

NEWS FROM: THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
2600 VIRGINIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20037
202-333-8750

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For Further Information:
Ev Munsey, ext. 201
DC-546

WALLACE THE APOSTLE OF HATE AND RACISM, HUMPHREY SAYS

Knoxville, Tenn., October 1 -- Vice President Humphrey described George Wallace today as "the apostle of hate and racism."

At the University of Tennessee in Knoxville, he told his audience that he was there to "Talk candidly about a problem, an issue, and this man."

"There is more at stake here than the Presidency," the Vice President said. "What is at stake is the greatest political system on earth and the social fabric of the nation we love."

The problem, Mr. Humphrey said, is that the hundreds of thousands of young Negroes in our cities "who were both out of school and out of work" seven years ago have come of age "and the dynamite has begun to explode."

The reaction has been one of fear and protest in this "year of rage," he said, that "is putting our political system to its most severe test in modern times."

The issue is absolutely clear: radical extremists of the left and right seek destruction of the entire American system, Mr. Humphrey said. The left follows the totally unacceptable solution of violent protest in which dissent becomes disorder. On the right, "they seek the simple solution of violent repression which preaches disrespect for our courts and some of our laws," and appeals to "the darkest fears and deepest suspicions of our people," he said.

Crime will not be stopped by bumper stickers or a "four-point program" which includes thinly veiled invitations to self-appointed vigilante action disguised as something called "national coordinating center--whatever that means," Mr. Humphrey said.

As Governor of Alabama, Wallace presided over a state with the highest murder rate in the U.S.; which ranked fourth in aggravated assault; and he used the courts as his personal fief, Mr. Humphrey said.

In Alabama, Mr. Humphrey said, housewives pay the highest sales tax in the country--six cents on the dollar; wages are third lowest in the nation; and less is spent per pupil except in two other states.

"We must be one nation, not two," Mr. Humphrey said. "Once we start down the road to apartheid, we shall find there is no turning back."

The text of the speech is attached.

Instead, you have found a society that has excluded 29 million of its members from its affluence, that has gone to war, that has murdered your heroes, John F. Kennedy and Robert F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King and some of you have found an educational system that was overburdened, undermanned, and out of date.

The result--and it is not exclusively an American phenomenon--has been student protest--sometimes peaceable and sometimes violent--sometimes reasonable and sometimes senseless--and almost always inexplicable to your elders.

To sum up the problem, the frustrations of the poor, of the young, and of those who oppose the war have created a year of rage and that year of rage is putting our political system to its most severe test in modern times.

Second, the issue.

There are forces in this land striving to divide and embitter our people. They are demagogues who preach hate and fear and division. They are radical extremists of the left and the right.

And let the issue be absolutely clear: their objective is nothing less than the destruction of our political system--the institutions of democratic government--and the political processes which America has developed to govern this nation.

On the extreme left are those who chant and disrupt meetings and threaten to disrupt the election. They would deny to others the free speech they demand. They have seized upon the legitimate grievances of students and capitalized the unease over the war to mount an attack upon the entire American system. Theirs is the simple--and totally unacceptable--solution of violent protest.

Freedom of speech, of assembly, of dissent are among the most sacred liberties we possess--and I will defend them in this year of rage as I have defended them all my life.

But disorder is not dissent. Indeed, disorder, especially organized disorder, is the enemy of dissent.

And destruction is not debate. Indeed, the violence of destruction can only silence the vitality of debate.

I reject the extremism of the left and I call upon the American people to reject them.

On the extreme right are those who preach disrespect for our courts and for some of our laws and who appeal to the darkest fears and deepest suspicions of our people.

They seek the simple solution of violent repression.

But bumper stickers will not stop crime, and the way to support your police is to give them higher salaries, better training, and better equipment.

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Neither will crime be stopped by a "four-point program" which includes thinly veiled invitation to self-appointed vigilante action, disguised as something called a "national coordinating center--whatever that means.

