Presidency is not worth the price of silence or  
15 evasion, and the most fundamental and precious  
16 issue of our time is the issue of human rights  
17 and human dignity and equal opportunity.

18 I have not compromised on this issue  
19 for twenty years in my public life and I have no  
20 intention of starting it at this late date.

21 Winning the Presidency is not worth  
22 a compact with extremism, the extremism of the  
23 Left or the Right, the extremism of the militants  
24 of the black or the white. Winning the  
25 Presidency is not a popularity contest. Winning

1 the Presidency should be measured on principle,  
2 not popularity.

3 Well, it is because I believe these  
4 things that I seek that responsibility and that  
5 I am prepared to accept the burden that this  
6 office imposes.

7 I believe, through years of  
8 experience, the maturity that comes with the  
9 experience, that I am ready to lead our nation  
10 toward the new day which awaits each and every  
11 one of us.

12 Now, there are three great realities  
13 of our time: The necessity of peace in the  
14 world, the necessity for justice and order in  
15 our nation, and the paramount necessity of unity  
16 among our people.

17 And during this campaign I will  
18 continue to speak out, as I have in the past, on  
19 each of these challenges and I choose to run and  
20 run proudly--and I want every member now of the  
21 media to get this, and every person in this  
22 audience--I choose to run and run proudly on  
23 the Democratic Party's achievements throughout  
24 our opportunity to govern this nation, and  
25 particularly during these last eight years,

1 achievements which include literally landmarks  
2 of excellence, great achievements.

3 Economy of ninety months of consec-  
4 tive growth, Ladies and Gentlemen, this has  
5 never happened in the recorded history of man-  
6 kind. You take it for granted because some of  
7 us have never experienced a Depression or  
8 Recession. Those of us that have appreciate it  
9 just as a man that has been ill appreciates  
10 good health.

11 An achievement of three thousand  
12 dollars more real income each year for the  
13 average family of four than in 1961. To a  
14 rich man that may not mean much, but to many of  
15 us it means a new car, it means a college  
16 education for a son or a daughter, or it means a  
17 vacation or a trip. It means new furniture. It  
18 means new things. It may mean just security.

19 The achievement of Medicare, which  
20 for the first time has permitted the senior  
21 citizens of this land, those who have given of  
22 their best during the better years of their  
23 lives, to live in dignity and having the blessing  
24 of modern medicine and modern hospitalization.

25 The achievement of Project Head



1 Start. Mrs. Humphrey visited a project at Los  
2 Angeles today. I hope we are not so cynical, my  
3 fellow Americans, that we no longer care about  
4 the little ones. I think you can judge the  
5 morality of a society by two groups--three  
6 groups, the children and what you do with the  
7 children, the handicapped and how you treat  
8 them, and the elderly.

9 Our Scriptures alone tell us they  
10 deserve our respect, and I am happy to tell you  
11 that I have been a part of an Administration that  
12 has cared for the children as no other Adminis-  
13 traion in the history of this Republic, cared  
14 for the handicapped as no other Administration  
15 in this Republic, and cared for the elderly as  
16 no other government and surely no other  
17 Administration in this Republic; more senior  
18 citizens housing built in four years than in the  
19 preceding two hundred.

20 And I point with some justifiable  
21 pride to the achievement of a government that  
22 saw that over one million young Americans had  
23 their chance to go to higher education and college  
24 with public support, with scholarships and loans.

25 Over nine million of our youngsters



1 who were the victims of the schools that were  
2 called separate and equal, but that were just  
3 separate, nine million of them, the beneficiaries  
4 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act,  
5 the greatest education program that this country  
6 has ever known.

7 And the ten million of our fellow  
8 Americans who have walked out of the darkness of  
9 poverty into the bright sunlight of opportunity,  
10 ten million Americans in the last seven years  
11 that have come out of poverty, and of those ten  
12 million over three and a half million black, who  
13 for the first time in their life have had a  
14 chance to stand as you and I, citizens of this  
15 land.

16 There is much more that we could  
17 talk of and a greater record that I shall out-  
18 line in the days ahead, but let me make it clear  
19 I do not come here to apologize for the Demo-  
20 cratic Party or Democratic President. I come  
21 here as one that was nurtured in the days of  
22 Franklin Roosevelt, that was inspired by the  
23 courageous leadership of Harry Truman, whose  
24 soul and mind was made the better by the great  
25 spirit of Adlai Stevenson, and who has had the

1 opportunity to be a fellow worker in the  
2 Democratic Party and one of the leaders in the  
3 Congress of the United States under two Presi-  
4 dents that got this country moving again and  
5 lifted it to new heights, John Kennedy and  
6 Lyndon Johnson.

7 So I lay down the gauntlet here  
8 tonight. We will put our record against Mr.  
9 Nixon's twenty-four hours a day, three hundred  
10 and sixty-five days a year. I intend to be  
11 judged on my record as compared to his. I think  
12 the American people will make the right decision.  
13 I have no doubt about it. I do not think the  
14 American people are ready to turn this country  
15 over to Mr. Richard Milhaus Nixon and Strom  
16 Thurmond.

17 So for those of you that were  
18 wondering when will your friend, Hubert  
19 Humphrey, lay it on the line, we are laying it  
20 on the line tonight and we will lay it on the  
21 line every night from here on out.

22 Yes, I am proud to have played some  
23 little role in some of these achievements which  
24 I have noted here this evening, but I want you  
25 to know that I am not content with that. I am

1 not one that believes in reciting the pages of  
2 history.

3 I ask you to help us make new  
4 history and I ask you to help build on the  
5 record that we have already established, to  
6 build better, to build broader, to build more  
7 meaningfully, and I am going to do so with the  
8 determination not to narrow the road to peace  
9 and justice by either the mistakes of the  
10 formulas of the past--and everybody has made  
11 some mistakes--and not to limit our achievements  
12 by the weight of the past, and I shall do so  
13 with the certain objectives in mind, and these  
14 are my objectives: To end the war in Vietnam,  
15 to stop and put a halt to the rising tide of  
16 lawlessness in our cities, to insure a meaningful  
17 job for every citizen willing to work, and to  
18 guarantee a first-class education for every child  
19 born in this land.

20 In other words, to provide a life of  
21 meaning and dignity and purpose for every person  
22 and I shall do so with the humility born of the  
23 knowledge that no man can hope to advance the  
24 unfinished work of our society without the help  
25 of his God and the support of his people.



1 I intend to work hard enough to merit  
2 that support, to earn that support, and I come  
3 here tonight in the great State of Texas to ask  
4 you to be in the vanguard of this leadership for  
5 the new day that America needs and deserves.

6 Now, I have spoken to you from my  
7 heart and I have spoken to you as I see it, or,  
8 as the young friends say, I have told it like it  
9 is, said it like it is.

10 Now, let's hear from you. Question  
11 number one.

12 VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: Mr. Vice  
13 President, today President Johnson obviously--

14 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Will  
15 you please identify yourself?

16 VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: Richard  
17 Dobbins, newswriter, KIKK Radio.

18 Today President Johnson obviously  
19 contradicted what you said yesterday, when you  
20 said that if elected, that you would attempt to  
21 bring some troops home as early as early 1969  
22 or late 1968. The President said no one could  
23 ever tell.

24 Why did President Johnson deliberately  
25 contradict you and why has he not endorsed you



1 for the Presidency?

2 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: The  
3 question was that I had indicated that some  
4 troops might be able to be brought home from  
5 South Vietnam, American troops, in early 1969  
6 or, hopefully, in late 1968.

7 The gentleman says that the President  
8 today stated that no man could make that predic-  
9 tion. Is that right?

10 VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: That is  
11 correct.

12 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And the  
13 second part of the question was why hasn't the  
14 President endorsed me.

15 Well, first of all, would somebody  
16 bring me the morning newspaper, because one of  
17 the Marine Divisions is on its way home.

18 Give me your paper there.

19 I had it up in my room there and I  
20 was showing my staff. They are a bunch of  
21 doubting Thomases just like you fellows.

22 It is the Post. There is a state-  
23 ment, it is the headline in one of your newspapers.  
24 I regret, in the haste to come here--I have  
25 twenty staff men here. Would somebody please run

1 and get it?

2 They have heard me speak enough; they  
3 don't need to hear me again.

4 There is a story that some of the  
5 Marines that have been sent to Vietnam, American  
6 Marines, are now to be returned. I don't know  
7 what the other statement is about.

8 I said that I had hoped that this  
9 could happen and my hope--at least, it has been  
10 indicated as a fact in the press--now, I always  
11 believe what I read in the papers.

12 Now, the second thing is--the second  
13 question was: Why hasn't the President endorsed  
14 me?

15 The President has not only endorsed  
16 me, he has embraced me. I don't think there is  
17 a shadow of a doubt in the mind of anyone that  
18 the President of the United States would like  
19 very much to see the Vice President of the United  
20 States to be elected President of the United  
21 States. He has said that repeatedly.

22 VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: Could you  
23 comment on the feasibility of a national  
24 primary by 1972, and comment on the Conventions,  
25 as to what you think of how they work in this

country today?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I do believe that our Convention system is in need of a very, very in-depth study and analysis as to whether or not it really meets the modern needs of what we call our modern politics.

Senator Gaylord Nielson, the State of Wisconsin, has introduced legislation for the establishment of a high-level commission for both public and private members, to examine the Convention party system as to its adequacies and inadequacies.

May I just--this is the Houston Post. It is dated Tuesday, September 10. It says: "Humphrey arrives tonight at 6:30." I am sorry I was a little late.

