

Humphrey Program:



**‘To Extend...the Promise
of American Society’**

In 20 years as a U.S. senator and as Vice President, Hubert H. Humphrey has compiled a liberal, creative public record.

He has pioneered, or vigorously championed, bold programs in virtually every legislative sphere—social security and medicare, the war on poverty at home and abroad, federal aid to education, jobs and manpower training, world peace and disarmament, etc.

It has been said, indeed, that nearly every piece of progressive legislation enacted over the past 20 years bears the Humphrey imprint.

But what of America's problems now? What of the future?

The Vice President, in seeking the Democratic Party's nomination for President, has begun to present his program to the people. That program for the nation is summarized on these pages as it has emerged from Humphrey's campaign statements thus far.

Human Rights



I reject the idea that we have to be two nations, black and white . . . or two nations, North and South . . . or two nations, rich and poor. No responsible person wants that. There is a vast silent group of Americans—a majority of many millions—that wants to make this country work . . . that wants safety and equal rights for everyone . . . that bears no ill will against other Americans. I think this silent America—an America still unaroused—can be aroused. I mean to try.

So I would set to work, on my very first day in office, to pull this country together, and then, to see if we couldn't pull the world a little closer back to sanity and peace.

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The Negro is not and should not be satisfied with speeches about fulfilling the Emancipation Proclamation. He wants specifics—a skill and a job for himself, a pleasant home for his wife and family, a good school for his children. He wants to be a full participant in American society—an equal partner with first-class citizenship.

. . . I count this fulfillment of human rights as the central issue of our times; and I expect in the months ahead to contribute the best that is in me to the formulation, through democracy's essential process, of a new and complete national commitment to human rights.

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The next President will face, as have few before him, the insistent demand now for one citizenship for all Americans—one birthright of freedom and opportunity to which all may claim equal inheritance.

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We shall know in our time whether this democratic ideal can be won—or whether America, despite her momentous achievements and her promise, will become another of history's false starts.

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Realizing the fullness of our democracy will depend, first and foremost, upon our ability to extend the promise of American society to every citizen in an environment where the rights of all are preserved—peacefully and without violence.

The Environment

Our commitment is to conserve and enrich the new America we are creating . . . We can no longer neglect great urban resources, such as our city waterfronts. We can no longer afford heedlessly to discharge more wastes into our rivers and streams. Our country is not so rich that it can afford unthinkingly to destroy historic places that give us our identity with our past.

Our country is not so strong that it can afford to alter the human environment by changing the course of a wilderness river, or by laying down a new expressway . . . without first considering what it does to the quality of our lives.

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The rivers . . . the wooded hillsides . . . the lakes . . . the Redwoods . . . the North Cascade forests . . . have values which must be measured not by dollars alone but by their contribution to the personal well-

being of men . . . It will take the commitment of all our institutions . . . public and private . . . and all of our citizens . . . to secure quality in our environment . . . There is room in America for the highways *and* the wilderness.

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Pollution—like migration, modern transportation and much else that goes with our contemporary society—has little respect for our present jurisdictional boundaries, many of which were drawn in an agrarian age.

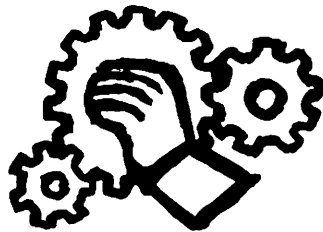
Our existing anti-pollution programs recognize the necessity of close regional cooperation.

I believe, however, that we shall need to go farther—to create totally new Regional Pollution Authorities, which would be funded by the states or localities covered and authorized to receive and administer federal anti-pollution funds.

But sustained and efficient pollution control will require more than what are essentially public programs designed to clean up after industry.

In our free enterprise economy, acceptable disposal of wastes should rightfully be a normal part of doing business. Any additional costs involved should be treated as regular operating costs—costs which the man in the street must be prepared to share when he buys a box of stationery or a new car.

Jobs



We must recognize the civil right of every American to earn a living.

The richest society man has ever known cannot afford to permit the festering frustration of unemployment which can so easily erupt into violence. Jobs bring dignity to the individual and resources to his family—and wealth to the nation.

The idea of guaranteeing decent jobs to everybody who will work at them makes sense—with private employers providing job opportunities to the fullest extent possible, and with the government making whatever back-up or financing arrangements are necessary.

