



news release

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HUMPHREY PLEDGES TO BE "A PEOPLE'S PRESIDENT . . . A PEACE PRESIDENT";
VOWS NEW TEAM TO PLACE OWN STAMP ON POLICY AND ON PRESIDENCY

New York, N.Y., October 21 -- Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey said today that when he is President he "will bring new people to Washington...exceptional people to fill the many jobs of government...to do the hard work of democracy." He stressed that young people "will have a special place in the Humphrey-Muskie Administration."

"There are Democrats, Republicans...and Independents...who will occupy positions of high trust and responsibility in the Humphrey-Muskie Administration," the Vice President said. "One question will be decisive in staffing the Humphrey-Muskie Administration: 'Do you stand for the people?'"

Speaking at a Democratic fund-raising dinner in New York City, Humphrey said "there are many devoted persons now in Washington," and he said he would build on the experience of the past as well as make use of the wisdom of the future in fashioning his Presidency.

"But as President, I shall want my own team," he said, "to place the Humphrey-Muskie stamp on policy and on the Presidency...and to involve new people...to bring a fresh approach to every problem."

The Vice President reiterated his commitment to "an Open Presidency" and emphasized his intention to "be a People's President," responding actively to public needs. He also said:

"I shall be a Peace President...beginning in Vietnam and continuing with effective controls on the strategic arms race. And I shall look to all Americans...as part of the Open Presidency...for wisdom, ideas and support in my effort....

"As part of my Open Presidency, I will also create

"-- a National University Forum, to provide a direct communication between the President and the academic community;

"-- a Youth Talent Bank, to recruit dynamic young people for public service, and to put them in positions early in their careers where they can affect government action;

. . . more

"-- a Council of Citizens in the office of the President and in each major executive department...to promote public discussion, debate and consultation on the issues facing our people.

"I will also commit myself to finding other new ways of bringing government, groups, and individuals together to solve domestic problems. We must go beyond the traditional interest groups of American life, to involve all our people in their Presidency....

"I will bring new people to Washington...from our cities...from our universities ...from business...from our farms...from wherever there are Americans who are concerned...who have ideas...and who want to take this country forward to future greatness.

"Throughout this land, there are exceptional people to fill the many jobs of government...to do the hard work of democracy.

"Many are young men and women--they will have a special place in the Humphrey-Muskie Administration."

The text of the Vice President's remarks is attached.

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REMARKS
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
FUND RAISING DINNER
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
OCTOBER 21, 1968

For Release: Tuesday AMs
October 22, 1968

It looks as if we're going to win.

Why? Because we have the support of the people.

We have trusted them, and we have won their trust.

I have travelled from one end of America to the other during this campaign. I have been in big cities and small. I have talked about the issues...about the future of our country...and about the need for mutual trust between the people and their President.

I have listened to the people...and they have told me of their fears and doubts...their hopes and dreams. We have not spared one another the facts...and we have found a common sense of purpose...of commitment...to carry forward our heritage as a people...to preserve the greatness of our land.

This bond of mutual trust will lead us to victory on November 5th...a victory for all Americans...and to four years of peace...renewed unity...and continued progress throughout the nation.

Tonight I want to talk about my view of the Presidency.

I approach this subject in difficult times.

Never have we had more need for a leadership of strength and wisdom, to unite...to heal...to guide...and to help us find a new sense of confidence in ourselves.

Never has there been a greater need for people to learn once again to trust one another.

And never has the need been greater for the President to find new ways to marshall the nation's greatest resource...the American people...to stand behind the ideals and beliefs of America.

In other times of peril, our greatest Presidents have summoned us to cleanse the evils in our midst, to resist brute force, to tame and master it.

They have made the Presidency itself a rallying ground for the better angels of the American nature. They have made their hopeful vision a source for strengthening the trust of our people in their capacity to achieve a more perfect union.

In the last quarter century, the Presidency has changed almost beyond recognition--as we have met our new responsibilities in the world...and faced long-neglected needs at home.

In the future, the Presidency must also change, to meet the new demands placed upon our people and our democracy.

I will begin these changes, not just in the structure of the office, but in its role in American society, as well.

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We must have an Open Presidency and an Active Presidency:

-- a Presidency that can overcome the increasing gap between Americans living in cities and towns and government in far-off Washington;

-- a Presidency that can enable each American to feel that he is an important part of the democratic process despite our bigness;

-- a Presidency responsive to the people...not just at the end of a long chain of bureaucracy...but directly.

I shall have such an Open Presidency...and I shall be a People's President.

In the next four years, there are three great realities that must be faced by our people...and by their President.

First is the reality of war...or peace.

My first duty will be to work for peace.

-- not just for ourselves;

-- but for all mankind.

Our power confers responsibility; our strength requires restraint; our actions must lead to justice.

One billion people in the world look to the American President for leadership towards peace. And all men everywhere trust in him to keep that peace.

I shall be a peace President...beginning in Vietnam and continuing with effective controls on the strategic arms race. And I shall look to all Americans...as part of the Open Presidency...for wisdom...ideas...and support in my effort.

As the Prophet Isaiah said: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace." That should be America's role in the world. That will be America's role when I am President.

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Second, is the reality of division in American society...or the paramount need for a new reconciliation.

The President must understand the temper of our people...their trials...their fears...and the key to unlocking their energies in common purpose.

The President must lead the American people away from divisions and discord...to a trust in our future as a united people.

The President must inspire us with confidence that our efforts will provide success...that our unity means a new freedom for each of us, that no man need fear loss, where others gain.