To be honest, crime will never be ended--it never has been--but it can be controlled by the sure, swift, and fair administration of justice.

That's the way I fought crime and lawlessness when I was mayor of Minneapolis. And I propose to follow the same course as President of the United States.

It will not be stopped or curtailed by a political plunger who is gambling everything on a campaign of organized hate.

And this brings me to the man: George Wallace.

It is said that George Wallace is "gaining in respectability" in the North. But he is not gaining in respectability among those down here who know him best.

He stands, and he has always stood, as the apostle of hate and racism.

Today some of his political managers and even some of his Presidential electors are drawn from the ranks of the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens' Councils, the John Birch Society, the Armed Minutemen, or groups dedicated to the promotion of anti-Semitism.

Electors pledged to Wallace in a number of states, both North and South, are drawn frequently from the leadership of white citizens councils and the Birch Society. His Georgia state chairman and pledged elector was formerly national president of the White Citizens Councils. And more than half a dozen other Wallace electors have held executive committee or other important positions in the White Citizens Councils.

Recently we have heard that the Wallace candidacy may create a political stalemate. If it does, it is to these electors that all the people of the United States must look to express their political choice. And that is one reason why I say the political system is in danger today.

But Mr. Wallace says he is for law and order.

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Those who yearn for law and order would do well to remember that George Wallace was Governor of Alabama--the state with the highest murder rate in the United States.

They would do well to note that Alabama ranks fourth among all the states in aggravated assault.

Wallace could not maintain order in his own state--where he had the power--but now he promises to maintain order in every city and state--where he will not have the power.

When he was Governor of Alabama, he gave the American people other lessons in law and order.

He decided which courts suited him--and disobeyed the rest.

He decided which judges he liked--and he vilified the rest.

He decided which laws he preferred--and he defied the rest.

Now he proposes teaching the Wallace method to the whole country.

Today Wallace says he is the friend of the working man. Let's look at his record as Governor of Alabama:

--Alabama housewives pay the highest sales tax in the country--six cents on the dollar;

--wages for the workingman in Alabama were the third lowest in the nation.

--in education, only two states spend less per pupil than Alabama;

--and it has one of the lowest workmen's compensation systems of any state in the union.

And these are the accomplishments--This is the record--Mr. Wallace wants to bring to Washington.

But worst of all--worse than the collapse of law and order in Alabama: worse than his anti-liberal economic policies--worst of all is his conduct in this campaign.

He has deliberately embarked on a campaign to embitter and divide the American people. He has sought to inflame fear, frustration, and prejudice. He has sought to bring this nation to the brink of broad scale civil disorder.

America today has many problems--grave problems of domestic policy and foreign policy--but they won't be solved by a candidate who can think of nothing better to do than to threaten to run down people with a car.

In the American system anybody--even George Corley Wallace--has the right to run for President. But let's be absolutely clear about how he's going about it.

He says he will announce a platform any day now. He may even get around to picking a fellow-extremist for his vice president--a man who would stand in line to succeed him. And the election is only five weeks away.

Ordinarily his incredible campaign would be a laughing matter--but not in this year of rage.

He has attacked the courts: in the name of law and order.

He has applauded those who would undermine the independent judiciary--the ultimate guardian of the liberties of all of us.

He has joined the ugly campaign against Mr. Justice Fortas-- a campaign unmatched since the first Jew, Mr. Justice Brandeis, was appointed to the high court in 1916.

He has sought to stir the darkest fears and prejudices harbored by the few and the frustration and anger felt by the many.

He pretends to be the friend of the workingman but he is the creature of the most reactionary underground forces in American life.

He does not speak for millions of decent Southerners and Northerners who reject bigotry and hate, who despise the extremists of both right and left, and who believe in progress and education and justice and a better life for all.

I say to you solemnly--In the 1930's the reactionary forces of Germany thought they had found a man to speak for them, and a few years later, helped by and economic depression, that man had destroyed not only his creators but German democracy, the European balance of power, the world political system: and the result was the carnage of World War II.

