



news release

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For Further Information:
Ev Munsey, Ext. 201
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VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY OUTLINES HIS 'STRATEGY FOR PEACE'

Columbus, Ohio, September 21 -- Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey today said that the U.N. treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons must not be jeopardized by "narrow partisanship or election-year maneuvering."

He accused his Republic rival, Richard Nixon, of having "several positions" on the treaty. "He is for the treaty, but against ratifying it now. He is for the treaty, but he has reservations about it. He is for the treaty, but he will not encourage the Senate to ratify it," the Vice President said.

In his comprehensive statement, "A Strategy for Peace," Mr. Humphrey stressed that any delay in ratification of the treaty may mean that it will "never go into force." He said that we must move now or "the difficulties of achieving a halt in the strategic arms race will be compounded."

The Vice President presented detailed arguments in favor of the treaty. He said that despite the recent invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union we must "resist the appeals to redouble the nuclear arms race." He is aware, he said, that "agreement to move ahead to limit the arms race does not presuppose that political competition between the U. S. and the Soviet Union will suddenly disappear."

He expressed the hope that we are "intelligent enough, wise enough, to come to a realistic agreement with the Soviet Union, a properly safe-guarded agreement to limit, and then to work toward reduction of, our offensive and defensive strategic nuclear forces."

The Vice President also pointed out that "both the danger and the cost of the arms race are astronomical." This year alone, he said, our military budget is over \$80 billion and the prospects are for vast increases in these expenditures unless we act promptly to limit the strategic arms race. "The competition in nuclear weaponry," he said, "consumes man's talent and resources with an endless, frightening appetite, yet is likely to produce nothing more than mounting insecurity and the prospect of final destruction of all man's accomplishments and aspirations."

The text of the Vice President's statement follows:

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STATEMENT OF
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
COLUMBUS, OHIO
SEPTEMBER 21, 1968

A NEW STRATEGY FOR PEACE

No issue in this campaign is more important than the danger to mankind posed by the massive accumulation of nuclear weapons. Any man who would be President of the United States must understand that since that day at Alamogordo war has worn a new face. And every citizen has the obligation to face squarely the dreadful threat to human survival which the arms race generates.

Today, the thermonuclear bombs stored in the world's arsenals are sufficient to kill every man, woman and child on earth ten times over. Unless this proliferation is checked, they will slowly spread their fantastic force and destructive potential to more and more countries.

The Presidential candidates have the obligation to tell the American people how they would attempt to halt the spread of nuclear weapons, how they would proceed to dampen down the strategic arms race. Although we have lived for twenty years with a nuclear balance of terror, we would be complacent about it if we ignored the fact that it is still our central problem. Anyone who would be President must have this in the forefront of his consciousness.

In 1945 a single, primitive atomic bomb destroyed an entire city. Today, the U.S. arsenal counts: 1,000 Minuteman missiles, carefully protected below ground; 41 Polaris submarines carrying 656 missiles, hidden beneath the seas; 600 long-range bombers, equipped with 2,200 nuclear weapons. In addition, we have several thousand tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

On its part, the Soviet Union has also developed a massive nuclear capability. We know the Soviet Union has been increasing its nuclear arsenal at a rapid rate in recent years. These Soviet advances have not reached a point where they jeopardize our security, but they require our continued vigilance.

According to the most recent military posture statement presented by Secretary McNamara this January to the Armed Services Committee of the Senate, a nuclear exchange by the United States and the Soviet Union would extinguish 240 million lives. Even with the installation of a massive American ABM defense -- which would inevitably lead the Soviets to massively increase their offensive missile deployments -- our losses would be in the neighborhood of 100 million people killed. This estimate contains the chilling observation: "At fatality levels approximating 100 million or more, differences of 10 to 20 million in the calculated results are less than the margin of error in the estimate."

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Authoritative studies of the effects of a nuclear attack indicate truly that "the living would envy the dead." Whole cities would be destroyed. The deadly poisons unleashed, as President Kennedy stated at American University in June, 1963, "would be carried by wind and water and soil and seed to the far corners of the globe and to generations yet unborn." Children would be born retarded. Flame and flash-burns would char the skin of millions. Radiation would cause leukemia and destroy the reproductive capacity of yet other millions. In short, society as we know it would be unable to function for years to come -- perhaps forever.

It was clear at the dawn of the nuclear era to American officials -- Democratic and Republican alike -- that the world's uneasy security would be progressively endangered with each new nation acquiring nuclear weapons.

From the very beginning we knew that a revolutionary phenomenon had entered the affairs of nations. And from the very beginning we sought to control the spread of nuclear weapons for the sake of our survival.

With the Baruch Plan in 1949, we proposed that control over nuclear energy be turned over to the United Nations. The Soviet Union rejected this proposal, and the nuclear race began.

But despite Soviet intransigence, we have never faltered in our efforts to stop the nuclear spiral. In 1956, President Eisenhower proposed the "Atoms for Peace" Plan which led eventually to a United Nations agency that provides a safeguard service for peaceful nuclear facilities. In 1958, President Eisenhower risked a voluntary moratorium on nuclear weapons testing.

Despite the continuation of the arms race, we have made considerable progress since 1961. Under two Democratic Administrations, we achieved the following:

- banning of nuclear weapons tests in air, in space and underwater;
- an end to the poisoning of the atmosphere by the major nuclear powers;
- the preservation of outer space free from nuclear weapons;
- the quarantining of Latin America against atomic arms.

In addition, we are continuing our efforts to ban all tests of nuclear weapons, even those underground; and to halt the production of fissionable material for use in nuclear weapons.

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Today we have an opportunity to take a further step -- a crucial step -- to halt the spread of nuclear terror. A treaty -- a non-proliferation treaty -- is before the Senate of the United States awaiting ratification. I say we should not delay one day in stopping the spread of nuclear arms. We must ratify that treaty now -- and fulfill our pledges to contain the nuclear contagion.

Mr. Nixon has given us several positions on the treaty. He is for the treaty, but against ratifying it now. He is for the treaty, but he has reservations about it. He is for the treaty, but he will not encourage the Senate to ratify it. Because of Mr. Nixon's position as the leader of the Republican Party, it is within his power to insure the ratification of this treaty. A delay has occurred. His equivocation should not add to the delay. Already we have seen the reaction from abroad. The American press on September 17 reported the statement of a Japanese spokesman that Japan will withhold its signature until the United States Senate ratifies the treaty.

Yet it should be clear to all that this is not a bilateral treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union. It is a multilateral treaty directly restricting other States, a treaty which has already been signed by over 80 states.

... It commits the nations of the world which do not now have nuclear weapons not to produce or receive them in the future.

... It seeks to assure that such nations have the full peaceful benefits of the atom.

... It commits the nuclear powers to move forward towards effective measures of arms control and disarmament.

Unless the nuclear powers move to control our arms race, we will run the almost certain risk that some non-nuclear powers will not forego acquiring nuclear weapons.

Six years ago, President John F. Kennedy had to face the risk of nuclear war to force the withdrawal of Soviet missiles from Cuba.

The treaty before the Senate would forbid the Soviet Union from transferring control of nuclear weapons to Castro's Cuba.

A year ago there was war between Israel and several Arab states. Consider the threat to the world -- then and in the future -- if Nasser had had nuclear weapons when he moved on the Gulf of Aqaba.

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Three years ago, Indian and Pakistan went to war over Kashmir. That war ended quickly, but what would have been the consequences if these two countries had nuclear weapons?

That is why I urge we halt the spread of nuclear weapons now. That is why I favor prompt ratification of the treaty now before the Senate. For if the United States fails to approve the treaty, others are sure to lag in their approval. Delay may mean that the treaty will never go into force. If not promptly ratified, its effect on other potential signatories may be to kill ratification. We must not lose our race against destruction.

The Missile Talks

After two years of concentrated effort, the United States has succeeded in persuading the Soviet Union to join in discussions on placing limitations on both offensive and defensive nuclear missiles. Through these talks -- when final arrangements for them are completed -- we will seek to avoid a situation in which we and the Soviets would be forced to devote more and more of badly needed resources to the strategic arms race. The continuation of that race will not increase the security of either one; in fact, it will decrease the security of us both.

At the present time, we are in a situation of relative "nuclear stability" -- in what has been called the "balance of terror." Neither side can attack the other without being destroyed in return. The placing of nuclear missiles in submarines under the sea and in concrete silos deep underground has removed the advantage to a would-be aggressor of striking first. The price of nuclear aggression therefore is suicide. There is no reliable defense, no place to hide. This grim confrontation underlies the balance of terror; but on it rests the peace of the world today.

