



news release

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VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY INVITES YOUTH TO PARTICIPATE IN HIS ADMINISTRATION

Buffalo, N. Y., September 17 -- Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey pledged today that a Humphrey Presidency would employ the ideas and talents of America's youth.

Speaking at Canisius College, the Vice President announced the formation of a National University Forum to guide him in the campaign and to channel ideas of students and teachers to the White House if he is elected.

He also proposed a Youth Talent Bank in the Civil Service Commission "to recruit dynamic young people for public service and to put them in positions where they can affect government action."

Vice President Humphrey urged young people to take a hand in "revitalizing our spirit and our institutions."

"At no time," he said, "have young people been more important, never have they had more impact, than in politics, 1968."

He reiterated his proposal for a reduction of the voting age from 21 to 18. He pointed out that he has been in favor of lowering the voting age for 20 years. "There is no substitute," he said, "for the right to participate in shaping the policies that affect you."

Another important step, said the Vice President, is making higher education "truly relevant to the great needs of our time by involving colleges and universities in the lives of local communities." He proposed the formation of a national program of "Students in Community Service" that would be supported by private and federal funds.

Such funds would be available to universities and colleges that grant academic credit to students for community service work; and for scholarships in academic and on-the-job training for careers in housing, urban renewal, public safety and other essential social areas.

The Vice President also said that young people should have a greater voice in university government. He deplored the "violent and lawless confrontations on our college campuses" but pointed out that one of the reasons for them is that "students do not get enough of the university action."

His text is attached.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION
CANISIUS COLLEGE
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
SEPTEMBER 17, 1968

Eight years remain until this nation celebrates its 200th birthday.

We began with a Declaration of Independence, signed by members of an extraordinarily youthful and precocious generation -- a generation which had tested the established order and found it wanting.

We will close our second century of national life with another precocious and youthful generation -- a generation that is insisting on an America that raises reality to match its ideals.

Since the early 1960's, with the freedom marches, with the Peace Corps, and with a growing student interest in public affairs, the United States has come to count very heavily on this younger generation for leadership.

I consider this one of the most encouraging developments of this century. At no time have young people been more important, never have they had more impact -- than in politics, 1968.

This wave of young Americans -- born with the Second World War, raised with the Korean War, and drafted into the Vietnam War -- is saying the world must find a way to peace -- a way to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons without further postponement ... and a way to strengthen the United Nations.

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

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

You call for a renewal of moral spirit in America and in her institutions. You demand a society that fosters more personal relations -- between the community and its residents, the government and its people, the university and its students.

And you want education that does more than confer credentials and status. You want education that asks hard questions ... and demands hard answers ... and that is concerned primarily with human values in society.

PAGE TWO

One of the most urgent questions in 1968 is this: Do we -- all of us, young and old -- have the skill, determination and patience to put the talents and ideas of your generation to work revitalizing our spirit and our institutions.

Or are we going to be run over by the advocates of yesterday and tie our hands before the challenges of tomorrow?

As for me, I know that our ability to involve young men and women in correcting old wrongs -- rebuilding old institutions ... redefining the moral purpose of this society -- will largely determine the future greatness of America.

In this spirit, I offer some suggestions for action.

First, we must reduce the voting age in national elections from 21 to 18. I've thought so -- and said so -- for 20 years.

There is no substitute for the right to participate in shaping the policies that affect you. And we have waited too long -- far too long -- in recognizing that 18-year-olds can bear the full weight of citizenship -- and carry it proudly.

Second, let's make higher education truly relevant to the great needs of our time by involving colleges and universities in the lives of local communities.

We cannot afford to wall off our classrooms and our students from the real action -- in our communities, in our institutions, in our society.

A relevant education ought to prepare each new generation to engage in life -- to confront social problems with sympathy and understanding. And it should enable us to move the action out of the streets and into government, industry, and social institutions where the work of revitalizing this country has to be done.

Service in the community should be included in the curriculum of a modern university -- for academic credit.

Why shouldn't the work part of the college work-study program be in the community -- in hospitals, slum schools, neighborhoods -- as well as the student union restaurant or the library?

Why shouldn't the great human and technical resources concentrated in our universities be made available to help combat poverty and discrimination in urban and rural America?

PAGE THREE

"Participate or perish" -- not "publish or perish" -- ought to be the academic maxim for the 1970's.

Today, I propose a national program of Students in Community Service -- supported by private resources and the federal government. These funds would be available to:

-- university and college programs that grant academic credit to students for community service work -- for example, tutoring underprivileged youngsters.

-- internships -- summer and year-long -- to encourage high school, college and graduate students to work with community leaders -- mayors, local and state officials, hospital administrators, legal aid officials, legislators, and others.

-- scholarships for academic plus on-the-job training to prepare more people for careers in essential social areas -- in housing, public health, urban renewal, recreation, public safety, planning and other specialties needed to rebuild our neighborhoods.

I believe our universities -- and the students and teachers in them -- have an opportunity to play as great a role in the reshaping of modern America as the Land Grant Colleges played in opening the West.

Third, the ideas of young people must have a direct pipeline at the highest levels of government.

I announce here today the formation of a National University Forum to guide me in my campaign and during my Presidency if I am elected. A Humphrey for President button isn't a prerequisite for participation -- we welcome all comers. We welcome all ideas -- and we recognize that responsible dissent is vital to democracy.

The Forum will include meetings on campuses throughout the nation, where students and teachers will be able to discuss the issues of this campaign and make their voices heard.

A Forum Executive Committee will meet with me and my staff regularly in the coming weeks to communicate the ideas they have received in their campus meetings.

In a Humphrey Presidency, the Forum will continue to be a major vehicle through which the academic community can express its judgments directly to the President.

PAGE FOUR

I have pledged that I will have an Open Presidency -- a Presidency where the public sets priorities and shapes policy, instead of reading about them in the newspapers -- where the White House Office itself will often move from Washington to other cities.

I pledge here today that the Humphrey Presidency will not only be receptive to the ideas of young people, but will also employ your talents.

I shall set up a Youth Talent Bank in the Civil Service Commission to recruit dynamic young people for public service and to put them in positions where they can affect government action.

The Youth Talent Bank would also make the names of young people available to state and local government across the country.

Finally, I want to express a personal opinion about something which is beyond the authority of a candidate or a President -- or anyone not privileged to sit on the Board of Trustees of a college or university.

If students are to have a fair say in their society, they must participate more fully in the government with which they are most directly connected -- university government.

Violent and lawless confrontations on our college campuses are totally inexcusable and detrimental to the cause of student participation in any part of our society.

But one of the important reasons for confrontations is that students do not get enough of the university action.

In essence, it comes down to this: we must scale our institutions and indeed our society, to man -- and not bend man to institutions. Teachers and students -- and, yes, Presidents and citizens -- must engage each other -- not across a generational or administrative battle lines, but in the common work of making this country all we want it to be -- and all it can be.

But none of this is going to happen unless you help make it so.

I am prepared to do my part.

Now let me hear from you.

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cc: EU Munzu
9-16

The National University Forum

(Press release to accompany
Canisius College remarks)

The National University Forum will serve as a channel of communication and ideas between the university community and Vice-President Hubert Humphrey.

1. The Forum is a composite of campus forums throughout the nation. All students and teachers interested in public policy will be able to discuss national issues and present ideas and positions. They will be invited to draft suggestions for the solution of urgent problems.
2. The ideas and proposals discussed in the campus forums will be forwarded to an Executive Committee of outstanding academics, which will evaluate them before presenting them to Vice-President Humphrey.
3. The campus forums are now being organized, and will continue through the election. If Vice-President Humphrey is elected President, the National University Forum and its branches on campuses across the nation will continue as a direct channel of ideas and suggestions from our universities--students, teachers, and administrators--to the President, himself.

The organizing committee is as follows:

R. Bruce Carroll	(Staff Director)	Middlebury College
David Adamany		Wesleyan University
W. Stewart Agras, M. D.		University of Vermont
Daniel Bell		Columbia University
Thomas R. Berner		Harvard University
Charles P. Cohen		Rutgers University
Richard N. Cooper		Yale University
Jack Dennis		University of Wisconsin
Eugene Eidenberg		University of Minnesota
Ralph M. Goldman		San Francisco State College
David Gottlieb		Penn State
William C. Harvard, Jr.		University of Massachusetts
John Haynes		University of Minnesota
Walter Heller		University of Minnesota
David N. Hubbard		Columbia University
Yale Kamisar		University of Michigan
Edward J. Kolodziej		University of Virginia
Mark D. Lefkowitz		Brooklyn College

~~Hubert H. Humphrey, Jr.~~

~~Hubert H. Humphrey, Jr.~~

Walter A. Marston, Jr.

Peter McKelvey

John W. Moscow

Nelson W. Polsby

Samuel D. Proctor

Lawrence I. Radway

Cathy Raphael

James A. Robinson

Rudolph Serkin

Dennis Sodomka

Martha Starsman

Terry Straub

George W. Taylor

Rene Devisme Williamson

Mark Wooldridge

University of Virginia

University of Michigan

University of Chicago

University of California (Berkeley)

University of Wisconsin

Dartmouth College

Wellesley College

Ohio State University

Curtis Institute

University of Illinois

University of Illinois

University of Indiana

University of Pennsylvania

Louisiana State University

University of Missouri

PANELISTS
Canisius College
Buffalo, New York
Tuesday, September 17, 1968

Mr. William C. Lyons, President, Student Government
Mr. Kenneth P. Service, Editor of "The Griffin"
Mr. David J. Goss, Junior Class Officer, Student Union Board Member
Miss Carol A. Rysz, President, Di Gamma Alpha, Yearbook member
Dr. Daniel P. Starr, Moderator of Panel

Combination of Lion + Eagle "Griffin"

Cong McCarthy says - When Student
"no Democracy then"

! Led Result to build Student Union !
Rather than Chapel

✓ Frank's

Running for
officer - senior
need job!

~~Very Reverend Father~~
~~Major~~ James Demake - President

Bill Lyons -
Presid. Student Govt

Cong. Chulski (Thaddeus)
Cong. McCarthy
(Richard)

INTRODUCTORY

Kenneth Service
Editor - "The Sheffer"

REMARKS

Mayor Sedita

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

Joe Crangle
John Burns
John Englund

QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

CANISIUS COLLEGE

BUFFALO, NEW YORK

SEPTEMBER 17, 1968

Michael Vogel

Eight years remain until this nation celebrates its 200th birthday.

We began with a Declaration of Independence, signed by members of an extraordinarily youthful and precocious generation -- a generation which had tested the established order and found it wanting.

Average age
36

We will close our second century of national life with another precocious and youthful generation -- a generation that is insisting on an America that raises reality to match its ideals.

Since the early 1960's, with the freedom marches, with the Peace Corps, and with a growing student interest in public affairs, the United States has come to count very heavily on this younger generation for leadership.

I consider this one of the most encouraging developments of this century. At no time have young people been more important, never have they had more impact -- than in politics, 1968. !

This wave of young Americans -- born with the Second World War, raised with the Korean War, and drafted into the Vietnam War -- is saying the world must find a way to peace -- a way to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons without further postponement ... and a way to strengthen the United Nations.

You see America with unprecedented wealth -- and ^{known} ~~say~~ wealth is not enough.

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

↳ You call for a renewal of moral spirit in America and in her institutions. ↳ You demand a society that fosters more personal relations -- between the community and its residents, the government and its people, the university and its students.

↳ And you want education that does more than confer credentials and status. ↳ You want education that asks hard questions ... and demands hard answers ... ^{*Education*} and that is concerned primarily with human values in society.

↳ One of the most urgent questions in 1968 is this: Do we -- all of us, young and old -- have the skill, determination and patience to put the talents and ideas of your generation to work revitalizing our spirit and our institutions.

↳ Or are we going to be run over by the advocates of yesterday and tie our hands before the challenges of tomorrow?

As for me, I know that our ability to involve young men and women in correcting old wrongs -- rebuilding old institutions ... redefining the moral purpose of this society -- will largely determine the future greatness of America.

In this spirit, I offer some suggestions for action.

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② Second, let's make higher education truly relevant to the great needs of our time by involving colleges and universities in the lives and action of local communities.

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↳ A relevant education ought to prepare each new generation to engage in life -- to confront social problems with sympathy and understanding. And it should enable us to move the action out of the streets and into government, industry, and social institutions where the work of revitalizing this country has to be done.

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These funds would be available to:

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privileged youngsters. *aiding the retarded & the handicapped*

↳ internships -- summer and year-long -- to encourage high school, college and graduate students to work with community leaders -- mayors, local and state officials, hospital administrators, legal aid officials, legislators, and others.

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I am prepared to do my part.

Now let me hear from you.

"EVEN THE MOST NOBLE PURPOSE CANNOT JUSTIFY DESTROYING THE UNIVERSITY AS A SAFE HAVEN FOR THE RUTHLESS EXAMINATION OF REALITIES."

KINGMAN BREWSTER, JR., PRESIDENT
OF YALE UNIVERSITY

REMARKS OF
HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE
TO BE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

- - -

St. Canisius College

Tuesday, September 17, 1968

Buffalo, New York

WARD & PAUL
OFFICIAL REPORTERS
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Washington, D. C. 20002

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REMARKS OF
HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE
TO BE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

-- --

St. Canisues College,
Buffalo, New York,
September 17, 1968.

FATHER DEMSKE: Ladies and gentlemen, it is indeed a pleasure to have this year's program of distinguished visitors on campus begin so auspiciously. It is not every day that the Vice President of the United States of America visits the campus of Canisues College.

Mr. Vice President, thank you for coming. We hear that you are also running for another elective office. In any case, I am sure that your visit here will be a tremendous educational experience for all of us. We hope to have other political giants visit our campus this fall, possibly of other political faiths, but we wish to give everyone equal time. Today, Mr. Vice President, Canisues College is yours.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I am very honored and very pleased to have with us today Congressman Dulski and Congressman McCarthy and, of course, the distinguished Mayor of the big City of Buffalo, Mayor Serdita.

Father Demske has been kind enough to tell me that some of the spokesmen of the other parties will have equal time here. For this, I am most grateful. It is one way that we have a chance to get some votes. I express my appreciation.

He indicated that I was applying for another job. I want to tell all of my fellow political scientists that elective office is a precarious pursuit, and the Office of Vice President is not only precarious, as I found out -- my seniority contract ran out. Not only that, the management quit.

(Applause.)

If my feet didn't hurt so much and if I were a better sign painter, I might join the demonstrations, but I decided, instead, that I would aspire to the highest office within the gift of the American people. Should that not succeed, Father Demske, I want you to know that my credentials as a teacher of political science -- I don't mean to crowd off Dr. Desmond -- but I might be available. I have always liked Buffalo. I would be more than happy to present whatever

1 credentials I have.

2 I was talking to Congressman McCarthy on the way
3 here, and I asked him for a little background about this
4 great college, Canisues College. Most of what he told me, I
5 can't tell you, but he did tell me this: He said, you say
6 there to Father Demske and to the faculty and others that
7 when he was a student -- I won't tell you how long ago that
8 was -- he said there was no democracy then. So things have
9 changed, I see.

10 He also went on to tell me that he led a revolt to
11 build a Student Union instead of a chapel. Right after that,
12 he was elected to Congress.