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I don't believe that anyone wants a welfare check or a handout. I believe people want the dignity and the self-respect that comes from an honest job.

And it is now within our power to see that everyone who wants a job has that job. And for those who cannot support themselves because of age, illness, or disability, it is time to provide enough help to permit people to lift their heads in self-respect.

If there is one thing that Americans ought to have as a top priority, that is maximum performance of this economy, maximum participation of the people in this democracy, a vital, vibrant economy, a vital democracy, and when we have it, there is no power on the face of this earth that can stand up against us. . . . It is the best foreign policy, my fellow Americans, an effective social policy here at home, domestic and social economic policy.

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As we approach the 200th anniversary of our independence, it is clear that America faces a new challenge—the challenge of using its material plenty to provide a full and free life for all its citizens.

That means building cities that are safe and clean.

It means eliminating the slums and joblessness, poor education and hopelessness that are part of our urban environment today.

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To me—and I feel this very deeply—it means an urgent national effort to revitalize rural America and develop its full potential not only for those who live there, but for those who want an occasional chance to get away from the cities.

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Right now, for every 175 rural youngsters who reach working age, there are less than a hundred jobs.

In 1960, 22 percent of all rural five-year-olds were in kindergarten. In the cities, the figure was 46 percent.

The average rural teenager completes about 9 years of school. The figure is over 12 in the cities.

A third of our rural housing is substandard.

What this means, particularly for our young people, is that the basic American right to freedom of choice—choice of where to live . . . choice of employment—is restricted.

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So when America sets out to provide full and equal opportunity for every citizen—and that is a task I mean to see completed as nearly as possible by 1976—we have to mean every citizen, young and old, black and white, rural and urban.

The Cities



I think that the American people know that the Marshall Plan as it was administered as foreign aid was a success. I think they'd like to believe they could have a similar success at home. The Marshall Plan was a success primarily in Europe because it was worked out in concert with the recipient and the donor, with industry and labor and the people in the area that needed the help. We could make that work in Europe, we can make it work in America.

Local initiative, careful planning, coordinated policy, strict priorities, and massive commitment—these techniques brought a new Europe from the ashes of World War II.

These are also the requirements for perfecting the American city.

It will cost money—a great deal of it.

To help solve the central problems of financing, I propose the creation of a National Urban Development Bank, financed through subscription of private funds.

I propose federal underwriting of the unusual "risk" elements which are inevitably going to be involved in meeting the hardest and most critical urban problems.

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 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.

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This is essentially a program for federal underwriting of loans.

This is even more essentially a proposal to commit ourselves, as a country, to paying whatever is the cost not just of saving, but of perfecting, our cities.

I urge that commitment of the people of America.

I will urge that meeting the needs of America's cities be made in effect a prior lien on the additional several billions which we will realize each year in increased revenues from present taxes on our vastly-expanded national income.

I will urge, too, that we use, on these problems, a fair share of the "peace dividend" which can be ours—if we are steadfast in our determination to achieve an honorable settlement in Paris—and if we can achieve mutual deescalation in the costly and futile arms race between our nation and the Soviet Union.

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We can never build the cities we need without the full commitment of private enterprise.

We must, therefore, be prepared to offer financial incentives to engage the enormous power of the private sector.

We must also offer these incentives, in addition to schools and first-class public services, as magnets to draw new industry and populations to the smaller city and new town—which can become the well-planned metropolis of tomorrow.

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I urge, too, the adoption of the plain principle of public administrative responsibility: that the worst problems get the first attention.

In most cities today, public services are poorest where the needs are greatest.

Schools are weakest where learning is hardest. This is wrong.

Garbage collection is slowest where the rats are.

Building codes are not enforced where the conditions they were designed to prevent are most prevalent.

Where health problems are most severe, medical facilities and personnel are least adequate—and often the most expensive.

It is time to change that pattern. I don't suggest we impair city services in the better neighborhoods. I only say: We must make these services available to all our citizens.

Civil Order

Government of, by and for the people depends on respect for and observance of the law. Violence and lawlessness cannot, and must not, be condoned in America.

I put these items at the top of the agenda for civil order:

First. The rioting in American cities must stop. And if it breaks out again it must be put down promptly, firmly and effectively.