Further accumulation on both sides borders on insanity. It is not needed to deter; it does not provide more protection; it does not ensure greater destructive capability. It can, however, mislead a would-be aggressor into calculating erroneously that he is temporarily stronger; it can tempt him into risky confrontations; it can stimulate mutual insecurity and suspicion. It is as useless as it is irrational.

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But Americans are not insane. We are rational, creative and determined to control our fate. Our efforts as well as our hopes must center on realizing the opportunities that remain to us in our attempt to control the arms race -- even as we are firm in our actions to guarantee U. S. national security.

The forward movement of science and technology has brought us to a critical point.

We are now witnessing the development of a new generation of weapons. This development makes all the more necessary early discussions to bring both offensive and defensive weapons under control.

If either we or the Russians continue, unabated, our development and deployment of these new weapons systems, in time it might appear to each that the other side was trying to develop a first-strike capability. This would result in an unstable situation. Since neither side can afford to let that happen, the race would continue its mad momentum in both offensive and defensive systems in a hostile climate of mutual suspicion and fear.

Is it beyond the wit of man to find a way out of this deadly game? Are we not intelligent enough, wise enough, to come to a realistic agreement with the Soviet Union, a properly safeguarded agreement to limit and then to work toward reduction of our offensive and defensive strategic nuclear forces? I believe that we are. And the entire world will benefit from our wisdom.

But again we do not have much time. Now is the time to move. If we do not seize the present opportunity to reach agreement, the difficulties of achieving a halt in the strategic arms race will be compounded.

The problem of the strategic arms race cannot be solved quickly, easily or once and for all. There will doubtless be set-backs, but we must be prepared to press forward in our search for agreement.

There are those who have reacted to the shocking Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia by saying, "Let us abandon all attempts to bring the nuclear arms race under control through negotiations with the Soviets." No one decries more than I the crushing of ordinary human freedoms. But we must resist the appeals to redouble the nuclear arms race, the pressure to devote an increasing percentage of U. S. resources to this competition. This is a time for responsibility and leadership, not for playing to emotions or following the line of least political resistance.

Nor is this a matter of trusting the Soviets.

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Agreement to move ahead to limit the arms race does not presuppose that political competition between the U. S. and the Soviet Union will suddenly disappear. We hope it will diminish, but we recognize that this will take time, and that a dampening down of the strategic arms race is not dependent on an across-the-board political truce.

We know that the composition of the Soviet leadership can change, that constant vigilance and regular assessment of its attitude are required. But there are dangers in over-reacting to Soviet action as well as reacting too little.

Let no one think that the non-proliferation treaty weakens our strong commitments to our Allies; it strengthens them. We continue to maintain our firm and irrevocable commitment to our NATO Allies. We must not undermine the strategic value of this commitment by permitting an unending proliferation of these nuclear weapons to nations around the world.

Let no one think that because he believe it necessary to proceed with arms control discussions, we are any less opposed to Soviet imperialism in Czechoslovakia, or any less committed to defending the security of our allies in Europe. Let the Soviet Union know that the provisions of the United Nations Charter cannot be used as a pretext to justify threats to the security of a NATO ally.

Let us remember that critical decisions concerning the test ban negotiations took place during the period when the Cold War was building to its zenith in the Cuban missile crisis. In the aftermath of Cuba came the hot line -- and, a few months later, the signature of the Limited Test Ban Treaty.

The Cost of the Arms Race

Both the danger and the cost of the arms race are astronomical. Today, the military budgets of all the nations of the world are approaching more than \$200 billion. This year, the U. S. military budget alone is over \$80 billion. There is a real danger that over the years there will be a vast increase in these incredible expenditures. In the absence of arms limitation agreements, the pace of technological change will force such a course on us, as today's weapons become obsolete in the face of tomorrow's developments.

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We will not have the funds available to do what needs to be done at home if the nuclear race continues unchecked -- nor will other nations have their resources for economic and social development at the level which are urgently needed. The competition in nuclear weaponry consumes man's talent and resources with an endless, frightening appetite, yet is likely to produce nothing more than mounting insecurity and the prospect of final destruction of all man's accomplishments and aspirations. I say we must push ahead toward agreements which permit a diversion of these defense expenditures into peaceful channels.

As we seek to bring the strategic arms race under control, and to divert the resources of war to the tasks of peaceful construction at home and abroad, we know there will be skeptics. In the past, the difference between success and failure in almost every instance has been the determination of the President -- reinforced by the common sense support of the great mass of our citizens to move forward, to dare to seek a better way -- a new day.

As President, I would act with determination to end the arms race. I am equally confident of the American people's firm support of these efforts to achieve a safer and more peaceful world.

The first step in this new strategy for peace is ratification of the treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons -- the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. We have worked diligently to perfect this agreement.

Let us not squander this opportunity for peace through narrow partisanship or election-year maneuvering. Let us join together in a common call for action this year -- while we still have the chance.

COLUMBUS, OHIO

September 21, 1968

Vice President Humphrey. Thank you very much, my dear and delightful young friend, Steve Young.

You know I have a hard time understanding what Steve means sometimes when he gets up and speaks. He is so indefinite, it is hard to know how he feels about the opposition.

Truly, Senator Young, you have once again inspired an audience, you are the living personification of the modern Benjamin Franklin; that is all I can say. He is bringing that right touch to the occasion.

always

Now, I know that some of our friends are way, way, way back there, but may I tell you that we are going to try to make this meeting good enough so that those of you who are way, way, way back there will have your hearts with us way up here. That goes for those of you over to my left and my right.

We have had a wonderful evening, and I want to tell you, it is a mighty hard act to follow after that Jack Sensenbrenner. I will tell you, it is a good thing that Eddie Fisher sang first.

And I do appreciate, Mr. Mayor, that you gave me that statue of Columbus, but if you don't mind my saying so, that check from Joe Boyle was even better. Of course, I have not looked inside the statute, yet.

But I surely do appreciate both.

Just to tell you how gracious and kindly I feel tonight, Mr. Nixon thinks we have been unfair to him. I may ask Jack Sensenbrenner to give him the statue and I will take another check. We are very much indebted tonight to Pete O'Grady, the party officers, and to our National Committeemen -- Bert Porter, our National Committeewoman, Betty Jane Gaffney, and of course, to all of those who have participated in this program. I have looked over this remarkable galaxy of talent and it is just the finest program you can possibly have. But I want to make it very clear at the beginning that I am here primarily for one purpose. That is to say what is in my heart and what I know is in your heart about a truly wonderful young man that has every right, indeed every qualification, every trait of character, every standard of ability, every quality that is required to serve in the great deliberative body of the United States Senate, and I want everyone here to redouble their efforts, to tripple their efforts, to quadruple your efforts to see to it that Jack Gilligan is elected to the United States Senate.

I said out at the airport, when I get in that White House -- by the way, isn't it something that a guy works all his life and he tries to end up in public housing. But I will settle for it. I have been looking it over. Mrs. Humphrey has been measuring the drapes. I really won't make too many changes; that is, in the furniture. But I must say that when I am over there getting lonesome as they say Presidents do, I would like to be able to pick up the telephone and say, would the two Senators from Ohio come over and have lunch with me, or have dinner? I know one of them will be Steve. As long as Steve is around, he will be in the Senate. He can even bring his mail over and answer it. He writes short letters, you know.

But I would like to make sure that the other man that came over is John J. Gilligan, candidate now, soon to be United States Senator. So let's work for that.

All of those who have spoken here tonight -- my friend, Frazier Reams, Mrs. Helen Karpinski, Mr. McLin, Mr. Ryan, all of those -- I know you can help and I know you will. If you help John Gilligan, you help me. If you help me, I think it helps John Gilligan. We are in this together, my fellow Democrats, and together, we can whip any combination of Republicans that anybody ever put up.

I stopped over at Independence, Missouri, today, while I was there, I, of course saw our beloved former President, Harry S. Truman. It all came about quite accidentally. Yesterday, I was talking to the man that is going to be your next Vice President -- and by the way, don't you think we really out did those Republicans?