13 I come here today to visit with you for a few re-
14 marks on my part, and then to open this campaign gathering
15 to questions from the panel and from the floor. I have come
16 to talk to you about what I believe is the role of the stu-
17 dent generation in the American political scene and the
18 American society. I think we all recognize that in a very
19 few years -- in fact, eight years -- we shall be celebrating
20 the 200th Anniversary of this Republic. That 200th Anniver-
21 sary calls to our attention that the signers of the
22 Declaration of Independence were very young men. Their aver-
23 age age was 36. Thomas Jefferson, most famed and noted for
24 the Declaration of Independence, was 28.

25 We will close the second century of our national
life with another very gifted and precocious generation of
young people, a generation that I believe has been, has in-
sisted on matching our reality with our ideals. There has
been a great deal that has been happening in this generation.
The freedom marches of the 1960's, the Peace Corps, the
International Volunteer Service -- there has been a growing
student interest in public affairs, and there has been an
ever-increasing dependence upon young people in all forms of
public and private life. I consider this one of the most
encouraging developments of this century.

My public life was started with very young people.
They once called it the Humphrey Diaper Brigade -- men like
Secretary Freeman, the present Secretary of Agriculture;
Senator McCarthy; Congressman Fraser, and others were the
openers, so to speak, for a new generation, the politics of
the Midwest.

So the spirit of young men and women in politics
in this generation is not new. I think it is more vital, I
think it is every bit as much or more concerned, but it is
not new.

Now, this wave of young Americans of this time,
born during or shortly after World War II, raised in the
Korean War, drafted into the Vietnam War, is sane in plain
and unadulterated terms that the world must find a way to

1 peace, a way to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons
2 without further postponement, and a way to strengthen the
3 United Nations and its peacekeeping machinery. Every one of
4 these demands is a legitimate one, and every one of them is
5 relevant to reality, not only to ideals.

6 This generation sees an America of unprecedented
7 wealth, it knows that wealth is not enough, which is a sign,
8 I believe, of its moral fiber. It looks at a world of in-
9 genius machines, and it asks how these machines can better
10 serve people, rather than people being enslaved by the
11 machine.

12 This generation calls for a renewal of the moral
13 spirit of America in our institutions. Might I say that in
14 that call, acts of morality strengthen the call for the
15 spirit of morality. You demand a society that fosters more
16 personal relations between the community and its residents
17 -- in other words, participation is the word -- between the
18 government and its people, and between the university and
19 its students. And you want an education that does more than
20 confer credentials and statements. I think you want an
21 education that asks the hard and tough questions, and are
22 willing to take some of the hard and tough answers, an educa-
23 tion that is concerned primarily with human values.

24 I believe that part of the unrest that grips us
25 today is due to the fact that the individual finds himself
more and more a statistic in a computer rather than a per-
sonality in a living society. Bigness confronts the indivi-
dual, and the individual strikes out to gain an identity.

Now, one of the most urgent questions in 1968 is
this: Do we, young and old, have the skill, the determina-
tion, and the patience and the talents and the ideas, to
work a revitalization of our spirit and our institutions?

Or I can put it more directly: Do we, whatever
the generation, have the will and the perseverance to make
this one society, to really make citizenship in this country
meaningful for everybody?

Or are we somehow or other going to lose ourselves
in passions and emotions of the moment, filled with bitter-
ness and anger and hate and distrust, and tear down institu-
tions that can help and divide people that need help?

Or the question can be put, are we going to be run
over by the advocates of yesterday and tie our hands before
the challenges of tomorrow?

As for me, I don't think a man that seeks high
public office has much right to expect either support or
respect unless he can look to the tomorrows. The yesterdays
are gone. Their usefulness is for the lessons learned. To
dwell upon them is to lose the future.

I know that our ability or capacity to involve

1 young men and women in correcting old wrongs and revitaliz-
 2 ing and rebuilding old institutions, redefining the moral
 purpose of this society, will largely determine the future
 course of this Nation, and indeed, its greatness.

3 In this spirit, I offer today just a few and I
 4 hope constructive suggestions. After all, a campaign ought
 to be more than rhetoric, and it ought to be more than noise
 or contest. It should be an educational experience on the
 5 part of candidates and the public, communication and dialog,
 participation and contest.

6 I think first of all, therefore, we need to lay out
 some specifics as we talk about the young, as we talk about
 7 the old, or as we talk about any group. I offer these sug-
 gestions for action.

8 First, we must reduce the voting age in national
 elections.

9 (Applause.)

10 I have thought so and said so for twenty years, be-
 cause I thought this was vital to this country. I don't
 think there is any substitute for the right to participate in
 11 designing the policies that affect your lives.

12 Second, let's make our higher education truly
 relevant to the great needs of our time by involving the
 colleges and the universities in the lives and in the action
 13 of the local communities. This college is one that does. I
 happen to have learned that this college is at the very
 14 center of the Model Cities Project of this community. But a
 university and a college has no right any longer to be a
 15 meadow of meditation exclusively. Nor should it be some
 place to merely repose and retreat. It should be a center
 16 of action, with the best that a university has to offer in
 its faculty and its students working with the people, coming
 17 to grips with the problems that are relevant to our times.

18 We can't afford to wall off our classrooms and our
 students from the real action in communities or in our so-
 19 ciety, and a relevant education ought to prepare each gener-
 ation to engage in life, to confront social problems with
 20 sympathy and understanding, to understand that both in vic-
 tory and defeat, there are rewards, to understand that
 21 participation doesn't always mean victory. Sometimes it
 merely means that you try, and come back and try another
 time.

22 Such an education should enable us to move the
 action out of the streets and into government and industry
 23 and social institutions, where the work of revitalizing our
 society should go on.

24 Now, I say very candidly, as one who has spent
 much of his life in the classroom as an undergraduate, as a
 25 graduate, as an instructor, as an assistant professor and as

1 a professor, I believe that the university student in this
2 year 1968 and the years to come has a responsibility second
3 to none to set an example for peaceful participation,
4 orderly participation, responsible participation, participa-
5 tion with good manners, participation with tolerance, par-
6 ticipation with forbearance, participation in every aspect
7 of life where reason prevails, rather than noise or epithets
8 or slogans.

9 You don't get any place that way. The most illiter-
10 ate of men, of God's children, denied and deprived, can take
11 to the streets. The most prejudiced and the most dogmatic
12 and bigoted of men and women have been known to take their
13 case in chant, in anger, and in bitterness and in ugly dis-
14 play of ill temper and ill manners to the public.

15 But a university student, privileged, if I may say,
16 to have the whole realm of civilization at his fingertips in
17 the libraries and in music and the arts and the culture of a
18 great civilization, a university student that is the bene-
19 ficiary of the help of thousands of others who help pay the
20 bill of a great college, who help provide the faculty and
21 the literature and the facilities -- that university student
22 has a responsibility to the rest of the community second to
23 none.

24 He will never live long enough to repay his debt
25 to society. He is privileged out of the 200 million people
in this land today, to be one of less than 6.5 million in
universities and colleges, and only in recent years has that
figure become meaningful. And many are here because of a
generous government -- federal, state and local; many are in
universities because of a generous people -- taxpayers and
contributors. Therefore, my plea to the university today,
and I think this is as good a place as any to make it, is
not that you hush your tongue, not that you not challenge
the institutions of the time, not that you fail to show your
disdain and your feelings of disgust with some things that
take place; rather, that you do it in a way that commands
respect, because then and only then can you really influence
public opinion; then and only then can you really change
things.

You do not change the world in which you live by
acting as if somehow or other, your mind had been filled
with bigotry, intolerance, and hate. It comes only when you
exemplify the qualities of an educated man or woman, the
qualities of understanding, reason, tolerance and forbear-
ance, and insight, and the inquisitive mind; not the vin-
dictive tongue, not vituperation; but rather, inspiration.

I appeal to this younger generation as never be-
fore to turn away from those who would lead you to the
streets, to turn away from those who would lead you to

1 violence, to turn away from those who exemplify by their
2 conduct bad manners and disrespect, and to turn to those
3 who think, who question, who inquire, who exemplify the
4 greatest meaning of free speech and freedom of assembly.

5 I have heard the tongues of those who have said
6 that they will break up a meeting, that they will lie down
7 in the voting booths, that they will demand that the police
8 take them away. May I say that free speech is too precious
9 to have it abridged by government, a mob, or by harassment;
10 that freedom of assembly is too precious for a free society
11 to have it abridged or denied by government, a mob, or those
12 who engage in practice of violence.

13 The right to vote for a free society is too pre-
14 cious to have anybody interfere with it, directly or indi-
15 rectly.

16 Nobody can better tell this to this world today,
17 that is so troubled that at times, it seems to have lost its
18 way; nobody can tell it any better than a young, clean,
19 wholesome, brilliant, educated young man or woman. I appeal
20 to the universities or the colleges to make that clear.

21 (Applause.)

22 May I make a suggestion to the faculty, to the
23 Board of Regents or Trustees, and others responsible in any
24 college, that service, service to a community should be in-
25 cluded in the curriculum of a modern university, and for
academic credit. You will learn a whole lot more out of the
classroom, sometimes, than ever in it. Why shouldn't the
work part of the college work-study program be in the com-
munity where you are needed, desperately needed today -- in
hospitals, in centers for the mentally retarded, in centers
for the mentally handicapped, in the slum schools and the
neighborhoods of deprivation, as well as at the Student Union
or the restaurant or the library? In other words, put the
campus to work where the campus gets its sustenance, from
the people.

Why shouldn't the great human and technical re-
sources, concentrated in our universities, be made available
to help combat poverty and discrimination in urban and rural
America.

I can tell this student audience that we desperately
need today in New York State hundreds, thousands of talented,
gifted, compassionate, understanding young men and women in
institutions for the mentally ill, for the mentally retarded,
for the physically handicapped, to help our senior citizens
-- desperately. May I say that you will never do a greater
thing for peace than to help someone who is trying to live
a life of peace and decency, to help somebody gain in life.
What greater honor is there than to save a life?

There are many ways to kill a person -- the bullet,

1 the knife, the club. But there are other ways that are even
2 more cruel -- to be killed by not being wanted; to be shunted
3 aside; to be denied; to never have a job; to never know what
4 it was to have a home; to never know what it was to have an
5 education; to be the victim of intolerance, discrimination,
6 and prejudice. Slow death.

7 My fellow Americans, there are thousands of our
8 fellow citizens today who are walking death. We need to
9 bring life back to them. The way we can do it is not just
10 by government -- federal, state or local. We do it by in-
11 dividual service, volunteer service. I would like to see
12 this college, Canisues College, volunteer thousands of man-
13 hours of student life -- not to parade, not to picket, but
14 to go help somebody who needs your help and needs it
15 desperately, to help a child who needs tutorial work, to
16 help a senior citizen who needs just to visit with someone,
17 to help a crippled person to be able to become self-
18 sustaining, to help teach, to guide, to help in recreation,
19 to help in community service. I want the college to give
20 you credit on your diploma for this.

21 When I was a professor and teacher, they used to
22 say publish or perish. You have all heard that. That is
23 the way you sort of got your increment to your salary if you
24 published your articles in books. But I have a new standard
25 -- participate or perish at the university. That doesn't
deny you the right to publish. You indeed should, as a
faculty member or a graduate student, or an undergraduate.
But to participate, that should be the academic maxim for
the 1970's.

We need people today as never before. Today I
propose a national program of students and community service,
supported by private resources and the resources of the
federal government. These funds would be available to uni-
versity and college programs that grant academic credit to
students for community service work -- for example, tutoring,
as I mentioned today; internships, summer and year-long, to
encourage high schools, college and graduate students to
work with community leaders, to work with city hall, the
mayor's office, local and state officials, hospital adminis-
trators, legal aid officials, legislators, and others. The
scholarships for academic, on-the-job training to prepare
more people for careers in useful, essential social areas,
in housing, in public health, urban renewal, recreation,
public safety, planning and other specialties needed to re-
build our neighborhoods.

I believe that our universities and the students
and teachers in them have an opportunity as no others to
play a role in reshaping the modern urban America, just as
the great land-grant colleges of a hundred years ago helped

1 play a leading role in shaping and opening up the West. And
2 there is the idea, the fact that the ideas of young people
must have a direct pipeline to the highest levels of
government.

3 May I say that if I am elected President, I intend
4 to establish in the Office of the President an Office of
Youth Participation so that this contact between the young,
5 not only on the college campus but throughout all of the
structure of America, can be brought directly to the highest
6 councils of government -- the Cabinet, the President, the
Congress.

7 I announce here today the formation of a National
University Forum to guide me in my campaign and during my
8 Presidency if I am elected. A Humphrey for President button
isn't a prerequisite for participation. We welcome all
9 comers, we welcome all ideas. We recognize that responsible
dissent is vital to a free society and to a democracy.

10 The Forum will include meetings on campuses
throughout this Nation where students and teachers will be
11 able to discuss the issue in this campaign and make their
voices heard; a Forum Executive Committee will guide it and
12 will meet with me and my staff regularly in the coming weeks
to communicate the ideas they have received in their campus
meetings.

13 In a Humphrey Presidency, the Forum will continue
14 to be a major vehicle, with its contact in the White House,
through which the academic community can express its judgments
15 directly to the President.

16 I am not going to rely on the haphazardness of
trying to find time to see the academic leaders, students
17 and faculty. I want to make it a part of the structure.
And I have pledged that I will have an open Presidency, a
18 Presidency where the public sets priorities and shapes
policies, instead of reading about them in the newspapers;
19 where the White House office itself will move out of
Washington from time to time into other parts of this country.

20 I pledge here today that the Humphrey Presidency
will not only be receptive to the ideas of young people,
21 but will also employ their talents. I shall establish a
youth talent bank in the Civil Service Commission to recruit
dynamic young people for public service and to put them in
22 positions where they can go to work and test their ideas.

23 The youth talent bank will also make these names
available to local and state government as well.

24 Finally, I wish to express this personal opinion
of something which is beyond the authority of a candidate or
a President or anyone not privileged to sit on the board of
25 trustees of a college or a university. If students are to
have their fair say in their society, they must be able to

1 participate more fully in the government which they are most
2 directly connected with, university government. They must
3 have something to say.

(Applause.)

4 I say I think this is long overdue. But violent
5 and lawless confrontations on our college campuses are
6 despicable, totally inexcusable, and detrimental to the
7 cause of student participation in any part of our society.

8 I ask any fair-minded person, how does it look to
9 you or to anyone else to see the ugliness of a battle royal,
10 police and students and faculty, in an orgy, a melee, on
11 our university campus? It is bad enough to see it on any
12 street, in Chicago or elsewhere. It is worse to see it on
13 a campus, totally inexcusable.

14 As Kingman Brewster, Jr., President of Yale
15 University, was reported to have said this morning, as quoted
16 in The New York Times: "Even the most noble person cannot
17 justify destroying the university as a safe haven for the
18 ruthless examination of realities."

19 That is what a university is for, the free society,
20 the free mind, the free spirit, not the violent mind and the
21 violent spirit.

22 In essence, it comes down to this: We must shape
23 our institutions to man and not bend man to the institutions.
24 Students, teachers, principles, citizens, must engage each
25 other, not across generational and administrative lines but
26 in the common work of this country, all it wants to be and
27 all it can be. But none of this can happen, not a bit of
28 it, unless the idealism and the energy and the ability of
29 the young is properly channeled to constructive purpose.