And the President must listen to his people...listen to the quiet voice as well as to the loud...listen to the common man as well as to his spokesman. When any one of us calls in need...or in confusion...the President must hear...the President must respond...the President must act.

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This will be the standard for my Presidency. I will travel throughout America, keeping in close touch with the people...in cities, suburbs, and on the farm.

If we are to be a united people, the President must serve as a symbol of trust and confidence...for one nation, and one people.

And there is the third reality of our time...the reality of stagnation...or progress...in the search for human rights...social justice...and continued economic prosperity.

We are a great people...but our true greatness has not been known.

In this campaign, I have spoken out...despite warnings that America has had enough...that this must be a fallow time in the search for justice...that our people are seeking only ease and security.

I do not believe that this represents the character and strength of our people...we seek--above all--greatness and compassion for all men.

I have spoken with our people about the needs of America--openly, forthrightly, and honestly.

And they have answered with their own commitment to finding answers...to fulfilling the greatness of America:

-- that no single child will go hungry

-- that no single child will be denied good health...an excellent education...a chance to unlock the door to life, and develop to the limits of his abilities.

-- that no single family will live in poverty;

-- that no one who wants to work will lack a job at decent wages.

This is what I have heard from the people...and more. And I shall respond.

There must be other ways of hearing the peoples' voice, as well.

I have made specific proposals for bringing the people and the President closer together...for herein lies the key to unlocking our potential greatness.

I will create a National Domestic Policy Council, within the office of the President.

It will help me, as President, to foresee and deal effectively with the growing crush of domestic problems...to sharpen priorities...to decide between alternative policies...and to forge new links between the Presidency and our nation's states and cities.

As part of my Open Presidency, I will also create

-- a National University Forum, to provide a direct communication between the President and the academic community;

-- a Youth Talent Bank, to recruit dynamic young people for public service, and to put them in positions early in their careers where they can affect government action;

. . . more

-- a Council of Citizens in the office of the President and in each major executive department...to promote public discussion, debate and consultation on the issues facing our people.

I will also commit myself to finding other new ways of bringing government, groups, and individuals together to solve domestic problems. We must go beyond the traditional interest groups of American life, to involve all our people in their Presidency.

We have started to do this with the National Alliance of Businessmen...and the Urban Coalition. And we must do much more. Tomorrow's problems cannot be solved with yesterday's tools.

A President must tap the talents of the entire nation.

I will bring new people to Washington...from our cities...from our universities...from business...from our farms...from wherever there are Americans who are concerned...who have ideas...and who want to take this country forward to future greatness.

Throughout this land, there are exceptional people to fill the many jobs of government...to do the hard work of democracy.

Many are young men and women--they will have a special place in the Humphrey-Muskie Administration.

There are Democrats, Republicans...and Independents...who will occupy positions of high trust and responsibility in the Humphrey-Muskie Administration.

One question will be decisive in staffing the Humphrey-Muskie Administration. "Do you stand for the people?"

There are many devoted persons now in Washington. But as President, I shall want my own team...to place the Humphrey-Muskie stamp on policy and on the Presidency...and to involve new people...to bring a fresh approach to every problem.

Building on the experience of the past...making full use of the wisdom of the future...the Humphrey-Muskie Administration will serve our people...and serve them well.

That is my pledge tonight.

But new patterns of government--new people in Washington--will not alone create a People's Presidency---an Open Presidency.

This requires our common will and commitment.

And I have seen this in the faces of people across America.

I have seen the wealth of this nation.

I have seen a people glow with fantastic vigor.

I have seen our awesome military might...yet always met by an overriding desire for peace.

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My vision of America these last few weeks has made me confident:

-- that fear will wither in the voting booth.

-- that hope is in our nation's heart...

-- that greatness shall win the day...in this election, and in the next four years.

This is the promise of America--200 years old--which, together, we shall fulfill:

-- with the firm leadership of a peoples' President;

-- with the courageous effort of the American people;

-- and with the special grace that comes to those who know, as President Kennedy said: "that here on earth...God's work must truly be our own."

There is so much to do in America.

And we can do it.

I ask your help.

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REMARKS OF HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
FUND RAISING DINNER
NEW YORK CITY

OCTOBER 21, 1968
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VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much. Thank you.
Thank you.

(Applause.)

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for your advice. Just to show you how persuasive you are, I plan on being there Wednesday of this week. I will be there for the balance of the week. I take your advice, Arthur, I shall go.

(Applause.)

I want to take just a very brief moment to express my personal thanks to Arthur Coher and to all the others who have worked so diligently to make this wonderful dinner a reality tonight. I want you to also know both Mrs. Humphrey and myself are much indebted to you for your kindness, for your generosity, for your faith, for your help. Muriel had to leave just a short time ago. We sort of work split shifts. She has to catch an early-morning plane to be in Austin, Texas, tomorrow morning with Mrs. Johnson. The two of them are going to go down there, and we decided that the women in our family do a lot better than the men, so we are turning them loose, and they are going to go down to Austin, Texas, tomorrow. And I told Muriel that I would stay here and misbehave the rest of the rest of the night which I trust that you ladies will take advantage of (laughter), because it will be an entertaining evening.

I have had a wonderful day in New York, greater New York. We have been in Brooklyn most of the day. We were over here at Broadway and 34th earlier today, wonderful crowd, but tonight and this afternoon in Brooklyn you wouldn't have believed it. I am telling you something, there are no Republicans in that area, I am positive of it.

(Applause.)