You say these things could never happen in America. I devoutly pray that you are right. But I know from deep personal experience we are closer to this possibility than I would have ever believed possible.

I know that my Republican opponent--while opposing the Wallace candidacy--has within his ranks many persons who make precisely the same appeal--who have led the reactionary, extremist forces in America for the past two decades and who continue these attacks at this very moment.

And I know that in his speeches my Republican opponent appeals to the same fears...the same passions...the same frustrations which can unleash

in this country a torrent of unreasoning hate and repression.

And, finally, I know that if my Republican opponent is elected and a Republican economic recession results, the dark anger stirred by the third-party candidate may become an overwhelming force in American life.

Today--above all else--good men have the moral obligation to speak out--forthrightly and clearly--about these dangers to our Democratic institutions.

If in this campaign I make no other contribution to America's national life than to expose this threat--personified in George Wallace and expressed in his odious appeal to rage--I will rest content on November 6.

He will not be elected. But what he stands for must be repudiated. Overwhelmingly.

In this campaign Senator Muskie and I offer only a reasoned and forthright accounting of where we--the American people--find ourselves today--and where we must move in the months and years ahead.

America has been greatly blessed--and of us much will be required. We carry the heavy--yet the sacred--burden of proving to a doubting world--a frightened world--that free men do possess the wit, the wisdom and the courage to govern themselves.

Third--for just one moment--the terrible blow to liberty that would be sustained around this globe if Democracy failed in the United States--the source and inspiration for millions of our fellow human beings.

This is perhaps the hour of our greatest testing as a free people.

We must be one nation, not two.

Once we start down the road to apartheid, we shall find there is no turning back.

The elite spartans of ancient Greece put down a minority, the helots--only to discover that they had fastened upon themselves a repressive and vicious police state.

Throughout history this pattern has been repeated again and again.

We must not permit this to become our fate.

We will find the solution not in repression but in justice.

Violence cannot be tolerated. But neither can injustice.

I offer you no easy solutions. In this year of rage--in this deadly danger abroad and at home--there are none.

I offer you no hiding place. There is none.

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But I offer you this--my credo--the words of Nathan Hale:

"I am only one but I am one. I cannot do everything, but I can do something.
And what I can do, that I ought to do. And what I ought to do, by the
grace of God, I shall do."

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ADDRESS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee
Tuesday, October 1, 1968

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VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you, Governor Ellington. Thank you very much, Governor of this great State of Tennessee. Senator Albert Gore -- I tell you, Albert, you sure do have friends here. And rightly so. There is no finer member of the U. S. Senate than the man that you have in Senator Albert Gore.

Gary Crawford, you may be an inexperienced master of ceremonies, but you sure did bring an audience. I want to congratulate you. You must be very popular.

I had thought sometimes in the past that if things didn't work out well in this very precarious political year -- elective office is always a little uncertain, and it seems a little more uncertain than I would like it at the present moment -- I have thought on other occasions that I might want to apply as president of a college. Then I saw what happened some places and I have thought that politics looked a little safer. But when I heard the ovation that Dr. Holt received here tonight, I say that is a great honor for any man. (Applause)

I sure wish I could claim you as a relative, Dr. Holt. Any kind of political association that I can get with you tonight, I will gladly accept, no matter how minor it may be.

I thought you might like to know how I got here. It is a combination of clearance through Dr. Weaver and Chris Whittle. (Applause)

Yes, indeed. I told them I wanted to drop by for a visit and then I showed them the manuscript when I got in and they can't stop me. I am going to talk, no matter what. (Applause)

To these very wonderful singers, on behalf of your country tonight, may I thank you. You have truly been the best voice of America as you have traveled throughout the whole free world bringing your wonderful songs so that people could know not only of Tennessee, but could know of America. And I want you to know that I like Dixie, too. You can sing it any time you want to sing it. (Applause)

After all, I am a Southerner. I was born in South Dakota. I live in Southwest Washington. And I attended the University of Minnesota and lived on the southeast side. How more southern can you get?

