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VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY PROPOSES SPECIFIC ACTIONS ON URBAN CRISIS

Rochester, New York, September 17 -- Vice President Hubert Humphrey today issued five specific action proposals for dealing with the urban crisis.

Declaring that "our present government structure at all levels is ill-suited to plan and achieve the living environment our wealth and technology permit ... and our survival requires," the Democratic Presidential candidate called for a coordinated local, regional, and federal attack upon problems of urban and rural development.

Mr. Humphrey called for:

- National definition of fundamental social, economic and democratic objectives for the shaping of the environment of the future.
- Use of federal incentives, including tax-sharing to stimulate metropolitan and regional planning efforts.
- Creation of a National Domestic Policy Council to oversee the reorganization of the federal bureaucracy to make it more responsive to the planning and the development needs of the country.
- A Marshall Plan for the Cities, based on self-help, local initiative, coordinated planning and private and public capital.
- A federally subsidized National Urban Development Bank to mobilize large amounts of private capital for urban development.

The text of the Vice President's statement follows:

. . . more

The great challenge facing American civilization in the last third of the 20th century is to provide the choice of a satisfactory living environment for all persons -- regardless of race, ancestry, or place of residence.

Today, many millions of our citizens do not have true freedom of choice in the selection of a community in which to live and work. They are trapped in urban ghettos or rural slums ... or they have reluctantly fled to the suburbs when they would prefer to remain in the city. These conditions are unacceptable -- especially when we possess the wealth and technology to change them.

In recent decades the balanced distribution of our population has been distorted by the heavy influx of persons -- particularly those of lower income groups -- from rural areas to cities. The results not only affect the basic dimensions of life -- jobs, housing, education, health care -- but also fracture the sense of community and stability which most persons find necessary to a satisfactory living environment.

We are one nation. To imagine that one portion of our citizenry can live in comparative affluence and comfort while another survives permanently in the harsh surroundings of the urban ghetto -- or that the economic and sociological conditions which produced these disparities cannot be corrected -- is to do the gravest damage to our life as a free and democratic people.

To believe that the special problems of urban, suburban and rural America can be attacked separately -- or kept in splendid isolation -- is to sacrifice our capacity to find lasting and workable answers. Our plans and actions must take account of the basic interdependency of all regions and peoples.

We possess the wealth and technology to mount a successful counterattack -- one which revitalizes our inner cities -- enhances the quality of life in our suburbs -- and brings new hope and opportunity to rural America. City planners, architects, sociologists, ecologists, financiers, public officials and bureaucrats have produced considerable insight and knowledge about what to do -- our most challenging task is to generate the popular support and governmental structure required to sustain such a many-faceted offensive.

We must then ask these questions: How can we provide a living environment for every American -- one which achieves a balance between rural, suburban and urban populations?

* * *

Three principles underlie the specific proposals of this action plan:

First. Our circumstances demand a far greater measure of state and local initiative, responsibility and cooperation, together with less direct Federal control, than exists today.

This pronouncement has become almost ritualistic for politicians in 1968. In my case, it has been reached on the basis of direct personal experience. I have served both as a mayor of a major city and as liaison between the federal government and city governments for the past four years.

The central government has a crucial role to play -- helping define national objectives -- contributing part of the funds -- setting certain minimum standards ... helping mobilize the private sector ... and keeping the many diverse parts of America in touch with each other.

But Washington, D. C., cannot handle the intricate details of local planning and execution. And the federal government only gets in the way when it tries.

Second. Our circumstances require a strong and active President -- strong enough to shake up the federal bureaucracy -- to clean out the cobweb of relationships that exist among some ten or a dozen federal agencies, on the one hand, and fifty states, thousands of cities, and tens of thousands of private organizations on the other.

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The paradox of the contemporary Presidency is precisely this need to build local initiative and responsibility through the creative and judicious use of national power.

Moreover, there won't be meaningful local action until citizens know their opinions are heard and taken seriously by government -- from City Hall to the White House. That is why I have proposed an Open Presidency -- open to the people, and open to change.

Third. Social progress in our free enterprise economy has never been -- nor should it be -- solely the responsibility of the public sector. Private business, labor, banks, industry, and our universities must assume their full share of the development burden.

We must create new mechanisms -- such as a National Urban Development Bank -- to stimulate private investment to meet our social priorities.

If we are to act within the traditions of American free enterprise, much of the money -- and much of the initiative -- must come from the private sector.