And if there are are some, they are voting right, and that is fine. It is sort of like, you know, Arthur was telling about a story of Adlai Stevenson. I am often reminded of that story of that life-long Democrat who had always been faithful to the party, always had voted a straight ticket, and was known as the Mr. Democrat, and he received information from his doctor that indicated that he would no longer be with us very long. So this dear man went downtown and he went to the registration office, and he changed his registration to Republican, and it just shocked the whole community, and his best friend said to him, he said, "Well, Mike, why do you do that? All these many years, as long as I have known you, 60 some years, you have been a solid Democrat, and now when the great moment comes you go down and you change your registration." He said, "Well," he said, "I thought if one had to go, it ought to be one of them."

(Laughter.)

So you can see that there is such a thing as party loyalty and the kind of faithfulness that makes you very happy in moments of trial and tribulation.

I want to talk with you tonight not from a prepared manuscript, even though I have one. I want to talk with you a little bit from my heart and from my mind about this election, about how I see it, and then about our country. Maybe I should have said how I see it first, the election, and then the election and our country.

I think everyone in this fine dinner meeting tonight knows that we have had a very difficult uphill struggle. I believe in

telling it like it is. There is no use of pretending. Our convention was late, our party was torn apart, the country is in difficulty, problems at home that drive people to frustration and some to despair, a war that lingers on, tears at the people's faith, many problems, and, in spite of all this, of course, there are many wonderful things, but people tend to forget the wonderful things that happen, the good things.

We had a chance to actually start our campaign right after Labor Day, and when I say start, I mean just start. I am sure that you know that ordinarily a political convention is held early enough to permit the candidates to get themselves in line and order, get all their publicity set, all their media purchased, all their plans made, all their literature printed, their campaign scheduling worked out between the end of July and the first part of September. I want you to know that we didn't have that time. For all practical purposes our convention wasn't over until the weekend of the Labor Day weekend, and we had a chance to actually start in a planning and programming for the campaign effort around the 4th of September, and we tried to open the campaign within five days. It is literally impossible, particularly when some of us insisted on fighting amongst ourselves for a while, while the opposition

coalesces, and has a program well underway.

Our opposition had been on the air, on television, on radio and in the press for six weeks in what appeared to be a great united effort of a political party, well financed, well organized, and as the commentators say, a campaign that was efficient, and a candidate that was cool and confident.

Well, I didn't have any of those privileges because it was a struggle to the last minute. The Chicago convention did not leave us in a happy state, and afterwards the polls indicated that we had little or no chance, and there were a certain number of people that decided that, "Well, if this fellow Humphrey wants to run for it, let him run for it. But I am not going to get involved." And I would look around for legislative candidates, congressional candidates, and believe me it was as hard to find them as it is to get Mr. Nixon to talk -- very hard (applause), but there were some of you in this room and those of you that are here that decided to give me --

VOICE FROM THE GALLERY: Hubert, can I shake your hand, please?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: You will have your chance.

VOICE FROM THE GALLERY: Hubert, can I shake your hand?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: There were those who decided if a man wanted to fight, he ought to have a chance.

VOICE FROM THE GALLERY: I am for you, may I shake your hand, Hubert, I believe you, I honestly believe you.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Bless your heart, thank you, I will come back and shake your hand just a little bit later. Thank you very, very much.

(Applause.)

And we started our struggle, an uphill struggle. Now I don't intend to make this a meeting of pathos and sadness. The simple fact is that we started the struggle because you helped us. You gave us the tools, you gave us the means, you gave me some of the confidence that I needed. I once said to a group of my office mates and advisers, I said, "Listen, if there isn't a living mortal left to campaign for this ticket, it will be me." And I will campaign from one end of this country to the other because I happen to believe that this is a crucial election, and it is an election that goes far beyond just ordinary politics. And because I believe that

I think that that is why you are here tonight.

Now, let me tell you then what I think has happened. I think that a great movement is underway in this country. I believe that there is a miracle in politics that is going to be taking place.

(Applause.)

I have been in public life for 25 years. I have won a lot and lost some. I know the smell of victory, and I know the odious odor of defeat, and I know when people are with you and when they are against you, and, my good friends and supporters, and that is what you are, people that have had faith in me when it was difficult, let me tell you as sure as I stand before you that the scent of victory is in the air.

(Applause.)

My only prayer is that I will have the strength, and I think I shall, to carry on relentlessly day after day these 14 days that we have left, because in 14 days, in 14 days, the American people are going to make a fundamental decision, and it is a decision that is far beyond Democratic or Republican. It is a decision about the nature of our society. It is a decision about the role of America in the world, it is a decision about peace, it is a decision about people and their relationship to each other. It is a decision about social progress or stagnation. It is a decision about human rights or the reversion or reverting back to the old era of suspicion and doubt and fear and hate and that is why I think this fight is worth making as never before.

Now, let me outline it to you as I then see it.

(Applause.)

I have traveled the length and breadth of this country, as you know. I like people. I enjoy them. When I am totally fatigued I gain strength from them, and I think I sense what people are feeling. I first sense that people were not ambivalent, not even apathetic, they were concerned, they were wondering. They are rightly wondering if anybody is capable of meeting the needs of our times. They were taking a look both at the candidates and the parties, and they were taking an even deeper look, they were taking an even deeper look at whether the respective candidates had the capacity, the capacity of mind and heart, the capacity that comes from experience and from maturity to be able to honestly try to come to grips with the problems that beset us, and I think it is a great tribute to the American people that they haven't been jumping too quickly, that they have been analyzing, that they have been looking, that they have been testing, that they have been scrutinizing every one of us. What I have asked for is the right to be heard, the right to present my case, and not only the right, the means, and you have helped provide those means, some of you here tonight, all of you who are at this dinner, you are here because you helped me financially, you helped me by your word, by your support, by your encouragement so that we can get on the television, on the radio, and in the newspapers, so that we can bring some of our message to the people that are still wondering.