I just ask anybody. I don't care whether you are Republican or Democrat, Independent, what you are, if you have any doubts about the head of the ticket, settle it on the basis of the second man. I was talking to my dear and good friend, Ed Muskie, and he is a good friend of Steve's, here and a good friend of Jack Gilligan's. Ed said, you know, I am in Kansas City and I am thinking about going

over and seeing Mr. Truman. I said, hold on, I will change my schedule. I said, I am going out to see my mother -- mother is out in Huron, South Dakota. They were having a little party out there today. I said, I will fix it up so we can stop off in Kansas City. And we stopped off and we went over to see Mr. Truman and you can imagine what that conversation was like. My, it was juicy. It was really good. Not a partisan statement was made. And I asked that dear beloved man, I said, "Mr. President, would you give Senator Muskie and myself just some advice as to how we can do it? Now, we know what you did, but sometimes we maybe miss the real kernel of the truth. How do you do it? How did you do it?"

He said, "I'll tell you what you do." He said, "Hubert, you just tell them the truth. Tell the people the truth and give the Republicans you know what." Now, Mrs. Truman has cleaned up his language. But it was an inspiration. You would like to know, I am sure, that he is feeling fine. He is really looking remarkably well. And I was just so pleased to have the chance to see him, because there are many similarities between this year and what happened in 1948 -- many similarities. The Republican candidate is acting the same way now that the Republican candidate did in 1948, the same old Dixiecrats are in business. Strom Thurmond was going in '48, and he is running around with Dick Nixon in 1960 -- very much alike. We have all kinds of irruptions and fractions and so forth. As a matter of fact, you know the whole thing is going to come out just like it did in 1948.

So I am going to be very candid with you tonight. There is no use in glossing over our troubles. My campaign, they say, according to the polls, anyway, and the surveys, has not peaked too soon. But I will tell you, speaking of Poles, I have got the best one.

You are sharp tonight. I can see that.

And there is another observation that I feel compelled to make. No one can accuse us of being fat cats, even though I got that check. Instead, they tell us we are underdogs. But I thought I had better level with you; that is nothing new with me. I was an underdog when I ran for the Mayor of Minneapolis in 1945 -- just before I won. And I was an underdog when I first ran for the United States Senate in 1948 -- just before I won. And I was an underdog many, many times in the United States Senate, when I led the fights for such programs as the Peace Corps, and Medicare and Food for Peace and the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty -- just before we won -- all of them.

But there are some advantages to being an underdog. Your ears are closer to the ground and you hear what people are saying. And there is another advantage: you run faster. And sooner or later, your opponent will start looking over his shoulder, and knowing my opponent, when he does, he is apt to trip -- I mean trip -- up himself. And that is when you pass him on the inside. And the important day in this whole business is not September 20 nor 21 -- that is important. But the important day, the day that is really going to count, on the day when we wrap up the decision, that is our day. That is Tuesday, November 5. That is when we are going to have our victory.

Now, you know, we read everyday -- oh, my,, the publicity is great about that cool, confident, composed Mr. Nixon, the man who campaigns, they say, without running; the man who takes it in his stride and takes it easy, never makes a mistake. Of course, he never appears on any of the big programs like Meet the Press or Face the Nation and Issues and Answers, either. But he never makes a mistake, and either evades or straddles every major issue.

Now, some people say that is the new Mr. Nixon. And I heard a fellow say the other day, no, that is not, that is the old Mr. Nixon. But my dear friends, what you need to worry about is the real Mr. Nixon. That is the fellow.

I have some questions I want to ask tonight. I want to hear, for example, where Mr. Nixon stands on such a vital matter that affects the life of every one of us in this room as the dangerous spread of nuclear weapons. Is he for or against that treaty that would stop their spread? I think we have a right to know. I know, he says he has taken a stand on 167 issues. Well, ladies and gentlemen, that stand is just about as firm as a bowl of jello. In fact, it makes jello look like concrete.

Yes, I have some questions and I want you to start asking them of your Republican neighbors, and I want you to start asking them from every platform in this State. And I think I know some of the answers.

Just let me repeat it again: Who is it that says he wants to face up to every issue? Answer every question, meet the people everywhere, but refuses to meet that capable professional press of our country on the great programs like Meet

the Press, Face the Nation, Issues and Answers, and has not been on one of those programs for almost two years? Who is it? I think I know. Nixon is the one.

Who is it, who is the man who is for the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty that is pending in the Senate of the United States now, but who does not want to see it ratified now? I think I know. Nixon is the one. And who is it, who is it that is for civil rights, but isn't necessarily for the implementation of the federal law that makes those rights mean something? You've got it. Nixon is the one. Who is it that is for the old people, but opposed Medicare? Nixon is the one. Who is it that is for young people and for the rebuilding of our cities, but wants to cut back to the programs of federal aid to education and for urban redevelopment. You know -- Nixon is the one. Who says that Justice Fortas is a distinguished lawyer, a great jurist, but refuses to lead his party in the confirmation of that nomination. I will tell you -- Nixon is the one. Who is it that is for law and order by doubling the convictions and cracking down on the law makers, as he says, but thinks that you can get law and order by cutting back on those silly Democratic programs to train people for jobs, to give them an education, and to help them with better housing? You know -- Nixon is the one. And who is for the laboring man, but fails to support every law that comes down the lane. You know. Nixon is the one. You bet he is.

Who is it that is for that family farmer, but said the other day -- oh, he was in Iowa. This is great. I have to break my strides here, got to stop off and shake hands for a moment. Mr. Nixon was down there giving a farm message in Iowa and he did something that no other candidate in this country is able to do. He said he was going to plow a straight furrow with a corn picker.

Yes, sir, that is the man. Nixon is the one. Who is it that is for television debates, but keeps dodging me every time I challenge him? Nixon is the one.

On every count, you know the answer. Now, let's all get together; Nixon is the one. That is right. And he is the one that isn't going to win, too, you can believe that.

Mr. Nixon said the other day that he was not much for these programs waging war on poverty. I can see why. He had more to do with bringing poverty around than anybody else. Let's take a look and see. Let's take a look at Ohio. We need to get down to the particulars, dear friends.

In 1961, at the end of the Nixon Republican years, unemployment in the great Buckeye State of Ohio was up to seven and a half percent of the work force. In the first seven months of this Democratic year, it averaged less than three percent.

Now, my dear friends, you may have just a little Republican trait in you. My daddy used to say about mother what a wonderful woman she was. But he said, son, on occasion, she is politically unreliable. But I got mom's pledge today. I can come before this audience and tell you, she is going to vote the straight Democratic ticket. But if you have a little Republicanism in you, and we all sin a bit, you know, don't let it be so much that it loses your job.

And how about jobs in Ohio? Let's just take a look at them. It's hard to believe it, but the fact is that there were 3,000 fewer jobs, fewer workers on payrolls in this State in 1960, after eight years of Republicanism, than there were in 1955. That is a statistical fact. On the other hand, in 1967, there were 465,000 -- I repeat -- 465,000 more people in Ohio on payrolls today than were employed in 1960. Now, that is Democratic prosperity -- eight years of Republicans and you lose 3,000 jobs; seven years of Democrats and you have 465,000 new jobs. Let Mr. Nixon face that issue.

Somebody said to me the other day, they said, you know, I don't think there is much difference between you and Mr. Nixon. And Mr. Nixon was the first man that spoke up and bless his sweet heart, he did come up with the truth. He said there is a whole lot of difference. And he is right. I will tell you he is. Three recessions in those Nixon-Republican years; 90 consecutive months of prosperity in these Democratic years. \$175 billion difference in those three Republican recessions. That is what it cost this country -- \$175 billion.

Now, let me tell you, friends, you can go to a lot of horse races and play around a lot with that money. You don't need to fritter (?) around Republicans to have fun. Personal income: real income, adjusted for prices and real take home pay -- taxes out and all -- grows less than one half of one percent per year in those Nixon-Republican years. In these last years of the Democratic Party since John Kennedy became your President, in the Kennedy-Johnson and the Johnson-K Humphrey administration, personal income in Ohio has grown almost four and a half percent per year. That is quite a change. When you compare the last eight Democratic years

with the previous eight Republican, it is like comparing Roosevelt and Truman with Coolidge and Hoover. Or better yet, Ohio State with Slippery Rock. Or as John Gilligan insists, Notre Dame with Slippery Rock Teachers College. I will settle for that.

Don't be fooled tonight, ladies and gentlemen, by double talk, or no talk, or half talk from a man who was part of an administration who brought three recessions to America. And if he wants to talk about the economy, and that is what he says he wants to do, I suggest he explain it. So the slogan is these days, Nixon's the one. Well, I want you to take a look at that little seal you see here, those of you who are close. Some of you in the back can't see it so I will describe it for you.