* * *

These three principles translate into the following specific action proposals:

First. The definition of fundamental social, economic, demographic and ecological objectives to help guide our future urban, suburban, and rural growth.

Although the definition of these objectives must rely heavily upon the informed judgments of experts, we must always remember that in the end these are political decisions. Congress, the state legislature or the city council will play a major role in determining the outcome -- as is only proper in a democracy.

As President, I would begin immediately to formulate broad-ranging discussions -- with the Congress, with governors and mayors, with experts in all relevant fields of knowledge and with the people. We would strive to lay down national criteria which could productively guide state and local leaders. These criteria would have to touch all critical areas: land use, population growth and control, education, housing, business and industrial growth, labor, recreation.

Second. Federal incentives must be established to stimulate metropolitan-wide and regional district planning. I would propose that 10-12 regional districts be created to draw upon the full resources of the states and localities and to achieve the balanced growth among urban, suburban and rural areas which is essential to any lasting progress.

Similar coordination is necessary within metropolitan areas.

To receive federal support, the planning district would have to take account of the country's basic social, economic and demographic objectives. But from then on, local creativeness, foresight and ingenuity would be paramount.

There are various ways to stimulate this broader cooperation in planning and action to meet the critical needs of urban, suburban and rural areas.

1. We can help close the revenue gap which exists in most localities. This means raising sufficient revenues to solve the many critical social and physical renewal problems. One means for implementing this policy is Federal tax-sharing with metropolitan-wide or regional districts with safe-guards to insure the expenditure of Federal tax money on priority objectives.

2. We can provide tax and other incentives for the building of low and middle income housing. One approach to accomplish this goal would be a National Urban Homestead Act to subsidize the land costs for qualified private housing developments to allow the use of relatively high-priced urban and

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PAGE THREE

suburban land. This plan, when coupled with the newly-authorized home ownership plan and vigorous implementation of the fair housing provisions of the Civil Rights Act, would contribute to a more balanced racial distribution in major metropolitan areas.

3. We can provide Federal support for State equalization of certain community services -- education and welfare, for example, -- within metropolitan areas, as well as between rural and urban areas.

4. We can reverse the unmanageable population build-up in densely settled urban areas. This calls for Federal help in developing magnet or satellite cities on the outer edges of our suburbs, and the creation of wholly new cities in our rural and underpopulated areas.

Third. A National Domestic Policy Council in the White House to oversee the reorganization and restructuring of the Federal bureaucracy -- and then to insure that it remains truly responsive to local needs and goals.

Such a Council would expand the President's capacity to foresee and deal rationally with the crush of domestic problems ... to sharpen priorities and identify the full implications of alternative policy decisions.

This Council would also be assigned the critical business of keeping the Federal machinery in good working order -- making sure that service and responsiveness to local initiative were maintained -- and that bureaucratic snarls were kept to a minimum. This would be a structure which rewarded local innovation and the desire to act -- not one which slowly destroyed the enthusiasm and effectiveness of local leaders.

Fourth. A Marshall Plan for Cities based upon self-help, local initiative coordinated planning, and private capital. Like the original Marshall Plan that rebuilt Europe, much more than the federal checkbook is necessary in achieving durable answers to the urban crisis.

In Europe the Marshall Plan produced a quick and visible impact -- not only in bricks and mortar, but in people's lives.

The initial investment was large enough, and the vision grand enough, to inspire hope ... to show that the job could be done ... to generate the will for self-help which brought Europe to self-sufficiency and prosperity.

This is the necessary element in a balanced nation-wide attack on the urban problem in America today.

Fifth. An answer to the problem of adequate financing is crucial to the success of a Marshall Plan for the Cities. To help provide this answer, I propose the creation of a National Urban Development Bank financed through the subscription of public and private funds.

The federal government would underwrite the unusual risks which are inevitably involved in meeting the hardest and most critical urban problems.

Such a bank would have enough borrowing and lending authority to do the job. And we are talking here about billions of dollars each year.

An appropriation of federal funds would get the bank started. The balance of the funds would come from federally-guaranteed bonds, to be sold by the bank to private investors.

Affiliated regional banks would be chartered by the National Bank for specific metropolitan areas.

Regional Bank Boards, would include representation of local governments, as well as the broad spectrum of the population -- white and black, rich and poor. Further community participation would be encouraged through direct equity investment in the regional bank by the people themselves.