I think this election will never be known, that the decision of this election will come down really to the very end of the moment, to the end of the tape and the line. There is a great undecided vote in this country. People are wondering, and they are asking, "Can we believe him? Whom can we trust?" They are asking which of these candidates has the capacity to be able to really pursue honorably, intelligently, relentlessly, fearlessly the cause of peace and, at the same time, not sacrifice our national security.

They are asking which of these candidates can heal the divisions in our society, and there are divisions; which of these

candidates can talk to black and white, hopefully bring them to some -- some spirit of understanding and reconciliation that will lead to progress; and they are asking which of these candidates has enough knowledge of the economy, of the social, economic structure to be able to guide it in patterns that will continue steady economic growth, on the one hand, without runaway inflation, on the other? Which of these candidates can help promote this great, wonderful development that has taken place in the last decade called the fulfillment of human rights, and do it in such a way that there will not be a vicious backlash that will set us back for decades?

They are asking a lot of questions, and I know, because I look into their eyes and I see them. And sometimes I have people say to me, "You know, that audience didn't respond as it should." And I say to them quietly, sometimes without a word, "That was a good audience, they were a thinking audience. They were wondering. They do not want to be fooled."

The American people know that they are going to make a fateful decision.

Let me tell you what I think that decision is going to be and on what grounds it will be decided. What are the realities of our time? Well, the first reality is the duty, not just the privilege, but the absolute duty of the President of the United States, whomever he may be, to pursue with all the ability and capacity that he has the course and the path that leads to peace (applause), to peace in Southeast Asia, to peace in Southeast Asia, but even more significantly, as I told you before, the peace that is threatened by the everspiraling arms race. I am convinced that this is a fundamental issue, and I think you have to ask yourself the question, and I think you have, Which of these men is best equipped to talk to the leaders of the world? Who is, amongst these three that seek this presidency, that can command the respect -- I didn't say the affection, but the respect -- of the Soviet leaders? Who is it that has some knowledge of this whole broad spectrum of world affairs that we call international relations.

And I think I have to make my case, the case that is based upon years of experience in the Senate, a delegate to the United Nations, an adviser and counselor to a dozen or more conferences in Geneva, and within my last four years, as your vice president, four trips to the continent of Asia, none of them pleasure trips, one of them to the continent of Africa which was a revelation to me and, I think, to them, and two to Europe.

I believe that I am prepared to talk in behalf of the United States of America to the leaders of the world.

(Applause.)

The search for peace goes far beyond the needs of our own people. It relates to all of mankind, and peace is not the gift that comes to the weak or the timid or to the man of indecision or to the person that has little or no conception of the world in which he lives. Peace is the gift that comes to the courageous, to the persevering, to a man of tenacity, but also to a man of forbearance, and to a nation that understands its power, and then to a president that understands that the highest act of statesmanship is the restraint in the use of that power.

(Applause.)

These are not, this first reality, is not easy to achieve, and I would be less than worthy of your confidence if I were to tell you that all you need to do is to wish for peace. Work, incredible work. Hopefully the best advice and counsel that you can receive will be needed. But I believe that we must design a new strategy for peace, and that is why I said that I believe that we must take a careful inventory of every asset that we have

and every commitment that we have made, to place a new reassessment or a reassessment upon our commitments and our priorities. And the new administration will do that.

This is not to repudiate the past. It is only to properly evaluate the future. I have so many people say to me, "Well, you ought to repudiate so and so or this or this." And I say to myself, "To what good does that lead, what good does that lead to?"

A candidate that seeks either repudiation or vindication is representing a lost cause, and he is lost himself. What is most important is where are we going, not where have we been. What have we learned.

(Applause.)

And I can tell you that the team of Humphrey and Muskie have had the chance to learn a great deal, and we will be unafraid to try new things. We believe that a great nation and a great people must have the same courage in the quest for peace that its soldiers have in the quest for victory, and we believe that both of them represent greatness in a people.

(Applause.)

Now, the second reality that I refer to is the division in the American society. Ladies and gentlemen, there is a dangerous mood in this country or a dangerous movement or mood. It is represented and personalized today in the candidacy of the third party candidate, but it would be here if there were no George Wallace. He happens to be an effective, articulate -- affective and articulate spokesman of the frustration, of the bitterness, of the fear and of the anger of many Americans who somehow or another haven't been able quite to understand what has happened in this age of dynamic change, and I am not even critical of these Americans, because the truth is that so much has happened it is amazing our society has been able to have the resilience to even hold together. Fantastic developments in science and technology that in other days and amongst other peoples might have wrecked a whole social, economic structure, but not ours. Changes in race relations that no other nation has ever experienced. Changes from an urban -- from a rural to an urban economy in such a pace that no other nation has ever known anything like it. Incredible changes, and the greatest testimonial to the constitutional and economic and social system that we have is the fact that we have been able to ride out these changes, so to speak, to go through these storms without having our ship of state blown apart, torn asunder.