That is the Vice Presidential seal. That bird on there, that eagle, he looks a little unhappy, and most vice presidents are. They have lots of responsibility and no authority and that eagle has his wings down looking like he is ready for a crash landing rather than a take-off. That is somewhat characteristic, too, may I say.

But there is another interesting thing about it. The Presidential eagle, you know, has his wings spread out, glorious, the great American eagle. There in one set of claws, he has a whole sheaf, a whole bunch of olive branches representing this nation's dedication to peace. Over here in the other set of claws, he has a whole sheaf of arrows representing this nation's strength. That is the presidential seal. I got to looking at it so much, I like it so much, I just thought it was mine. It just looked so nice.

Then I took a look at mine, and there is that same eagle, looking a little bad, though. It hasn't been fed too well. You look over there in one set of claws and there is just one little olive branch. Now, what do you expect me to be able to do for peace with one little olive branch?

Let me finish my story, let me finish my story. And you look over there and you see that one little arrow. Somebody said to me the other day, Mr. Vice President, what in the world are you saving that arrow for? And I said, Nixon is the one.

My friends, this is what this campaign is about. We are going to have to find from the opposition, we are going to have to continue to pound away on these platforms until the opposition starts to talk to us about what are the real issues. This dancing around the edges, this flirting around with unreality is no way to aspire to the presidency. The man you need for President of this United States is not one that knows how to wobble, bob, duck, and weave, not one that knows how to stay away from the cross examination of the press, not one that refuses to face up to the hard questions of the day. The man that you need for President of the United States is someone who will say it like it is and will stand up and take it, and not only take it, but will dish it out when it needs to be dished out.

If there is one sin that afflicts most of us in public office, it is that insatiable desire for popularity. Ladies and gentlemen, it is nice to have and none of us are without a desire of it. But I want to say to this audience in all seriousness tonight, what you need in a President is not that he be popular but that he be right. You need a President --

I want therefore to talk to you then, in the time that you have given me in this wonderful outpouring of Democratic unity tonight, I want to talk to you about what I think are the three realities today in America. These are the realities that we have simply got to deal with -- not the general platitudes or general generalities, generous generalities or pious platitudes, but the realities. What is it like? What are the issues?

Well, the first reality is the absolute necessity of finding some way honorably, some way to find peace in Vietnam and in this world of ours. That is the first reality.

And the second reality that every mayor knows about, that every city official knows about, is the necessity for peace and justice in our cities and in our nation.

The third reality that underpins all the rest is the absolute necessity for unity of spirit, unity of purpose amongst these the people of these United States. And I want to address myself briefly to those three.

... and there will be none. In this campaign, I run on the platform of the Democratic Party, a Platform which points the way, may I say, toward a political settlement; a platform that points the way toward the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Vietnam; a platform that points the way toward the Americanization of this war; toward systematic and careful reductions of our combat troops so that the defense of that nation of South Vietnam rests more and more with its own people; a platform that points the way toward free elections open to all major factions and parties that are willing to accept peaceful political processes; and a platform that points the way toward the long term economic, social, and political development of this sad and war-torn land.

That is what our objectives are.

Meanwhile, as a citizen, as a candidate, and as Vice President, I pledge that I will do everything, and I have pledged this, everything within my power, so help me God, to aid the negotiations that are now underway in Paris and to bring peace to Southeast Asia. And I pledge to this audience tonight that when I am your President, if peace by that time has not been obtained, if the violence has not stopped, if the cease fire has not been achieved, I pledge to you that my first priority as President of these United States shall be to use all of the power and all of the authority of the Office of the Presidency to find an honorable way to bring an end to that war in Vietnam.

And the second reality is the necessity for peace and justice here at home in our cities and our nation. Law and order, yes. Justice and opportunity, yes. There is trouble in our country, and we know it. But I don't think it comes from any lack of faith. In many ways, it comes from a kindling of hope. When people have no hope, they are apathetic. When people have hope, they are restless. People for the first time, millions of them, see some hope. We Democrats ought to be proud of the fact that we have inspired hope, new hope, in millions of men and women who previously had no hope. Ten million of our fellow Americans in these last six years, these last five years, have come out of the dark cellars of poverty into the bright sun light of a new life for themselves. And others are impatient. They see that it can be better. And they know that we can help make it that way. Now, the simple solution of the frustrated and the frightened when they see this restlessness is to lash out angrily and bitterly at everybody. Sometimes it is anger that is filled with hate and harsh and ugly voices fill the air. But let me remind you, my friends, violence breeds more violence; disorder destroys. Only in peace and order can we build. There is not a single problem that confronts this nation today that can be settled in the streets. There isn't a single problem that confronts America today that will be resolved by the extremes of the right or the left, black or white. The problems that we have will be resolved as we sit at these tables tonight, talking to each other in respect, in dignity, in understanding, in tolerance, in knowledge, and in friendship.

I want to put it very plainly so nobody will have any doubt about the man that is talking to you -- I said law and order, yes; opportunity and justice, yes. But I make it very clear there can be no justice, there can be no opportunity if a nation is torn apart by wild men, by nihilists, by people that have no respect for free speech, freedom of assembly, or even the right to vote.

And I say to you that rioting, burning, sniping, mugging, traffic in narcotics, and disregard for the law are the advance guard of anarchy and they must and they will be stopped. And if I am the President of these United States, I will mobilize the resources of the federal, state, and local governments to see to it that the law is upheld.

But we will not have observance of the law and we will not have respect for the law just by slogans and words. And we will not have it by having candidates for the highest office of the land condemn the Supreme Court, which is the ultimate tribunal of this country, and heap ridicule and scorn upon the Attorney General of the United States, which is the chief law enforcement officer of this nation. You do not teach your children to obey the law and respect the law by condemning justice and condemning the court.

Abraham Lincoln admonished us one hundred some years ago to teach our young love of the law, observance of the law, to teach it at the mother's knee. When I hear a candidate for the presidency, and there are two of them doing it, going up and down this country, pouring scorn upon the Justice Department upon the one hand -- that has a record, may I say, of more law enforcement under this administration -- organized crime by 500 percent better than the previous administration -- when I hear them pouring their scorn and their ridicule upon the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, I say there is something wrong and I wonder what kind of deal was made in Miami between Mr. Nixon and Mr. Strom Thurmond. Something

is wrong and you know it and I know it. Now, the answer to this issue lies in reasoned, effective action by state, local, and federal authority. And you know that I am the one candidate that has proposed a comprehensive program with 84 separate, specific details to stop crime and violence in this country, and a program to support our local police -- to support them not just by words and bumper stickers. That does not help them. But to support them with leadership and federal resources and truly desperately needed money for higher salaries and better training and better quality of personnel and modern equipment.

Mr. Nixon, you are not going to get law and order until we start to respect our police officers by the kind of equipment, salary, and training that a law enforcement officer ought to have.

I know of what I speak. I have been the mayor of a great city and I have had the responsibility and I am the only candidate that has ever had the responsibility for supervision of the law enforcement agency of a great city. And I cleaned up a city, too. I drove out the organized crime and the racketeers, and I suppressed the violence when it took place in our streets. And I received the FBI Award for effective law enforcement. I can say no other candidate can make that claim.

As Mayor of Minneapolis, Minnesota, I fought crime. And one of my dear friends is here tonight who would tell you of the battle that we had and it was a hard one, a dangerous one. But we fought it and we won. And I intend to do exactly the same thing as President of these United States.

And I never wanted my city to be known only for its police department. I wanted it to be known for its jobs, for its opportunity, for its human relations, for its education, for its health care and for its housing. And I intend to use every resource at my command when I am your president to do something about that side of the coin.

Yes, civil order. But also civil justice. And a man who does not speak to you in those terms is indulging in demagogery. There is no law and order without justice. There is no justice without law and order. Mr. Nixon wants to double the convictions. Well, if he does, he will have to build a lot of new jails and penitentiaries. That may be required. If so, it will be done. But I have a higher aim, my dear friends. I am not running for sheriff.

Why not? That is an honorable office and it deserves respect. But the man who serves as president of this country has something more to do. To be sure, he is the Chief Executive. But the police power of this nation rests with the states and the local government, and every person here on this platform and in this audience knows it. So if Mr. Nixon wants to double the convictions, let me tell you what I want to do. I want to double our efforts to build new neighborhoods, to save new lives and to put new hope in the hearts of our people. That is the doubling that I want to do and that is the doubling that you want to do. And we can do both. We can do both. We can have a safe society and we can have a just society. You can never have a safe society without a just society and you can never have a just society without a safe one. They are one and inseparable. And listen not to those that would tell you otherwise.