Regional bank funds would be available to both public and private borrowers for programs which cannot be financed through any other means, but which are found essential to urban development.

They would be available, at varying rates depending on the circumstances of need, to finance or help finance public projects or quasi-public projects of all types. Special emphasis would be placed on the needs of the inner city.

Among other things these regional banks could:

- Fund non-profit neighborhood development corporations;
- Guarantee loans, made through conventional private lenders, for inner city and metropolitan-wide development;
- Offer loans to inner city businessmen whose contribution to the national economy is now limited because of lack of financing;
- Fund quasi-public housing development corporations.

The establishment of a National Urban Development Bank with an assured source of funds would facilitate and encourage long-range planning for metropolitan area development -- planning now inhibited by the uncertainties of the annual appropriation process.

* * *

The principles and programs set forth in this statement are not final or definitive answers -- for there are none. Nor do they provide any quick or easy solutions -- for these are also in short supply. But they do enunciate the general approaches I would pursue as President of the United States and some of the specific instrumentalities I believe are needed to make steady progress in giving every American true freedom of choice in selecting a desirable place in which to live and work.

I believe our society has the wisdom and wealth to permit these choices and to create this living environment. The question is, do we have the imagination to substitute far-sighted policies for the planlessness and chaos which has produced our present living patterns.

I say we do.

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Democratic Reception
Rochester, New York
September 17, 1968

Eight Counties

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Wade Chatman
Rochester - Monroe County

Maryn - Frank Lemf

Chr - Charles Mallory

Wm Sibley Jim Wilmett

Alan King - Comedian

E. B. Marshall "Defenders"

Cat Calloway - "Hello Dolly"

~~James Brown~~

John Burns - Joe Aronson
Jack Enshel

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

The New Day -

- in our cities -
- in our countryside
- in Educ - Pre School
- For our young -
- For our Elderly
- For our Needy
- For the American Economy - New Program
- For our Country -

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON, D.C.

3 realities

- (1) Peace in Vietnam & the world
- (2) Peace in our cities & our country
- (3) Unity in our Country

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

- - -

Airport

Tuesday, September 17, 1968

Rochester, New York

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

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

--

Airport, Rochester,
New York,
Tuesday, September 17, 1968

MAYOR LAMB: Ladies and gentlemen, I'm very pleased to present to you the Vice President and the next President of the United States, the Honorable Hubert Humphrey.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you, my good friends. Thank you, Mayor Lamb. Thank you for this wonderful, enthusiastic, genuine Rochester-Monroe County-and seven other counties welcome to this wonderful area. Thank you so much.

To all of our friends here on the platform, my special thanks, particularly to Chuck Maloy, our Chairman; to Jim Wilmot, and I have a special lady friend who is up here with me. I feel grand about her when I come here. My wife doesn't really get jealous, but she keeps asking me why I ask about her.

Mrs. Sibley, it is so nice to have you. I want to thank you for being one among many.

I have a friend named Abe Chapman here, who has done a good job here in Rochester.

Also, Congressman McCarthy is with us today, as is our State Chairman here in New York, John Burns; the County Chairman over in Erie County, Joe Crangle; our National Committeeman, Jack English; and a host of others who are here to make sure that on November 5, 1968, you have a Democrat in the White House.

(Applause)

I know that some of you have heard of Mr. Alan King, the world-famed comedian; others have heard of E. G. Marshall, from The Defenders; and I gather that -- Cab Calloway is a native of Rochester, and I gather you have heard of him, too.

Let me tell you, when you have that kind of talent going for you, you can't lose. We have it made if you just stick together, friends.

(Applause.)

You are a wonderful, enthusiastic audience.

(Applause.)

I want to ask for your attention for just a few minutes on the most serious business that is before us. I would

1 be less than honest with this audience if I didn't tell you that
2 at this time, in this fall election, we have our work cut out
3 for us. I do not underestimate the nature of our task or the
4 difficulties, nor do I underestimate what will befall us if we
fail. I should like to take just a little while to first ask
for your help, to ask for it for one reason above all: I need
it.

5 More importantly, I think your country needs it. And
6 above all, let me say we all need each other in this struggle
that we have before us.

(Applause)

7 And what do we need it for? Not merely to win an
8 election, because winning an election is not enough, even
9 though winning an election in this instance may mark the
10 difference as to what is going to happen in this country. I
think that there are three realities, three realities that face
us, three great issues above all others that confront us: The
first reality, of course, deals with the most basic of all,
humanity faces a troubled future.