Dr. Conant said some ten years ago that our cities were filled with the ingredients of social dynamite. He warned us a decade ago. Regrettably some people didn't listen to that warning. Regrettably the Republican Administration of the fifties paid no attention to it, ladies and gentlemen; just exactly as Franklin Roosevelt inherited the results of the indifference of the Republicanism of the twenties, so Lyndon Johnson has inherited the indifference of the Republicanism of the 1950s, and as Franklin Roosevelt was confronted with a nation that was prostrate and bankrupt, except for the strength of its people, and this president and John Kennedy before him were confronted with a crisis in our cities, where most of our people lived, with a crisis in human relations that had been pushed under the rug, pushed back into the closet, hidden away from the people, hidden away from everybody except a few perceptive commentators, and all at once the social dynamite began to explode, and we have been living through one of the most catastrophic, one of the most dangerous periods of our social and political life. And now we come to 1968, and I want to remind you that in the years after the Civil War there were years just like this, and there were decisions made then and after

the Civil War that held back the progress of this country for a half century, because people refused to listen to the voices of reason.

I am hopeful that now with television and radio, with a better educated public, that people will listen to the voices of reason, because if we do not understand that we cannot turn back the clock and that we cannot even have its hands stand still, then I predict to you that this country will be torn asunder, that disorder will be the menu of the day, that peoples will live in fear of each other, and that all that we have dreamed of of one nation under God and indivisible with liberty and justice for all will be but a fiction, a book of fiction, and not a reality.

I am primarily in this campaign because I believe that I have the qualities, and I say it immodestly, I know, at least I have the experience, and I surely know I have the heart for it, to try to bind up this Nation's wounds and to heal them.

(Applause.)

Yes, we need reconciliation above all else.

We need understanding. We need persevering patience. But we need leadership in which black and white, young and old can place their confidence.

We cannot afford to have this country divided with a generation gap that becomes explosive, with racism that becomes explosive, with antagonisms between rich and poor that become explosive. And the Presidency must be the rallying point for the forces of decency in America. The Presidency must be the point in which the goodness of the American people is manifest, in which the greatness of the American people comes forth. And that is why I think that above all when we make a decision about who shall be President and what party shall have responsibility, we must keep in mind those that care, those that have demonstrated by record and performance their understanding of people and, indeed, their love of people, and their willingness to work with people, all kinds of people.

That is why we are in this campaign. (Applause)

Now, the third reality -- the third reality that I see -- and this is important to many a man here -- that is so responsible for the future progress of this country, is the reality of stagnation or progress in the search, not only for human rights and social justice, but in our economic progress or our economic prosperity.

Everything that we want to do depends upon having an economy that can move forward steadily, growing, expanding, opening new opportunities for jobs and for investments, for entrepreneurship for technicians, for professional people, everything.

The man that comes to you and promises you great things and yet has no understanding of the economics of our nation, the economy, is both a fool and a hypocrite, because nothing that we seek to do can be done if this nation finds itself in economic turmoil. And I don't think that you prove yourself to understand the nature of modern economics and of modern capitalism when you say that you think you should not only be able to endure, but that you should be willing to accept a higher rate of unemployment, a higher rate than even 4.5 million, a higher rate that runs into five or six million, as the cure for what they call inflation.

That is no answer, my friends.

(Applause)

I want to remind you that unemployment is as contagious as the Asian flu once it starts.

I do not think that the way that you slow down a person with hypertension is to feed him small doses of arsenic and then occasionally hit him on the head with a mallet in the hopes that somehow or another this will slow him down. It not only will slow him down -- it may kill him.

And to me any man that feels -- banker, management, business, labor, economist, or whomever he may be -- that feels that the answer to our economic problems, the problems of rising prices, is that you somehow or another take it out of the hides of the working people of this country through unemployment, I say that that person has disqualified himself as the manager of the American government.

(Applause)

I used an example with a group of young people or interrogators who were with me yesterday of this period through which we are going.

I said it was like -- it was like flying -- and I do a lot of it, as you know -- and when I was not running for President or when I wasn't Vice-President, I used to fly in anything that they said was an airplane, and sometimes I would even be foolish enough to fly the plane myself. I hope that the CAB is not

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listening or any of the regulatory agencies. But it was all done in Minnesota, and you have no jurisdiction there.

(Laughter)

But when I was campaigning for the Senate on occasion I would want to learn a little bit about flight, and I always have been a rather adventuresome person, so I would try to take over the controls.

Mr. Andreas doesn't know, but sometimes I used to do it on his Cessna 310 twin engine job.

But I'll guarantee you one thing. Before the pilot and myself ever took off, we got a weather report. And I can remember so many times I would say "I wonder if we ought to go" and the pilot would say "Oh, I think so". And I would say, "Well, now, they told us that there was a big -- there was a line there of thunderheads, there was a front that we had to go through". And he would say, "Oh, I think we'll get around that, we've got radar, we'll make it".

Well, you know, in a sense, my fellow Americans, that is what is happening to us in this society of ours. We are coming out of a sort of a low with overcast, drizzle. It hasn't been too good in terms of our social system for many of our people, millions of people that never had a chance. And then somebody tells you "You know, but two hundred miles down -- two hundred miles out there is a blue sky, smooth sailing. But before you get there, you are going to have to go through a front.

Now, that front represents the changes that we are going through today, changes in human relations and business relations, changes in world markets, changes in the United Nations, changes in the power structure, some changes that people don't even recognize.

When I hear Mr. Nixon talk about, for example, what he would do as if the world of today were the world of 1953, when Dwight Eisenhower was President, when the Soviet Union was in the infancy of its nuclear development, and when the Soviet Union today is in the maximum of its nuclear development, when the Soviet Union didn't have one long-range missile, when today the Soviet Union has enough missiles to kill one-hundred-fifty Americans -- 150,000,000 in one day; changes have taken place even if Mr. Nixon doesn't know it.

That is the danger of being so far away from government over a long period of time and learning very little.

But we are going through many changes.

Now, the question is how are you going to get through that front from that low of a segregated society, of a society of disenchantment for some, of a society of despair for at least one-fifth of the population that was poverty-ridden.