Now, the third reality is the necessity, and you know it, for unity and reconciliation in this country -- to bind our wounds; to speak to each other as neighbors not as enemies; to look upon each other as fellow citizens, not as strangers; to heal our broken spirits and sometimes our broken hearts.

We have to ask ourselves a very serious question: Are we to be one nation, or are we to be a nation divided -- two nations, separate and unequal, divided between black and white, between rich and poor, between the north and the south, between the young and the old?

There are some that would settle for that, I guess. There are dramatic appeals being made today on that basis. There is outright racism in some areas. And in some other places, under some other candidate, it is just the theory of take it easy, don't hurry it, be slow.

My fellow Americans, some people in this country have waited 196 years. They have waited almost 200 years for the American dream to be their's. And they are impatient. So I have taken my stand a long time ago. I have been told that this is an unpopular stand. I was told that in 1940. I have been told that the stand I take does not get me any votes. But nevertheless, I take my stand where I have stood for 25 years of public service. And that is simply this: That we can only be one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all, and with one citizenship for every American, regardless of race, creed, or color.

No President can govern unless it is onenation. No man in the White House can keep this country moving forward if we are divided and torn by constant friction, conflict, and animosity. Brotherhood is no longer only for the ministers, the rabbis and the priests. Brotherhood today is a citizen requirement of every single American. Respect for one another.

I happen to believe that winning the presidency is not worth the price of silence or evasion on the issue of human rights and equal opportunity. And I have no intention of sacrificing what has been the purpose of my life for the cheap victory that would come by talking with forked tongue to the American people.

So I say to America tonight, put aside recrimination and dissension. Put aside fear and bitterness. Turn away, my fellow Americans, turn away and help others turn away from violence in any form and from hatred in any act or word. Believe in what America can do and what America can be. Remember that this is what Lincoln called the last best hope of earth.

And it means so much to the peoples of the world. It spells hope. To the people of America, it spells hope and the future.

Our country will move forward, and I know it will continue to move forward to that new day that I promise you, when we open our hearts to the good that is in them, when we open our minds to the promise of the future -- not the mistakes only of yesterday, when we open America, this great and wonderful land that we have heard so much about tonight, this wonderful place where we live; when we open it up for everyone, open it for all -- opportunity for all, justice for all, freedom for all.

Now, that is the promise of America. And my fellow Americans, that is my promise to all Americans if I am permitted to give leadership to this Republic. I ask your help. Let's go from this place tonight and let's help build the kind of America that we want for our loved ones, for our children. I need your help.

I want you to go forth in a mighty movement to help this country heal its wounds, to move forward as a mighty force for good and for justice -- not only for ourselves but as an example in this world. Now, let's get to it.

Thank you very much.

Marsha, Pls. insert in VP speech file.

Vice - out of

Me

not much fun
anyhow -
~~was~~

① Jack Seaman - blind old
Eddie Fisher - bitter war wound fellow -

② Inge Reams - check from
Joe Boyle - (Betty the statute)

③ Saw HST today - Tell the People
the Truth - & Get the Republicans -

Rev. Clergy

Mayor Jack Sennembrenner
+ Mayor
Pete O'Grady

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

STATE DEMOCRATIC DINNER

COLUMBUS, OHIO

SEPTEMBER 21, 1968

Jack Hilligan

Sen. Steve Young

Bert Porter

Mar Warner

Betty Jane Haffney

No organized party

Let's be candid tonight.

My campaign -- according to the polls and surveys --
has not peaked too soon. !! - speaking of polls, How
about muskie!

No one can accuse us of being fat cats. We're
underdogs!

But The role is not new to me.

I was an underdog when I ran for Mayor of Minneapolis
in 1945 -- just before I won.

I was an underdog when I first ran for the United
States Senate -- just before I won.

I was an underdog many times in the Senate when I
led the fight for such programs as the Peace Corps, Medicare,
Food for Peace, and the nuclear test ban treaty -- just before
we won each of those efforts.

↳ But there are advantages to the underdog role. !

Your ears are closer to the ground.

and You run faster. - ~~you~~

↳ Sooner or later your opponent will start looking over

his shoulder.

and when he does he's apt to trick!
Home trap - himself -

And that's when you pass him on the inside.

filler on the move

We read every day about the cool, confident and

composed Mr. Nixon -- the man who campaigns without running --

the man who takes it easy -- never makes a mistake -- and

either evades or straddles every major issue. --

↳ Perhaps that's confidence ... or perhaps it's something

else.

Perhaps it's just plain ducking the issue - opting out

I want to hear where Mr. Nixon stands on the spread

of nuclear weapons. Is he for or against the treaty that

would stop their spread?

Hard to hit a moving target!

Takina Standon
167 issues - that stand makes the Apparment

I Have some questions
to ASK

Where does he stand?

I have some questions. And I think I know some of the answers. - Who is it that says he wants to face every issue - answer every question - but refuses to go on meet the Press, face the Nation, issues + answers

Who is the man who is for the nuclear treaty --

but who doesn't want to see it ratified now? NIXON is the one!

Who is the man who is for civil rights -- but isn't

necessarily for implementation of the federal law that makes

those rights mean something? Nixon is the one -

Who is for old people -- but opposed Medicare? - Nixon is the one

Who is for young people and for rebuilding our cities --

but wants to cut back on programs for education and for

urban redevelopment? Nixon is the one

Who says Justice Fortas is a good man -- but refuses to ~~lead his party to support his~~ nomination as Chief Justice? - Nixon is the one

Who is for law and order by doubling the convictions and

cracking down on law breakers -- but thinks we can get law

and order by cutting back on those silly Democratic programs

to train people for jobs ... to give them education ... and to

help them with better housing? Nixon is the one

~~Who is the one?~~

not the new nixon
old nixon
the Real Nixon!

↳ who is for the laboring man - but always supports Right to Work laws - not on the one
↳ who is for the family farmer - but thought you could plant a straight furrow with a corn picker
↳ Who is for television debates -- but keeps dodging me

when I challenge him ~~name~~? - not on the one

ⓧ

Lon every count -

I ~~have news for you~~. You know the answer. - now all together

yes Nixon is the one.

do something to this

And who is it who says he is going to ~~set~~ this economy

straight... and he did - who is the man who knows about building prosperity?
not on the one!

Lester

I'd like to give him some figures from Ohio.

In 1961 -- at the end of the Nixon-Republican years,

unemployment in Ohio was at 7 1/2 per cent.

↳ In the first seven months of this Democratic year, it has

it averaged less than 3 per cent.

and now jobs in Ohio
Let me tell you about jobs and employment in Ohio.

Between 1953 and 1960, the number of men and women at work in non-agricultural employment in the state of Ohio actually dropped.

It is hard to believe but it is a fact that there were

fewer 3,000 ~~the~~ workers on the payrolls ~~of banks and factories~~

~~and stores~~ in this great State in 1960 than in 1953! - *and that's*
~~that is~~ *what you call* prosperity! *Republican Prosperity*

On the other hand, in 1967 there were 465,000 --

I repeat, 465,000 -- more people in Ohio working than were

employed in 1960. That is Democratic prosperity! Eight years

of Republicans -- down 3,000 jobs! Seven years of Democrats --

up 465,000 jobs! --

~~Let me bring you even closer up-to-date. In July there were 750,000 more people on the payrolls in Ohio than in January, 1961 when John F. Kennedy became President. In 1961 there were at least four major labor market areas in Ohio where more than 8 per cent of the workers were unemployed. Today, unemployment is less than 4 per cent in each of these areas.~~

Of great importance to you are the incomes you receive. That is a very useful measure of your well-being. From 1953 to 1960 per capita income, adjusted for price changes, grew scarcely at all in the state of Ohio. The real income per capita in this state rose less than one half of one per cent, per year, in the Nixon Republican period.

In contrast, ~~real~~ personal income in Ohio has grown almost 4 1/2 per cent per year in the last four years.

This country's growth can continue to be phenomenal, but it is not going to happen automatically. The record has clearly shown that progress is achieved under the Democratic Party and stagnation under the Republican Party. When you compare the last eight Democratic years with the previous eight Republican years, it is like comparing Roosevelt and Truman ~~with~~ with Coolidge and Hoover!