30 I am prepared to help do my part, because I happen
31 to believe that youth is not so much a matter of age as it
32 is a matter of spirit. You are as young as your hopes and
33 as old as your fears. You are as young as your faith and as
34 old as your doubts.

35 I think that when you have hope and when you have
36 faith and when you have ideals, no matter what your chron-
37 ological age, you are a member of the younger generation.
38 When you are filled with hate and bitterness and fear and
39 doubt and suspicion, you are the walking dead, gone for all
40 useful purpose.

41 Now I turn myself over to this distinguished panel.
42 Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

(Question and Answer period.)

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Sept. 17th

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CASSIUS COLLEGE
Buffalo, New York

Questions and Answers

Panel Members

Mr. William C. Lyons
President, Student Government

Mr. Kenneth P. Service
Editor of The Griffin

Mr. David J. Goss
Junior Class Officer
Student Union Board Member

Miss Carol A. Rysz
President, Di Gamma Alpha

Mr. Daniel P. Starr
Buffalo, New York

- - -

Mr. Starr. To begin, from my left to right, Mr. William Lyons, Mr. Kenneth P. Service, Mr. David Goss, Miss Carol Rysz.

Mr. Goss. The theme of the 1968 Democratic Convention was "Promises Made... Promises Kept." I'd like to have a comment on that phrase in light of two 1964 promises -- those of peace and prosperity. Then, President Johnson declared: No American boys will ever take over the major fighting in a war which should be fought by Asians. Also, the 1964 Democratic Platform proclaimed: We will seek further tax reduction -- our goal is a balanced budget and our enviable record of price stability must be maintained. Four years later half a million American boys have taken over Asian burdens and we find both budget ceilings and taxes higher -- the income tax sur-charge in response to galloping inflation. How do you justify these promises of peace and prosperity that were apparently never kept?

Vice President Humphrey. Let me take them in order. First on prosperity side, we had 90 months of economic growth.

The national economic increase, adjusted for prices, adjusted for taxes, is 32 percent. In eight years, 32 percent under the Kennedy-Johnson and the Johnson-Humphrey period, as opposed to the situation under the Republicans. They had an increase in unemployment of two million. We have had a decrease of the same. We have had the lowest unemployment rate in 20 years. Our gross national product is approximately \$880 billion. There were three recessions

1 under the Republican Administrations of '53 to '61 that cost
2 the country approximately \$175 billion of lost income. The
3 whole sale price index from 1953 to '61 has gone up not one
4 percent; it was almost identical in its increase from 1961
5 to 1968. The whole sale price index went up 9.2 under the
6 Republicans and it has gone up 9.3 in the last eight years,
7 despite war in VietNam.

8 Taxes were reduced three times, my friend -- federal
9 taxes were reduced three times. Had the same tax rate been
10 in effect in 1968 that was in effect in 1964, we would have
11 had a balanced budget with a substantial surplus. The sur-
12 tax is a very modest increase in taxes, very, very modest,
13 a temporary one for one year. Even with that sur-tax, qwe
14 have far lower federal taxes today than we had four years ago.
15 So on that side, I think we have an extraordinary good record.

16 Now, let's take a look at the international side. There
17 is no doubt but what we are fully involved, deeply involved
18 in a tragic and costly struggle in Southeast Asia today. No
19 one could have foreseen that in 1964. There was no intention
20 on the part of anyone in the government to permit this sort
21 of development to take place. We had at that time, however,
22 approximately 25,000 -- about 25 to 30,000 -- I will put it in
23 between those figures -- of what we called special forces
24 in VietNam. They were in the special forces camps. We had
25 lost approximately 1,000 men by the fall of 1964. In 1965,
it was obvious that a major invasion and aggression from the
North was underway. The South Vietnam was on the verge of
being taken over and as far as its independence or sovereignty
was concerned, of being destroyed. It was the decision then
to send in air power to try to stem the tide and hopefully
to give some morale boost to the peoples of South Vietnam.
That proved not to be adequate.

I can only tell you that we felt it was necessary in
our national interest and in the interest of long term
stability in Southeast Asia to place the ground forces in
South Vietnam. We do not have a majority of the forces
there, I might say, however, even though we have a very
substantial amount -- 540,000, I think, is the approximate
number.

The South Vietnamese today have over 800,000 under arms.
On the basis of population, that would be equivalent to an
American army of 17 million men. They are really pushing
their manpower hard.

I believe that that army today is greatly improved.

I want to say here what I have said before: I look
to the time, and I hope it is not too far off, when with the
improvement of the army of South Vietnam, with its new
equipment and its better training and its combat effectiveness,

1 when that army is able to give defense for its own country,
2 we will be able to systematically have a withdrawal of
3 American forces. I believe that that can come and when I
4 become the President of the United States, I shall make that
5 one of my priority objectives -- not at the expense of South
6 Vietnamese independence, not at the expense of our troops,
7 but to calculate as carefully as possible and to call upon
8 the government of South Vietnam to take on more and more
9 of its own responsibilities for self-defense and to calcu-
10 late, as I said, what is the requirement of manpower.

11 I notice that the president of South Vietnam said some
12 weeks ago that he thought that sometime in 1959, there could
13 be some withdrawal of American forces. I think that the next
14 President of the United States must take that president at
15 his word, sit down with him, and see if that cannot be
16 negotiated or worked out so that we can begin to see some
17 light, begin to see this struggle be less and less an American
18 struggle and more and more the responsibility be taken over
19 by the forces of South Vietnam.

20 When that can happen, I can't safely predict. I have
21 some hopes and if we can't hope, then we are hopeless people.
22 But I think that hope is based upon some pretty good evidence,
23 the evidence that today, the Army of South Vietnam, since the
24 Tet offensive, has been fighting bravely and has done well and
25 has defeated the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese in every major
confrontation. So I do not think it is a false hope, but
that is the best answer I can give you.

1 Mr. Lyons. In view of the name calling -- Fearless Fos-
2 dick -- what's his name, Nixiecrats, Clear it with Strom,
3 how do you expect to gain the respect of the American people
4 if you are elected?

5 Vice President Humphrey. I think by my record of public
6 service. Why I said those things is quite evident. In the
7 first place, when a man says he thinks the most important
8 thing is to double the rate of convictions and then he
9 condemns the Vice President, myself, for wanting to double
10 the war on poverty, I think that man has lost his sense of
11 values. You are not going to make this a better America
12 just because you build more jails. What this country needs
13 are more decent neighborhoods, more educated people, better
14 homes. If we need more jails, we can build them, but that
15 ought not to be the highest objective of the presidency
16 of the United States.

17 (Applause)

18 Vice President Humphrey. I have addressed myself to the
19 subject of law and order. I happen to believe and I have
20 practiced what I speak as a mayor of a city, I happen to
21 believe that order in a community is essential to social
22 progress. But I do not believe that repression alone builds
23 a better society.

1 There is another side to that coin. That is to do away
2 with some of the inequities and the injustices which are breed-
3 ing grounds for trouble. I don't say that if you are poor, you
4 create trouble. To the contrary, sometimes, the poor create
5 the least amount of trouble. I have seen plenty of that
6 evidenced. But I want to say that it is a fact that more
7 crime is committed in the areas of poverty than any other
8 place; it is a fact that more poor commit more crimes, it
9 is a fact that more crimes are committed against the poor.
10 If Mr. Nixon can close his eyes to that, then he does not
11 have enough vision, in my book, to me at least, to be Presi-
12 dent of this country. That is why I have said what I have.

13 Miss Rysz. Mr. Humphrey, if the minority planning had
14 been accepted at the Democratic Convention, would you have
15 been able to stand on that plank?

16 Vice President Humphrey. I'll tell you, I figured
17 somebody might ask me that question. Let me make it clear
18 because I always have a few interpreters with me.

19 I supported the majority plank. What is in the majority
20 planning represents what I have been trying to say to this
21 country for a long, long time. I think the minority plank
22 waffles the issue a good deal. It is not nearly as precise
23 as some people think it was. For example, while it calls for
24 an unconditional end to all bombs in Vietnam, it does not say
25 when. It does not say immediately. Listen to what it says:

"Although the war in Vietnam is complex" -- that is
an understatement of the day -- "the steps toward peace can
be simply stated: First, an unconditional end of all
bombing of North Vietnam" -- I don't know when they expect
that. It did not say when.

" -- while continuing to provide" -- there was not a
period there, there was a comma -- "while continuing to pro-
vide in the South all necessary air support for American troops."

I want to tell you that is pretty clever language. It
was just clever enough, may I say, to almost confuse me.
Then it says: "We will then negotiate a mutual withdrawal."
Then it says that there should be a phased withdrawal.

Third, we will encourage our South Vietnamese allies
to negotiate a political regime which government is truly
representative. Then they seek to reduce American participa-
tion.

What does the majority planning say?

It says first of all, "We reject as unacceptable a
unilateral withdrawal" -- I have not found a candidate
for public office that has recommended unilateral withdrawal --
"of our forces which will allow that aggression and subversion
to succeed. We have never demanded and do not now unconditional
surrender by the Communists. We strongly support the

1 Paris talks and applaud the initiative of President Johnson
2 which brought North Vietnam to the peace table. We hope
3 that Hanoi will respond responsibly to this act of statesman-
4 ship. In the quest for peace, no solutions are free of risks,
5 but calculated risks are consistent with the responsibility
6 of a great nation to seek a peace of reconciliation.

7 That just gives the next President of the United States
8 an awful lot of authority. It says, Mr. President, take
9 whatever risk you think you ought to take to try to get peace,
10 whatever it may be; this platform supports you in that.

11 Then it says that recognizing that events in Vietnam
12 and negotiations in Paris may -- this says you can't be
13 certain what is going to happen -- we would support our
14 government in the following steps: stop all bombing of
15 North Vietnam. That is what the minority plank said,
16 in part, they said an unconditional, which I think is dead
17 wrong. I don't think you should have unconditional.

18 Then the majority plank says when this action will
19 not endanger the lives of our troops in the field.

20 What did the minority planning say? It says while
21 continuing to provide in the South all necessary air and
22 other support for American troops.

23 Now, I want to say I thought the minority plank has
24 gone just about as far as the majority on that one.

25 "This action should take into account the response
from Hanoi." What kind of response? It does not say, the
majority plank. As the President said in his March 31st
speech, any little thing. Then it goes on, troop withdrawal,
election of a post-war government, encourage all parties of
interest to agree that a choice of a government in South
Vietnam should be determined and safeguarded
by elections open to all and for political factions and
parties prepared to accept peaceful political processes. We
would favor the effective international presence to facilitate
the transition from war to peace and to assure the protection of
minorities against reprisal." I think the Majority Plank
is a charter, gives guidelines for a political settlement
in Vietnam. I think it gives the President great leeway.
That is why I support it. It provides the President, me and
the present President, every kind of support that is neces-
sary for whatever initiative he may wish to take, including
the cessation of bombing, when that cessation, as it says
here, would not endanger the lives of our troops in the
field. And the Minority did not want to endanger the
lives of our troops in the field.

The Majority says that we should take into account
response from Hanoi. Well, I don't think any president,
whoever he is, would fail to take into consideration some

1 response from Hanoi.

2 So I will tie it up. I need to do this for my friends.

3 I support the Majority Plank. I think the Minority
4 Plank is confusing. I think there are elements in it that
5 are somewhat similar to the Majority Plank and I think its
6 unconditional phrase is regrettable. The Majority Plank
7 did not put a time phase on it. The Majority Plank, I
8 think, offers a chart of hope to this country and gives the
9 next President of the United States the support he needs.

10 I said in my acceptance speech that the first priority
11 of the next President of the United States would be to secure
12 peace in Vietnam. Secondly, I said I would not feel bound
13 by the policies of the past to guide my actions on the ques-
14 tions of the future. And I said this relates particularly
15 to Vietnam. I am a free man. I will do what I think I
16 need to do if I become President of the United States to
17 end this war, to do it honorably, to do it in terms of our
18 national interest and in the security of Southeast Asia. But
19 I want to make it very, very clear that I have no control
20 over events between now and January 20. You have one Presi-
21 dent at a time. That is about all you need.

22 (Applause)

23 Vice President Humphrey. May I suggest that everybody
24 ought to read the platforms. If I had read the Minority
25 Plank before I was in Philadelphia, I would not have been
in so much trouble last week. I really was quite surprised
when I found both what it said and did not say.

16 Mr. Service. Mr. Vice President, you have mentioned
17 that you place great value on education in the universities.
18 Do you have any plans to revise the Selective Service System
19 to enable an individual to complete his education before
20 he has to fulfill his military commitment?

21 Vice President Humphrey. Yes, I have issued a paper
22 on this. First of all, the present Selective Service
23 System I think is built-in trouble. That is Problem Number
24 One.

25 I believe in the random selection system or the lottery
system. Once your number comes up, you've had it. ~~XXX~~
If it does not, you are free. I also believe you should
get a student -- give a student some choice as to whether
he wants to accept it when his number comes up or he wants
to go on for his first two years of college. I have written
a paper which I will be happy to give you which I think
represents the general view which was expressed in the
Commission that Burke Marshall headed. I thought Congress
should have adopted both of those provisions.

1 I will tell you what it is I intend to do. I intend
2 to see to the best of my ability as President that the
3 Selective Service Boards of this country are truly repre-
4 sentative of the country, so that nobody feels that because
5 of race or economic status, the Board is not fully repre-
6 sentative. These Selective Service Boards have a tremendous
7 task. They deserve our thanks, our pity and our sympathy,
8 rather than our chastisement.

9 I guess it has been quite well known that despite my
10 high regard, and I have a high regard, for General Hershey,
11 I would like to see as Selective Service Director a man of
12 about 36 years of age, that stands about six feet, two, that
13 has enough medals across here to frighten all the people
14 on the panel together, and come out here to the colleges
15 and universities and stand up like a man and lay it on the
16 line. I think that would do a lot of good.

17 Mr. Starr. I am sure I know all of our panelists have
18 more questions. I feel at this time, we should move on
19 to the next phase of our program. The Vice President will
20 entertain questions from the floor. I will ask those with
21 questions to approach one of the microphones in the aisle and
22 the Vice President will then answer the questions.

23 Question. Were you frightened by the demonstrations?

24 Vice President Humphrey. Not particularly. I thought
25 this was rather kind.

You need a new sign painter.

Question. Do demonstrations by students on particular
issues influence you in any way?

Vice President Humphrey. Yes. Let me just kind
of level with you. You know, demonstrations are not unique
to this generation. I participated in a few out at the
University of Minnesota. There is hardly anything you
fellows have tried to do that I have not had a whack at
myself along the line and I have some young ones that get
involved as well.

Yes, I think so. Let me say I think one of the most
heartening things that have happened in this country was
when the young people of our campuses decided to really take
up their moral conscience and do something about race rela-
tions in America. I think that those freedom rides that
the young people participated in were immensely helpful. I
know that in 1963, during the March on Washington, when the
late Dr. Martin Luther King addressed us from the Lincoln
Memorial, that the presence and the demonstrations of young
people had a very decided effect upon many people. Of
course, that was a demonstration in which there was old and
young, Catholic, Protestant, Jew, black and white.

1 I am sure also that the dialogue which has been set
2 up by young people on the war has had a very decided effect
in this country.