11 The world is in difficulty -- invasions, aggression,
12 war, violence. These are the characteristics of the time in
13 which we live. Is it any wonder, then, that people are
14 distraught? Is it any wonder that our young, who were born,
15 most of them, during World War II or immediately after, having
lived through a period of the Korean War, drafted for the war
in Vietnam -- is it any wonder that they are troubled, and is
it any wonder that they raise questions for us? We must be
able to answer those questions.

16 First of all, I think it is patently obvious that
17 violence at home and violence abroad, violence in our streets
and war between nations, is no way for civilized people to
settle their disputes.

(Applause)

18 I made a pledge to you and to the American people in
19 my acceptance speech as the nominee of this Party. I pledged
20 myself to the platform of my Party, which is dedicated to
21 finding the path to peace. But I also said this: I said that
22 the first priority, the first responsibility of the next
President of the United States, if by that time we have not
found a way to peace, the first responsibility of the man that
occupies the White House on 12 noon, January 20, 1969, is to do
everything within his authority and power, within honor and
within the security of this nation, to find new creativity and
innovation through diplomacy and negotiation, do everything he
can muster to find some way to bring this tragic struggle in
Vietnam to a close, to an end.

(Applause)

25 And to do it not only so we can save the lives that

1 are being lost, which of course, is our first responsibility,
2 but to do it so that we can take the resources that are being
3 consumed in this struggle and bring them home and put them to
4 work here amongst our own people, here where we need to bind up
5 our own wounds, here where there is conflict in our own nation.

6 Now, the second priority, as I see it, leads from the
7 first. That is to find a way, find some way to put an end to
8 the division, to the violence, to the crime, to the lawlessness
9 that besets this American Nation.

10 My fellow Americans, there is not a single dispute
11 that we have, not a difference that we have amongst us, no
12 problem that is in our midst, not one of them that will be
13 solved by taking our problems into the streets. Not one of them
14 will be solved, not one of those problems will be solved by
15 violence and disorder.

16 We cannot tolerate that. The first duty of an
17 elected official is to protect life. His first duty is to see
18 that there is respect for the law. And if I am the President
19 of these United States, make no mistake about it, I shall
20 mobilize the resources of this nation to the best of my ability
21 to see that America is safe, and then to see that America is
22 just, a fair and a just society.

23 Ladies and gentlemen, it can be done. There is no
24 reason, none whatsoever, that the vast majority of the American
25 people should be moved and shoved, bullied and brow beaten by
a handful of extremists on the right or on the left, or wherever
they may be. That is no way to conduct ourselves.

(Applause)

Yet our democracy requires, if it is to live,
discussion, debate, dissent. Dissent is part of the ferment of
a free people. Dissent, yes; disorder, no. That is the
formula.

(Applause)

So we must find a way, my fellow citizens, we must
find a way to bring together a calm and a tranquility in this
nation that is not an apathy, but a tranquility that releases
our energy to do what needs to be done.

Thirdly, if we're going to do any of the things that
we speak of, if we're going to find the peace that people pray
for, the peace that we want, if we're going to find the kind of
peace in our own communities that we need as well as peace in
Vietnam and in this world, my fellow Americans, we must be a
united people.

Now, I am not talking about a people that are all of
one mind, that all look alike, that all talk alike, and that all
act alike. I am talking about a united people in spirit, in
common objective and common purpose.

We know that this America of ours will get no place
divided. We know that you cannot divide this people, black and

1 white, rich and poor, urban and rural. We know that division
2 will ruin us. We know that division will weaken us. We know
3 that division is based on hatred, based on suspicion and doubt
4 and fear.

5 A people can never be strong if fear, suspicion,
6 doubt, bitterness, and hatred is their daily diet. I call
7 upon this audience of Democrats and fellow Americans, I call
8 upon you to banish these sins from your heart. I ask you to
9 join with me in a plea for national unity, for national
10 purpose, for great national goals, and for a new day.

11 (Applause)

12 Now, my friends, there are three candidates in this
13 election. One candidate preaches the doctrine of separatism,
14 playing on the emotions of the people. Another candidate, the
15 Republican nominee, appeals to you on the basis that we must
16 slow down our progress. It is always the same with them. We
17 always seem to be going too fast for people that want to stand
18 still.