How are you going to get away out of that low where hundreds of thousands of young people never had a chance to get a decent education, and how are you going to get into that high, where there is a chance for a man simply because he is a man, and where there will really be equal opportunity.

Well, the chance of how you get through it is -- how you get there is, whether you get through that front; and we are now running into that front.

Now, there are three candidates. One of them says, "The hell with the thunderheads; I'll go right through them, bombs and all".

And, of course, you know what happens to that pilot.

And if he is in your -- running your country -- that means that you have cracked up on the way and you are gone.

There have been people like that. There have been people like that that tried to gain office in this country and thank God were turned back; the Know-Nothings, the radicals. And

there have been people in Europe like that that gained control of their country and wrecked it and ruined it, preaching hate, seeking scapegoats, and thinking that all you had to do was have force and repression and oppression. And they wrecked it. They ran their ship of state smack bang into the hurricane and the thunderhead that tore it apart.

Now, there is another kind of candidate -- that first one was George Wallace, in case you missed who I was talking about.

There is another kind of candidate who takes a look at the weather chart and he says "I think we have gone too far already, and I don't think we ought to take off, or if we do, let's circle the airport", or maybe he isn't quite that daring, he says, "Let's get out to the end of the runway and buzz the motors and make sounds like we are going to take off; that will fool some people.

(Applause)

And the hourney that needed to be made and the mission that needed to be accomplished ended up on the end of the runway, with props whirling or jet engines blasting, but the brakes were on because the pilot and, God forbid, the co-pilot in this instance -- (Laughter - Applause) -- at least the pilot looked around and he said "They can't see us from here; let's just pretend t hat we are taking off".

The only trouble is that co-pilot is in touch with the control tower. He got everything loused up, and they know something is wrong.

Now, that is the second one.

Then there is the third set of candidates --- pilot and co-pilot that have gotten a weather report. They have taken a look at the plane, they know that it's been well built, they know that it's made many other a journey; they know that it has been tested, they know what its flight pattern is, they know what its capacity is to take strain and stress, they know the radar is on it, they have been at the controls before -- at least they have been close to them --- and one of then has been a co-pilot, and another one has been a good navigator. And so the pilot and the co-pilot get to the end of the runway and let the motors go and take off, but not to run into the thunderheads, not to run into the storm -- recognizing that the trip may be a little turbulent, telling the passengers to put on the seat belts, but asking them to remember that we made this trip before and that we know where we are going, we have faith in our craft, we know that the engines are strong, the dynamism of this economy, and we know that there is trust amongst the pilots and trust amongst the passengers, and we say "Buckle in. The seat belt sign is on but the pilot is at the wheel, at the controls, and the co-pilot is there at the controls, in touch with the tower. The radar is working and we will vector around these storms and we will get you out into the blue, and we will win."

(Applause)

That is what we are going to do, my friends. I am confident of it.

What I need now from you is the confidence that I think that you have. I am convinced that 1968 is a year of great decision. I am convinced that we are going to decide in this year the kind of a Supreme Court we are going to have for the next twenty years.

You are going to have to make up your mind whether you want Humphrey and Muskie to pick that court or Nixon and Thurmond. Make up your mind -- that is what it is all about.

(Applause)

You're going to have to make up your mind whether you want this election won by the electoral college, by a 270 majority, or 270 votes, that the Humphrey-Muskie team can obtain, or whether you are going to see this election be the plaything of the electors, or whether it goes to the House of Representatives, and whether or not the old coalition that I met when I first came to Washington of the Dixiecrats on the one hand, and the most reactionary Republicans, on the other, run this country.

You are going to have to decide whether you think that you can hold down people who are demanding to be heard, demanding their place in the sun; whether you can do that with repression and oppression and police methods -- or whether you are going to listen to them, not always take what they want, not always give what they want; but to listen -- whether the White House is to become a fortress or whether it is to become a home in which Americans in a family way can talk it out, and even in the most polite terms occasionally argue and fight it out within the family, and not to have it on the streets and not to have the bitterness and the anger that can destroy a free people.

You are going to have to decide whether or not this economy of ours can have steady growth or whether it has to have the hiccups, the Republican hiccups -- a little piece of prosperity and a gulp of recession. You are going to have to decide that.

And I don't think there is a man or a woman in this room that thinks that is the way that America can fulfill its responsibilities. And you are going to have to decide whether or not you want a President -- because I don't think George Wallace is going to be President -- you are going to have to decide whether you want a President that thinks it is more important to argue with the Communist leader about the merits of color television in a booth in a fair, or in a kitchen, in a display, or whether it is better to have a man who talked about the fate of mankind in the Kremlin.

You are going to have to decide whether or not you want someone that really believes that it is imperative to halt the arms race before -- unless you halt the human race, or whether or not you would want somebody that thinks that all we need to do is build power, power, power.

Ladies and gentlemen, there is a great deal of difference between power and strength. Power characterizes the brute. Strength characterizes the civilized man. And I want to say that we -- (Applause) ---that we, as a nation and as a people need strength. We ought not to wallow in our power, in our wealth.

I didn't intend to talk this long or be this serious with you, but you are my people, I depend on you. I have got to have your help.

(Applause)

I don't need it half as much for me as I need it for you, to be frank about it. You have more to lose in many ways than I have. We both have more to gain if we succeed.

We need an America that is both safe and just, and we can have it, and we need a world that is safe for diversity as well as safe for democracy, and we can have it. That is why I want to be your President.

I know I can't do this alone, but I can do it with you.