And besides that, I graduated from Louisiana State University and I want to tell you those Tennessee volunteers beat us in the last game. They ought to be ashamed of themselves.

To Coach Doug Dickey and his team over here on my right and your left, I want to say congratulations on your most recent victory. I don't believe that you have a game this year with Minnesota. I trust not. We are not doing too well.

I had to say the last weekend that I was the O. J. Simpson of the political circuit. Of course, you haven't touched that fellow yet from the University of Southern California. But he is something. But I know what you did this last weekend and I have to be very, very general in my remarks because I may get to Memphis. So I have to be careful.

But Coach Dickey, we are proud of you. We are proud of the Volunteers, and I am very proud that today the lovely Miss University of Tennessee presented me with one of those big orange jackets and I wore it out here at the airport. I was going to do it tonight but Dr. Weaver said I couldn't both speak and wear the jacket; I had to make a choice. (Applause)

He is a good man, I tell you. It is sort of like being a vice president. You catch all of the trouble, have none of the authority. (Applause)

Well, by the way, you are really getting fancy down these parts. I understand you have a rug that covers the football field now. I want to thank you for buying it from the Minnesota Mining Company. We need the business.

Well, I come here tonight on serious business and I am truly honored, truly honored by the quality and the quantity of this great audience. There is no better place to say it like it is, speak your heart, to lay it on the line, to speak up, than on a university campus. A great university should be the citadel of freedom. A great university should be the place where we can think aloud, talk aloud, where we can be civilized human beings, where we can have debate and discussion and dialogue and dissent and where we can also make decisions. (Applause)

And I am going to talk about all that -- debate, dialogue, dissent, and decision, because they all go together. And I want to talk to you tonight not about the whole spectrum of this campaign, because we don't have the time nor would you want me to try to give you just tidbits and generalities. There is somebody else working that field today and I am not in on it. (Applause)

Anyway, I am short of confetti and balloons tonight. I can't indulge in it.

I come to a border state. I have come to a state that is part South, part North, but above all, it is all American. And I have come here to talk straight -- first about a problem, second about an issue, thirdly about a man. And I might even add an extra man in before I am through. And I want to talk to you from my heart and from my mind.

I don't ask that you agree with me. It isn't important that you agree with me. What is important is that we start to think together -- not that I should tell you what to think but rather that you think and that you come to your own decisions. (Applause)

Now, this problem, this issue and this man are of the deepest concern to me and every American in this election campaign. I have come to this, one of the greatest universities of this land, as so well described by Governor Ellington, to appeal not to

passion but to your reason, to appeal not to fear but to your hopes. The problem is the frustration, the anger, and the fear that so many of our people feel today. And I think that synthesizes it pretty well: the frustration, the anger, and the fear. The issue is the preservation of our democratic processes, the preservation of our democratic system of government, and the man is the former governor of the State of Alabama, George Wallace. (Boos and yeas)

And I expected just that, because what I have to say, what I have to say may not be popular and I have been told 101 times that this is not the place to say it. But I think it is and I will tell you why, because I think you want to hear it. (Applause)

Might I say that I think that every one of us is entitled to our time to speak, and as I will say again and again from every platform across this country, that American politics has entered a new dimension, that the old politics of razzle-dazzle circus gimmicks is over, that what the American people deserve today is the politics of participation, the politics, if you please, where the different candidates are invited to stand on the same platform on the same night before the same audience and talk about this to you. (Applause)

I have been trying to smoke one out for some time. I have been offering every opportunity. I am willing to debate in the Fifth Avenue apartment or the NAM or the University of Tennessee or my home in Waverly or on some street corner. But I haven't been able to get Mr. Nixon out yet. He says no, he is not going to go into any of that kid stuff, as he calls it.