19 (Applause)

20 I do not say that my Republican opponent is a racist;
21 far from it. Nor do I say that he is backward. I simply say
22 that he does not keep in step with the needs of the times,
23 with the changes demanded by the American people. The changes
24 demanded by the American people are far beyond the capacity
25 of the Republican nominee to live with.

(Applause)

What do we offer to our people, it would do us no
good to preach of the yesterdays. We can be proud of our
achievements. We can hale the accomplishments of Democratic
Presidents and Democratic Congresses. And I think it is
right. But I think you need to know not what I think of the
yesterdays, but what do I think of tomorrow? What will it be
like? What will the year 1976, our 200th anniversary, be
like? What will the year 2000 be like when the majority of
those now living will still be very much alive and in the
maturity of their lives?

We must look ahead. We must have as the basis of
our life not looking backward but looking ahead. Surely we
have the right to dream of America as it will be in the Twenty-
first Century.

My friends, I see an America that is far stronger
in spirit and in substance than any of us ever dreamed. I see
an economy that is growing if we but have the self discipline
to permit it to grow. I see jobs undreamed of by our people.
I see a young people being brought into government, into
industry, into every area of American life.

I spoke of that day in Buffalo, of how this new,
wonderful generation can share in the responsibilities of this
nation and can be brought into concert with the government.

I see a day in which a child, regardless of race, creed, or color, will have the benefit of a fine education, the best that modern man can provide, from age 4 to college. We can afford it in this country and we need it.

(Applause)

I see a new day, when relief and welfarism are no longer the pattern.

I see a day ahead of us that we must achieve, when those who are today, through no fault of their own, many of them, victims of deprivation shall be able to stand on their own feet, when they shall be prepared for work, when they shall be productive citizens, when they shall be homeowners, taxpayers, and when they shall have selfrespect and human dignity. I see that day.

(Applause)

My friends, I see a day when not a child in this land will ever be hungry again, when Americans will see to it that in a nation that knows so much, in a nation that is blessed by abundance, never will there be a child that is called American that will ever go to bed any night without having had a satisfying meal during that day. Hunger never again for a child of America.

(Applause)

My friends, I see the day when we shall not ask a person of his race, when we shall only ask of his character and his ability.

I see the time not far distant when we'll look to those whom today we have almost pushed aside, and find a great genius of tomorrow. I am as convinced as I stand before you that the great, precious human resource of people is yet to be discovered in this country.

When I see, for example, our athletes, our champions, coming from the families of the poor, when I have seen some of our great artists, some of our great men and women of the drama and of literature coming from the families of the ghetto, when I see what there is, I say to you, my fellow Americans, let us unlock, let us emancipate that part of our humanity. Let's give it its chance to help make America great.

(Applause)

Yes, and I see the new day when our cities shall not be the center of our crisis, but rather, shall be the testimonial to our greatness. Cities should be the finest of environments for humans, and the elimination of the conditions of slums and ghettos is no longer merely an economic necessity and a political necessity; it is a moral requirement of a decent people.

And I see the day when people will live together in our cities, not in fear, not in suspicion, not in discrimination. But they will live together in communities as the

American family in the American city.

Ladies and gentlemen, we can do it. Any country that can explore the wonders of outer space, any country that can go to the moon with a space capsule and land men on that moon, any country that can do what we have done to split the atom -- may I say, if you can split the atom, why can't you split the difference just a little bit?

(Applause)

Yes, a nation that is willing to explore the stars, conquer the universe, should first of all be willing to explore itself. When we explore what is here, when we enter into the American adventure of what can be done here, we shall find things more wondrous, we shall find things more amazing than we find even in the eternity of space.

You know, St. Augustine once said that the most wondrous thing of all is man himself. And man is, in God's creation, the most wonderful thing of all, humankind. It is that humankind to which this Party directs its attention. We direct our attention to emancipation of the human spirit, to the liberalization of thought, to the conquering of our prejudices and our fears.

And I believe that is what this campaign is about. There are those who will come to you with the politics of fear and despair, to frighten you into the ballot box, to ask you to vote for them lest America be this or that. There will be those that come to you and say, no, let us not move, let us stand where we are, let us pause.

And there will be those that will listen. But I come to you to tell you that humanity is on a forward march, and that America must be a part of that march.

I come to you to tell you that my politics is the politics of hope. It is the politics of faith in this country and in its people. And I ask you, my fellow citizens, to give your country a chance.