3 I am convinced, may I say to you, that the platform
4 which we have today, if you think there is any moderation
in it at all, is in some part, in some measure due to the
5 activity of young people and also to the leadership of men
like Senator McCarthy and Senator McGovern, and possibly to --
6 well may I say -- that you have the sympathetic understanding
of a member of the Administration that stands before you.
7 I have never been very interested in wars. I have tried
to spend my lifetime in works of peace. I have had a
8 little difficulty getting that message across to some of my
young friends. But it has been a good part of my life.

9 I do think that student activity, peaceful demonstra-
10 tions -- they don't always have to be so polite, but peaceful
demonstrations where you give the other fellow a right to
11 be heard. The right to be heard does not mean you have to
be taken seriously, but you ought to be heard. I think you
12 have given me that chance today and I want to thank those
who have come here who have disagreed with me. I think
you have treated me maybe a little bit better than I deserve,
maybe, but don't change.

13 Question. Mr. Humphrey, you have said that you are
against violence and brutality. Why, therefore- didn't you
14 speak out, use your influence in Chicago?

15 Vice President Humphrey. My dear lady, I was the first
man to ask the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Justice
Department to check into the situation in Chicago.

16 Secondly, I think that the facts are pretty clear now
17 and if you want to really study the facts, there is so much
blame on both sides -- over reaction on the part of some
18 police, who were under great harassment, who were obviously
taunted to a point of almost exhaustion, and the provocateurs
19 that you do not represent -- let's make it quite clear that
there is a hand full of people in this country who have made
it quite clear that they are out to cause trouble, that they
20 intend to upset universities, that they intend to lie down
in the street in front of voting booths -- these are not
21 people who believe in democracy. This is Hitler Youth,
this is storm trooper tactics. You ought not to have any-
thing to do with it.

22 You will notice the provocateurs never get bloodied.
23 They are like general staff officers, they are a half mile
behind. they get the young people to do their work.

24 I should not be advertising newspapers, because this
25 paper does not always treat me as kindly as I would like --
in fact, I would like to speak to a couple of their reporters

1 today. The Washington Post had a very good editorial on
2 the situation today. I think it was relatively balanced.
3 If you have time, you might want to look it over.

4 Question. Mr. Vice President, in view of Paul O'Dwyer's
5 refusal to support your candidacy, will you actively support
6 Mr. O'Dwyer in his Senatorial bid here in New York State?

7 Vice President Humphrey. I am a Democrat. By the way,
8 I am not just a Democrat. I look at alternatives all the
9 way down the line.

10 I said prior to the convention vote that if Senator
11 McGovern, or Senator McCarthy, two life-long friends of mine
12 if either one of them was nominated, even though we seemed
13 to disagree -- I thought people made it look like we dis-
14 agreed more than we did -- we seemed to disagree on an issue
15 called Vietnam -- I said I would be glad to support either
16 one of them in their candidacy, because I think either one
17 of them would have been immeasurably better as President than
18 Mr. Nixon or Mr. Wallace. So have no doubt about that.

19 Mr. O'Dwyer has not asked for my support. I don't want
20 to hurt him. If he thinks I can be of help to him, I will
21 be glad -o do it. He is a Democrat. He is on the Ticket.
22 I am a pretty good party man. I think party responsibility
23 is rather important. So I will kind of wait to hear from
24 Paul.

25 By the way, he was my most active supporter in New
York in 1960. Maybe this is a better sign for me now, because
you know I did not do well in 1960.

I want to wish Paul the best.

Question. Mr. Vice President, if you have thought for
20 years that the voting age should be lowered, why,
even while holding the second highest post in this nation,
have you brought about no results?

Vice President Humphrey. Well, my good friend, are you
in government courses?

Question. No, I am not.

Vice President Humphrey. Do you take a course in
government?

Question. No, I do not.

Vice President Humphrey. You should enroll. Then you
will find out. You will find out what limited authority
the Vice President has.

Also, you ought to remember that it takes a two-thirds
vote in the U.S. Senate and the Congress to get a

1 constitutional amendment. You have to have a constitutional
2 amendment.

3 Now, I proposed that in 1950 in the Senate, with
4 William Langer as my co-sponsor. I was for it when I was mayor
5 of my city. I was for Medicare for 16 years before it became
6 law and was its author.

7 You don't get things in a hurry. That is one thing some
8 people have to learn. I fought hard for the right to vote
9 at age 19. Now, I see at long last the American Bar Asso-
10 ciation supports it. They did not support it when I first
11 was for it. They supported the direct election of presi-
12 dents. I introduced legislation for that, but I did not get
13 a majority in the Congress.

14 What we have to do, what I have to do is what you have
15 to do -- push for it.

16 Now, the President of the United States did recom-
17 mend voting at age 18 to the Congress. President Johnson
18 recommended that. I whispered in his ear one day that it was
19 a good idea.

20 (Applause)

21 Vice President Humphrey. I feel he was going to do it
22 anyway, because I whispered some other things in his ear
23 and he did not respond.

24 In all honesty, we have tried and we have to keep at it.
25 I think you should keep at it. I think that is one of the
things we should get our young people dedicated to. Some
of the veterans organizations have come out for age 18
voting now. Five years ago, ten years ago, they were opposed
to it. But it takes perseverance.

I have not faltered, my friend. I was for it at I
believe about the time you were born and I will still be for
it when I am looking for Geritol.

. Question. Mr. Humphrey, there is considerable evidence
that the United States should not win the Vietnam war, that
the government we are supporting there is corrupt, un-
representative, would not last more than a few weeks without
massive American support. There seem to be Buddhist elements,
Viet Cong, who are the sole Vietnamese in that country
who are for a country that will be Vietnam only. This is
why you have been booed. This is why the radicals of Ameri-
ca can't stand you, because you don't look into that situa-
tion and say this is wrong, that these people need a better
government, America is not going to take them over, America
is not going to push them around, we are going to let
them have what they want and we are going to pull out our
Green Berets from Guatamala and let those people be free,
that we are going to start working for a free government in
Bolivia, that we are going to --

1 Vice President Humphrey. What was your question?

2 Question. Why will you not repudiate these immoral
3 policies?

4 Vice President Humphrey. Because you are dead wrong.

5 (Applause)

6 Vice President Humphrey. My young friend, look, there
7 are no absolutes in this world. None of us is infallible.
8 Surely there is plenty of reason to know that governments,
9 not only in Southeast Asia, are corrupt. They even occasion-
10 ally get around here. It does smell once in a while around
11 the United States. I don't want to get too direct.

12 Let's just take a look. This government in South
13 Vietnam, while it has lots of shortcomings, this government
14 was an elected government.

15 Question. May I speak to that, please?

16 Vice President Humphrey. Just a minute. Equal time.

17 It is an elected government. That assembly that wrote
18 that constitution was an elected assembly. The national
19 assembly that is in session now, like our Congress, is an
20 elected assembly. To be sure, it does not have a broad base,
21 but it has a pretty good base. Eleven presidents of the
22 United States were elected by minority votes, one of them by
23 37 percent. Even the late beloved John Kennedy did not
24 get 50 percent. We have had many instances in this
25 country in which we have been unable to produce more than a
plurality.

During the War between the States, despite the fact that
Abraham Lincoln said that the Union was insoluble, the Con-
federates did not vote.

Now, there are plenty of reasons to be critical of the
government of South Vietnam, and as long as we are going
to cast our blame, I think you might want to ask what
about that elected government in North Vietnam? The Viet
Cong is a terrorist operation, and you know it and I know it.

Surely they are South Vietnamese. So what? A terrorist
organization can be a terrorist organization despite its
nationality or its identity. There is not a shadow of a
doubt that North Vietnam is an aggressor and has troops
in South Vietnam and had them before we were there. There
is not any doubt that they are in Thailand today. There
is not any doubt that they are in Laos today, despite
the 1958 agreement about Laos.

Let's quit kidding each other. This was is a complex
dirty business. We would like to get a negotiated settlement.

1 Your government is prepared to settle that war this after-
2 noon. Your government is prepared for a cease fire today.
3 I speak for this government from this platform. We are
4 prepared for a cease fire now, including all hostilities
5 stopped.

6 Is North Vietnam? The answer is no. Are they willing
7 to cease fire so we can negotiate? The answer is no.

8 My friend, the roadblock to peace is not in Washington,
9 the roadblock to peace, regrettably, is in other parts of the
10 world, one of ~~main~~ them being Hanoi.

11 When you start going off on Bolivia, on Guatamala,
12 and so forth, may I suggest that emotion is not a substitute
13 for fact.

14 An ambassador was shot in cold blood in Guatamala just
15 a couple of weeks ago. The United States of America is not
16 trying to run Guatamala, the United States is not trying to
17 run Bolivia. The American Government has done more for
18 this world at a greater cost of human blood and treasurer
19 than has ever been known.

20 (Applause)

21 Question. Without getting emotional, I would like to
22 speak to two points. First of all, do you deny that there
23 are Green Berets in Guatamala?

24 Secondly, in the election, do you think it was a fair
25 election? No one who would advocate peace, no one who
26 advocated a coalition government, was permitted on the ballot
27 in South Vietnam. If you take the percent of those adults
28 in the country who voted for Thieu, it was only 20 percent.
29 I think he got about 32 percent of the election, but only
30 about 20 percent of the people.

31 No one -- even the guy who was the least little bit
32 for peace, he is in jail. That is what we are working for.
33 That is why U Thant of the United Nations said the United
34 States is working against freedom in South Vietnam.

35 Vice President Humphrey. First of all, may I say that
36 I think the Government of South Vietnam has made a tragic
37 mistake in putting Mr. Thieu in jail. I think that was
38 most unfortunate, regrettable. I hope they release him. They
39 should. It is one of those acts that cannot be condoned or
40 in any way supported. That is number one.

41 Number two, all persons were permitted to vote in that
42 election that were willing to accept the peaceful processes
43 and peaceful results save the Communists. We had a group
44 of people who went over there to examine that election
45 and some of them were reporters. They have a way of finding

1 out what is wrong. They are experts at that. Let me tell
 2 you that the report back to the United States was that that
 3 was a pretty good election; not a perfect election. They
 4 have not had many elections. In some places, they have
 5 never had an election in a thousand years. But there
 were governors, mayors, congressman, Republicans, priests,
 Democrats, Rabbis that went there as a team to observe that
 election. And their report to this country was a pretty
 good report.

6 Men like John Knight of the Knight Publications, who is
 7 a severe critic of the United States on Vietnam. Men like
 Archbishop Lucey of San Antonio. Men like Theodore Roosevelt
 McKellden. There were others that went on to see that elec-
 tion. It was a pretty good one.

8 Let me tell you about some of our elections. When we
 9 got our Constitution, nobody was elected to go to it. One
 10 hundred men were invited, none of them elected. Fifty-five
 came. Thirty-nine stayed, 38 signed, and they never had a
 reporter in the House. And the Constitution of Vietnam was
 under constant surveillance.

11 Secondly, the Capitol of the United States had been
 12 moved 11 times between 1776 and 1790. We did not have such
 stability, either.

13 Third, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ George Washington had a little
 14 trouble even getting supplies and he had plenty of corruption.

15 Fourth, the chief of staff of the U.S. Army under
 John Adams was in the pay of the Spanish Emporer.

16 Fifth, cessation, in the 1800's was a pattern in the New
 England States. Finally, civil war broke out in the 1860's.

17 We have not always been so sweet and lovely and we had
 18 a pretty much unified society with an Anglo Saxon background.

19 These people have been the victims of French Colonialism,
 20 27 years of war, Viet Cong terrorism, and open aggression.
 The amazing thing is they have a government and the fact is
 they have a pretty good one now.

21 They have brought in a new man, Mr. Huang. They are
 22 bringing back big Min the General, they are broadening
 the base of this government, they have 800,000 men in the
 23 Armed Forces, they have already prosecuted 66 district
 leaders, 26 province chiefs, 400 officers of the military,
 they are beginning to do something.

24 May I suggest that you put the same scrutiny on that
 25 fellow called Ho Chin Min and his regime. I believe that it
 is about time that people who believe in democracy start to
 have some equal justice..

1 Question. Why did you not speak on the non-proliferation
2 treaty now before Congress especially in view of the Russian
intervention in Czechoslovakia?

3 Vice President Humphrey. First of all, the Russian
4 intervention in Czechoslovakia is inexcusable. It is an
open innovation. It is a violation of all the sensitivities
5 of humanity. That is number one. Secondly, what is its
6 relationship to the nonproliferation treaty, the treaty
to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons? I think none,
except possibly to remind us of the dangerous world in
7 which we live. The non proliferation treaty is designed
to prevent other nations that do not have nuclear weapons from getting
8 them, because the more nations with nuclear weapons, the greater the
9 danger, the greater the possibility of nuclear confrontation. Have
you ever thought what it would be like if there were nuclear weapons
in the middle east today? Have you thought what it would be like if
there were nuclear ~~weapons~~ weapons spread from Southeast Asia
and India and Pakistan, that area.

10 What this treaty is for is to try to build a protective system
to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons technology and the placement
11 of nuclear weapons around the world. I think this is in our national
interest. We have all the nuclear weapons that we will need. There
12 is nothing in this treaty that denies us from making more if you want
more. I can tell you as a member of the National Security Council,
13 you have enough to kill everybody. You can do it twice in case some-
body crawls out from under a rock.

14 It is a tragic thing to even talk about. The Soviet Union
has enough nuclear weapons to ~~ob~~ obliterate this country. There
15 isn't any lack of nuclear weapons. What we need is to prevent the
spread of that technology and then to cut back on the arms race
16 between the super powers and all of us.

17 I take sharp issue with Mr. Nixon who on the one hand says he
favors the treaty, but on the other hand says not now. Now is the
18 time, when the tensions in the world are rising, when 80 nations have
already signed that treaty, when we were the people who proposed it,
when we know that it is in our national interest, when we know that
19 it has no relationship at all to what happened in Czechslovakia. It
relates only to whether or not we are going to have a more dangerous
world in which there are more nuclear weapons. I think the time
20 to ratify it is now and I call upon Mr. Nixon to quit trying to avoid
the issue. He says he is for it but not now. Well, I am for it and
21 I am for it now. I think it is good for this nation, I think it protects
our security and I think it is good for the cause of peace throughout
22 the world. To avoid it is unpardonable. We ought to do something
about it.

23 I want to thank friend and foe alike. You sure gave me a workout.
24 I have enjoyed every minute of it.
25

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TRANSCRIPT OF VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY'S SPEECHES

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BUFFALO, NEW YORK

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September 17, 1968

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at

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CANISIUS COLLEGE

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STATLER HILTON HOTEL

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1 MR. MODERATOR: It is indeed a pleasure to have this
2 year's program of distinguished visitors on campus begin so
3 auspiciously. It is not everyday that the Vice President
4 of the United States of America visits on campus. Mr. Vice
5 President, thank you for coming. We hear that you are also
6 running for another office. In any case, I am sure that
7 your visit will be of a tremendous educational experience
8 for all of us. We hope you will have other political giants
9 visit our campus and possibly of every other political faith,
10 so as to give everyone equal time. But, today, Mr. Vice
11 President, Canisius College is yours.

12 Now, before the Vice President
13 speaks, let me introduce one of the most distinguished
14 alumni of our college, Mr. Charles Desmond, Class of 1917,
15 Chairman of the Canisius College Board, Member of our Board
16 of Political Science Faculty and former Appeals Court Judge.
17 Judge Desmond is the man under whose sponsorship the Vice
18 President is visiting us today.