~~If I am elected, we will continue to move forward.~~

on Ohio State - with

Slippery Rock Teachers College!

James
Several years

last 4 Democratic years

The V.P. Seal
to the One
Arrow!

If Nixon is elected, we will stagnate and more likely move backward. Don't forget the record.

And don't be fooled by double-talk from a man who was part of an Administration that brought three recessions to America.

The seal

Nixon is the one!
I want to see him here at one more time!

We face three realities today in America.

1st

The first reality is the necessity for peace in Vietnam and in the world. just reality is necessity for peace in Vietnam & the world

2nd

The second reality is the necessity for peace and justice in our cities and in our nation.

3rd

And the third reality is the necessity for unity in our country. - ~~the 3rd reality~~

First, what of Vietnam?

In this campaign I run on the platform of the Democratic Party -- a platform which points the way toward a political settlement -- toward a withdrawal of all foreign forces from Vietnam --

Toward deescalating this war
toward systematic careful reduction
of our combat troops

toward free elections open to all major factions and
parties -- toward the long-term economic, social and
political development of this war-torn land.

Meanwhile, as a citizen, candidate and Vice President,
I pledge that I will do everything within my power to aid ~~the~~
negotiations in Paris and bring peace to Southeast Asia.

I pledge to you: My first priority as President shall be to
end the war in Vietnam. !

End the
war!

#2 L The second reality is the necessity for peace and justice
in our cities and in our nation. -

Law + order yes
Justice + opportunity yes

There is trouble in America.

But it does not come from a lack of faith, but from a kindling
of hope.

We Democrats have inspired new hope in millions of men
and women who previously had no hope. Now they are impatient to
see their hopes fulfilled.

New
Hope

L The simple solution of the frustrated and the frightened is to
lash out against society. ~~But we know and they must know~~
that this is no answer.

Take angry - and
filled with hate

and Violence breeds more violence. Disorder destroys. Only in peace
in order can we build.

I put it very bluntly -- rioting, burning, sniping, mugging,
traffic in narcotics and disregard for the law are the advance guard
of anarchy.

They must and they will be stopped.

But they will not be stopped through words, slogans,
fear-mongering, or empty promises. - Not by Attacks on our
Courts or the Atty Genl.

The answer lies in reasoned, effective action by state, local
and Federal authority. I have proposed a comprehensive and special
program to stop crime and violence in America -- a program to support
our local police with leadership and Federal resources, including
desperately needed money for higher salaries, better training and
equipment.

Suggest
the
Police

I am the only candidate for President who has supervised a
local police force.

I am the only candidate for President who has cleaned up a city -- driven out the criminals and racketeers -- and received the F. B. I. award for effective law enforcement.

As Mayor of Minneapolis, I fought crime ... and I won.

and I intend to do exactly the same thing as President of the United States. *!!*

I also intend to meet -- with every resource at my command -- the urgent challenges of jobs, education, health care and housing.

~~And so I have proposed a Marshall Plan for the Cities an Urban Development Bank ... education for every child from his fourth year through college or vocational training ... expanded health care for every child.~~

able to Mr. Nixon wants to double convictions and build new jails. *I want*
~~I want~~ *to build new neighborhoods ... new lives ... new hope in the*
hearts of our people.

#3 The third reality in this campaign is the necessity for unity and reconciliation in this country. — *Band up our wounds - Heal our broken spirits*

2 nations -
separate unequal

Are we to be one nation -- or are we to be a nation divided,
divided between black and white, between rich and poor, between
north and south, between young and old?

| or

I take my stand -- where I have stood for 25 years of public
service -- that we can only be one nation, under God, united by
liberty and justice for all.

| one
nation

~~Just as I say there can be no compromise on the right of
personal security, there can be no compromise on securing
human rights for every American.~~

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

~~I call upon my opponent - Mr. Nixon -- to make that
same statement.~~

* * * * *

I say to America: —

Put aside recrimination and dissension.

Put aside ~~anger~~ ^{hatred} and fear
bitterness

Turn away from violence and hatred.

Believe in what America can do and in what America can be.

~~And with the help of that vast, unfrightened majority of Americans, I shall win this election.~~

~~And our country will move forward to a new day.~~

Our country will move forward to
a new Day - when we

✓ open our hearts to the good
that is ours

✓ open our minds to the promise
of the future

open America for all -

✓ opportunity for all

✓ justice for all

✓ freedom for all

That is ^{the} Promise of America
and my promise to all
americans.

REMARKS
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

In his Presidential campaign sixteen years ago this month, my old friend Adlai Stevenson said: "A campaign addressed not to men's minds and to their best instincts, but to their passions, emotions and prejudices, is unworthy at best. Now, with the fate of the nation at stake, it is unbearable."

I come to you today with my campaign addressed not to the hates, the doubts ... the fears ... the darker side of human nature, but to reason.

And I challenge those who would appeal to less than reason.

I challenge the candidate of the Republican Party who does not tell us clearly and unequivocally where he stands on the great issues of our time.

I ask questions for myself, and for the American people.

Where do you stand, Mr. Nixon, on civil rights? You say you support civil rights laws and court decisions. But you say you do not necessarily support federal enforcement of those laws and decisions.

Where do you stand?

Where do you stand on the Supreme Court, Mr. Nixon?

You say you are for law and order, but you would undermine the people's confidence in the highest court in the land.

Where do you stand, Mr. Nixon, on federal aid to education?

You say you are for our children. But you want to cut back the Democratic so-called giveaway programs ~~that~~ that would give our children the education they need.

Where do you stand, Mr. Nixon, on Medicare? Do you still oppose it as something that would "do more harm than good?"

Where do you stand on money for the Peace Corps? Do you still look on it as "an escape hatch" for those who would not want to serve in the armed forces?

Where do you stand on arms control?

You called the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty -- which took poison out of the air we breathe and saved the lives and limbs of millions of children -- "a cruel hoax." Now you say you are for the treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons --- but you want to delay its ratification.

Where do you stand on those television debates, Mr. Nixon? You said they were a good idea. I am still waiting.

Where do you stand on open meetings with the press, Mr. Nixon?

Why haven't you been on any national television interview show in more than two years? Just where do you stand?

Where do you stand on the statements of your Vice Presidential candidate, Mr. Nixon?

Do you agree with him or do you repudiate his personal attacks on me ... his attacks on the free labor movement ... his appeals to the conservative and backward instincts within this nation?

We cannot afford an evasive President. And the American people shall not have one.

* * *

William Faulkner wrote that we, as Americans, would one day have "to choose not between race nor religion nor between east and west either, but simply between being slaves and being free."

"And," he wrote, "we will have to choose completely and for good; the time is already passed now when we can choose a leader of each, a leader of both ... we cannot choose freedom established on a hierarchy of degrees of freedom ... on a caste system of equality like military rank. We must be free not because we claim freedom, but because we practice it."

That is the choice this nation makes in 1968.

That is the choice we face as we raise a great mirror above this nation.

We must finally choose, in 1968, whether this nation is to grow beyond what has been ... whether America is to finally become one society for all its people ... whether America is worthy to stand in a position of moral leadership in this world.

If we are to do these things, we cannot be evasive. We must face ourselves.

We must face the world at hand.

* * *

We must have peace in Vietnam.

We must have justice for our people.

We must have unity in our country.

Peace in Vietnam:

The war has finally reached the conference table. And there is hope for peace.

I run on the platform of my party.

That platform points the way to peace in Vietnam -- a negotiated political settlement.

It points, in the meantime, toward reduction of American combat forces as the South Vietnamese are able to carry a greater share of their own burden ... to free elections open to all who will abide by the peaceful processes.

I pray that by January 20, 1969 we shall have peace in Vietnam.

But if we do not, I pledge to you that my first priority as President shall be to honorably end that war.

Carl Sandburg wrote: "Here and there a man in the street is young, hard as nails, cold with questions he asks ... what is justice?"

There are young men today in our streets who ask: What is justice?

There must be justice for our people.

Justice with order, yes.

Justice based on law, yes.

But justice.

My Republican opponent talks of law and order as a magic phrase. He calls for a "doubling of convictions" and heaps scorn on me, saying I want to double the poverty program.

There must be order in our society.

There must be safety in our neighborhoods.

For the guilty, there must be convictions.

But to talk of law and order without telling how you intend to provide and pay for the specifics of better training ... better pay ... better qualifications for police is to offer this nation counterfeit security.