"Marine regiment withdrawal is first for the United States," a UPI story. "Spokesman said it was the first withdrawal of an American troop unit from the Vietnam War."

It is a rather extended story. I think that it verifies what I had hoped. I didn't say that it would happen. Who can reflect what will happen? One can express his hopes and I had said earlier that I thought it



1        could happen and that it might happen and that  
2        I hoped it would happen.

3                And if this is a true story--and I  
4        gather it would be or it wouldn't occupy such a  
5        prominent position in this press--I would say  
6        that we have some reason to be at least a little  
7        grateful for the return of some of the men from  
8        that part of the world.

9                Now, may I get back to your question,  
10       sir.

11               The commission of Senator Nielson  
12       is needed.

13               Secondly, I have long supported, and  
14       did so when the late Senator Estes Kefauver  
15       favored a national primary. I recognize that it  
16       has its inadequacies and its adequacies, but on  
17       balancing it, it has more to offer to it than  
18       it has limitations. I do believe that the time  
19       is at hand for the revaluation and study of the  
20       total Convention process, and also I know that  
21       our Party at Chicago, over the din outside the  
22       Convention, made some very forward strides in  
23       terms of modernizing the caucus machinery, the  
24       Convention machinery of the Democratic Party.

25               This is something that our fellow

1       Republicans did not do.

2               Yes? It is very hard for me to  
3       see over the lights.

4               VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: Mr. Vice  
5       President, can you tell me what particularly you  
6       know about the poverty in the United States,  
7       particularly in Texas and the Rio Grande Valley?

8               VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I  
9       know--

10              VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: Firsthand.

11              VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I know  
12       primarily, my dear lady, what I have read, and I  
13       know primarily what I have been told by some of  
14       those who live there.

15              I do not claim to be an expert about  
16       the poverty in Texas. I can tell you something  
17       about the poverty in Minnesota, and I know about  
18       the poverty in our great metropolitan areas, but  
19       I think it would be a reasonably factual state-  
20       ment to say that there is not a state in this  
21       land that does not have within it the poor  
22       people.

23              I do not say this is a part of any  
24       premeditated conspiracy on the part of any  
25       leadership. It is--the poor have been with us

1 since the beginning of organized society, but I  
2 think for the first time we have a chance to do  
3 something about at least alleviating some of  
4 the conditions of poverty.

5 VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: Do you intend  
6 to do that?

7 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, my  
8 dear lady, I have been in the forefront of that  
9 fight all of my public life. I have been one of  
10 those that has worked for those programs, public  
11 and private, and I don't think they can all be  
12 done by government, public and private, that  
13 would help alleviate these conditions.

14 VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: Mr. Vice  
15 President, a recent issue of Life Magazine  
16 quoted you as saying that you could have lived  
17 with the minority platform on Vietnam.

18 Under what conditions would you have  
19 favored a conditional retreat in Vietnam?

20 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Let me  
21 make it clear that any Presidential candidate  
22 will find features in the platform that he  
23 doesn't particularly like, even though he  
24 accepts the nomination of his Party. It has  
25 happened before. And I supported, and still do



1 support the majority plank in the platform.

2 I don't say that it is a perfect  
3 plank, but I think it represents a rather  
4 sensible point of view.

5 I thought that the minority plank,  
6 when it calls for unconditional cessation of  
7 the bombing, I thought that went too far. But  
8 I also noted that it did not call for uncondi-  
9 tional immediate bombing and there was a certain  
10 amount of fusing of the words.

11 Now, let me again repeat to you that  
12 I said before the Convention that I would support  
13 the nominee of my Party, and if that had been my  
14 colleague from Minnesota, Senator McCarthy, then  
15 I would have gladly supported him. If it had  
16 been my friend, Senator McGovern from South  
17 Dakota, who was my neighbor for more than ten  
18 years, I would have gladly supported him.

19 We agreed on the rhetoric of the  
20 platform, but I happen to believe that if  
21 either one of the had become President, that the  
22 realities of life, that the hard, cold realities  
23 of the situation would have had a much more  
24 controlling influence upon their decisions than  
25 a printed word of the platform that was fought

1 over in Convention, and that is why I have said  
2 in my acceptance speech that I would not feel  
3 bound by the policies of the past in confronting  
4 the realities of the future.

5 Let it be very clear that all three  
6 of us that I have mentioned, Senator McCarthy,  
7 and Senator McGovern, and myself, had one  
8 common objective, the attainment of a just and  
9 honorable peace in Vietnam. But I might add  
10 that this was more than some people were able  
11 to comprehend. None of us recommended unilateral  
12 withdrawal. All of us felt that it would be  
13 desirable to have a cease fire. All of us said  
14 that we should have a systematic withdrawal of  
15 the forces, as the Army of South Vietnam was able  
16 to take over. All of us said that there should  
17 be no permanent bases in South Vietnam. All  
18 three of us blended ourselves to the concept of  
19 free elections, one man, one vote; that all  
20 persons should participate in those elections  
21 and be eligible for office, if they would accept  
22 the rules of a peaceful election and renounce  
23 violence of obtaining political power.

24 And there were the points of agree-  
25 ment, and some of those points were in the

1 minority plank, as they were in the majority  
2 plank.

3 The difference was that one said  
4 unconditional cessation of the bombing, and then  
5 went on to state, of course, we must protect our  
6 troops in the South.

7 I cannot imagine any man being  
8 President of the United States that would take  
9 a precipitous action unless he thought it would  
10 lend itself to peace and unless he thought he  
11 was protecting the lives of American men that  
12 were committed to battle; I don't care what  
13 your platform is.

14 VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: Are you  
15 saying, then, sir, that you were misquoted by  
16 Life Magazine?

17 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I am not  
18 saying I was misquoted, at all. I am simply  
19 saying what my position is. It has been stated  
20 about three hundred times now.

21 VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: Do you favor  
22 replacing the Army with a well-paid, high  
23 efficient Army, like Adlai Stevenson did?

24 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I favor  
25 the lottery system or the random selection



1 system, rather than the present system.

2 VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: Mr. President,  
3 you have said that the post-Vietnam budget will  
4 contain an adequate amount for the rehabilita-  
5 tion of the ghettos. Do you think that this  
6 money will be retained for the rehabilitation  
7 of the ghettos? Can you expound on this?

8 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPRHEY: One of  
9 reasons that I have been talking about it is  
10 that we are going to have to build a public  
11 opinion for it, mainly in others, that the  
12 savings which come as a dividend of peace will  
13 be directed toward the great social needs of  
14 this nation.

15 I served in Congress when the war in  
16 Korea was over, and that was a very costly war.  
17 It took a larger portion of the budget and it  
18 took many lives. And what happened when the war  
19 was over, there were poor, more than there are  
20 now; slums, as filthy as they are now. There  
21 were illiterate, more than now. There were  
22 social problems of unemployment after the war.

23 And what happened to the savings  
24 after the war was over? The savings from the  
25 war went into tax reductions and you had three

1       Recessions in eight years and no real development  
2       in this nation.

3               VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: You also  
4       note that because of the fact that so many black  
5       people have been hired by private industries as  
6       extras for the war boom, wouldn't you say that  
7       this would throw off more black people and  
8       create more riots than if you continue the war  
9       economy as it is? Wouldn't this cause more riots  
10      and more funds would be needed for riot control?

11             VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: May I say  
12      that the economy, over the last ninety months,  
13      has continued to grow at a growth rate never  
14      known before, four and a half per cent. And it  
15      is my view that if we can keep this economy  
16      going forward on a sensible base, with adequate  
17      fiscal policies, that we will have jobs--I don't  
18      think there is any doubt at all but that we will  
19      have jobs.

20             There is a tremendous need in this  
21      country, and all we need to have is what I call  
22      those peace dividends, namely, those resources  
23      that we can save when the war is over, to be  
24      put into the public sector in our urban programs  
25      and in our schools and training programs. There

1 are such tremendous needs, we don't need to look  
2 forward to any rise in unemployment.

3 What we ought to look forward to is  
4 an opportunity to start building this nation  
5 anew.

6 VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: Mr. Vice  
7 President, I don't happen to be a citizen of the  
8 great State of Texas. I am a citizen of  
9 Georgia and my name is Clarence Hubert Snipes.

10 I have only one question to direct  
11 to you, sir. No one could debate that Kennedy  
12 beat Nixon strictly from the TV debates.

13 You have shown great sincerity in  
14 your voice and mannerisms tonight and I am  
15 tremendously impressed and I am not trying to  
16 flatter you, and I am sure that this crowd and  
17 everyone in America would like to see you and  
18 Nixon go ahead and talk.

19 Now, how about it?

20 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: My good  
21 friend, this is a recommendation that I have  
22 made myself. I want you to know that I am in  
23 shape and ready to go.

24 You know, since you have asked this  
25 question and been so kind in your remarks, I



1 think you ought to recollect that in 1960 I gave  
2 Mr. Kennedy his spring training. You know, I  
3 never had the slightest doubt as to how that  
4 election was going to come out because I knew  
5 if I couldn't beat Mr. Kennedy, I didn't think  
6 Mr. Nixon could, and I feel the same way now.

7 VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: Mr. Vice  
8 President, your opposition last week stated that  
9 he could bring an early end to the war.

10 Do you think that any one candidate  
11 could bring an honorable end any sooner than any  
12 other candidate?

13 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think  
14 that the greatest contribution that the candi-  
15 date can make at this particular time is to make  
16 it very clear to the government in North Vietnam,  
17 to the regime in Hanoi, that it is in their  
18 interest to proceed with substantive negotiations  
19 and to seek a political settlement in Paris  
20 between now and January 20, rather than to wait  
21 around and think that partisan debate and playing  
22 to the crowds in a partisan election will result  
23 in concessions after January 20, under which  
24 the Communists wouldn't get in the legitimate  
25 process between now and January the 20th.