19
20 JUDGE DESMOND: Mr. Vice President, I take great
21 pride in being part of these exercises and I will recip-
22 rocate by being very brief. Mr. Vice President, you are
23 welcomed today by a little city college, a college which

1 for almost a hundred years has seen pass through its doors,
2 many sons and grandsons. Now, the daughters, too, of the
3 immigrants who came here to the Niagara Frontier, the cross
4 roads of empires, to build a great community here, when
5 your ancestors, Sir, were striking out a little more distant.
6 It is appropriate that the Vice President begins his campaign
7 in New York State, with a visit to this academic center,
8 since a few have made it known he has been at several times,
9 a professor at two great universities and a professor in
10 another college in the midwest. Appropriate, too, at this
11 time, to both Vice President Humphrey and Senator Muskie
12 who has known Buffalo connections, and I am sure that this
13 is the first time in the history of our Republic that the
14 two people have had a mass meeting - and both from Phi Beta
15 Capa.

16
17 MR. MODERATOR: Now, I shall introduce Mr. Michael
18 Vogel, the Class of 1969 Editor and Chief of the College
19 Year Book, who will introduce to you the Vice President
20 of the United States.

21
22 MR. VOGEL: I can't help but notice the opposing
23 array of placards we have today. It has been toward an

1 increased youth involvement, an involvement which remains
2 a catch word of seeing our own student body taking a far
3 more active role in both national and local politics.

4 Today, we have an opportunity to
5 hear one of the candidates from the office of the Vice
6 President. We are both pleased and honored to have this
7 opportunity, coming as it does, at the beginning of the
8 national campaign. The office of the Vice President is a
9 particularly difficult one with a large share of responsi-
10 bility. This office has enabled Mr. Humphrey to (inaudible)
11 the Presidency.

12 I consider it, both an honor and a
13 privilege, to be able to introduce to you the Vice President
14 of the United States of America, as a democratic nominee
15 to the Office of the President - the Honorable Hubert H.
16 Humphrey.

17
18 MR. VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you for your introduction,
19 Judge Desmond. I see that you have a number of students
20 here. I noticed how generously they applauded you. It was
21 good and all this helps ease the marking situation around
22 examination time.

23 I am very honored and very pleased,

1 to have with us today, Congressman Dulski and Congressman
2 McCarthy and the distinguished Mayor of the City of Buffalo,
3 Mayor Sedita. I am very pleased, also, to see the grass
4 roots dissenters that are here. Father Demske has been
5 kind enough to tell me that some of the spokesmen of the
6 other parties will have equal time here. Of this, I am
7 most grateful, in one way, that we have a chance to get
8 some votes - and I want to show my appreciation. He
9 indicated that I was applying for another job. I want to
10 tell all of my fellow political scientists that an elective
11 office is a precarious pursuit - and the Vice President is
12 rather precarious and dangerous, as you found out.

13 My seniority contract ran out and
14 not only that - the management quit. If my feet didn't
15 hurt so much and I were a better sign reader, I might join
16 the demonstrators, but I decided that I would aspire to
17 the highest office within the gift of the American people
18 and should that not succeed -- Father Demske, I want you
19 to know that my credentials as a teacher of political science
20 are still in order - I might be available. I have always
21 liked Buffalo and I would be more than happy to present
22 whatever credentials I might have.

23 I was talking to Congressman Dulski

1 on the way, and I asked him for a little background about
2 this great college, Canisius College. Most of what he told
3 me, I can't tell you, but he did tell me this, "you say
4 this to Father Demske and to the faculty and others, that
5 when he was a student" - I won't tell you how long ago he
6 said it was - he said, "there was no democracy then" - so,
7 things have changed, I see. And he also went on to tell
8 me that he led a revolt to build a student union instead of
9 a chapel. Right after that, he was elected to Congress.

10 I come here today to visit with
11 you for a few minutes on my part, and then, to open this
12 gathering to questions from the panel and from the floor.
13 I come to talk to you on what I believe is the role of the
14 student generation in the American political scene and in
15 the American society. I think we all recognize that within
16 a very few years, in fact, eight years, we will be cele-
17 brating the 200th anniversary of this Republic, that calls
18 for (inaudible) with very young men. Their average age
19 was thirty-six. Thomas Jefferson, most famed and noted
20 for the Declaration of Independence was twenty-eight.

21 We will close the second century
22 of our national life with another gifted and precocious
23 generation of young people. A generation, that I believe,

1 has insisted on matching our reality with our ideals. There
2 has been a great deal happening in this generation, with
3 the Freedom Marches of the 1960', the Peace Corps, The
4 International Volunteer Services, a growing student interest
5 in public affairs and there has been an ever increasing
6 interest of young people in all forms of public life. I
7 consider this one of the most encouraging developments of
8 the century.

9 My public life started with very
10 young people -- they once called it the Humphrey Diaper
11 Brigade. Men like Secretary Freeman, the Secretary of
12 Agriculture, Senator McCarthy, Congressman Fraser and myself,
13 and others, were the openers, so to speak, for a new
14 generation of politics in the midwest. So, the spirit of
15 young men and women in American politics in this generation
16 is not new. I think it is more vital. I think it is every
17 bit as much - or more concerned, but it is not new.

18 Now, this wave of young Americans,
19 at this time, born during - or towards the -- shortly after
20 World War 2, raised with the Korean War and drafted into
21 the Vietnam War, is saying in plain and unadulterated terms
22 that the world must find a way to peace -- a way to prevent
23 the further spread of nuclear weapons, without further

postponement and a way to strengthen the United Nations and its peace-keeping machine.

And every one of these demands is a lengthy one and every one relative to reality, not only to ideals. This generation sees an America of unprecedented wealth, and yet, knows that wealth is not enough - which is a sign, I believe, of its moral fiber. It looks at a world of ingenious machines and it asks how these machines can better serve people, rather than people being enslaved by the machine. This generation calls for a renewal of the moral spirit of America in our institutions. May I say that in that call, asks of moral strength than the call for the spirit of morality.

You demand a society that fosters more personal relations between the community and its residents. In other words, participation is the word, between the government and its people and between the universities and its students. And you want an education that does more than confer credentials and status. You want an education that asks the hard and tough questions and is willing to take the tough and hardened answers. And education that is concerned more with human values.

I think most of the unrest that

1 grips us today is due to the fact that the individual finds
2 himself more and more a statistic in a computer, rather than
3 a personality. In a living society, bigness confronts the
4 individual and the individual strikes out to gain an identity.

5 Now, one of the most urgent questions
6 of 1968 is this -- do we, young and old, have the skill,
7 the determination and the patience and the talents and the
8 ideas, to work a revitalization of our spirits and our
9 institutions. But I can put it more directly -- do we,
10 whatever the generation, have the will and the perseverance
11 to make this one society - to really make citizenship in
12 this community meaningful for everybody -- or are we,
13 somehow or another, going to show ourselves in partiality
14 and emotions of the moment, filled with bitterness and
15 anger and hate and distrust, tear down institutions that
16 can help and divide people that need help -- or the question
17 can be put -- are we going to run over the advocates of
18 yesterday - to be run over by the advocates of yesterday,
19 and tie our hands before the challenges of tomorrow.

20 As for me, I don't think a man
21 that seeks high public office has much right to expect
22 either support or respect, unless he can look to the
23 tomorrows. The yesterdays are gone - their usefulness is

1 from the lessons learned - to dwell upon them is to lose
2 the future. I know that our ability or capacity to involve
3 young men and women in correcting old wrongs and revital-
4 izing and rebuilding old institutions, redefining the moral
5 purpose of this society will largely determine the future
6 course of this nation - and indeed, its greatness.

7 In this spirit I offer today, just
8 a few suggestions that I hope are constructive - it ought
9 to be even more - it should be an educational experience
10 on the part of Candidates and the public, communication
11 and dialogue, participation and contest. I think, first
12 of all, therefore, we need to lay out some specifics. If
13 we talk about the young or if we talk about the old, or any
14 group, I offer these suggestions for action.

15 First of all, we must reduce the
16 voting age in national elections. I've thought so - and said
17 so - for twenty years, because I thought this was vital in
18 this Country. I don't think there is any substitute for
19 the right to participate in designing the policies that
20 affect your lives.

21 Second, let's make our higher
22 education truly relevant to the great need for our time,
23 by involving the colleges and the universities in the lives

1 and in the action of the local communities -- and this
2 college is one that does. I happen to have learned that
3 this college is at the very center of the Model Cities, a
4 precinct here in this community -- but a university and a
5 college has no right any longer, to be a model of education
6 excluding -- nor should it be someplace to merely repose
7 and retreat -- it should be a center of action with the
8 best that a university has to offer, with its faculty and
9 its students working with the people, coming to grip with
10 the problems that are relative to our times. We can't
11 afford to wall off our classrooms and our students from
12 the real action in our communities and in our society. A
13 relative education ought to prepare each generation to engage
14 in life, to confront social problems with sympathy and
15 understanding, to understand that both in victory and defeat
16 there are awards. Understand that participation doesn't
17 always mean victory - sometimes it merely means that you
18 try and fail, but come back and try another time. And
19 such an education should enable us to move the action out
20 of the streets and into government and industry and social
21 institutions where the work of revitalizing our society
22 should go on.

23 Now, I say, very candidly, as one

1 who has spent much of his life in the classroom as an under-
2 graduate, graduate, instructor and assistant professor and
3 professor, that the university student of this year, 1968,
4 and the years to come, has a responsibility second to none,
5 to set an example for peaceful participation, orderly
6 participation, responsible participation - participation
7 with good manners, with tolerance, with forbearance and
8 participation in every aspect of life, where reason prevails,
9 rather than noise or epitaphs, or slogans. You don't get
10 anyplace that way. The most illiterate of men of God's
11 children, denied and deprived, can take to the streets.
12 The most pestilent and most augmented and bigoted of men
13 and women have been known to take their case and changed -
14 in anger and in bitterness - in an ugly display of ill
15 temper and ill manners to the public, but a university
16 student, privileged - if I must say - to have the whole
17 realm of civilization at his fingertips, in its libraries
18 and museums and arts and cults of civilization -- a un-
19 iversity student who is the beneficiary of the help of
20 thousands of others wh help pay the bill of a great college,
21 who help provide the faculty in the lights and facilities
22 -- that university student who responded to the rest of
23 the community - second to none - he will never live long

1 enough to repay his debt to society. He is privileged. Out
2 of the two hundred million people in this land today, less
3 than six and a half million are in universities and colleges
4 -- and only in recent years has that figure become meaning-
5 ful. Many are here because of a generous government -
6 Federal, State and Local. Many are in universities because
7 of a generous people - tax payers and contributors.

8 Therefore, my plea to the university
9 today - and I think this is as good a place as any to give
10 it - is not that you hush your tongue, not that you challenge
11 the institution of the time, not that you fail to show your
12 disdain and your feelings of disgust with some things that
13 take place -- rather that you do it in a way that commands
14 respect, because then and only then, can you really influence
15 public opinion. Then and only then, can you really change
16 things. You do not change the world in which you live by
17 acting as if, somehow or another, your mind has been filled
18 with bigotry and intolerance and hate. It comes only when
19 you exemplify the qualities of an educated man and woman,
20 to the qualities of understanding and reason and tolerance
21 and forbearance -- not the vindictive tongue, not by
22 trepidation, rather, inspiration.

23 I appeal to this younger generation,

1 as never before, to turn away from those who would lead you
2 to violence and to turn away from those who would exemplify
3 by their manner and who think and who question, who inquire,
4 who exemplify the greatest meaning of free speech and
5 freedom of assembly - have said they will break up a meeting
6 - that they will lie down in a voting booth, that they will
7 demand that the police take them away. May I say that free
8 speech is too precious to have it abridged by government,
9 a mob or harassment. The freedom of assembly is too precious
10 to a free society, to have it abridged by government, a mob,
11 or those who engage in practices of violence. And the
12 right to vote for a free society is too precious to have
13 anybody interfere with it, directly or indirectly -- and
14 nobody can better say this to this world today, that is so
15 troubled that time seems to have lost its way. Nobody can
16 tell it any better than a young clean, wholesome, brilliant,
17 well educated young man and woman - - and I appeal to the
18 universities and colleges to make that clear.

19 May I make a suggestion to the
20 faculty and to the Board of Regents or Trustees, that are
21 responsible to any college service - service to a community
22 should be included in the curriculum of a modern university
23 -- and you will hear a lot more out of the classrooms,

1 sometimes, than in it.

2 Why shouldn't the working student's
3 practice be in the community where you are needed - desper-
4 ately needed - in hospitals and mental institutions, helping
5 the mentally retarded, the physically handicapped, in the
6 slum schools, as well as at the student union or restaurant
7 or library? In other words, put the campus to work where
8 the campus gets its sustenance. Concentrate in our
9 universities, be made available to help combat poverty and
10 discrimination in an urban and rural America. I can tell
11 this student audience that we desperately need, today, in
12 New York State, hundreds, thousands of talented, gifted,
13 compassionate, understanding men and women in the institu-
14 tions for the mentally ill, physically retarded, to help
15 our senior citizens, desperately -- and may I say that you
16 will never do a greater thing for peace, than to help
17 someone who is trying to live a life of peace and decency,
18 to help someone gain a life -- what greater honor is there,
19 than to save a life? There are many ways to kill a person,
20 from the bullet to the club, but there are other ways that
21 are even more brutal -- to be killed by not being wanted.
22 To be shunted aside, to be denied, to never have a job, to
23 never know what it was to have a home, to never know what

1 it was to have an education, to be the victim of intoller-
2 able discrimination and prejudice - slow death. My fellow
3 Americans, there are thousands of our fellow citizens today
4 that are a walking death -- and we need to bring life back
5 to them and the way we can do it is not just by government,
6 Federal, State or Local, but we do it by individual service,
7 voluntary service. I'd like to see this college, Canisius
8 College, volunteer thousands of man hours of student life
9 - not to parade, not to picket, but to go help somebody
10 that needs your help and needs it desperately - to help a
11 child that needs tutorial work, to help a senior citizen
12 that needs just a visit with someone, to help a crippled
13 person to be able to become self-sustaining - to help,
14 teach, guide - to help in recreation, to help in community
15 service - - and I want the college to give you credit on
16 your diploma for doing that.

17 Now, when I was a professor and teacher,
18 they used to say, "publish or perish" - you have all heard
19 that. That's the way you are sorting out your salary -
20 that you publish a little more in the articles, in the books
21 -- but I have a new standard -- "participate or perish"
22 at the university. That doesn't deny you the right to
23 publish, but "participate or persih", that should be the

1 academic maxim of the 1970's, because we need people today,
2 as never before.

3 Today, I propose, therefore, a
4 national program of students in community service, supported
5 by private resources and the resources of the Federal
6 Government - and these funds would be available to univers-
7 ities and college programs that grant academic credits to
8 students for community service. For example, tutoring
9 under-privileged children, internships, summer and year long,
10 to encourage high school, college and graduate students to
11 work with community leaders, to work in City Hall, the
12 Mayor's office, Local and State officials, hospital admin-
13 istrators, legal aid officials, legislators, and others.
14 Useful, essential work, recreation, public safety, language,
15 scholarships for academic plus on-the-job training, to
16 prepare more people for careers in useful, essential social
17 areas - in housing, public health, urban renewal, recreation,
18 public safety, planning and other specialties needed to
19 rebuild our neighborhoods. I believe that our universities,
20 and the students and teachers in them, have an opporutnity,
21 as no others, to play a role in reshaping the modern, urban
22 America, just as the great land grant colleges of a hundred
23 years ago helped play a leading role in shaping and opening

1 up the West -- and there's an idea -- the fact that the idea
2 of young people must be a direct pipeline to the highest
3 levels of government.