And I can tell you that the first test of a President is the man that he selects to stand alongside of him, because the responsibilities of the Presidency today are so great that no one man alone can ever really master them.

I ask you to take a look, to judge the first test, the only real test that the three of us have had thus far. I ask you to take a look at the test as it was given to Mr. Wallace for his running mate, and I ask you to take a look at the test as given to Mr. Nixon for his running mate; and I ask you to take

a look at the test as given to Mr. Humphrey for his running mate.

(Applause)

And I ask you to keep in mind that that test is not academic. It is very real in the uncertain world in which you and I live, an America which in the last fifty years one out of three of its Presidents has failed to live out his term. I don't like to tell you that, but it is a fact.

We are running as a team. I do not ask you to vote for Ed Muskie alone or Hubert Humphrey alone. I ask you to work for him -- to vote for the two men that are rather different but two men that complement each other, two men that have had years of experience in state and local and federal government; two men who had been tested as few men have, and two men who, first of all, have faith in each other, whose coming together was not a marriage of political convenience, but rather was an act of political respect and admiration.

I think we have a ticket, and I think you can be proud of it. And I want you not only to give me your money -- God only knows we need that -- but I want you to give us your faith, I want you to give us your enthusiasm. I want you to know that your country needs you. I want you to know that this election can be won, and I want you to know that I intend with your help to win it.

Thank you.

(Applause)

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REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

FUND RAISING DINNER

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

OCTOBER 21, 1968

It looks as if we're going to win.

Why? Because we have the support of the people.

We have trusted them, and we have won their trust.

I have travelled from one end of America to the other during this campaign. I have been in big cities and small. I have talked about the issues . . . about the future of our country . . . and about the need for mutual trust between the people and their President.

I have listened to the people . . . and they have told me of their fears and doubts . . . their hopes and dreams. We have not spared one another the facts . . . and we have found a common sense of purpose . . . of commitment . . . to carry forward our heritage as a people . . . to preserve the greatness of our land.

This bond of mutual trust will lead us to victory on November 5th . . . a victory for all Americans . . . and to four years of peace . . . renewed unity . . . and continued progress throughout the nation.

Tonight I want to talk about my view of the Presidency.

I approach this subject in difficult times.

Never have we had more need for a leadership of strength and wisdom, to unite ... to heal ... to guide ... and to help us find a new sense of confidence in ourselves.

Never has there been a greater need for people to learn once again to trust one another.

And never has the need been greater for the President to find new ways to marshall the nation's greatest resource ... the American people ... to stand behind the ideals and beliefs of America.

In other times of peril, our greatest Presidents have summoned us to cleanse the evils in our midst, to resist brute force, to tame and master it.

They have made the Presidency itself a rallying ground for the better angels of the American nature. They have made their hopeful vision a source for strengthening the trust of our people in their capacity to achieve a more perfect union.

- 3a -

In the last quarter century, the Presidency has changed almost beyond recognition -- as we have met our new responsibilities in the world ... and faced long-neglected needs at home.

In the future , the Presidency must also change, to meet the new demands placed upon our people and our democracy.

I will begin these changes, not just in the structure of the office, but in its role in American society, as well.

We must have an Open Presidency and an Active Presidency:

--a Presidency that can overcome the increasing gap between Americans living in cities and towns and government in far-off Washington.

--a Presidency that can enable each American to feel that he is an important part of the democratic process despite our bigness;

--a Presidency responsive to the people . . . not just at the end of a long chain of bureaucracy . . . but directly.

I shall have such an Open Presidency . . . and I shall be a People's President.

In the next four years, there are three great realities that must be faced by our people . . . and by their President.

First is the reality of war . . . or peace.

My first duty will be to work for peace.

--not just for ourselves;

--but for all mankind.

Our power confers responsibility; our strength requires restraint; our actions must lead to justice.

One billion people in the world look to the American President for leadership towards peace. And all men everywhere trust in him to keep that peace.

I shall be a peace President . . . beginning in Vietnam and continuing with effective controls on the strategic arms race. And I shall look to all Americans . . . as part of the Open Presidency . . . for wisdom . . . ideas . . . and support in my effort.

As the Prophet Isaiah said: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace." That should be America's role in the world. That will be America's role when I am President.

Second, is the reality of division in American society . . . or the paramount need for a new reconciliation.

The President must understand the temper of our people . . . their trials . . . their fears . . . and the key to unlocking their energies in common purpose.

The President must lead the American people away from divisions and discord . . . to a trust in our future as a united people.

The President must inspire us with confidence that our efforts will provide success . . . that our unity means a new freedom for each of us, that no man need fear loss, where others gain.

And the President must listen to his people. . .
listen to the quiet voice as well as to the loud. . . listen
to the common man as well as to his spokesman. When any
one of us calls in need. . . or in confusion. . . the
President must hear. . . the President must respond. . .
the President must Act.

This will be the standard for my Presidency. I will travel
throughout America, keeping in close touch with the people
. . . in cities, suburbs, and on the farm.

If we are to be a united people, the President must serve
as a symbol of trust and confidence. . . for one nation, and
one people.

And there is the third reality of our time . . . the reality of stagnation . . . or progress . . . in the search for human rights . . . social justice . . . and continued economic prosperity.

We are a great people . . . but our true greatness has not been known.

In this campaign, I have spoken out . . . despite warnings that America has had enough . . . that this must be a fallow time in the search for justice . . . that our people are seeking only ease and security.

I do not believe that this represents the character and strength of our people . . . we seek -- above all -- greatness and compassion for all men.

I have spoken with our people about the needs of America -- openly, forthrightly, and honestly.