1                   In other words, they ought to cut  
2 out the killing and settle down to the nego-  
3 tiating because I believe that the greatest  
4 service that Mr. Nixon and myself can perform  
5 for this country and for the cause of peace is  
6 to have it unmistakably clear that we are not  
7 going to play politics with Vietnam; that we are  
8 going to ask the people of North Vietnam and  
9 their government to recognize that partisan  
10 debate in America does not result in the  
11 weakening of our determination on the battle-  
12 field or at the conference table.

13                   I know of no one that wants peace  
14 any more than the President of the United States,  
15 no one that wants it any more.

3  
16                   VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: Mr. Vice  
17 President, we have been talking about the kind  
18 of honorable settlement we are going to get,  
19 but, basically, what right do we have to send  
20 our troops to participate in a civil war on  
21 behalf of a military dictatorship that imprisons  
22 men like "Traun Ben Shu," that cannot hold  
23 elections without disqualifying its best-known  
24 opponents, whose vice president is an avid  
25 admirer of Adolph Hitler, and who seems to be

1       incapable to carry out the basic social and  
2       economic reforms to win the support of its  
3       people?

4               VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Are you  
5       through, sir?

6               May I just reflect for a moment on  
7       your rather extended question.

8               First of all, South Vietnam has a  
9       treaty arrangement with the United States. We  
10      are a member of SEATO, we have what we call  
11      protocol arrangements which are treaty arrange-  
12      ments with South Vietnam.

13              Secondly, it is not a civil war.  
14      There are aspects of civil war, but the troops  
15      from North Vietnam are not indigenous to South  
16      Vietnam and they are not a part of the civil  
17      war.

18              For a long time North Vietnam even  
19      denied that it had any troops in South Vietnam  
20      and one of the achievements of the conference in  
21      Paris is that they have admitted that they have  
22      troops in South Vietnam.

23              Of course, it was ridiculous for  
24      them to deny this. I think we have some idea  
25      of the quality of the--when you find that the



1       only support the Soviet Union had in its naked  
2       agression in Czechoslovakia was the government  
3       of North Vietnam.

4               VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: (Question  
5       not audible.)

6               VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Now, just  
7       a minute. You asked the question.

8               The government of South Vietnam is  
9       an elected government. To be sure, not everybody  
10      participated, but the government of the United  
11      States didn't have full participation in its  
12      first election. The capitol of our country was  
13      moved eleven times. The Constitution of the  
14      United States was never written by elected  
15      officials. They were all appointed. I think it  
16      was a good job; don't misunderstand me.

17              What is more, the Constitutional  
18      Convention of the United States permitted nobody  
19      to observe its activities. The doors were locked  
20      and even Benjamin Franklin had two guards  
21      attached to him in case he had an extra drink  
22      of wine and he became a little gregarious.

23              One hundred persons were invited  
24      to the Constitutional Convention; fifty-five  
25      came; thirty-nine stayed; thirty-eight signed,  
and it took them two years to get the Constitu-

1           tion and get it ratified.

2                 Now, the Constitutional Assembly of  
3 Vietnam, with all of its limitations, was an  
4 elected Constitutional Assembly and I think it  
5 is good to reflect.

6                 First of all, they said they will  
7 never have an election. Well, they had one.  
8 That destroyed that hope of some.

9                 The next was that the Constitutional  
10 Assembly would never agree, and the next was  
11 that President Chu, who was the head of the  
12 Directorate, would never accept the constitu-  
13 tion, but he did.

14                 And the next was that the Assembly  
15 would never meet, that the National Assembly  
16 would never take place, and they did, and we  
17 sent observers from this country, governors,  
18 churchmen, and Bishop Lucey right here from this  
19 state, to observe that election.

20                 As elections come and go, and we  
21 have had all kinds in the United States--you  
22 know, we are not without sin ourselves--as  
23 elections come and go, it was a pretty fair  
24 election and over eighty per cent of the  
25 electorate voted, despite the efforts of the

1 Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese to terrorize  
2 the population, despite the fact that candidates  
3 for public office were killed, despite the fact  
4 that election officials were kidnapped, a  
5 president and a vice president were elected.

6 You say it was not a majority vote.  
7 Well, eleven Presidents of the United States  
8 never got a majority vote, either. Some of them  
9 had rather slim pluralities and even in our  
10 time the late John Kennedy did not get a  
11 majority vote. He had less than fifty per  
12 cent. John Adams had considerably less, and so  
13 did others.

14 All I am saying to you is that if  
15 you want to compare elections, the one in South  
16 Vietnam is one hundred per cent better than any  
17 they have had in North Vietnam, if you want to  
18 make comparisons.

19 I don't want to have it understood  
20 that I think it was too good. I think it was  
21 better, may I say, than the area had had before,  
22 and the present government of South Vietnam has  
23 has a much broader base now.

24 The new Prime Minister is a man  
25 known for integrity and for courage and honesty.



1 His name is Houng--H-o-u-n-g--and he is a good  
2 man.

3 Over twenty provincial chiefs have  
4 been removed for corruption. Over two hundred  
5 officers of the military have been summarily  
6 court martialed for corruption, and everything  
7 that has happened is before the public.

8 I think, my fellow Americans, that  
9 this little country that has eight hundred  
10 thousand men under arms, which would be the  
11 equivalent of sixteen million Americans, based  
12 on population, and has been at war for the last  
13 twenty years, does not deserve the constant  
14 harassment and condemnation of a country that  
15 finds better than twenty-five thousand of our  
16 best sons dead in that war.

17 VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: Mr. Vice  
18 President, my name is Ricks Erinson. I listened  
19 to McCarthy in the park in Chicago and I listened  
20 to Nixon last week in Hermann Park and I have  
21 listened to you here tonight, and I think you  
22 have it in common with McCarthy, contrary to  
23 what some may say, and as far as I can see, you  
24 have been telling the truth. That is a personal  
25 opinion, but my question is this:

1           McCarthy indicated in the park that  
2 he would remain within the system, but he was  
3 not going to work for either of these candi-  
4 dates. And now a lot of us that were for  
5 McCarthy, since he has removed himself, would  
6 like to ask you, Mr. Vice President, why I  
7 should support you?

8           VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Because  
9 I think I offer you the best alternative of  
10 what you have available.

11          VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: Mr. Vice  
12 President, on behalf of the University of  
13 Houston Young Democrats, the Lee College Young  
14 Democrats, the Harris County Young Democrats,  
15 and all of the Young Democrats in this area,  
16 we come here tonight with a question that is in  
17 our minds.

18          We represent not the Hippies or the  
19 Yippies on our campus, but, rather, the young  
20 people that believe in America, who still,  
21 though, feel that they don't have an active  
22 voice, and who feel that they deserve an active  
23 voice. We have to contend with these people,  
24 Mr. Vice President, and I ask you how are you  
25 going to help us tell them that they do have an

1 active voice in your campaign by joining our  
2 Young Democrats and working within the system?

3 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: The average  
4 age of the campaign committee that worked for me  
5 prior to the Convention, of all those that were  
6 working, was twenty-six. I thought we had a lot  
7 of young people. We didn't get as much atten-  
8 tion of having young people, but we had a lot of  
9 them and we had thousands of young people in  
10 Chicago, just exactly as we have them here and  
11 all those across this country, because they  
12 happen to be supporting my candidacy. Maybe  
13 they are not carrying signs, but I have nothing  
14 against that because, in fact, I have carried a  
15 lot of them in my time.

16 I am a very tolerant man about that,  
17 but because they do not engage in that, they  
18 seldom get that much attention.

19 Now, what is that I can do that will  
20 deserve the confidence of the young people, and  
21 may I say that I want to deserve it. As I told  
22 one delegation, I never expected anybody's  
23 support. I wanted to earn it.

24 My political life has been  
25 characterized with an association by youth. The



1 men who work in my office as Vice President are  
2 young men. I have been one of those that helped  
3 sponsor the Student Intern Program in this  
4 government, to bring young people into Washing-  
5 ton. I have helped through that program to  
6 secure \$1,400,000 for needy young men and women  
7 across this country to secure an education.  
8 I think that means something.

9 I have been a teacher at a great  
10 university, as well as a student, and my  
11 students seemed to find in that teacher an  
12 understanding mind and a sympathetic spirit.

13 I want, if I am elected, to see  
14 to and to consider and to have the confidence  
15 of young people. I want to listen to them.  
16 I do not brush aside their ideas. I am not at  
17 all sure that those of us in positions of  
18 responsibility are right. We have to judge on  
19 the basis of what information we have, but we  
20 must be constantly seeking new information to  
21 improve our judgment.

22 I want the idealism of young people  
23 in the political scene. I want them in the  
24 caucuses. I want them to be impressed with  
25 political leadership, and there isn't

1 particularly a sort of rebel faction in a party  
2 that is very young, because I have noted over  
3 the years that once they gain power, they get  
4 to acting somewhat like the rest of us, very  
5 much so.

6 I have not lost my sense of idealism,  
7 not one bit. I have called upon the young in  
8 this nation to help us in what I consider to be  
9 the great problems that confront us, to help  
10 us change the attitude of this country about  
11 people, to help us break down racism in this  
12 country, to help us help the deprive in this  
13 country.