4 May I say that if I'm elected Pres-
5 ident, I intend to establish in the office of the President,
6 an office of Youth Participation, so that the contact between
7 the young - not only on the college campus - but throughout
8 all of the structures of America, can be brought directly
9 to the highest councils of Government, the Cabinet, the
10 President, to Congress. I announce here, today, the formation
11 of a national service forum to guide me in my campaign and
12 during my Presidency - if I am elected. A Humphrey for
13 President button isn't a prerequisite for participation -
14 we welcome all comers, we welcome all ideas, and we recognize
15 that responsible dissent is vital to democracy. The forum
16 will include meetings on campuses throughout the nation,
17 where people, students and teachers, will be able to discuss
18 the issues of this campaign and make their voices heard.
19 A formal executive committee will guide it and meet with
20 me and my staff regularly in the coming weeks, to communicate
21 their ideas they have received in their campus meetings.
22 In a Humphrey Presidency, the forum will continue to be a
23 major vehicle, with its contact in the White House, where

1 it can express its judgments directly to the President.
2 I am not going to rely on the haphazardness of trying to find
3 time to see the academic leaders, students and faculty --
4 I want to make it a part of this structure and I have pledged
5 that I will have an open presidency - a presidency where the
6 public sets priorities and shapes policy - instead of
7 reading about them in the papers. Where the White House,
8 itself, will move out of Washington, from time to time. I
9 pledge here, today, that the Humphrey Presidency will not only
10 be receptive to the ideas of young people, but also employ
11 their talents. I shall establish a Youth Talent Bank in
12 the Civil Service Commission to recruit dynamic young people
13 for public service and put them in positions where they can
14 go to work and test their ideas. The Youth Talent Bank will
15 also make these names available to Local and State Government
16 as well.

17 Finally, I wish to express this
18 personal opinion about something that is beyond the authority
19 of a candidate or a President, or anyone not privileged to
20 sit on the Board of Trustees of a college or university -
21 if students are to have their fair say in society, they
22 must be able to participate more fully in the government
23 which they are most directly connected with - university

1 government. They must have something to say about it.
2 This has been long overdue -- but violent and lawless con-
3 frontations on our college campuses are despicable, totally
4 inexcusable and detrimental to the cause of student partici-
5 pation in any part of our society. I ask any fair-minded
6 person, how does it look to you or to anyone else, to see
7 the ugliness of a battle royal, police and students and
8 faculty engaged in an orgy or melee on a university campus?
9 It's bad enough to see it on any street - Chicago or else-
10 where -- it's worse to see it on a campus - and it's totally
11 inexcusable.

12 As Mr. Martin Luther King once said,
13 as quoted in the New York Times, "even the most noble purpose
14 cannot justify in destroying the universities as a safe
15 haven for the ruthless examination of realities". That is
16 what a university is for - the free society, the free mind,
17 the free spirit - not the violent mind and the violent spirit.
18 In essence, it comes down to this -- we must take our
19 institutions to man and not bend man to the institutions.
20 Teachers and students and Presidents and citizens must
21 engage each other, not to cross administrative lines, but
22 in the common work in making this community all it wants
23 to be and all it can be. But none of this can happen - not

1 a bit of it, unless the ability of the young is properly
2 channeled to constructive purpose. I am prepared to help
3 do my part because I happen to believe that youth is not
4 so much a matter of age, as it is a matter of spirit. You're
5 as young as your hopes and as old as your fears. You're
6 as young as your faith and as old as your doubts. I think
7 that when you have hope and when you have faith and when
8 you have ideals, no matter what your chronological age, you
9 are a member of the younger generation -- and when you are
10 filled with hate and bitterness and fear and doubt and
11 suspicion, you are the walking dead -- gone for all useful
12 purposes.

13 Now, I turn myself over to this
14 distinguished panel. Thank you, very much.

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16 E Z E R A S E -----
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18 C O N T R O L C O N T E N T S
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PANEL DISCUSSION

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PANELISTS:

MR. WILLIAM C. LYONS

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MR. KENNETH P. SERVICE

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MR. DAVID J. GOSS

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MISS CAROL A. RYSZ

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1 MR. MODERATOR: Mr. Vice President, we have the
2 panel of Canisius students who would like to address some
3 questions to you.

4 Before I, briefly, introduce the
5 panelists, I would like to mention to the members of the
6 audience that following the brief question period, following
7 this, the Vice President will be happy to entertain questions
8 from the floor, so I ask that you hold your questions until
9 that time.

10 To begin, just briefly, from my
11 left to right, Mr. David J. Goss, Junior Class Officer;
12 Mr. William C. Lyon, President of the Student Government;
13 Miss Carol Rysz, President, Di Gamma Alpha; and Mr. Kenneth
14 Service, Editor of the school newspaper, The Griffin.

15
16 MR. VICE PRESIDENT: Fine, let's take them one at a time.

17
18 MR. DAVID GOSS: Mr. Vice President, the theme of
19 the 1968 National Democratic Convention was, "promises
20 made, promises kept." I would like to have a comment on
21 that phrase, in light of two 1964 promises, those of peace
22 and prosperity. Then, President Johnson declared in that
23 campaign, and I quote, "No American boys will ever take

1 over the major fighting and war which should be fought by
2 agents. Also, the 1964 Democratic platform proclaimed,
3 "we will seek further tax reduction, our goal is a balanced
4 budget and our enviable record of price stability must be
5 maintained". Four years later, half a million American
6 boys have taken over Asian burdens and we find both budget
7 ceilings and taxes higher. The income tax surcharge in
8 response to galloping inflation. My question, then, Mr.
9 Vice President, is, how do you justify these promises of peace
10 and prosperity that were, apparently, never kept?

11
12 MR. VICE PRESIDENT: Well, let me take them in order.
13 First, on the prosperity side, we had ninety months con-
14 secutive economic growth. The net income for families
15 adjusted for price increases adjusted for taxes is 32 percent
16 and eight years of 32 percent increase under the Kenney-
17 Johnson Johnson-Humphrey period, as compared to the Nixon
18 Republican Eisenhower period, they had 9 percent. They
19 had an increase of unemployment of two million. We have
20 the lowest unemployment rate that this country has had in
21 twenty-five years. Our gross national product is approxi-
22 mately eight hundred and eighty billion dollars. There
23 were three recessions under the Republican administration of

1 '53 to '61, that cost this country, approximately, one
2 hundred and seventy-five billion dollars in lost income. The
3 wholesale index for 1953 to 1961 has gone up - was almost
4 identical in its increase as from 1961 to 1968. The whole-
5 sale price index went up 9.2 and it's gone up to 9.3 in
6 the last eight years, despite the war in Vietnam. Taxes
7 were reduced three times. Had the same tax rate been in
8 effect in 1968 that was in effect in 1964, we would have
9 had a balanced budget with a substantial surplus. The
10 surtax is a very modest increase in taxes - very, very
11 modest - a temporary one for one year -- and even with
12 that surtax, we have far lower Federal taxes today, than
13 we had four years ago. So, on that side, I think we have
14 a very good record - an extraordinarily good record.

15 Now, let's take a look at the
16 international side. There is no doubt but what we are
17 fully involved and deeply involved in a tragic and costly
18 struggle in Southeast Asia today. No one could have foreseen
19 that in 1964. There was no intention on the part of anyone
20 and the Government to permit this sort of development to
21 take place. We had, at that time, however, approximately
22 twenty-five thousand -- about twenty-five to thirty thousand
23 - I'll put it in between that figure - of what we call

1 "Special Forces" in Vietnam. They were in the special forces
2 camps. We had lost, approximately, one thousand men by the
3 fall of 1964. In 1965, it was obvious that a major invasion
4 and aggression from the north was under way. The South Viet-
5 nam was on the verge of being taken over, and as far as its
6 independence or sovereignty was concerned, of being destroyed.
7 It was the decision then, first, to send in air power, to
8 try to stem the tide and hopefully to give some morale -
9 morals boost to the peoples of South Vietnam -- that proved
10 not to be adequate. I can only tell you that we felt it was
11 necessary in our national interest and in the interest of
12 long term stability in Southeast Asia, to place these ground
13 forces in South Vietnam. We do not have a majority of the
14 forces there, I might say, however, even though we have a
15 very substantial amount of five hundred forty thousand, I
16 think, is the approximate number. The South Vietnamese,
17 today, have over eight thousand under arms. On the basis
18 of population, that would be equivalent to an American army
19 of seventeen million men. They are really pushing their
20 man power hard. I believe that that army today is greatly
21 improved and I want to say here, what I have said before -
22 I look to the time, and I hope it's not too far off - when
23 with the improvement of the army of South Vietnam, with its

1 new equipment and better training and its combat effectiveness,
2 when that army is able to give defense for its own Country,
3 that we will be able to systematically have a withdrawal
4 of American forces. I believe that that can come and when I
5 become President of the United States, I shall make that one
6 of my priority objectives -- not at the expense of South
7 Vietnamese independence, not at the expense of our troops,
8 but to calculate as carefully as possible and to call upon
9 the government of South Vietnam to take on more and more of
10 its own responsibilities for self-defense and calculate,
11 as I have said, what is the requirement of manpower. I
12 notice that the President of South Vietnam said some weeks
13 ago, that the thought that some time in 1969 that there
14 could be some withdrawal of American forces.

15 I think that the next President of
16 the United States must take that President at his word, must
17 sit down with him and see if that cannot be negotiated or
18 worked out, so that we can begin to see some light - begin
19 to see this struggle be less and less an American struggle,
20 and more and more of the responsibility being taken over
21 by the forces of South Vietnam.

22 Now, when that can happen, I can't safely
23 predict - I have some hopes - and if we can't hope, then

1 we are a hopeless people. But I think that hope is based
2 upon some pretty good evidence. The evidence that, today,
3 that the army of South Vietnam has set up defenses, has
4 been fighting bravely, and has done well and has defeated the
5 Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese in every major engagement.
6 So, I don't think it's a false hope. That's the best I
7 can give you.

8
9 MR. WILLIAM LYONS: In view of the name calling, for
10 example, Fearless Fosdick, Nixie Kratzer and Strom Thurman,
11 how do you expect to gain the respect of the American people,
12 in the event you are elected?

13
14 MR. VICE PRESIDENT: I think by my record of public
15 service - my record of public service. Why I said those
16 things are quite evident. For example, when a man says
17 the most important thing is to double the rate of convictions
18 - but any rate, he condemns the President and myself, too,
19 that man has lost his sense of values. You're not going
20 to make this a better America, just because you build more
21 jails. What this community needs is more education, better
22 homes -- if we needed better jails, we could build them -
23 but that need not be the highest objective of the President

1 of the United States.

2 May I say on the subject of law and
3 order, I happen to believe and I have practiced what I
4 speak, as a Mayor of a City, I happen to believe that law
5 and order in a community is essential for social progress,
6 but I do not believe that a repression alone, builds a better
7 society. There is another side of that coin and that is,
8 to do away with some of the iniquities and the injustices
9 which are a breeding ground for trouble. I don't say, if
10 you have power you are creating trouble - that isn't necessary.
11 I want to say that it is a fact that more crime is committed
12 in the areas of poverty, than any other place. It is a fact
13 that more poor people commit more crimes. It is a fact that
14 more crimes are committed against the poor. Now, if Mr.
15 Nixon can close his eyes to that, he doesn't have enough
16 vision, to me, to be President of this country.

17
18 MISS CAROL RYSZ: If the minority platform had been
19 accepted, would you have been able to stand on the minority
20 plank?

21
22 MR. VICE PRESIDENT: I figured somebody might ask me that.
23 Would you have been able to stand on that? What's in the

majority plank represents what I have been trying to say to this country for a long, long time. I think that the minority plank waffles the issue. It isn't nearly as precise as some people think. While it calls for unconditional ending for bombing, it doesn't say when, it doesn't say immediately. Although the war in Vietnam is complex - that is an understatement. Unconditional first, and unconditional ends all bombing of North Vietnam. I don't know when they expect it - it doesn't say when. "While continuing to provide in the South" - there wasn't a period there, there was a comma - "while continuing to provide in the South, all necessities for air troops". I want to tell you, that is clever language - just clever enough, I must say, to almost confuse me. "And then we must negotiate" -- well, then, negotiate a mutual withdrawal. Third, "we will encourage our South Vietnam allies to negotiate a political platform, which is truly represented". Then they seek to reduce American participation.

Now, what does the majority plank say. First of all, "we reject as unacceptable, a unilateral withdrawal of forces". We never demanded, and do not now demand unconditional surrender by the Cong. We strongly support the peace talks and applaud it. We hope that Hanoi

1 will respond cosmetically to this active statesmanship.
2 Now, listen to this, "in quest for peace, no solution is
3 a free risk, but calculated risk consistent with the
4 responsibility of a great nation that seeks a peace of
5 reconciliation". That just gives the President of the
6 United States an awful lot of authority. It says, Mr.
7 President, take whatever risk you want to take, to try to
8 get peace - whatever the risk may be. This platform
9 supports you. Then, it says, "and the acts we recommend"
10 -- this is the majority, again, saying, you just can't be
11 sure of what's going to happen and when. "We would support
12 our Government in the following steps; stop all bombing of
13 North Vietnam" That's what the minority plank said. It
14 said "unconditional", which I think is dead wrong. Then,
15 the majority plank says, "when this acts without endangering
16 the lives of our troops in the field." The minority plank
17 says, "while continuing to provide in the South, all
18 support of American troops - I think the minority plank is
19 going just about as far as the majority in this that it
20 should take. As the President said in his March 31st speech,
21 "any little thing is possible." Then, it goes on to say,
22 "troop withdrawal, encourage all party interest, that South
23 Vietnam should be determined by fair and safeguarded

1 elections, open to all major political factions and parties
2 prepared to accept peaceful negotiations. We would favor
3 the effective International President to facilitate
4 it against reprisals". I think that the majority plank is
5 a charter or it is the guidelines for a peaceful political
6 settlement in Vietnam. It gives the President great leeway
7 - that's why I supported it. It provides the President
8 with every kind of support that is necessary for whatever
9 initiative he might take to approve the cessations, when
10 that cessation would not endanger the lives of our troops
11 in the field - and the minority didn't want to endanger
12 the lives of the troops in the field. The majority said
13 we should take into account the responsibility from Hanoi.
14 I don't think any President, whatever he is, would like to
15 take into consideration any responsible minority.

16 I supported the majority plank. I
17 think the minority is confusing. I think there are elements
18 in it that are somewhat similar. I think its unconditional
19 phrase is regrettable - it didn't put a time phase. The
20 majority plank, I feel, gives a charter of hope to this
21 country and gives the next President of the United States
22 the support he needs.

23 Now, what did I say in my acceptance

1 speech? I said, "the first priority of the next President
2 of the United States would be to secure peace in Vietnam."
3 I made that committment. Secondly, I said that I would not
4 feel bound by the policies of the past to guide my actions
5 on the questions of the future. And then, I said, this
6 relates particularly to Vietnam. I'm a free man. I would
7 do what I think I needed to do, if I become President of
8 the United States, to end this war - to do it honorably -
9 to do it in terms of our national interest -- but I want
10 to make it very, very clear that I have no control over
11 events between now and January 20th. You have one President
12 at a time - and that is about all you need.