And they have answered with their own commitment to finding answers . . . to fulfilling the greatness of America:

--that no single child will go hungry

--that no single child will be denied good health . . . an excellent education . . . a chance to unlock the door to life, and develop to the limits of his abilities.

--that no single family will live in poverty;

--that no one who wants to work will lack a job at decent wages.

This is what I have heard from the people . . . and more. And I shall respond.

There must be other ways of hearing the peoples' voice, as well.

I have made specific proposals for bringing the people and the President closer together . . . for herein lies the key to unlocking our potential greatness.

I will create a National Domestic Policy Council, within the office of the President.

It will help me, as President, to foresee and deal effectively with the growing crush of domestic problems . . . to sharpen priorities . . . to decide between alternative policies . . . and to forge new links between the Presidency and our nation's states and cities.

As part of my Open Presidency, I will also create

--a National University Forum, to provide a direct communication between the President and the academic community;

--a Youth Talent Bank, to recruit dynamic young people for public service, and to put them in positions early in their careers where they can affect government action;

--a Council of Citizens in the office of the President and in each major executive department . . . to promote public discussion, debate and consultation on the issues facing our people.

I will also commit myself to finding other new ways of bringing government, groups, and individuals together to solve domestic problems. We must go beyond the traditional interest groups of American life, to involve all our people in their Presidency.

We have started to do this with the National Alliance of Businessmen . . . and the Urban Coalition. And we must do much more. Tomorrow's problems cannot be solved with yesterday's tools.

A President must tap the talents of the entire nation.

I will bring new people to Washington. . . from our cities. . . from our universities. . . from business. . . from our farms. . . from wherever there are Americans who are concerned. . . who have ideas. . . and who want to take this country forward to future greatness.

Throughout this land, there are exceptional people to fill the many jobs of government. . . to do the hard work of democracy. Many are young men and women -- they will have a special place in the Humphrey-Muskie Administration.

There are Democrats, Republicans. . . and Independents. . . who will occupy positions of high trust and responsibility in the Humphrey-Muskie Administration.

One question will be decisive in staffing the Humphrey-Muskie Administration. "Do you stand for the people?"

There are many devoted persons now in Washington. But as President, I shall want my own team . . . to place the Humphrey-Muskie stamp on policy and on the Presidency . . . and to involve new people . . . to bring a fresh approach to every problem.

Building on the experience of the past . . . making full use of the wisdom of the future . . . the Humphrey-Muskie Administration will serve our people . . . and serve them well.

That is my pledge tonight.

But new patterns of government -- new people in Washington -- will not alone create a People's Presidency -- an Open Presidency.

This requires our common will and commitment.

And I have seen this in the faces of people across America.

I have seen the wealth of this nation.

I have seen a people glow with fantastic vigor.

I have seen our awesome military might . . . yet always met by an overriding desire for peace.

My vision of America these last few weeks has made me confident:

--that fear will wither in the voting booth.

--that hope is in our nation's heart . . .

--that greatness shall win the day . . . in this election, and in the next four years.

This is the promise of America -- 200 years old --
which, together, we shall fulfill:

--with the firm leadership of a peoples' President;

--with the courageous effort of the American people;

--and with the special grace that comes to those who
know, as President Kennedy said: "that here on earth . . .
God's work must truly be our own."

There is so much to do in America.

And we can do it.

I ask your help.

#

DRAFT

FUND RAISING

NEW YORK CITY

OCTOBER 21, 1968

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Why? Because we have the support of the people.

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I have travelled from one end of America to the other during this campaign. I have been in big cities and small. I have talked about the issues . . . about the future of our country . . . and about the need for mutual trust between the people and their President.

I have listened to the people . . . and they have told me of their fears and doubts . . . their hopes and dreams. We have not spared one another the facts . . . and we have found a common sense of purpose . . . of commitment . . . to carry forward our heritage as a people . . . to preserve the greatness of our land.

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on November 5th . . . a victory for all Americans . . . and to four years of peace . . . renewed unity . . . and continued progress throughout the nation.

I want

Tonight, ~~therefore, I think it is appropriate for me to talk about~~
my view of the Presidency.

I approach this subject in difficult times.

~~Never has our nation been faced with so many problems, and so much unrest, both at home and abroad.~~

Never have we had more need for a leadership of strength and wisdom, to unite . . . to heal . . . to guide . . . and to help us find a new sense of confidence in ourselves.

And never has the need been greater for the President to find new ways to marshall the nation's greatest resource . . . the American people . . . to stand behind the ideals and beliefs ^{of America.} ~~that have made this country the international hallmark of democracy.~~

In the last quarter century, the ~~nature of the~~ Presidency has changed almost beyond recognition ^{as} we have met our new responsibilities

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in the world . . . and faced long-neglected needs at home.

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--a Presidency that can ~~cope with the increasing complexity of life,~~
and still enable each American to feel that he is an important part of the democratic process;
despite our bigness;

--a Presidency ~~that is~~ responsive to the people . . . not just at the end of a long chain of bureaucracy . . . but directly.

I shall have such an Open Presidency . . . and I shall be a People's President.

In the next four years, there are three great realities that must be faced by our people . . . and by their President.

First is the reality of war . . . or peace.

My first duty will be to work for peace.

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all Americans . . . as part of the Open Presidency . . . for wisdom . . .
ideas . . . and support in my effort.

 We must use our power . . . for peace . . . and as President I will
do just that.

Isaiah

As the Prophet ¹said: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the

feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace." (Isaiah 52:7)

That should be
That is America's proper role in the world.

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* * * * *

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~~###~~

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And we can do it.

I ask your help.

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