14 I have gone from college campus to  
15 college campus as Vice President, over seventy  
16 of them, and thirty junior colleges, and techni-  
17 cal institutions, calling upon young people to  
18 take their enthusiasm into politics, into  
19 service, volunteer from time to time to a  
20 mental retardation institute, volunteer to help  
21 the handicapped, volunteer to tutoring in the  
22 ghettos, volunteer their lives to help young  
23 people across this country and older people.

24 I am the author of the Peace Corps,  
25 which Mr. Nixon called a fanciful idea and a

1           scheme for draft dodgers.

2                   I am the author of the Job Center.

3                   I have fought for these things. My  
4           loyalty is with the needs of the young and I  
5           don't intend to give it up and if I am President,  
6           as I said earlier, young men and women in  
7           America will find out they have a partner and  
8           somebody they can work with.

9                   VOICE FROM THE FLOOR: I want to  
10          tell you how wonderful you look to us tonight.  
11          From all the reports we have had and the stories  
12          we have heard, I can't see any hawk nose or  
13          dove wings, but you look just like the fine,  
14          wonderful man I met in 1952 and for whom I  
15          hope to be able to work this year.

16                   Now, my question is: Will you  
17          please ask the people who have been given slips  
18          of registration for work in the Party in your  
19          campaign, to give them to any lady in the  
20          audience that has a white and blue badge on?

21                   VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I sure  
22          will.

23                   Thank you, very, very much. There  
24          comes a time when even the best of good times  
25          must come to an end. I hope you have enjoyed



it. I have.

2

3

-----

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

Maynard

September 10, 1968

✓ Ben Barnes

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

✓ Will Davis

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Bob Carey

QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

Bob Eckhardt

HOUSTON, TEXAS

✓ Throughout history, there come moments when the people and the leaders of a nation are faced with a crisis; a crisis of conscience, a test of will, a moment of almost unimaginable implications for their own and for their children's futures.

✓ Sometimes such a crisis stands out starkly, and each of us can quickly recognize its importance. At other times, it simply arises out of a combination of events, and even those most affected may be unaware of the peril which they face.

✓ Tonight, my fellow countrymen, we stand at such a moment.

# Realities

-2-

For the decision which each of you must make between now and the first Tuesday in November is as important as any of you have ever made. It is a decision which will have an enormous amount to do with the kind of world your children and your children's children will live in long after Dick Nixon and Hubert Humphrey have passed from the scene.

That decision is an infinitely complex one ~~but it can be stated rather simply.~~

Can the American people be made to believe that the fears and frustrations of life in the twentieth century can somehow be made to vanish, by papering over our problems and ignoring our shortcomings?

Or are the American people made of sterner stuff ~~than~~ ~~that~~ Are they better than too many of our ~~press and~~ pollsters and politicians give them credit for?



Are they strong enough to bear the responsibilities of power?

... Compassionate enough to recognize that, for many of our fellow citizens, life is not what it was meant to be?

... And smart enough, and tough enough, to find our way through, to a future which can yet be ours?

As for myself, and speaking as the leader of my party, I know the answer to that question.

I have asked my fellow citizens to place their confidence in me.

And I am placing my confidence in them.

-- Confidence in their ability to know when they are being sold a bill of goods, ~~promised~~ <sup>promising</sup> a future of false comfort and easy living.

-- Confidence in their understanding that he who buries his head <sup>in the sand</sup> or sets his face against the winds of inevitable change

cannot stop that change, but will be buried by the sandstorm  
of time as it passes him by.

-- And confidence in their good will -- and their good  
judgment... in their common sense -- and their uncommon  
decency.

In short, my friends, I trust the American people.

It is because I trust the great, unfrightened majority  
of Americans, that I choose to speak, not to their fears, but  
to their hopes... to call forth not the bitterness and resentment  
of life, but the vision of a New Day for all mankind.

It is because I trust this new generation of Americans  
that I view the occasional excesses and poor judgment of some  
of our young people, in perspective, relatively less significant  
than the decent, energetic and creative force which they represent --  
potentially the most promising generation this great nation has

ever produced.

It is because I trust the process of democratic decision-making that I did not fear, but welcomed, the free and frank debate about the issues of our time which characterized the sometimes troublesome but fundamentally healthy developments within the Democratic party during the last several months.

↳ It is because I trust the strength of the ties which bind our destinies together that I refuse to pit one group of Americans against another -- poor against rich, black against white, young against old.

↳ Winning the Presidency is not worth the price of silence or evasion on the issue of human rights.

↳ Winning the Presidency is not worth a compact with extremism.



I ask our nation not to be of one mind, but to be of one spirit.

And it is because I trust the toughness and resilience of that American spirit that I do not shrink from the hard decisions of the Presidency.

I seek that responsibility.

I accept that burden.

I am ready to lead our nation toward that New Day which awaits us.

I know, and you know, that that New Day is one on which we shall have to come to terms with the three great realities of our time:

$\angle$  The necessity of peace in the world; the necessity for  
justice and order in our nation; and the paramount necessity for  
unity among our people.

During this campaign, I have spoken out on each of those challenges, and I shall continue to do so.

~~I shall do so with pride that I carry forward the tradition of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, of Harry Truman and John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.~~

I choose to run -- and run proudly -- on the Democratic party's achievements during the last eight years -- achievements that include: —

- Three thousand dollars more real income each year for the average family of four than in 1961;
- Medicare and increased Social Security;
- Head Start for children from disadvantaged neighborhoods;
- A million young Americans in college with public support who otherwise would have been unable to attend.

- *and to Educ.*

- *Millions out of poverty*

I am proud to have played a role in these achievements.

... And I intend to build on that record in the next four years.

I shall do so with determination not to narrow the road to peace and justice by either the mistakes or the formulas of the past -- and not to limit our horizons by the achievements of the past.

I shall do so with certain objectives firmly in mind:

- └-- To end the war in Vietnam;
- └-- To stop the rising tide of lawlessness in our cities;
- └-- To ensure a job for every citizen willing to work, and a first-class education for every child born in this land;
- └-- And to provide a life of meaning and dignity and purpose for every American.



And I shall do so with the humility born of the knowledge that no man can hope to advance the unfinished work of our society without the help of his God and the support of his people.

I intend to earn that support.

Thank you.

\* \* \*

For Release:  
Wednesday ~~PM~~'S  
September 11, 1968

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS  
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION  
HOUSTON, TEXAS  
SEPTEMBER 10, 1968

Throughout history, there come moments when the people and the leaders of a nation are faced with a crisis: a crisis of conscience, a test of will, a moment of almost unimaginable implications for their own and for their children's futures.

Sometimes such a crisis stands out starkly, and each of us can quickly recognize its importance. At other times, it simply arises out of a combination of events, and even those most affected may be unaware of the peril which they face.

Tonight, my fellow countrymen, we stand at such a moment.

For the decision which each of you must make between now and the first Tuesday in November is as important as any of you have ever made. It is a decision which will have an enormous amount to do with the kind of world your children and your children's children will live in long after Dick Nixon and Hubert Humphrey have passed from the scene.

That decision is an infinitely complex one...but it can be stated rather simply:

Can the American people be made to believe that the fears and frustrations of life in the twentieth century can somehow be made to vanish, by papering over our problems and ignoring our shortcomings?

Or are the American people made of sterner stuff than that? Are they better than too many of our press and pollsters and politicians give them credit for?

Are they strong enough to bear the responsibilities of power?

...Compassionate enough to recognize that, for many of our fellow citizens, life is not what it was meant to be?

PAGE TWO

...And smart enough, and tough enough, to find our way through, to a future which can yet be ours?

As for myself, and speaking as the leader of my party, I know the answer to that question.

I have asked my fellow citizens to place their confidence in me.

And I am placing my confidence in them.

--Confidence in their ability to know when they are being sold a bill of goods, promised a future of false comfort and easy living.

--Confidence in their understanding that he who buries his head or sets his face against the winds of inevitable change cannot stop that change, but will be buried by the sandstorm of time as it passes him by.

--And confidence in their good will--and their good judgment...in their common sense--and their uncommon decency.

In short, my friends, I trust the American people.

It is because I trust the great, unfrightened majority of Americans, that I choose to speak, not to their fears, but to their hopes...to call forth not the bitterness and resentment of life, but the vision of a New Day for all mankind.

It is because I trust this new generation of Americans that I view the occasional excesses and poor judgment of some of our young people, as, in perspective, relatively less significant than the decent, energetic and creative force which they represent--potentially the most promising generation this great nation has ever produced.

It is because I trust the process of democratic decision-making that I did not fear, but welcomed, the free and frank debate about the issues of our time which characterized the sometimes troublesome but fundamentally healthy developments within the Democratic party during the last several months.



PAGE THREE

It is because I trust the strength of the ties which bind our destinies together that I refuse to pit one group of Americans against another--poor against rich, black against white, young against old.

Winning the Presidency is not worth the price of silence or evasion on the issue of human rights.

Winning the Presidency is not worth a compact with extremism.

(more)

PAGE FOUR

I ask our nation not to be of one mind, but to be of one spirit.

And it is because I trust the toughness and resilience of that American spirit that I do not shrink from the hard decisions of the Presidency.

I seek that responsibility.

I accept that burden.

I am ready to lead our nation toward that New Day which awaits us.

I know, and you know, that that New Day is one on which we shall have to come to terms with the three great realities of our time:

The necessity of peace in the world; the necessity for justice and order in our nation; and the paramount necessity for unity among our people.

During this campaign, I have spoken out on each of those challenges, and I shall continue to do so.

I shall do so with pride that I carry forward the tradition of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, of Harry Truman and John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.