Today, more than ever before, violence is the enemy of civil rights and civil liberties. It is the ally of reaction—and can be used as an excuse for not doing the things that need to be done in this country.

Second. The sale and the possession of firearms has to be governed by the sole consideration of what is necessary and effective to stop their criminal use. It demeans us as a civilized people to put any other consideration ahead of this one.

The laws against carrying concealed weapons must be greatly strengthened, and the penalties for violation increased.

Third. Federal, state and local agencies must be organized in a massive effort to stop the drug traffic in this country.

Fourth. Councils for Civil Peace should be organized at the state and metropolitan level . . . to provide a state community relations service designed to prevent violence and to gain community cooperation and communication.

Fifth. We must take a hard look at the effects of television on our children. What happens when they are exposed to endless exercises in the casual infliction of injury and death on our television screens?

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I submit that the recommendations of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders are right—and that as they are carried out civil order—as well as social justice—in America's cities will be served.

The War On Poverty



There is no reason in America—with unequalled wealth and agricultural productivity—for anyone to go hungry.

It is immoral to allow some children to suffer from malnutrition while others in America are concerned about the dangers of overeating.

It is time to make an adequate diet part of the Bill of Rights of every American, and to be sure our farmers get a fair return for their product.

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We have done more about poverty in the last four years than in the thirty that went before. But, there is still so much to be done. Our country is only half awake, half at work, about what poverty really means. For too many people, it's still only a bad dream—about a riot in a slum. I am going to drive it home hard in this campaign not just that poverty is wrong—but that it can be eliminated—by us—in our time.

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The same courage that is required to wage war in Viet Nam must be applied to wage war on the vestiges of deprivation and poverty in this country. I think the American people would like to win a war in their own country. I think they would like to be able to do something for their own people and I think I can rally them to get them to do something for their own people.

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The victims of poverty don't want to endure the indignity of the dole. They want skills, not scraps; work, not welfare; independence, not idleness; opportunity, not paternalism.

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I think this silent America—an America still unaroused—can be aroused. I mean to try. That is why I went to the poor people's march to build bridges. To show fortunate Americans that many of the claims of the poor are legitimate, and to show the poor that they are not shut off from the leadership of this nation. That the democratic system can work.

Policies:

- Develop an active, working partnership between government and business to make financing, insurance and training and business techniques available to the inner-city neighborhoods. In most of our cities it means helping to build a whole structure of new locally owned businesses that communities will value and protect, because they are their own.

- Develop a system of national service for youth which distributes the burdens of military service fairly and offers incentives to contribute to our domestic needs.

- Repeal restrictive welfare provisions requiring welfare mothers to work or undergo job training and freezing the level of federal relief contributions.

- Drastically reform the welfare system to avoid demeaning recipients, destroying motivation and adding excessive costs to the public.

- Develop a better form of income maintenance.

- Put Food Stamp and Commodity Distribution programs in every county where severe hunger exists.

- Provide school lunches on a year-around basis.

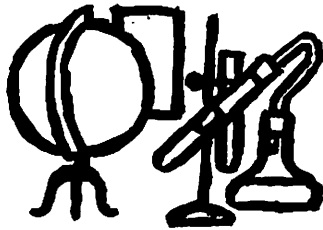
- Greater involvement of the poor in the governmental decisions which affect them.

- Provide adequate day-care centers so that children will not return home from school to empty homes.

- Encourage welfare mothers to work when possible.

- Provide selective public service employment for the jobless and generate the maximum number of jobs in the private and public sectors.

Education



The cost of educating every American must be recognized as an investment that will be fully repaid.

We spend billions of dollars for relief and welfare, for institutional care, for crime and violence—as the costs of people **not** being educated and trained.

The question is whether to pay as our children grow—to educate them—or whether to pay later the prices of ignorance, incompetence, frustration, and alienation.

I believe that we should—as a nation—declare here and now that 1968 will be the year when the decision was finally made to make the investments . . . to make the changes . . . to make the personal commitments necessary to provide quality education for every individual American child—from age four through college.

1. Every individual has the right to receive the fullest and best education that individual can put to good use.

2. Every individual with the capacity to be self-sufficient has an obligation to use this educational opportunity toward responsible membership in a free society.