I ask you to put your faith in this nation. I ask you to put your work in this Party.

I ask you to give me your heart and your hands and your head. I ask you to give me a chance to lead this nation, and we will win.

(Applause)

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VISIT OF VICE-PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

PAGE AIRWAYS

SEPTEMBER 17, 1968

REPORTED BY:
Ronald J. Tette

P R O C E E D I N G S

VOICE:

Ladies and gentlemen, a very popular mayor of the City of Rochester, Frank Lamb will introduce our guest for the day.

MAYOR LAMB:

Ladies and gentlemen, let me say that many of you couldn't see that we gave our two and a half month old burro as a token to the Vice-President and he is going to take it to his farm in Waverly.

Now, I am very pleased to present to you, the Vice-President and the next President of the United States, the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey.

(APPLAUSE)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

Thank you my good friends. Thank you Mayor Lamb, thank you for this wonderful, enthusiastic, genuine Rochester, Monroe County and seven other county welcome to this wonderful area.

All of our friends here on the platform, my special thanks particularly to Chuck Maloy, our Chairman with Jim Wilmont and I have a special lady friend who is up here with me. My wife doesn't really get jealous, but she keeps

1 asking me why I ask about her, Mrs. Sibley. I want to
2 thank one other person among many, I have an old friend
3 by the name of Abe Chatman. Congressman McCarthy, our
4 State Chairman here, John Burns, the County Chairman over
5 at Erie County, our National Committee Chairman Jack
6 English and a host of others who are here to make sure
7 that on November 5, 1968 you have a Democate in the
8 White House.

9 (APPLAUSE)

10 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

11 I know that some of you heard that Mr. Alan King,
12 the world famous comedienne is here, others may have heard
13 of E. G. Marshall from the Defenders and I gather that you
14 all know Cab Calloway who is a native of Rochester and when
15 you can get that kind of talent for you, you've got it
16 made if we just stick together friends.

17 You're a wonderful, enthusiastic audience. I want
18 to ask for your attention for just a few minutes on the most
19 serious business that is before us. I would be less than
20 honest with this audience if I didn't tell you that at
21 this time in this fall election, we have our work cut out
22 for us. I do not underestimate the nature of our task or
23 the difficulties, nor do I underestimate what will befall

1 us if we fail.

2 And, I should like to take just a little while to first
3 ask for your help, to ask for it for one reason above all,
4 I need it, more importantly, I think your country needs
5 it, and above all let me say we all need each other in
6 this struggle that we have before us.

7 And, what do we need it for? Not merely to win an
8 election, because winning an election is not enough, even
9 though winning an election in this instance may mark the
10 difference as to what's going to happen in this country.

11 I think there are three realities. Three realities
12 that face us, three great issues above all others that
13 confront us. The first reality, of course, deals with the
14 most basic of all - humanity faces a troubled future.
15 The world is in difficulty. Invasions, aggressions, war,
16 violence. These are the characteristics of the time in
17 which we live.

18 Is it any wonder, then, that people are distraught?
19 Is it any wonder that our young who were born, most of
20 them, during World War II or immediately after, having
21 lived through a period of the Korean War, drafted for the
22 war in Vietnam, is it any wonder that they're troubled?

23 Is it any wonder that they raise questions for us?

1 And we must be able to answer those questions.

2 First of all I think it's patently obvious that
3 violence at home and violence abroad, violence in our streets
4 and war between nations, is no way for civilized people to
5 settle their disputes. (APPLAUSE)

6 I made a pledge to you and to the American people in
7 my acceptance speech as the nominee of this party. I
8 pledged myself to the platform of my party which is
9 dedicated to finding the path to peace.

10 But I also said this, I said that the first responsi-
11 bility of the next president of the United States, if by
12 that time we have not found the way to peace, the first
13 responsibility of the man that occupies the White House
14 on 12 noon January 21, 1969, is to do everything within
15 his authority and power, within honor and within the security
16 of this nation, to find through creativity and innovation,
17 diplomacy and negotiation, through everything he can muster
18 to find some way to bring this tragic struggle in Vietnam
19 to a close and to an end.

20 (APPLAUSE)

21 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

22 And to do it not only so that we can save the lives
23 that are being lost, which of course is our first

1 responsibility, but to do it so that we can take the
2 resources that are being consumed in this struggle and
3 bring them home and put them to work here amongst our own
4 people, here where we need to bind up our own wounds. Here
5 where there is conflict in our own nation.