I choose to run -- and run proudly -- on the Democratic party's achievements during the last eight years -- achievements that include:

- Three thousand dollars more real income each year for the average family of four than in 1961;
- Medicare and increased Social Security;
- Head Start for children from disadvantaged neighborhoods;
- A million young Americans in college with public support who otherwise would have been unable to attend.

PAGE FIVE

I am proud to have played a role in these achievements. And I intend to build on that record in the next four years.

I shall do so with determination not to narrow the road to peace and justice by either the mistakes or the formulas of the past -- and not to limit our horizons by the achievements of the past.

I shall do so with certain objectives firmly in mind:

--To end the war in Vietnam;

--To stop the rising tide of lawlessness in our cities;

--To ensure a job for every citizen willing to work, and a first-class education for every child born in this land;

--And to provide a life of meaning and dignity and purpose for every American.

And I shall do so with the humility born of the knowledge that no man can hope to advance the unfinished work of our society without the help of his God and the support of his people.

I intend to earn that support.

Thank you.

# # # # #



Remarks Q + A  
San Jacinto Room  
Houston, Texas  
----

San Jacinto Room  
Ice Hotel  
Houston, Texas  
Wednesday, September 10, 1968  
9:55 p.m.

Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you, Mayor Welch. Thank you, Mr. Mayor, for arranging through the fire commissioner that we could get a few more good souls from Houston and other parts of this Texas into this fine hall this evening, this fine banquet room. I can barely see to the very end of it but it seems like it's jam packed full and may I say that is a good way to have it.

(Applause)

Mayor Welch, I have just left a wonderful Texan and a very fine public servant who has been visiting with me earlier this evening, the Speaker of your House of Representatives, Mr. Barnes.

(Applause)

I am similarly honored tonight to have here at this platform with me two of the most dedicated, two of the most conscientious, forward looking members of the House of Representatives, two men that you know from this district and this area, should say, Congressman Charles and Congressman Lechardt.

(Applause) Whistles

And I note also, and am sure you do, that the chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, the chairman of the party in this state, who has surely given a splendid account of himself in building this party, is here with us tonight, Bill Davis, and I am very honored and pleased that you are with us tonight.

(Applause)

I am going to get right down to business because this is an evening of not just speech making on my part, but of questions and answers of what

I call the politics of contact and confrontation, where I go out to the public as a man that seeks the highest office within the gift of the American people and submit myself to the privilege of hearing the questions from the constituents and the citizens, and hopefully to be able to present an intelligent and responsive answer.

I said when I sought this nomination, the nomination of my party, that I wanted to be able to talk to the American people about the realities that confront us, the realities of the world in which we live, tough, dangerous, and yet very promising. The realities of the America in which we live, richer, stronger than ever before and yet today a scene of conflict and tension, of deep disturbance, ferment and change. I also said that I would, if permitted to be the standard bearer of our party, see to it that we had as a Vice Presidential running mate not someone that was the product of compromise or arrangement but rather, someone who by his talents and his skills, his character and his experience, his background and his maturity, was thoroughly capable of occupying the highest office of this land, namely, the Presidency, and I have had a hand in selecting that sort of person. I suggested to the

Democratic convention that they nominate and give me the privilege of having as my running mate one of the finest of the United States Senate, a governor of two terms, a Senator of two terms, a man who has a reputation for personal integrity, political foresight, and this man's name is Edmund Muskie, Senator from Maine and my Vice Presidential candidate.

(Applause)

Senator Muskie started his campaign here in the Lone Star State of Texas and if you have not read into that what you should, let me spell it out. The ticket of Humphrey and Muskie, the Democratic ticket, intends to carry the State of Texas, and have the electoral votes of this state.

(Applause)

And we intend to rely on you, you the people, people from every walk of life, of every race, creed and color, catholic, protestant and Jew, regular Democrat, conservative Democrat, liberal Democrat, concerned Democrat, independent citizens and a lot of Republicans that can't take what has been offered on their ticket.

(Applause)

We intend to have you carry this fight. I am going to give it everything I have, but, I am going to ask you to give a full measure of devotion to this cause as well, and I say that tonight starts the victory march from Texas to the White House and we are going to do it.

(Applause)

I have been reading all the headlines. I know all the stories that have been written, but I want to tell you the greatest story of them all as far as this election is concerned will be the unity of the Democratic party in this state behind the Democratic ticket and mark it down right tonight, ladies and gentlemen, we are going to march together, Governor, Senator, Congressmen, every one of us.

(Applause)

I thought we ought to dispense with these matters early. Now, let me talk to you about some of the substantive matters.

We are going to make a great decision in this country. Every election is a great decision. There has never been one that wasn't but I think the times that we live in indicate that the decision that we make in 1968, November, will have a great bearing upon the future of this land. A little over a 100 years ago, 105 to be exact, Abraham Lincoln proclaimed the Emancipation Proclamation. We had to wait almost a 100 years before we could translate that proclamation into legal reality. And now, we are in the business of translating it into practical reality.

(Applause)

And I am not merely talking about the emancipation of the slaves or the black. I am talking about the emancipation of the deprived in this country, white and black, and let it be quite clear -- let it be not only quite clear but very clear that there are more poor whites than blacks, more poor rural Americans than urban, that slumism is not a characteristic just of the cities but sometimes of the countryside.

We are not talking about a race. We are not talking about a color tonight, ladies and gentlemen. We are talking about Americans, every kind of an American, and it is the many kinds of Americans that inhabit this state, because Texas is like a little United Nations within itself, it is these many kinds of Americans that make up the vitality, the vibrancy, the strength, the great power of this nation, and I intend, if I am permitted to be the President of this land, to mobilize the resources of the yet untapped human

resource of the millions of Americans that have never had a chance. I think that America has just begun to live.

(Applause)

I think that our better days are yet to come.

(Applause)

I think that our better days are yet to come. Oh, I know there are always the cynics that say, well, why does he say that or does he mean it, but I remember in my young days when people said in the depression that our system was through. I remember there were those who were the great intellectuals even of our day that said that we never again would be able to give vibrancy and vitality and drive to our free enterprise system. I didn't believe it then and I don't believe it now.

(Applause)

There have always been the doubters. There have always been the purveyors of fear and suspicion. They get a little more attention than the regular people. They get a little more attention than the people who are the advocates. They get a little more attention than the people who are positive.

It is always the man that spreads the doom and the gloom that seems to be called the prophet, but the greatest prophets were those that saw a better day, not those that saw the end, but those that saw the beginning. And, ladies and gentlemen, I do not claim to be a prophet but I claim to have some understanding of the American nation and the American people, and I say to this audience, particularly of the young people that are here tonight, our greatness is yet to come. Our best days are yet to be lived. The future belongs to us and we intend to use it and we intend to develop it. We intend to set new standards for this nation the likes of which this world has never known and I ask you to help me.

(Applause)

And I don't believe that the American people are going to elect a candidate who likes to paper over our problems, or who gives generalizations to specific needs. I place my confidence in the people and I will tell you why, because I am of the people, not separated from them, but from them, and I believe that I know that this country has within it tremendous resources, tremendous resources of good, to do whatever needs to be done. I have asked my fellow citizens to have confidence in me. That is a great request. But, I ask that because I have confidence in them, confidence in their ability to know that when they are being sold a bill of goods, and believe me, some of them are being sold a bill of goods today or at least the attempt is being made --

(Applause)

-- and I have confidence in the people's understanding that he who buries his head in the sand and sets his face against the winds of inevitable change can never stop that change, but he will be burdened by the sand storm of time as it passes him by.

I believe that there are those who would bury their heads in the sand, and I have confidence in the good will of the American people, in their good judgment, and like Adlai Stevenson before me, I intend to talk sense to the American people.

(Applause)

And I have great confidence in the uncommon decency that characterizes this nation. In short, as I have said, I trust the people, and it is because I trust the great unfrightened and sometimes silent majority of Americans that I choose to speak not to their fears but to their hopes.

(Applause)



Now, let me say a word about this younger generation. It is because I trust this new generation of Americans, this young generation that seems to get so much attention, that I view the occasional excesses and the poor judgment of a few of the young in its proper perspective, and I sense that it is relatively less significant than the decent, energetic, and wholesome and creative force which this young generation represents, potentially the most promising generation that this country has ever produced.

(Applause)

And my presidency will be characterized by the open door of the White House to the young. That place will sing with the music of the young.

(Applause)

Their voices will be heard, their advice and counsel will be sought, because my public life has been a life of association with young men and women, young in spirit, many young in age, but very young in their hopes and their desires, and it is because I trust this process of democratic decision-making that I do not fear but indeed, I welcome the free and the frank debate about the issues of our time which characterize the sometimes troublesome but fundamentally healthy developments within the Democratic Party during the last several months.

I would rather have our confusion and our argument than to have the boredom of republicanism.

(Applause and whistles)

And, I gather you feel exactly the same way,

(Applause)

I said to a friend the other day, America has many firsts. We do many things and we do them in a big way, but it is the first time we have ever had a national wake before the political demise of a candidate.

(Applause)

I have also told you some things about my sense of values and I want to repeat them to you tonight so that you may know your candidate and you may know what I believe and what I think. Winning the Presidency, so important to be sure, no greater honor or greater responsibility could come to anyone, but winning the Presidency is not worth the price of silence or evasion on the most fundamental and most precious issue of our time, the issue of human rights and human dignity and equal opportunity.

(Applause)

I have never compromised on this issue for 20 years in my public life and I have no intention of starting it at this late date.

(Applause)

And winning the Presidency is not worth a compact with extremism, the extremism of the left or the right, the extremism of the militant of the black or the white. Winning the Presidency is not a popularity contest. Winning the Presidency should be measured on principle, not popularity.