3. The costs of a policy of full education will be large. They include the cost of training and paying teachers on a basis which recognizes that their work affects the future more directly than the work of any other profession . . . the cost of a national pre-school program available to all children from age four . . . the cost of whatever arrangement is necessary to put staying in school, right through college, on a straight ability-to-learn, not ability-to-pay, basis . . . the cost of educational centers, developing and providing creative and innovative teaching tools and methods, in each of our 50 states . . . the cost of a minimum of 25 federally-subsidized centers of advanced study in high school and college education.

4. A new full-education policy must take into account individual differences and circumstances. Equal educational opportunity ought to mean the preferential treatment of those who have gotten off to a slow start—almost always for reasons entirely beyond their control.

5. Age 16 should not be a cut-off date for compulsory education. There should be case-by-case han-

dling of students who for any reason decide to leave school before they have finished the 12th grade.

6. We need combination learning-and-earning programs, and closer relationships between the schools and the employers in the community.

7. Each student should receive the right instruction for his level of intellectual capacity, and for his aptitude—from the retarded to the most brilliantly gifted.

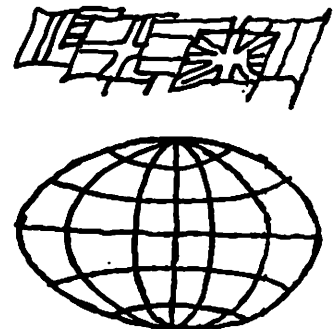
8. We must nourish individuality—the individuality of every child, white or black, rich or poor, urban or rural. We must find and touch that priceless substance within each child which makes him a separate entity—unique and precious—so that he may utilize it to the fullest, on his own behalf and on behalf of his society.

9. We must declare a deliberate policy of innovation in educational administration.

10. There is obvious need for the 12-month use of our school facilities.

11. We need long-term planning so that our schools, at all levels, will be placed in areas of future population growth—not according to old jurisdictional lines.

World Peace



The objective of this nation and the objective of your government—and it is your government—has been a political settlement of the cruel, costly and ugly war in Viet Nam . . . to take the conflict from the battlefield to the conference room and negotiation table. . . .

We have a conference and a negotiation underway today in Paris. I am not so foolish as to believe that the search for peace at the conference table will be much easier than the price we have had to pay to resist aggression on the battlefield. But I do feel that we have to have the same persistence and the same patience—the same willingness to be brave and courageous and tenacious at the negotiating table as we have on the battlefield.

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I favor—and the President favors—an immediate cease-fire in Viet Nam so the killing will stop—now. Hanoi won't agree. So the Paris discussions must go on in an environment of psychological and military pressure which has become so much a standard Communist negotiating pattern. I hope that the American people will have the patience and tenacity to withstand that pressure and to support Ambassador Averell Harriman and Cyrus Vance in Paris—no matter how long their efforts may take . . . and it may take a long time.

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I have devoted a good deal of my life to the causes of the works of peace. I have never changed in that thought. But I do not think that peace comes to the timid or the weak or to the cowardly. I think it comes to those of great moral purpose—people of strength. . . . Just as you cannot permit violence in your streets and your cities with a handful of brigands running loose and hope to gain anything called social justice for the great vast majority of your people . . . neither can you permit violence to run rampant throughout the world when outside forces seek to destroy the hopes of simple and plain people.

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I suggest that the strengthening of the United Nations—its peacekeeping operations, the building of regional institutions of economic and political and social development must be the top agenda of the American people. I suggest the highest purpose of this country must be to reduce the tensions that exist in this world.

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We must do our part to protect world security by maintaining whatever strength is necessary to meet our commitments to the United Nations charter, to regional treaties, to whatever contracts we become signatory and we must above all maintain our own security. But we're also obliged to concentrate on the arts of peace through affirmative action to meet human needs. I believe through that kind of action we can build security and peace. . . . We are not a nation of warriors. We're a nation of nation builders. We seek to destroy no one. We would surely like a lasting peace, an enduring peace.

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Forces of emancipation and freedom are at work throughout the whole world, in every country, restlessly, and at times violently and fitfully. The pages of history, a decade, a generation, yea, a hundred years from now, will surely reveal that this last half of the 20th century saw the greatest move towards freedom that the world has ever known. . . .