6 Now, the second priority as I see it, leads from the
7 first and that is to find some way to put an end to the
8 division, to the violence, to the crime, to the lawlessness
9 that beset this American nation.

10 My fellow Americans, there is not a single dispute
11 that we have, not a difference that we have amongst us,
12 no problem that is in our midst, not one of them will
13 be solved by taking our problems into the streets. Not one
14 of them will be solved. Not one of those problems will
15 be solved by violence and disorder. We cannot tolerate
16 that.

17 The first duty of an elected official is to protect
18 life. His first duty is to see that there is respect for
19 the law, and If I am the president of these United States,
20 make no mistake about it..

21 I shall mobilize the resources of this nation to the
22 best of my ability to see that America is safe and then to
23 see that America is just. A safe society and a just society.

1 (APPLAUSE)

2 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

3 Ladies and gentlemen, it can be done. There is no
4 reason, none whatsoever, that the vast majority of the
5 American people should be moved and shoved, bullied and
6 browbeaten by a handful of extremists on the right or on
7 the left or wherever they may be. That is no way to
8 conduct ourselves.

9 (APPLAUSE)

10 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

11 Yet our democracy requires, if it is to live, discussion
12 debate, dissent. Dissent is part of the ferment of a
13 free people. Dissent, yes. Disorder, no. That's the
14 formula.

15 (APPLAUSE)

16 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

17 So we must find a way, my fellow citizens, we must
18 find a way to bring together a calm and a tranquility in
19 this nation that is not an apathy but a tranquility that
20 releases our energy to do what needs to be done.

21 And thirdly, if we're going to do any of these things
22 that we speak of, if we're going to find the peace that the
23 people pray for, the peace that we want, if we're going to

1 find the kind of peace in our own communities that we
2 need, as well as peace in Vietnam and in this world, my
3 fellow Americans, we must be a united people.

4 Now, I'm not talking about a people that are all of
5 one mind, all that look alike, talk alike, act alike. I'm
6 talking about a united people in spirit, with a common
7 objective, a common purpose, and we know that this America
8 of ours will get no place divided.

9 We know that you cannot divide this people, black
10 and white, rich and poor, urban and rural. We know that
11 division will ruin us. We know that division will weaken
12 us. We know that division is based on hatred, based on
13 suspicion, and doubt and fear. A people can never be strong
14 if fear, suspicion, doubt, bitterness and hatred are their
15 daily diet. I call upon this audience to fellow Democrats
16 and citizens, I call upon you to vanish these things from
17 your heart. I ask you to join with me in a plea for
18 National unity for National purposes, for great National
19 goals and for a new day.

20 (APPLAUSE)

21 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

22 Now, my friends, there are three candidates in this
23 election. One candidate preaches the doctrine of

1 separatism, playing on the emotions of the people.

2 Another candidate, the Republican nominee, appeals
3 to you on the basis that we must slow down our progress.
4 It is always the same with them. We always seem to be
5 going too fast for people who want to stand still.

6 I do not say that my Republican opponent is a racist -
7 far be it. Nor do I say that he is backward. I simply say
8 that he does not keep in step with the needs of the times.
9 The changes demanded from the American people are far
10 beyond the capacity of the Republican nominee to grip
11 with.

12 (APPLAUSE)

13 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

14 So what do we offer, what do we offer to our people?
15 It will do us no good to preach of the yesterdays. We
16 can be proud of our achievements, and we should be. We
17 can hail the accomplishments of Democratic presidents and
18 Democratic congresses, and I think it's right, but I think
19 you need to know not what I think of the yesterdays, but
20 what do I think of tomorrow.

21 What can it be like? What will the year 1976, our
22 200th anniversary, be like? What will the year 2000 be
23 like, when a majority of those now living will still be

1 very much alive and in the maturity of their lives?

2 We must look ahead. We must have as our base point
3 not less than the next generation. Surely we have every
4 right to dream of America as it will be in the 21st
5 Century.

6 And, my friends, I see an America that is far stronger
7 in spirit and in substance than any of us ever dreamed.
8 I see of an economy that is growing if we but have the
9 self-discipline to permit it to grow. I see of jobs
10 undreamed of for our people. I see of young people being
11 brought into government, into industry, into every area of
12 American life.