(Applause)

Well, it is because I believe these things that I seek that responsibility and that I am prepared to accept the burden that this office imposes. I believe through years of experience the maturity that comes with the refiners fire of experience, that I am ready to lead our nation towards the new day which awaits each and everyone of us.

(Applause)

Now, there are three great realities of our time, the necessity of peace in the world, the necessity for justice and order in our nation, and the paramount necessity of unity amongst our people, and during this campaign

I will continue to speak out as I have in the past on each of these challenges, and I choose to run and run proudly -- and I want every member now of the media to get this, and every person in this audience -- I choose to run and run proudly on the Democratic Party's achievements throughout our opportunity to govern this nation and particularly during these last eight years.

(Applause)

and achievements which include literally landmarks of excellence, great achievements. An economy of 90 months of consecutive growth. Ladies and gentlemen, this has never happened in the recorded history of mankind. You take it for granted because many of us have never experienced a depression or a recession. Those of us that have appreciate it just as a man has been ill appreciates good health.

(Applause)

An achievement of \$3,000 more real income each year for the average family of four than in 1961. To a rich man that may not mean much, but to many of us, it means a new car. It means a college education for a son or a daughter. Or it means a vacation or a trip. It means new furniture. It means new things. It may mean just security.

An achievement of Medicare which for the first time has permitted the senior citizens of this land, those who have given of their best during the better years of their life, to live in dignity and to have the blessing of modern healing and modern medicine and hospitalization.

(Applause)

The achievement of Project Head Start. Mrs. Humphrey visited a project at Los Angeles today. I hope that we are not so cynical, my fellow Americans, that we no longer care about the little ones. I think you can judge the mortality of a society by two groups, three groups. The child and what you do with the child. The handicapped, and how you treat them. And the elderly whom Scriptures alone tell us deserve our respect. And, I am happy to tell you that I have been a part of an Administration that has cared for the children as no other Administration in the history of this Republic;

(Applause)

cared for the handicapped as no other Administration in this Republic;

(Applause)

and cared for the elderly as no other government and surely no other Administration in this Republic.

More senior citizens housing built in four years than the preceding 200.

(Applause)

And I point with some justifiable pride to the achievements of a government that saw that over one million young Americans had their chance to go to higher education and college, with public support,

(Applause)

with scholarships and loans, and over nine million of our deprived youngsters who were the victims of schools that were called separate and equal but were just separate, nine million of them the beneficiaries of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the greatest Federal aid program that this country has ever known.

(Applause)

And ten million of our fellow Americans who have walked out of the darkness of poverty into the bright sunlight of opportunity. Ten million Americans in the last seven years that have come out of poverty, and of these ten million, over three and a half million black who for the first time in their life have

had a chance to stand as you and I, citizens of this land with its benefits.  
(Applause)

There is much more that we could talk of and a greater record that I shall outline in the days ahead, but let me make it clear, I do not come here to apologize for the Democratic Party or Democratic Presidents.

(Applause) (Whistles)

I come here as one that was nurtured in the days of Franklin Roosevelt, that was inspired by the courageous leadership of Harry Truman,

(Applause)

whose soul and mind was made the better by the great spirit of Adlai Stevenson,  
(Applause)

and who has had the opportunity to be a fellow worker in democracy and one of the leaders in the Congress of the United States under two presidents that got this country moving again and lifted it to new heights, John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.

(Applause)

So, I lay down the gauntlet here tonight. We will put our record against Mr. Nixon's 24 hours a day, 365 days a year.

(Applause)

And, I intend to be judged on my record as compared to his.

I think the American people will make the right decision. I have no doubt about it. I do not think the American people are about ready to turn this country over to Mr. Richard Milhouse Nixon and Strom Thurmond. I just don't think so.

(Applause) (Whistles)

So, for those of you that were wondering when will your friend, Hubert Humphrey, lay it on the line, we are laying it on the line tonight and we will lay it on every day from here on out.

(Applause)

Yes, I am proud to have played some little role in some of these achievements which I have noted here this evening but I want you to know that I am not content with that. I am not one that believes in reciting the pages of history. I ask you to help us make new history and I ask you to help building on the record that we have already established, to build better, to build broader, to build more meaningful, and I am going to do so with determination, not to narrow the road to peace and justice by either the mistake of the formulas of the past, and everybody has made some mistakes, and not to limit our horizons by the achievements of the past. I shall do so with certain objectives in mind and these are my objectives. To end the war in Vietnam,

(Applause)

to stop and put a halt to the rising tide of lawlessness in our cities,

(Applause)

to insure a meaningful job for every citizen willing to work,

(Applause)

and to guarantee a first class education for every child born in this land.

(Applause)

In other words, to provide a life of meaning and dignity and purpose for every American. And I shall do so with the humility born of the knowledge that no man can hope to advance the unfinished work of our society without the help of his God and the support of his people. I intend to work hard enough to merit that support, to earn that support, and I come here tonight in the great State of Texas to ask you to be in the vanguard of this

leadership for the new day that America needs and deserves.

(Applause)

Now, I have spoken to you from my heart and I have spoken to you as I see it or as the young friends say, I have told it like it is, said it like it is.

(Applause)

Now, let's hear from you. Question number 1..



QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FROM STATEMENT AT

SAN JACINTO ROOM, HOUSTON, TEXAS

September 10, 1968

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, today President Johnson obviously --  
VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Would each person identify himself?

QUESTION: Richard Dobin, News Director, KEXX Station.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

QUESTION: Today President Johnson obviously contradicted what you said yesterday when you said if elected you would attempt to bring some troops home from Vietnam as early as late 1968 or in early 1969. The President said no one could ever tell.

Why did President Johnson deliberately contradict you and why hasn't President Johnson so far endorsed you either for the nomination or for the President?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: The question was in effect that I had indicated that some troops might be able to be brought, might be able to be brought home from South Vietnam, American troops, in early 1969 or hopefully in late 1968. The gentleman says that the President today stated that no man could make that prediction. Is that right?

QUESTION: That is correct.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And the second part of the question was why hasn't the President --

QUESTION: Endorsed you.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: -- endorsed me.

Well, first of all, will somebody please bring me the morning newspaper? Give me one of your morning newspapers in town here because one of the Marine divisions is on its way home.

(Applause) and shouts)

Give me your paper there. I had it up in my room. I was just showing my staff. They were a bunch of Doubting Thomases just like you fellows here.

(Laughter)

It is the Post.

MAYOR WELCH: Late Chronicle. It is in the afternoon Chronicle.

VOICE: They know it is in there.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: There is the statement, it is the headline in one of your newspapers, I regret in the haste to come here and some of you all have newspapers, around here, let's get it so we can take a look at it. I have got 20 staff men here. Will someone please run and get it?

(Laughter)

They have heard me speak enough. They don't have to hear me again.

VOICE: We have it coming.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you, sir. And there is the story that some of the Marines that have been sent to Vietnam, American Marines, are now to be returned.

VOICE: Right.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I don't know what the other statement is about. I said that I had hoped that this could happen. And my hope at least has been vindicated as a fact in the press. I always believe what I read in the papers.

(Laughter)

The second question was, why hasn't the President endorsed me. The President has not only endorsed me. He has embraced me.

(Laughter) and applause)

VOICE: We know that, but some don't know that.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I don't think there is a shadow of a doubt in the minds of anyone that the President of the United States would like very much to see the Vice President of the United States be elected President of the United States. He said that repeatedly.

(Applause)

I am waiting for a paper. I want it down. Be sure we get it.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, could you comment on the feasibility of the national presidential primary by '72 and if you favor such a program and comment on the conventions?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

QUESTION: As to what you think about the way they work in this country today.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I do believe that our convention system is in need of a very, very in depth study and analysis as to whether or not it really meets modern needs of what we call our modern politics. Senator Gaylord Nelson of the State of Wisconsin, has introduced legislation in the Congress for the establishment of a high level commission of both public and private members to examine into the political party convention system as to its adequacies and its inadequacies.

QUESTION: I am aware of that, sir.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: May I just -- this is the Houston Post. It is dated Tuesday, September 10. It says "Humphrey arrives tonight at 6:30". I am sorry we were a little late.

(Laughter)

"Marine Regiment Heads Home from Viet War. Withdrawal is first for the U.S." A UPI story. "The U.S. command announced Tuesday it was sending a Marine regiment back to the United States. Spokesmen said it was the first withdrawal of an American troop unit from the Vietnam War."

(Applause)

Rather an extended story. I think that it verifies what I had hoped. I didn't say it would happen. Who can predict what will happen? One can express his hopes and I had said earlier that I thought that there was the possibility that it could happen, that it might happen, that I had hoped that it would happen, and if this is a true story, and I gather that it would be or it wouldn't occupy such a prominent position in the press, I would have to say that we have some reason to be at least a little grateful for the return of some of our men from that part of the world.

Now, may I get back to your question, sir. The commission of Senator Nelson, I think, is it.

Secondly, I have long supported, and did so when the late Senator Estes Kefauver had introduced his resolution, at national presidential primary. I recognize that it has its inadequacies and its difficulties but on balance, I THINK IT HAS MORE TO OFFER TO IT THAN IT HAS LIMITATIONS. I do believe that the time now is at hand for a very careful re-evaluation and we re-study of the total convention process and as you know, our party in convention at Chicago over the din and over all of the commotion on the outside of the convention made some very forward strides in terms of modernizing the caucus machinery.

the convention machinery, the machinery of the Democratic party. This is something that our fellow Republicans did not do.