I have been the mayor of a great city. I provided law and order first-hand. It didn't come cheap.

I also provided justice for my citizens -- justice not only in the courts, but justice through jobs ... through decent housing ... through education... through training ... through brotherhood practiced in a community which had been torn by hate and division.

And justice -- not just repression -- is what this nation must have.

Yes, I do have a difference with Mr. Nixon on this issue.

And it is the basic difference about which this country must make a choice.

For there must be unity in our country.

Not a unity of mind, but of spirit.

Not a unity impressed from above, but a unity growing from the ground up among a free people, living in respect for each other.

I look to the time, as Lincoln put it, when we Americans "are not enemies, but friends ... though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory ... will yet swell the chorus of Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

We are faced now with the choice of losing our way, divided -- or finding our way, as one people.

I cannot appeal in this campaign to the hatred of one American for another ... to the fear of one group by another group.

Most of all, I cannot compromise upon the basic issue of human rights -- on which our unity must be based.

It is on this issue that I believe America will finally prove herself.

It is on this issue that I believe the greatness of the American people will once again come forth.

I call upon that greatness.

I call upon that basic goodness within our people.

I call upon the optimism and the faith that have always moved us forward.

I call on you to stand with me.

And if you will, this nation shall not be driven
underground by fear.

It shall have a New Day where, once and for all, there is
only one free and full citizenship for each man, woman and child
in this land.

That has been our dream.

I believe in that dream.

Now we can make it truth.

#

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

STATE DEMOCRATIC DINNER

COLUMBUS, OHIO

SEPTEMBER 17, 1968

I have come here today to talk about the three great realities which today confront this nation... this people... and this country's engine of progress, the Democratic Party.

It is the special genius of the Democratic Party that it welcomes change -- not as an enemy but as an ally -- not as a force to be suppressed but as an instrument of progress to be encouraged.

It was in this spirit -- one of confidence and faith in our ability to master the future -- that Franklin Roosevelt told America we had nothing to fear but fear itself.

In this spirit the one and only Harry Truman let 'em have it, and told it like it was.

In this spirit that beloved man, Adlai Stevenson, talked sense to the American people -- and how we miss this great, good and gentle man of peace.

In this spirit John F. Kennedy told us: "Ask not what your country can do for you... but what can you do for your country."

In this spirit Lyndon Johnson rallied a grief-stricken nation and said: "Let us continue." And then he went on to accomplish more of the unfinished business of America than any of his modern predecessors.

And it is in this spirit -- the proud spirit of Democrats who love their country... who have faith in their fellow citizens... and who believe there is nothing this great nation and its people cannot accomplish.-- that we face the ~~the~~ three realities of our time.

The first reality is the necessity for peace in Vietnam and in the world.

The second reality is the necessity for peace and justice in our cities and in our nation.

And the third reality is the necessity for unity in our country.

First, what of Vietnam?

In this campaign I run on the platform of the Democratic Party -- a platform which points the way toward a political settlement -- toward a withdrawal of all foreign forces from Vietnam -- toward free elections open to all major factions and parties -- toward the long-term economic, social and political development of this war-torn land.

Meanwhile, as a citizen, candidate and Vice President, I pledge that I will do everything within my power to aid negotiations in Paris and bring a prompt end to this war.

Today we face another grave challenge...and another priceless opportunity to advance the cause of peace.

There is today pending in the United States Senate a treaty to stop the further spread of nuclear weapons. Eighty

nations have already signed this treaty -- U. S. ratification is crucial if the world is to take another step backward from the brink of nuclear holocaust.

I don't think the cause of world peace is served by dozens of nations having the weapons which could plunge this world into World War III.

I favor Senate ratification of this treaty this year -- I say the long-term security interests of the United States will be served by its prompt approval.

Mr. Nixon says he favors the treaty, but he also says he opposes ratification now.

Let the American people understand what Mr. Nixon is saying -- and let them understand that failure to act this year could mean the death of this treaty forever.

I don't think we can afford to play political games with anything as serious as nuclear war -- and I don't think we can afford to run the grave risks of inaction on this treaty.

The second reality is the necessity for peace and justice in our cities and in our nation.

There is trouble in America.

But it does not come from a lack of faith, but from a kindling of hope.

We Democrats have inspired new hope in millions of men and women who previously had no hope. Now they are impatient to see their hopes fulfilled.

The simple solution of the frustrated and the frightened is to lash out against society. But we know -- and they must know -- that this is no answer.

Violence breeds more violence. Disorder destroys. Only in order can we build.

I put it very bluntly -- rioting, burning, sniping, mugging, traffic in narcotics and disregard for the law are the advance guard of anarchy.

They must and they will be stopped.

But they will not be stopped through words, slogans, fear-mongering, or empty promises.

The answer lies in reasoned, effective action by state, local and Federal authority. I have proposed a comprehensive and specific program to stop crime and violence in America-- a program to support our local police with leadership and Federal resources, including desperately needed money for higher salaries, better training and equipment.

I am the only candidate for President who has supervised a local police force.

I am the only candidate for President who has cleaned up a city -- driven out the criminals and racketeers -- and received the F. B. I. award for effective law enforcement.

As Mayor of Minneapolis, I fought crime...and I won.

I intend to do exactly the same thing as President of the United States.

I also intend to meet -- with every resource at my command -- the urgent challenges of jobs, education, health care, and housing.

And so I have proposed a Marshall Plan for the Cities... an Urban Development Bank... education for every child from his fourth year through college or vocational training... expanded health care for every child.

These are goals which will mean a more satisfying and rewarding life for every family in America.

And they are goals a Democratic President working with a Democratic Congress can achieve.

Now what of Mr. Nixon, Mr. Agnew and their Republican friends?

When they talk about help for the cities... aid to education... health... homes... and jobs... just remember how Nixon-Agnew - Republicans voted on these issues... 70 percent... 80 percent... 90 percent... against Federal aid to schools... against cities...

Medicare... Social Security... slowing the arms race. Why they even voted 97 percent against the control and extermination of rats.

I am ~~not~~ concerned about the "new Nixon" or the "old Nixon." What worries me is the real Nixon -- and his Nixiecrat allies.

The third reality in this campaign is the necessity for unity and reconciliation in this country.

Are we to be one nation -- or are we to be a nation divided, divided between black and white, between rich and poor, between north and south, between young and old?

I take my stand -- where I have stood for 25 years of public service -- that we can only be one nation, under God, united by liberty and justice for all.

Just as I say there can be no compromise on the right of personal security, there can be no compromise on securing human rights for every American.

Winning the Presidency is not worth the price of entering into a compact with extremism.

And if America is to make a crucial judgment of leadership in this election, then let that selection be made without either candidate hedging or equivocating.

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

I call upon my opponent -- Mr. Nixon -- to make that same statement.

And I call upon him to join with me in urging the House of Representatives to pass the resolution needed to permit the candidates for President and Vice President to appear on television debates. Mr. Nixon's Republican friends in the House can make this possible. But do they dare?

* * *

I say to America:

Put aside recrimination and dissension.

Turn away from violence and hatred.

Believe in what America can do and in what America
can be.

And with the help of that vast, unfrightened majority
of Americans, I am ready to lead our country.

* * *

Columbus - TWX 810-482-1783

TWX to Van DYK

From Bennet

~~A theme:~~

We have been getting a lot of mail recently urging the Vice President to identify himself with some patriotic fundamentals--the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the flag, pride in the nation. I think there is real mileage here if we can figure out how to use it, not in a coryny way, but in a spritt of restrained revivalism.

One writer suggests "Operation Ameica" as a campaign slogan. I think it might be worth a test run at the Clevelmand steer Roast--not in the release, but ad lib, He could do it in place of the rhetorical questions *because if it goes we want it to be original with HHH* *Present conclusion:*
~~to Nixon. Hnmnm~~ Perhaps as follows:

"Let's ⁹myke this great Democratic meeting a New beginning.

"Let's reassert the basic rightness of our free institutions--the Ideals of our Decalation of Independence... the due processes of our Constitution...the protections of our Bill of Rights. ~~nmnmnmnmnm~~ Let's put the snap back in our Flag.

~~nmnmnmnmnm~~

~~Let us trust our hopes and not our fears.~~

" I am going to call this Campaign Operation America/.

" I am gong to carry the Message of America's fundamental greatness to people across this land.

" I think that is a winning issue.

" I ask your help.