13 I spoke of that today in Buffalo, of how this new,
14 wonderful generation can share in the responsibilities of
15 this nation and can be brought into the councils of
16 government.

17 I see a new day in which every child, regardless of
18 race, creed or color, will have the benefit of a fine
19 education, the best that modern men can provide. From age
20 four through college, we can afford it in this country
21 and we need it.

22 (APPLAUSE)

23 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

1 And I say I see a new day when relief and welfarism
2 are no longer the pattern. I see a day ahead of us that
3 we must achieve, when those who live today, through no
4 fault of their own, many of them the victims of deprivation,
5 shall be able to stand on their own two feet, when they
6 shall be trained to work, when they shall be productive
7 citizens, when they shall be homeowners, when they shall
8 be taxpayers and when they shall have self-respect and
9 human dignity. I see that day.

10 And my friends, I see a day when not a child in this
11 land will ever be hungry again. When Americans will see
12 to it that in a nation that knows so much, that in a
13 nation that is blessed by abundance, never will there be
14 a child that is called American that will ever go to bed
15 any night without having had a satisfying meal during
16 that day. Hunger never again for a child in this land.

17 (APPLAUSE)

18 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

19 And, my friends, I see the day when we shall not ask
20 a person of his race, when we shall only ask of his charac-
21 ter and his ability.

22 I see the time not far distant when we will look to
23 those who today we have almost pushed aside and find the

1 great genius of tomorrow.

2 I am as convinced as I stand before you that the
3 great precious human resource of people is yet to be
4 discovered in this country when I see for example, our
5 athletes, our champions, coming from families of the poor,
6 when I see some of our great artists, some of our great
7 men and women of the drama and of literature, coming from
8 the families of the ghetto. When I see what there is I
9 say to you, my fellow Americans, let's unlock, let's
10 emancipate that part of our humanity, let's give it its
11 chance to help make America great.

12 (APPLAUSE)

13 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

14 Yes, and I see the new day when our cities shall not
15 be the center of our crisis, but rather shall be the
16 testimonial to our greatness.

17 Cities should be the finest of environment for humans
18 and the elimination of the conditions of slums and ghettos
19 is no longer merely an economic necessity and political
20 necessity, it is a moral requirement of a decent people.

21 And I see the day when people will live together in
22 our cities, not in fear, not in suspicion, not in discrimi-
23 nation, but they will live together in a community as the

1 American family in the American site.

2 And, ladies and gentlemen, we can do it.

3 Any country that can explore the wonders of outer-
4 space, any country that can go to the moon with a space
5 capsule and land men on that moon, any country that can
6 do what we have done to split the atom, may I say, if you
7 can split the atom, why can't you split the difference
8 just a little bit.

9 (APPLAUSE)

10 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

11 Yes, a nation that will be as willing to explore the
12 stars, conquer the universe, should first of all be willing
13 to explore itself and when we explore, when we enter into
14 the American venture of what can be done here, we shall
15 find things more amazing than we find even in the eternity
16 of space.

17 You know St. Augustine once said that the most wonder-
18 ous thing of all is man himself, and man is God's creation.
19 The most wonderful thing of all, humankind.

20 And, it's that humankind to which this party is
21 dedicated, to which this party directs its attention. We
22 direct our attention to the emancipation of the human spirit,
23 to the liberalization of thought, to the conquering of our

1 prejudices and our fears and I believe that is what this
2 campaign is about.

3 There are those who will come to you with the politics
4 of fear and despair to frighten you into the ballot box,
5 to ask you to vote for them, less America be this or that.

6 There will be those who come to you and say, no, let
7 us not move, let's stay where we are, let us pause.

8 And, there will be those that will listen. But I
9 come to you to tell you that humanity is on a forward
10 march and that America must be a part of that march.

11 I come to you that my politics is the politics of
12 hope, it is the politics of faith in this the country and
13 people. And, I ask you my fellow citizens, to give your
14 country a chance.

15 I ask you to put your faith in this nation. I ask
16 you to put your works to this party. I ask you to give
17 of me your heart and your hands and your head. I ask
18 you to give me a chance to lead this nation and we will
19 win.

20 (APPLAUSE)

21 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

22 Let's show these doubters who can win this election!
23 I want you to know, I just had a letter from Harry Truman

1	and I feel great!
2	(APPLAUSE)
3	(WHEREUPON VICE-PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
4	CONCLUDED HIS PUBLIC ADDRESS)
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