(Applause)

It is very difficult for me to see on the lights. So, if you will just speak up and identify yourself.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President --

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, the lady, please.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, can you tell me what particularly you know about the poverty in the United States, particularly in Texas and the Rio Grande Valley.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I know primarily, my dear lady, what I have read, and I know primarily what I have been told by some of those who lived there. I do not claim to be an expert about the poverty in Texas. I can tell you a little bit about the poverty in Minnesota. I can tell you some -- I am speaking very frankly to you about the poverty in our great rural areas, I mean our great metropolitan areas, but I think it would be a reasonably factual statement to say there is not a state in this land that does not have within it poor, the poor people.

I do not say that this is the result of any pre-meditated conspiracy on the part of any leadership. I think it is one of the unfortunate developments of human society. The poor have been with us since the beginning of organized society but I think that for the first time we have a chance to do something about at least alleviating some of the conditions of poverty.

QUESTION: Do you intend to do this?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, my dear lady. I have been in the forefront of that fight all of my public life. I have been one of those that has worked for programs --

(Applause)

-- I have been one of those that has worked for those programs, public and private, and I don't think they can all be done by government, public and private that would help alleviate these conditions.

QUESTION: Thank you.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you, ma'am.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President --

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

QUESTION: A recent issue of Life magazine quotes you as saying that you could have lived with the recent Minority plank on Vietnam. Under what conditions would you have favored an unconditional retreat of troops in Vietnam?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, let me make it very clear about the platform. Many a man who has been a presidential candidate in the past, and I imagine some in the future, will find features in the platform that he doesn't particularly like, even though he accepts the nomination of his party. This has happened before and it will happen undoubtedly again.

I supported and still do support the Majority plank in the platform. I don't say that --

(Applause)

-- I don't say that it is a perfect plank but I think it represents a rather sensible point of view.

I thought that the Minority plank went too far when it calls

for unconditional cessation of the bombing.

(Applause)

I thought that went too far. But, I also noted that it did not call for unconditional immediate, and there was a certain amount of fuzzing of the words.

Now, let me again repeat to you that I said before the convention that I thought support the nominee of my party and if that nominee had been my colleague from Minnesota, Senator McCarthy, I would have gladly supported him.

(Applause)

If it had been my friend, Senator McGovern from South Dakota, who was my neighbor for better than ten years, I would have gladly supported him.

(Applause)

We disagreed on the rhetoric of the platform but I happen to believe that if either one of them had become President, that the realities of life, that the hard, cold realities of the international situation would have had a much more controlling influence upon their decisions than the printed word of a platform that was fought over in convention, and this is why I have said, sir, in my acceptance speech, that I would not feel bound by the policies of the past in confronting the realities of the future.

(Applause)

Let it be very clear that all three of us that I have mentioned, Senator McCarthy, Senator McGovern and myself, had one common objective, the attainment of a just and honorable peace in Vietnam. We had different approaches but I might add that the exaggeration of the differences was more than the desire of some people to accommodate the points of agreement.

None of us recommended unilateral withdrawal. None of us recommended that we should have a total military solution.

All of us recommended that there should be a negotiated political settlement. All of us felt that it would be desirable to have a cease fire. All of us said that we should have systematic withdrawal of American forces as the Army of South Vietnam was capable of taking up the defense of its own country.

All of us said there should be no permanent American bases in South Vietnam. All three of us said that there should be economic assistance for the rehabilitation of South Vietnam and North Vietnam. And all of

And all three of us pledged ourselves to the concept of free elections, one man, one vote, that all persons should participate in those elections and be eligible for office if they would accept the results of a peaceful election and would renounce violence as a means of obtaining political power.

Now, those are the points of agreement, and those -- some of those points were in the Minority plank as they were in the Majority plank. The difference in the two planks was one said unconditional cessation of the bombing and then went on to say, of course, we must protect our troops in the south. And the other one said that we should have cessation of the bombing when there was restraint and response but we must, we must, of course, protect our troops in the south.



5

I cannot imagine any man being President of the United States that would take a precipitous action unless he thought it would lend itself to peace, and unless he thought at the same time that he was protecting the lives of American men that were committed to battle. I don't care what your platform says.

(Applause)

QUESTION: Are you saying, then, sir, that you were misquoted by Life magazine?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: No, I am not saying I was misquoted at all. I am simply saying what my position is and it is very clear. It has been stated about 300 times now.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President --

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes.

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, do you favor replacing the draft with a well paid, highly efficient voluntary army like Adlai Stevenson did?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: When the day comes when that will be adequate. In the meantime, I favor the lottery system or the random selection system rather than the present system.

(Applause)

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, you have said that the post-Vietnam budget will contain implements for the rehabilitation of the ghetto. Do you think that public opinion will be for the return of this extra money to the private sector? Could you expound on this?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: One of the reasons I have been talking about it as I have -- your question is most appropriate -- is because we are going to have to build a public opinion for it to support just that, namely, in other words, that the savings that can come as a dividend of peace will be directed towards the great social needs of this nation.

I served in the Congress when the war in Korea was over and that was a very costly war. It took a larger percentage of our gross national product than this war. It took many lives. And what happened after the war was over? There were poor in this country, many poor, more than there are now. There were slums in this country, as filthy and as dirty as they are now. There were people who were illiterate in America, more than there are now. There were social problems in this country of unemployment greater than they are now. And what happened after the war was over? Not a bit of the money was dedicated to the needs of this nation. The savings from the war went into tax reductions and you had three recessions in eight years and no real development in this nation.

(Applause)

QUESTION: But, Mr. Humphrey, you also note that because of the fact that so many black people have been hired by private industries as extras for the war boom, wouldn't you say that this would tend to throw off more black people and create more unemployment and create more riots than if you continued the economy at the pace that it is going today, the war economy?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I wouldn't want --

QUESTION: And wouldn't this cause more riots and then more riots control funds would be needed?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: May I say that the economy has had 90 consecutive months of a growth rate between 4-1/2 per cent and 5.2

before any large involvement in Vietnam as well as after a considerable involvement in the Vietnam, and it is my view that if we can keep this economy going forward on a sensible base, with adequate physical policies and monetary policies, that we will have jobs.

I don't think there is any doubt at all but what we will have jobs.

I don't think there is any doubt at all but what we will have jobs. There are great unmet needs in this country, tremendous needs, and all we need to have are what I call these peace dividends, namely, the resources that we can save from when the war is over to be put into the public sector in our urban ghettos, in our highway programs, in our schools, in our hospitals, in our training programs, there is such tremendous needs.. We don't need to look forward to any rise in unemployment.

What we ought to look forward to is a great opportunity to start building this nation anew.

QUESTION: In other words, you would maintain the tax? You would maintain the --

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, Mr. Vice President --

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

QUESTION: I don't happen to be a citizen of the great State of Texas. I am a citizen of the great state of Georgia. My name is Clarence Hubert Snipes.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: How do you do?

QUESTION: I have only one question to direct to you, sir. No one could debate that Kennedy beat Nixon strictly, strictly from the TV debates. I would -- you have shown great sincerity in your voice and mannerisms tonight. I am tremendously impressed and I am not trying to flatter you.

I would like to see, and I am sure that this crowd and everyone in America would like to see you and Mr. Nixon go head on. Now, how about it?

(Applause and shouts)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, my good friend, my good friend, this is a recommendation that I have made myself. I want you to know I am in shape.

(Laughter)

I am ready to go.

(Applause)

You know, since you have asked this question and been so kind in your remarks, I think you ought to recollect that in 1960 I gave Mr. Kennedy his spring training, you know.

(Laughter) and applause)

And I never had the slightest doubt as to how that election was going to come out because I knew that if I couldn't defeat Kennedy, I didn't think Mr. Nixon could and I feel the same way now.

(Applause)

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, your opposition last week stated that he could bring an early end to the war. Do you think that anyone one candidate could bring an honorable end any sooner than any other candidate?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think that the greatest contribution that the candidates can make at this particular time is to make it very clear to the government in North Vietnam, to the regime in Hanoi, that it is in their interest to proceed with substantive negotiations and to seek a political settlement in Paris between now and January

20th which the Communists are not going to be --- which the Communists wouldn't get in legitimate processes of negotiation between now and January 20th.

In other words, they ought to cut out the killing and settle down to the negotiating, because I believe that the greatest service that Mr. Nixon and myself can perform for this country and for the cause of peace is to have it unmistakably clear that we are not going to play politics with Vietnam, that we are going to ask the people of North Vietnam and their government to recognize that partisan debate in America does not result in any weakening of our determination either on the battlefield or at the conference table.

(Applause)

I know of no one that wants peace any more than the President of the United States. No one that wants it any more.

(Applause)

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, Mr. Humphrey --

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

QUESTION: What do you think of the proposal made by the Secretary General of the United Nations that in South Vietnam the war be ended by neutralizing that territory and possibly some adjoining territory like Austria was neutralized in Europe?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think it is a very sensible proposal.

(Applause)

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, I would like to ask you a question about Vietnam, too.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

QUESTION: We have been talking about the kind of honorable settlement we are going to get but the question is basically, it goes back to what right do we have in the first place to send American troops into a civil war in a foreign country on behalf of a militant --

(Boo, boo)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Wait a minute. Wait a minute.

QUESTION: On behalf --

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Gentlemen, gentlemen, please proceed,

sir.

QUESTION: On behalf of a military dictator that opposes Trong Dinh Sui, that cannot hold elections without disqualifying its best known opponent, whose vice president is an avowed admirer of Adolf Hitler, and which seems incapable or unwilling of carrying out the basic social and economic reforms that are necessary to win the support of its people?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir. Are you through, sir?