13 May I suggest that everybody ought to
14 read the platform. If I had read the minority plank when
15 I was in Philadelphia, I wouldn't have been in so much trouble
16 last week.

17
18 MR. KENNETH SERVICE: You mentioned you place a great
19 value on education in the universities. Do you have any
20 plans to revise the selective service system to enable an
21 individual to complete his education, before he fulfills
22 his military committment?
23

1 MR. VICE PRESIDENT: Yes. The present system, I think,
2 is built-in trouble. That is number one - that's where you
3 start. No. 2, I believe in the random selective system -
4 the lottery system, once your number comes up, you've had
5 it and if it doesn't, you're free. And I, also, believe
6 you should give a student some choice as to whether he wants
7 to accept, when his number comes up, or go on for the first
8 two years of his college. I have a full paper with the
9 general view - I thought that Congress should have adopted
10 most of those provisions. I intend to see, to the best of
11 my ability as President, that the selective service boards
12 in this country are truly representative of this country;
13 that no one feels, because of race or economic status, that
14 the Board is not fully representative. These Boards have
15 a tremendous task. They deserve our thanks and your pity.

16 Despite my high regard -- and I have
17 a high regard for General Hershey -- I would like to see a
18 selective service director, a man of about thirty-six years
19 of age, stand about 6'2", enough metal to frighten all the
20 panel put together, and come out to all these colleges and
21 campuses to talk like a he-man and lay it on the line --
22 just like that -- and I think it would do a lot of good.

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QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

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FROM

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THE FLOOR

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1 Q. You count on the demonstrations, I suppose?

2 A. No, not particularly. I thought this was a rather
3 kind demonstration.

4 Q. Do the demonstrations by students on particular issues,
5 influence you in any way?

6 A. Yes. Let me kind of level with you. You know, demon-
7 strations are not unique to this generation. I
8 participated in a few out at the University of Minne-
9 sota. There hasn't been anything you students have
10 tried to do that I haven't had a whack at, myself.
11 I think so. Let me say that one of the most heartening
12 things happening in this country is that when of the
13 young people in this campaign decide to take up and
14 do something about racial disorders -- I think those
15 Freedom rides were immensely helpful. I know, in 1963,
16 the March on Washington with the late Martin Luther
17 King, that the presence and the demonstrations of young
18 people had a very decided affect upon many people. Of
19 course, that was a demonstration in which there were
20 young and old, catholic, protestant, jew, black and
21 white. I am sure that the dialogue which had been set
22 up by young people has had a decided interest to the
23 world. If you think there is any moderation in it, at

1 all, is due in some measure to the activity of the
2 young people and also to the leadership of men like
3 Senator McCarthy and Senator McGovern, and possibly,
4 myself - and may I say that I can add - maybe, the
5 sympathetic understanding of the members of the ad-
6 ministration that stands before you. I have never been
7 very interested in wars. I have tried to spend a life-
8 time in works of peace. I have had a little difficulty
9 in getting that message out to some young people, but
10 it is my life. Peaceful demonstrations, where you
11 give the other fellow a chance to be heard -- you know,
12 the right to be heard doesn't mean that you have the
13 right to be taken seriously, but you ought to be heard.
14 And I think you have given me that chance today, and
15 I want to say, too, that those that come here, that
16 disagree with me, I think that you have treated me,
17 maybe, a little better than I deserve -- but don't change.

18 Q. Mr. Humphrey, you said that you're against violence
19 and brutality. Why, therefore, didn't you speak out
20 and use your influence in Chicago?

21 A. I was the first man to ask the Bureau of Investigation
22 to check and investigate, No. 1. Secondly, I think
23 that the facts are pretty clear now and if you want

1 to really study the facts - that there is so much blame
2 on both sides - overreaction on the part of some police,
3 who were under great harassment, who were obviously
4 taunted to a point of almost exhaustion by the pro-
5 vocators - who you do not represent -- let's just make
6 it quite clear that there is a handful of people in
7 this country that have made it very, very clear to
8 everyone that they are out to cause trouble and when
9 they say they intend to have two or three hundred
10 other Chicagos across the country, that they intend
11 to upset the universities and intend to lie down in
12 voting booths - these are not people who believe in
13 democracy - these are Hitler youths - storm troop
14 tactics. There is a lot of other ways to demonstrate.
15 Have you ever noticed that the provocators never get
16 bloodied? They are like General Staff Officers, a
17 half mile behind. They get the young people. I shouldn't
18 be advertising newspapers, but this paper doesn't
19 always treat me as kindly as I would like - in fact,
20 I would like to speak to a couple of their reporters
21 today - the Washington Post had a very good editorial
22 on the situation today -- if you have time, you might
23 want to look it over.

1 Q. Mr. Vice President, in view of all diverse refusals
2 to support your candidacy, would you actively support
3 Senator O'Dwyer in his bid?

4 A. I am a democrat. By the way, I'm not just a democrat.
5 I look at alternatives all the way down the line. I
6 said, prior to the convention -- two life-long friends
7 of mine - neither one were nominated, even though we
8 seemed to disagree with what the people made us look
9 like, we disagreed -- I said, I would be willing to
10 support their candidacy. I think either one would be
11 better for the Presidency than Mr. Nixon and Mr. Wallace.
12 And there's no doubt about that. So, I would say -
13 Mr. O'Dwyer hasn't asked for my support - I don't want
14 to hurt him -- if he thinks I can be of help to him,
15 I would be glad to do it, but he's a democrat and he's
16 on the ticket and I'm a pretty good party man, I think.
17 I say, party responsibility is rather important. So,
18 I would kind of like to wait to hear from Paul. By
19 the way, he was my most active supporter in 1960. I
20 hope this is a better sign for me, now, because he and
21 I didn't do well in 1960. I want to wish Paul the best.

22 Q. Mr. Vice President, if you had thought for twenty years
23 that the voting age should be lowered, why, while in

1 the second highest post, the Vice Presidency did you
2 not (inaudible).

3 A. Are you in government courses? Do you take courses in
4 government?

5 Q. Pardon me?

6 A. Do you take courses in government?

7 Q. No, I do not.

8 A. Then, you should enroll and find out what limited
9 authority the Vice President has. Also, you ought to
10 remember that it takes two-thirds vote in the United
11 States Senate in Congress, to pass a constitutional
12 amendment. You have to have a Constitutional amendment.
13 I proposed this in 1950 in the Senate with William
14 Langner as my co-sponsor. I was for this when I was
15 Mayor of my city. I was for medicare for 16 years,
16 before it became a law - and it's true - you don't get
17 things in a hurry. I fought hard for the right to
18 vote at age 18, and I see at long last, the American
19 Bar Association supported it. They didn't when I was
20 first for it - they supported the direct election of
21 Presidents. What we have to do - what I have to do
22 is what you have to do -- push for it. Now, the
23 President of the United States did recommend voting

1 to the Congress at age 18. President Johnson recommended
2 that -- I whispered in his ear one day that it was a
3 good idea - I think he was going to do it anyway, because
4 I whispered some other things in his ear, but I didn't
5 get them. But in all honesty about it, we tried and
6 we ought to keep at it. I want you to keep at it. Some
7 of the great Veteran's organizations and others have
8 come out for age 18. Five years ago they were opposed
9 to it - ten years ago they were opposed to it. It all
10 takes time, but also perserverence. I haven't faltered,
11 my friends, I was for it, I think, before you were born,
12 and I'll be for it when I am still, I think, looking
13 for geritol.

14 Q. Mr. Humphrey, there has been considerable evidence that
15 the United States should not win the Vietnam war, that
16 the government we are supporting there is corrupt, un-
17 representative, would not last more than a few weeks
18 without massive American supporters. There seems to
19 be buddhist elements fighting for a country that will
20 be Vietnamese only, and this is why you get booed, this
21 is why the radicals of America can't stand you, because
22 you have failed. You failed to look into that situation
23 and say, this is wrong, these people need a better

1 government. America is not going to take them over -
2 is not going to push them around. We are going to let
3 them have what they want and pull out those poor Marines
4 from Guatamala and Bolivia and stop lending nappo to
5 them. We are going to start working for the poor people
6 in this world.

7 A. What was your question?

8 Q. Why will you not repudiate these immoral policies?

9 A. Because you're dead wrong. You're dead wrong, my young
10 friend. Look, there are no absolutes in this world.
11 None of us are infallible, and surely there is plenty
12 of reason to know that governments, not only in Southeast
13 Asia are corrupt - occasionally we get a little around
14 here. They smell a little around the United States, too.
15 I don't want to get too direct. Just take a look at
16 this government in South Vietnam, while it has lots
17 of shortcomings, this government was an elective
18 government.

19 Q. May I speak?

20 A. Just a minute, you said equal time. It's an elective
21 government. The Assembly that wrote that Constitution
22 was an elective Assembly. The National Assembly that's
23 in Congress is an elective Assembly. To be sure, it

1 doesn't have a broad basis, but it has a pretty good
2 basis. Eleven Presidents of the United States were
3 elected by minority votes, one by 37 percent. Even
4 the late beloved John Kennedy didn't get fifty percent.
5 We have had many instances in this country where we
6 have been unable to produce more than a plurality.
7 Even in the war between the States, in spite of the
8 fact that Abraham Lincoln said the Unions are infallible,
9 as long as we are going past our plane, I think you
10 might want to ask about that elective government, quote
11 and end quote, in North Vietnam. Surely, there are
12 South Vietnamese - so what - the terrorist organizations
13 can be a terrorist organization despite its nationality
14 or identity. There isn't a shadow of a doubt that North
15 Vietnam isn't aggressors. There isn't any doubt they
16 are in this land today - in Laos today, despite the
17 1962 agreement about Laos -- and you know it and I know
18 it. So, let's quit kidding each other. War is a
19 difficult, complex, dirty business. Your government
20 is prepared to settle that war, this afternoon. Your
21 government is prepared for a cease fire today. I speak
22 for this government from this platform now. We are
23 prepared for a cease fire now - including all killing

1 stopped, all hostilities stopped. Is North Vietnam?
2 The answer is, no. Are they willing to cease the fire,
3 so we can negotiate? The answer is, no. My friends,
4 the roadblock for peace is not in Washington. The
5 roadblock for peace, regreatably, is in other parts
6 of the world, and one of them being Hanoi. When you
7 start going off on Guatamala and Bolivia, and so forth,
8 may I suggest that emotion is no substitute for fact.
9 The American Ambassador was shot in cold blood, here,
10 in Guatamala a couple weeks ago. The United States is
11 not trying to run Guatamala; we are not trying to run
12 Bolivia. This country has done more for these people,
13 in blood and life, than any country you will ever know.
14 And I think it's about time that we ought to recognize
15 that.

16 Q. I'm not getting emotional. I would like to speak on
17 two points.

18 A. Ask questions like the Senator does and then you can
19 get to say a brief statement first.

20 Q. Secondly, in the election, do you think it was a fair
21 election? No one who would advocate peace, no one who
22 would advocate a coalition government was admitted on
23 the ballot. If you take the percent of those ballots
in the country, it was only twenty percent of the people.

1 A lot of people were prevented from voting and no one,
2 even the guy that was the least little bit for peace -
3 he's in jail - that's what we are working for; that's
4 what U Thant of the United Nations said - the United
5 Nations is working for peace in South Vietnam.

6 A. May I say that the Governor of South Vietnam made a
7 great mistake. I think it was unfortunate and I hope
8 they release him. It is one of those acts that cannot
9 be condoned or in any way supported. No. 2, all people
10 are permitted to vote safely in the community and we
11 had a group of people who were there to examine that
12 election - and some were reporters, and they have a
13 way of finding out what's wrong. They are experts at
14 it. And let me tell you that the report back to the
15 United States was that it was a pretty good election -
16 not a perfect election. They haven't had many elections
17 in so many places, they hadn't had an election in
18 thousands of years, but there were Presidents and Rabbis
19 and democrats and republicans that went there to in-
20 vestigate, and their report was a pretty good report.
21 Men like Arch Bishop (inaudible), San Antonio, Texas.
22 Men like Theodore Reese - there were others who went
23 to describe that election and it was a pretty good one.

1 Let me tell you about some of our elections. When we
2 got our Constitution, nobody was elected to go to it.
3 One hundred men visited, no one elected. Fifty-five
4 came, thirty-nine stayed, thirty-eight signed -- and
5 they never had a reporter in the house, not once. The
6 Constitution of Vietnam was under constant surveillance.
7 Secondly, the Capitol of the United States has been moved
8 eleven times between 1776 and 1790 -- we didn't have
9 much stability either. Third, George Washington had
10 trouble (inaudible) and he had plenty of corruption.
11 Fourth, John Adams was in the pay of the Spanish Emperor.
12 Cession was a pattern in the New England States and
13 finally Civil War broke out in 1860. We haven't always
14 been so sweet and lovely - and we had a pretty unified
15 society. These people have been the victims of French
16 Colonialism, VietCong terrorism and open aggression.
17 The amazing thing is that they have a government.
18 They brought in Mr. Wong. They are broadening the
19 basis of the government. They have eight hundred
20 thousand men in the armed forces, also produced sixty-
21 Six District Chiefs - and they are beginning to do
22 something. May I suggest you put the same scrutiny
23 on that fellow called Ho Chu Mihn and his regime. I

1 think it's about time the people who believe in democracy
2 start to have some say in the matter.

3 Q. In light of the Russian intervention in Czechoslovakia
4 do you (inaudible)

5 A. First of all, the Russian intervention in Czechoslovakia
6 is inexcusable. Open invasion is a violation of all
7 the sensitivities of humanity, No. 1. Secondly, what
8 is its relationship to the non-proliferation treaty.
9 I think the non-proliferation treaty, except possible,
10 to remind us of the dangerous world in which we live -
11 the non-proliferation treaty is designed to prevent
12 other nations (inaudible) because the more nations
13 with nuclear weapons, the greater the level of danger.
14 Have you ever thought what it would be like if there
15 were nuclear weapons in the east today? Southeast Asia
16 and India, Pakistan, and that area? What this treaty
17 is for, is to try to build a protective system to
18 prevent the spread of nuclear weapon technology and
19 the placement of nuclear weapons around the world. I
20 think this is in our national interest. We have all
21 the nuclear weapons that we will need, there's nothing
22 in industry to deny us to make more. I can tell you,
23 as a member of that National Security Council, you have

1 enough to kill anybody - and you can do it twice, in
2 case anybody should crawl out from under a rock. It's
3 a tragic thing to talk about. The Soviet Union has
4 enough weapons to obliterate this country. There isn't
5 a lack. What we need is to prevent the spread of that
6 activity, and then, cut back and I take sharp issue
7 with Mr. Nixon who on the one hand says he favors the
8 treaty, but on the other hand says, not now. Now is
9 the time when the tensions in the world are rising -
10 when we are the people that propose it - when we know
11 it is in our national interest - when we know it has
12 no relationship, at all, to what happened in Czecho-
13 slovakia. It relates only to whether or not we are
14 going to have a more dangerous world in which there
15 are more nuclear weapons. I think the time to ratify
16 it is now, and I think it's time for Mr. Nixon to quit
17 avoiding the issues. I think it's good for this nation
18 and I think it protects our security and I think it's
19 good for the peace throughout the world - and to avoid
20 it is unpardonable -- and I think we ought to do some-
21 thing about it.