End of fragment. ~~xxx~~

I think we have to keep up the pressure on Nixon. We seem to be doing well with it. But that is about all ~~the~~ that is coming through in the press. I think we need some ~~positive~~ positive imagery as well. This might do it. I ask your help.

Bennet

Columbo = Dry T

~~My friends:~~

~~My friends~~ I am here to day to talk with you about the most important subject ~~to~~ to face any politician. . . ^{any} statesman. . . ~~the~~ leader of ^{his} his country: ~~the~~ and that subject is honesty.

This country. . . this ^{Democratic} party. . . ~~has~~ won ^{its} great victories for one reason: that we have never feared to face the ~~the~~ truth -- no matter how ~~is~~ unpleasant that truth my be. . . ~~how~~ bitter. . . ~~how~~ ^{Challenging to comfortable illusions.} ~~totally unacceptable~~

We are a ~~party~~ party. . . a people, who has always ~~told~~ told it like it was. . . and then done ~~something~~ something about it.

And I can tell you, today. . . ~~only~~ that only if we deal with the American people with complete honesty, with complete candor. . . can we ~~any~~ -- any of us -- expect to ~~be~~ be called to serve the American people on election day.

And do you know something? if we weren't honest ^{and} candid. . . we wouldn't deserve to be called to positions of high trust.

I know I speak for you as well as ^{for} myself: we wouldn't have it any ^{other} way.

For twenty ^{five} years in ~~national~~ politics, I have struck out at those politicians who ~~thought~~ thought they could fool all the people all the time. Well, they couldn't, and I didn't let them.

~~And~~ I'm not about to abandon ²⁵ years of telling the people of this nation ~~just~~ what is happening. . . ~~just~~ what the facts are. . . ~~and~~ the problems. . . and ~~just~~ what has to be done about it. We are going to walk down that straight and narrow road of honesty even if we don't win a single electoral vote this November. ~~we~~

^W We know that ^{is} is the way it has to be if America is not to be dragged down by the fear and hate merchants who are trying to poison our national life. And if you ~~are~~ aren't sure

who I'm talking about, I mean George Wallace and ~~his~~ those misguided ~~and~~ opportunistic men on the ~~extreme~~ extreme right of the Republican party* for whom victory is everything even if they destroy our society in the process.

~~Now~~ I'm not going to let that happen, and neither are you.

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

Winning the Presidency is not worth turning this country into two armed camps pitted in ~~war~~ war against one another.

For ~~you~~ you and me, America is too precious to permit one day -- one hour -- of dishonesty. . . untruth. . . or exploitation of fear and hatred to undo nearly two hundred years of commitment to the rights of man. And we Democrats are not about to begin ~~telling~~ telling lies. ^{or exploiting fear}
now.

Maybe it's good politics for the ~~party~~ candidate who's running in front to keep his mouth shut. Maybe it's good politics for the candidate running behind -- and let us face it: I am running behind as of this moment -- to talk about the issues, to face the facts, search for answers, and be honest right down the line.

But let me tell you this: the ~~conspiracy~~ ^{strategy} of silence on the issues, whether by the front-runner or the underdog is just plain wrong; and honesty -- ~~a~~ hard, uncompromising honesty -- is right. And that's the way it has to be and the way it is going to be with me.

~~I must be perfectly~~

How have ~~the~~ Democrats ~~managed to do~~ all this? -- because we were willing to tell it like it is -- and then ^{to} do something about it.

We have that same responsibility, today.

I must be perfectly candid:

--there are Americans today who are worried about the increase in crime in the past few years; ~~and it has increased;~~

--they are worried about financing a college education for their children;

--they are worried about riots. . . about what they believe to be an excessive amount of attention paid by government to the poor and the disadvantaged in America;

--they are worried about inflation. . . about taxes . . . about securing the economic benefits in the future for which they have worked so hard in the past.

Some of these worries are ~~exaggerated~~ unfounded --but let us recognize it: some of them are all too true.

The Democratic Party has never been afraid to meet the needs of the people ~~in the past~~. . . and we are not about to begin now.

When these people needed help before, the Democratic Party was there. We brought them Medicare. . . massive aid to education. . . the ~~most~~ strongest, most prosperous economy in history. . . a commitment to human rights. . . a reform of the immigration laws. . . and real hope. We did this before and we will do much more, now.

We will not adopt the do-nothing, evasive, negative attitude so typical of Republicanism ^{in the past} and ~~is~~ ^{so typical} of the Republican candidate for President, Richard Nixon.

This year's same old

I tell you this, today. We ~~must~~ ^{will} overcome our fears. . . ~~and~~ ^{our} anxieties. We ~~must~~ ^{will} not let them be exploited by Mr. Nixon and his fellow warriors on the right, George Wallace and Strom Thurmond.

And ~~where~~ ^{be} there are real problems, we ~~will~~ ^{will} face them squarely and act . . . wisely. . . honestly. . .

4

compassionately.

Today, I propose ^{an eleven} ~~a ten~~ point program of action for the Humphrey Administration. . . ^{an eleven} ~~a ten~~-point program that forms the cornerstone of my policy towards those millions of Americans who have won their fight with poverty. . . who have assumed a real stake in American society, and now wish to ^{protect} ~~secure~~ that stake. †

more

Handwritten signature/initials

I propose:

One: Tax Reform to spread the responsibility of taxation more equitably, to reduce the financial burden on families, middle income and low income ~~groups~~/and to ~~ensure~~ ensure that wealthy Americans bear their fair share of the tax burden.

Two: Federal financial aid to cities and states to help pay for salaries, training and equipment of police officers serving our local communities and local neighborhoods. In addition, the Federal Government will make available ~~to~~ highly-trained units of the National Guard to any state or city threatened by riots or violence.

Three: Government support for a four-year college education for every American boy and girl who wants it and can use it, regardless of his ability to pay. We will make education the right of every citizen.

Four: a program under which the Federal Government will share its revenues with the states. A percentage of federal income tax receipts will be returned to cities and states to meet their needs, and, where possible, to reduce local property taxes.

Five: Expansion of Medicare into a full national health insurance plan, to include children at first, and when possible all Americans regardless of age. In addition, the cost of prescription drugs will be covered by Medicare.

Six: Reform of the social security system to increase benefits to a living level (without raising social security payroll taxes), and to allow older men and women to earn more without losing benefits.

Seven: Federal aid to cities and states for the construction of local public schools. ^{This will} also relie~~ving~~^e pressures on local property taxes.

Eight: A federal study of a portable pension system for private industry, which would allow any employee to carry his pension rights with him when he changes jobs or needs retraining.

Nine: a Federally-supported program to compensate the victims of crime, whether or not the perpetrator of the crime is ever brought to justice.

Ten: Expansion of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 to allow some families with incomes above the present ceiling of \$7,800 to receive federal mortgage interest subsidies.

Eleven: Federal support to ensure sufficient places in public institutions for the mentally ill and for retarded children. . .without an undue cost burden on their families . . .and without their having to remain on waiting lists for long periods of time.

That is what I propose; and that is what I am going to do as soon as I get to the White House next January.

Let me be ^{Cler} honest: there is not a single ~~part~~ item in that 11-point program that doesn't represent ^{my} the philosophy of government. . .of government that serves the people. . .that I have held ~~firm~~ ever since the first day I entered politics 25 years ago. And you know it.

^{And} But let me be ^{honest} candid. Even the enactment of all 11 points of this program will not sweep away all the doubts and fears. They ~~won't~~ will help us to a New Day, ^{but} they won't do the job alone. ~~The only~~ ^{only} the

These programs for the future. . .and ^{our} this moral commitment and dedication to America. . .can only go forward if we have your help. . .and strong support in the Congress.

There is no one ~~whom~~ whom we have more need of in the United States Senate than John Gilligan. If you elect him to the Senate, we cannot fail. ~~beginning~~

And I promise you this: we are going to do much, much more. Not because it is politic, not because it is expedient, not even because it might win us an election. . .but because it is right.

And we are going to be honest with the American people -- no matter what the cost. . .no matter ^{many} how/many people ~~may~~ rise up and call "stop." Their trouble this country is in today cannot permit us one second of dishonesty; and it would not be ~~it~~ worthy of the American people.

I will not be a ^{lie} man who lied to the American people just to become its ~~the~~ President.

I ^{w. H. C.} ~~am~~ going to be the man who ^{was} ~~is~~ honest -- and let the chips fall where they may.

And, my friends, that is why we are going to win this November.



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