QUESTION: Yes, sir.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: May I just reflect for a moment on your rather extended question. First of all, first of all, South Vietnam has a treaty arrangement with the United States. We are a member of SEATO. We have what we call protocol arrangements which are treaty arrangements with South Vietnam.

Secondly, it is not a civil war. There are aspects of civil war, but the troops from North Vietnam are not indigenous to South Vietnam and they are not a part of a civil war. It is open aggression, fully recognized. For a long time North Vietnam denied it even had any troops in South Vietnam and one of the achievements of the conference at Paris is at long last they have admitted that they have troops in North Vietnam. Of course, it was ridiculous for them not to admit it.

I think we have some idea of the quality of the Government of North Vietnam when you find that the only communist nation outside of Eastern Europe that supported the Soviet Union's naked aggression in Czechoslovakia was the Government of North Vietnam. I think that gives you some indication of what is going on.

QUESTION: Sir, may I --

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Just a minute. You asked the question.

QUESTION: Can I respond?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: The Government of South Vietnam is an elected government. To be sure, not everybody participated but the Government of the United States didn't have full participation in its first election, either. The Capital of our country was moved 11 times. The Constitution of the United States was never written by elected officials. They were all appointed. I think it was a good job, don't misunderstand me.

(Applause)

Don't misunderstand me.

What is more, the Constitution of the United States permitted nobody to observe its activities. The doors were locked. And even Benjamin Franklin had two guards attached to him in case he had an extra drink of wine and became a little gregarious and a little talkative.

A 100 members were invited to our Constitutional Convention. 55 stayed. I said invited. None were elected. 55 came. 39 stayed. 38 signed. And it took them two years to get the Constitution and get it ratified.

Now, the Constituent Assembly of Vietnam with all of its limitations, and it has plenty, was an elected constituent assembly and I think it is maybe good to once again review it.

I remember when it was said they will never -- first of all, they said they will never have an election. Well, they had one. They destroyed that hope of someone. They said the Constituent Assembly would never complete its work, but it did.

The next one was that President Shu Thieu, who was the head of the Directors would never accept the Constitution, but he did.

And, then, the next one was that the Assembly would never meet. I mean that the elections for the National Assembly would never take place but they did and we sent observers from this country, governors, churchmen, Archbishop Lucey, one right from this state, to observe that election, and even the most severe critic came back and said as elections come and go, and we have had all kinds in the United States, now, we are not without sin ourselves.

(Laughter)

as elections come and go, as elections come and go, it was a pretty fair election, and over 80 per cent of the electorate voted, despite the efforts of the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese to terrorize the population, despite the fact that candidates for public office were killed, despite the fact that election officials were kidnapped. Nevertheless, there was an election, and a President and Vice President were elected and you say, but he didn't get a majority vote, well, 11 Presidents of the U.S. never got a majority vote, either. Some of them had rather slim pluralities. And, even in our time, the late John Kennedy did not get a majority vote. He had less than 50 per cent. John Adams had considerably less, and so



did others.

All I am saying is that if you want to compare elections, the one in South Vietnam is a 1000 per cent better than any they have had in North Vietnam, now, if you want to make comparisons.

(Applause)

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, --

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I don't want to have it understood that I think it was too good. I think it was better, may I say, than the area had had before, and the present government of South Vietnam has a much better base. The new Prime Minister is a man known for integrity, for courage, and for honesty. His name is Huong, and he is a good man. Over 20 province chiefs have been removed for corruption. 66 district chiefs have been removed for corruption. Over 200 officers of the military have been summarily court martialed for corruption.

Everything that happens in South Vietnam is before the public. I think we get very little information out of North Vietnam. I think, my fellow Americans, that this little country has 800,000 men under arms, which would be the equivalent of 16 million Americans based on population, that has been at war for almost 20 years, deserves better than the constant harassment and condemnation of an ally that has put 25,000 of our best sons dead in that country in that war.

(Applause)

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President --

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

QUESTION: Erickson of the University of Houston. I listened to McCarthy in Chicago, in Grant Park and I listened to Nixon last week in Herman Park and I have listened to you here tonight and I will say one thing that I think you have in common to McCarthy contrary to playing with words, you do like McCarthy, tell it straight and as far as I can see you have been telling the truth. That is a personal opinion.

(Applause)

My question is this, McCarthy indicated in the park that he would remain within the system but he was not going to work for either of the two candidates. Now, a lot of us are wondering what we are going to do for these four years, that we were for McCarthy before, but since McCarthy has removed himself, I would like to ask you, Mr. Vice President, why we should work for you.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Because I think I offer you the best alternative out of what you have available.

(Applause and shouts)

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President --

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

QUESTION: On behalf of the University of Houston, young democrats, the College young Democrats, the Harris County Young Democrats, the Pasadena Young Democrats and all of the young Democrats in this area, we come here tonight with a question that is in our mind representing not the hippies or the yippies on our campuses but rather the people who believe in America, the young people, that is, who still feel that they don't have an active voice, who still feel they need an active voice, and deserves an active voice, and we have to contend with these people.

Mr. Vice President, I ask you, how are you going to help us tell them that they do have an active voice in your campaign highlighting our

Young Democrats and working within the political system?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: The average age of the campaign committee that worked for me prior to the convention, of all those that were working in my behalf in our headquarters, was 26. I thought we had a lot of young people. We didn't get much attention of having young people but we had a lot of young people and we had thousands of young people with us at Chicago.

just as exactly as my friend, Senator McCarthy and Senator McGovern had them, and we had them here and we had them all across this country. Because they happened to be supporting my candidacy and they frequently don't carry certain kinds of signs, and I don't object to signs, as a matter of fact, I have carried them and a lot of them in my time, I am a very tolerant man about that, but because they do not engage in that, they seldom get that much attention.

Now, what is it that I can do that will deserve the attention and the help of the young people, and may I say that I want to deserve it. As I told many a delegation, I never expected anybody's support. I wanted to earn it. My political life has been characterized by an association with youth all of my life, the men who work in my office as Vice President are young men. I have been one of those that helped sponsor the student intern program in that government, to bring young people into Washington, D.C. I have been Chairman of the President's Youth Opportunity Council. I have helped through that program with little or no funds, to secure a million four hundred thousand jobs for needy young men and women across this country. I think that means something to young people.

I have been a teacher at a great university as well as a student. And, my students seem to find in that teacher an understanding mind and a sympathetic spirit. I want, if I am permitted to be President, and during the time that I seek this office, to have the counsel of young people. I want to listen to them. I do not brush their ideas aside. I am not at all sure that those of us who are in positions of responsibilities are right. We have to judge on the basis of what information we have but we must constantly seek new information to improve our judgment.

I want the idealism of young people in the political process. I want them in the caucuses of our party. I want young people to be entrusted with political leadership in our party. And it doesn't particularly disturb me that there may be what we call sort of a rebel fashion in a party that is very young because I have noted over the years that once they gain power, they get to acting somewhat like the rest of us.

(Laughter and applause)

Very much so.

I have not lost my sense of idealism, not one bit. I have called upon the young in this nation to help us in what I consider to be the great problems that confront us, to help us change the attitude of this country about people, to help us break down racism in this country, to help us help the deprived in this country. I have gone from college campus to college campus as a Vice President, over 70 of them, and 30 junior colleges and technical institutes, calling upon young people to take

this enthusiasm that is theirs and go on out and help some people. The politics of service, volunteer their time to a mental retardation institute. Volunteer their time to handicapped children. Volunteer their time to tutoring in the ghettoes. Volunteer their time for recreation play grounds attendance. Volunteer their lives to help young people across this country and older people.

I am the author of the Peace Corps when Mr. Nixon called it a fanciful idea, friends, and a scheme for draft dodgers. I am the author may I say, of the program called the Job Center. I fought for those things. My whole life has been and is characterized by an association with the needs of the young and I don't intend to give it up and if I am President of the United States, as I said earlier, young men and women in America will find not only a friend in the White House, they will find a companion, they will find a partner and somebody that they can work with and somebody they can be with.

(Applause)

QUESTION: Mr. President, please just one.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I have just about got to go home to bed here pretty --

QUESTION: Just one question.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I can't turn you down.

QUESTION: I know you can't. I am sorry I am a little over the average age of your --

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: You look fine to me. Sorry, Kuroki.

(Laughter)

5 QUESTION: I want to tell you how very wonderful you look to us tonight. You know, from all the reports we have had and the stories we have had, I didn't know whether I was going to come here and see a man with a hawk face or a devilings or what you were going to be, but you look just like the fine wonderful man I met in 1932 and for now I hope to be able to work this year.

Now, my question is, will you please ask the people who have been given slips of registration for work in the party in your campaign to give them to any lady in the audience that has a red, white and blue badge on.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I sure will. Bless your heart.

(Applause)

QUESTION: Mr. Vice President --

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Ladies and gentlemen, thank you very, very much. There comes a time even when the best of good times must come to an end. And you have given me a wonderful evening. I hope you have enjoyed it.

Thank you very much.

(Applause)

MAYOR WELCH: We did not intend for him to discuss us because we wanted to present the lovely lady, Mrs. Humphrey.

(Applause)

# # #



# Minnesota Historical Society

Copyright in this digital version belongs to the Minnesota Historical Society and its content may not be copied without the copyright holder's express written permission. Users may print, download, link to, or email content, however, for individual use.

To request permission for commercial or educational use, please contact the Minnesota Historical Society.



[www.mnhs.org](http://www.mnhs.org)