22 MR. VICE PRESIDENT: I want to thank friend and foe alike.
23 You sure have given me a workout and I enjoyed every minute
of it. Thank you, very much.

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GOLDEN BALLROOM

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HOTEL STATLER

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1 but the one you want to watch out for is the real Nixon.
2 That's the one. And I intend to tell you a little bit about
3 him.

4 Now, my dear friends, look here,
5 this democratic party has never asked - has never asked
6 discipline or obedience from all its members. We are
7 democrats because we are enthusiasts, because we are activists
8 and on occasion, we like to kick up our heels and have it
9 our way. We are not a bunch of old foggies. We are not
10 the grand old pessimists - we are opportunists. We are
11 young of heart and young of spirit. I know there are people
12 in this party that have fought hard for what they wanted
13 in a platform and fought hard for a candidate that they
14 wanted. Some of us won in some places and some lost in
15 others. But the question now is which party do you want
16 to run the affairs of this Country. The question now is
17 do you want Mr. Nixon in the White House or do you want
18 Hubert Humphrey or do you want Agnew or do you want Muskie.
19 Now, that is the question.

20 The great thing about this party
21 of ours is that it's a welcome change. We are not the enemy
22 of change, but we look upon it as an ally - and every
23 generation we see as a new birth of life - a new birth of

1 freedom. Every generation we look upon as an asset to this
2 country. Everytime this nation has been in trouble, it has
3 called upon the democrats to help it out. Any time it has
4 been in serious difficulty - you check the history of this
5 century. It has looked at the democrats for leadership.

6 This Country is in trouble - you
7 know it and I know it. This Country has conflict - it has
8 division, today. There are perpetrators of hate. There
9 are those that would set people against people. Those who
10 would spread suspicion, doubt and fear -- and I think the
11 American people are once again going to look to our party
12 for leadership.

13 You know, I remember, and you do,
14 too, it was in this spirit of being willing to welcome change
15 as an ally - this spirit of being forward-looking and
16 grasping the future as if it belonged to us, in our ability
17 to master the future, that Franklin Roosevelt told America
18 in his (inaudible) that we had nothing to fear but fear
19 itself. And how right he was. And it was in this same
20 spirit of confidence - it was in this same spirit of accepting
21 change and for what it was, and the belief in the future,
22 it was in this spirit that the one and only Harry Truman
23 let them have it and told them where to go and told them

1 like it was, too. And it was in this spirit of faith in
2 the tomorrows that that beloved man Adlai Stevenson talked
3 sense to the American people, when so few others would --
4 and how we miss this great good and gentle man of sense
5 and peace. And it was in this spirit of confidence and
6 in Country and in service to this nation that John Kennedy
7 told what every man and woman in this America must remember
8 to his dying day, those immortal words that are a rallying
9 cry for every person that loves this nation -- "ask not what
10 your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your
11 country".

12 And in this spirit, Lyndon Johnson
13 rallied a grief stricken nation and said - after our beloved
14 Kennedy had been taken from us - he said, "let's continue",
15 and then, he went on in his own right - whatever may be the
16 critics or whatever they may say to accomplish more of
17 the unfinished business than any of his predecessors. His
18 record has been nothing short of remarkable, these last
19 five years. So, I don't come here to sympathize with you,
20 nor do I come to apologize to our critics - I come here
21 to take our message to you - and I ask you to take it to
22 the people.

23 We will not win elections, nor do

1 we deserve to, unless we believe we have something to offer
2 to this country - and I know we have. I know that the
3 democratic party has built a solid foundation of social
4 progress that has given more and more Americans a chance
5 for a better life than any administration.

6 I know there are millions of people
7 today, who only a few years ago, were the victims of poverty,
8 that can stand tall and straight with dignity and self-re-
9 spect, because their party cared, because government acted,
10 because leadership was there. I know there are cities today
11 that are better because they covered government care in a
12 party work. I know there are millions of youngsters in
13 school today, who never would have had the chance, were it
14 not for the fact that a democratic party and a democratic
15 congress and a democratic President worked together and
16 cared and helped this patient of ours do better. I know
17 there are millions of senior citizens today, that would
18 still be the victims of relief and welfare, that would still
19 be pleading for hospitals and medical care, who today, can
20 go to the hospital of their choice, to the doctor of their
21 choice and have the finest medical care and hospital care,
22 under the terms of social security and medicare, that any
23 nation can offer them.

1 Let me lay it on the line, ladies
2 and gentlemen; these things didn't happen because the Nixon
3 republicans did it. They didn't. It wasn't Mr. Nixon and
4 his cohorts that fought for aid to education for a child -
5 whether that child goes to public or parochial school. It
6 wasn't the Nixon republicans that gave you medicare. It
7 wasn't the Nixon republicans that gave us civil rights.
8 It was the old coalition of the modern Nixon - the modern
9 Nixon on Southern strategy - the Modern Nixon that fought
10 every measure of human equality - that fought every measure
11 that, today, makes the bullwork of our program of civil
12 rights. It wasn't the Nixon republicans that gave this
13 country prosperity. It was they that had three recessions
14 in eight years that cost Buffalo - that cost Erie County -
15 cost this section of New York vast unemployment, loss of
16 income - people losing their homes, seeking unemployment
17 compensation. Do you want some more?

18 I want to say to this great gathering
19 of democrats that every election is a testimonial to our
20 faith in the future. And every election is a memorial to
21 our heroes of the past. My fellow democrats, do you want
22 the memory to Franklin Roosevelt - do you want the tribute
23 to Harry Truman - do you want the memorial to John Kennedy -

1 do you want the memorial to Adlai Stevenson - do you want the
2 memorial to Lyndon Johnson to be the election of Mr. Nixon?
3 I think not, I think not.

4 This is the man that accused our party
5 of twenty years of treason. This is the man that fought
6 against Mr. Truman. This is the man that tried to belittle
7 Adlai Stevenson. This is the party, if you please, that
8 fought Adlai Stevenson - called his nuclear test ban a
9 cruel hoax. This is the man that fought in every precinct
10 of this land against John Kennedy -- and this is the man
11 that I intend to whip in this election of 1968.

12 We must join the issue and we must
13 carry the fight. This election cannot be won by me, alone.
14 And you know it. This election will be won when we stand
15 united -- and I say to any democrat that has any doubt -
16 I say to any democrat that is dragging his feet - I say to
17 any democrat that wonders if he should back us - I say,
18 examine your conscience. I ask you to take a look at the
19 record. I ask you, whether or not you can really feel that
20 you are serving your country and your party. I ask you,
21 whether you feel you are honoring the memory of John Kennedy
22 and Adlai Stevenson. I ask you to feel whether or not you
23

1 are honoring the memory of Harry Truman, if you permit by
2 your inactivity, by your lack of effort, by your lack of
3 enthusiasm for this election to be lost. You better meditate
4 and think it over. Together we can win - separated we can
5 lose. Together we can build a better America - separated
6 America will stand still.

7 There are three vital issues before
8 us and you know them as well as I do. And the first is the
9 necessity, as soon as it is humanly possible, in honor and
10 in dignity for a just and enduring peace in Vietnam and the
11 world. And I am pledged to it.

12 And the democratic platform, if you
13 will study it carefully, says to the next President of the
14 United States that he must search for that peace and find
15 it - that he must be willing to take calculated risks for
16 that peace and it outlines a program that, if we follow it,
17 and if we do not veer from it, it can bring us that day,
18 when once again, we can take down those dogs of war and,
19 once again, we can go on with the work of peace. But, my
20 friends, we are not going to have the kind of a peace we
21 want, when you have a candidate for high office - the highest
22 office within the gift of this land that says, "stop. Don't
23 negotiate a treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons."

1 Every mother and father in this room
2 should shudder to think of what would happen if these power-
3 ful destructive weapons should go in the hands of mad men -
4 should go in the hands of people who are erratic. We have
5 tried for three years to negotiate a treaty. Eighty nations
6 have signed it. It was our idea -- and it stands there in
7 the United States Senate, ready for our ratification, as
8 a testimonial on the part of this nation in the building
9 blocks of peace, as we seek to build that temple of peace.
10 And the man who seeks to be President of the republican
11 ticket gives you one of those "yes, but" answers. He says
12 he's for it - but. He says he believes in it - but. He
13 says we ought to have it - but, not now.

14 I want to say to the American people
15 that delay can be disasterous. I want to say to the American
16 people, if we miss this opportunity, we may have missed
17 the opportunity to save this world from nuclear confrontation.
18 And Mr. Nixon, I ask you to be a Statesman and quit playing
19 politics with the lives of humanity.

20 And the second reality is the ne-
21 cessity for peace and justice in our cities and our nation.
22 I haven't heard a more succinct and clear statement of it,
23 than from Joeseeph Crangle. "Justice" said the prophet of

1 (inaudible) said, "let it roll like a mighty river". Justice
2 for every American. That is what we believe in. We, also,
3 believe in order. The Constitution of this Country requires,
4 obligates us to insure domestic tranquility - to insure
5 justice. And if Mr. Nixon hasn't read it, then I'll send
6 him a copy.

7 The Preamble to the Constitution
8 doesn't just say, law and order. It says to insure domestic
9 tranquility and to insure justice. They go hand in hand
10 as a constitutional republic.

11 As the republican nominee is bold
12 with words - he says, double the convictions - and all that
13 Mr. Humphrey wants to do is double the poverty program.

14 Ladies and gentlemen, let Mr. Nixon
15 build his penitentiaries -- I want to build neighborhoods
16 and homes for America. And while he's talking about law
17 and order in theory, let me say, as a Mayor of a great city,
18 I know what it means to keep law and order. I saw it was
19 trained. I saw it was paid and better paid. I have yet
20 to hear the republican candidate say, let's honor our police.
21 Let's honor them with substantial salaries -- oh, no. But
22 I'm not running for Sheriff - I'm running for President.

23 Let there not be the slightest doubt

1 that, if I am President of these United States, I will do
2 everything within my power to mobilize the resources of
3 this country, to see to it that our streets are safe - that
4 violence is put down - that rioting is stopped - that respect
5 for law will be the pattern of the day. You can be assured
6 of it - but you can all be assured of something else --
7 that just as I will see that those who break the law and
8 those who are the criminals and those guilty of violence
9 and looting and burning, as they shall be punished and
10 suppressed, so shall I wage relentless law - white or black,
11 wherever they may be.

12 Finally, the third big issue in
13 this campaign and the third reality before our country is
14 the necessity for unity in America. We will get no place
15 divided. As I told that great group of people, out here
16 in front of this hotel, in that very brief moment, "there
17 isn't a single problem that affects this nation, that is
18 made, that is going to be settled in the streets". None
19 of our problems are subject to the solutions of violence.
20 None of our problems can be settled by shouting. None of
21 them will be settled by demigoging. We will settle our
22 problems by sitting around a table, like we are sitting
23 here, talking to one another. "Come", said Isaiah, "let's

1 reason together" - and a great free society should long
2 ago have put aside violence - should long ago put aside
3 cheap demigodery, bigotry, discrimination.

4 A great people in a great free
5 nation, like this, should exemplify the best in reason and
6 should exemplify responsibility and restraint and we should
7 demonstrate to the world that we know how to work together.
8 We cannot have a nation torn apart. Yet, we have candidates
9 today, one who builds his whole case on separatism. We
10 have another who is not a racist, but nevertheless, has
11 entered into a strange compact with some of the most
12 reactionary elements in this country and who calls upon
13 America to slow down the rate of progress - whose words
14 confuse and whose statements are evasive. Who, on the one
15 hand says he supports a Supreme Court decision, on the
16 other hand says he doesn't like the way it is being completed.
17 Who, on the one hand downgrades the Attorney General and
18 on the other hand, asks children to believe in law and order
19 and the law enforcement officers - and yet, the greatest
20 law enforcement officer this land has is the Attorney
21 General. Who, on the one hand says, respect the law, and
22 on the other hand (inaudible).

23 Ladies and gentlemen, if this isn't

1 confusion, then attach another name to it. At best, I call
2 it confusion. It hasn't any other elements which I will
3 lead you to interpret. But this America of ours is not
4 going to solve its problems through separatism. We are
5 not going to solve our problems by pretending that they are
6 not here and we are not going to face up to the issues of
7 our time by saying that all we need is repression. We are
8 going to have to sit down and think them out and work them
9 out and we are going to have to recognize, not only by law,
10 but by practice, human dignity, self-respect, equal opportu-
11 nity in every major and every aspect of our life. This
12 nation can't be divided between rich and poor, black and
13 white, urban and rural, nor can it solve and survive. We
14 cannot be separate and unequal nation, divided. Peoples
15 divided - there is only one way, and you know it and I know
16 it. So, let's face up to it. It's not an easy way. It's
17 not painless. It's not going to come without struggle --
18 but there is only one way, and that is for all of us to
19 exemplify in our words and our deeds, forbearance and
20 tolerance, to literally cleanse ourselves of every form of
21 bigotry and discrimination, religious and racial, to make
22 ourselves whole and clean, once again. And let me tell
23 you, it can never be stated more directly or more beautifully

1 as to what we need and what we work for and what I stand
2 for and what Senator Muskie stands fore - we know what we
3 are for. We are what you believe in, "one nation, under
4 God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all". That's
5 what we believe in.

6 Now, we are not going to get any of
7 this. All the goals that we have - all the ideals that we
8 espouse - all the beautiful things that we say, will come
9 for naught, unless we unite as a party. You can't unite
10 nations, if you can't unite the vehicle that wants to help
11 the nation - and we must put away our differences. We all
12 want peace with honor. We want a better America. We want
13 to do away with deprivation, wherever possible. We want
14 Americans, one and all, to be participants in the progress
15 of this democracy and the beneficiaries of this economy.
16 We want this. This is why I helped the democratic convention
17 select the nominee. And I want to conclude on what I think
18 is the best part of my message. I had to make no deal.
19 There was no one twisting my arm. I didn't have somebody
20 from the south or the north, from black or white, telling
21 me, Mr. Vice President, we want you to take this man, or
22 else. I have had no one say to me that if you don't take
23 one or two of these men, that you will not get our support.

1 Not a single person came and told me that I had to do this
2 or do that. I have had the privilege, in my public life,
3 to know many people and I served as President of the Senate
4 for four years. I served as majority whip of the Senate
5 for four years. I have seen senators - all kinds of them -
6 and I have seen men in public life. I told the democratic
7 party and I told this nation, that I would recommend to
8 that convention, as my selection, my choice, a man for Vice
9 President that possessed the qualities of maturity, respons-
10 ibility and experience, that was a man that was educated
11 and trained in government, that was a man of total integrity,
12 that was a man that understood the problems our time and
13 had a vision of tomorrow, that was a man that could serve
14 as President any day and serve brilliantly -- and ladies
15 and gentlemen, I kept my promise and I have given to you,
16 on this ticket, not someone just anybody - not someone that
17 came as a result of compromise, but someone that came as
18 a result of searching for the best - and I submit to you
19 that in the candidacy of Ed Muskie, I have presented to
20 the American people one of the great men of our time. And
21 if you will join with me, we can elect this ticket and we
22 can turn the poles around and we can turn this political
23 process into a great victory march.

1 I say that you can elect Humphrey
2 and Muskie if you want to. And I certainly want you to.
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