Kid stuff. I want to tell you something, dear friends, he is hiding out under the bushes. But some of you may be out either grouse hunting or partridge hunting. I am an old pheasant hunter and let me tell you, I have kicked many a pheasant out from under a bush and I can hit even a moving target if I can ever get him out. (Applause)

So recognizing the pitfall that I face tonight, recognizing that what I have to say may not be pleasant to some, but recognizing that lots of things are not pleasant to any of us, I speak because there is more at stake here tonight than the presidency in this election. What is at stake is the greatest political system on the earth and the social fabric of the nation that we love. And I will say the same things in the South that I say in the North, because I have been privileged to be educated in the North and the South, to have lived at the head waters of the Mississippi and at the Delta, to have graduated from the University of Minnesota and the University of Louisiana. And I make the same kind of presentation to both areas of America because they are American and you can't have two messages for America. (Applause)

Now, first, the problem. Seven years ago, a respected educator, James Bryant Conant, warned us that the social dynamite in our cities was the hundreds of thousands of young Negroes who were both out of school and out of work. That

warning came to us in the 1950s, even though nothing was done about it then. Today, that generation has come of age and the dynamite that Dr. Conant talked about has begun to explode; the anger and the frustration of billions has erupted in violence in city after city, and the reaction to the explosion has been fear -- fear of white suburbanites who see their homes threatened; fear of the white working men who see their jobs threatened; fear of millions, black and white, who instinctively fear violence, very understandably. And to this has been added another frustration, the frustration of a tragic lingering, costly, far-off war.

Last night I expressed my own views on that war and need not repeat them here, except to say -- and need not repeat them here except to say, as I said to the nation last night, that if I am elected President and the war by that time has not ended, the first priority of the Humphrey-Muskie administration will be to bring that war to an honorable conclusion. (Applause)

I want to see the men and the resources that are presently in that struggle brought back to America so that we can meet our problems here at home. (Applause)

But I think we all agree, whether we bear a sign or whether we do it quietly, that there is no doubt that this war has caused great frustration and concern, particularly among young Americans, and indeed, many Americans. And there are many young Americans that themselves feel left out. They feel that somehow or another, things are not geared to their lives. They feel at odds with their elders and they feel victimized by a world that they never made.

Yours is the generation that was born at the end of the great depression, at World War II. You were supposed to be the children of hope, hope that at least Americans could grow up in the pursuit of happiness -- free of hunger, free of fear, and free of war. Instead, you have found a society that has excluded for whatever reason over 20 million of its members and many of its real benefits of the prosperity of this nation, that has gone to war twice since World War II, that has murdered John F. Kennedy, and Martin Luther King. And so you have found an educational system that has been overburdened, undermanned, and all too often even out of date. (Applause)

The result, and it is not exclusively an American phenomenon, has been student protest -- sometimes peaceable, as it should be; sometimes violent as it ought not to be; sometimes reasonable, sometimes senseless, and almost always inexplicable to your elders.

There is groping today all over the world for people to have an individual identity. The bigness of power, of government, the bigness of the whole world, the bigness of business and labor, the bigness of the universe, the computer itself has tended to depersonalize life. And much of what we see today in terms of restlessness and ferment is but an outreach, it is but a crying outpour, for some identity, as some student once had an IBM card on him that said "Don't fold or mutilate;

I'm a person." And I feel this is part of our trouble.

So to sum it up, the frustrations of the poor, of the young, of those who oppose the war have created a year of anxiety, and a year of anxiety is putting our political system to the most severe test in modern times.

Now, that is the way I see it. Yet let me put it also another way, that we have made more changes in the past decade and many of them for the good than in the preceding 100 years. The amazing news of our time is that our political structure and our social structure has been able to survive it.

Now, what is the second issue? There are forces in this land striving to divide our people and embitter our people. They are demagogues who preach hate, who preach fear, who preach separatism, who preach division. They are radical extremists of the right or of the left, with shirts or without shirts, white, black, or red. And let the issue be absolutely clear, their objective is nothing less than the ultimate destruction of our political system, the institutions of democratic government, and the political processes which America has developed through its own experiences to govern this nation.

Now, on the extreme left are those who chant, sometimes disrupt meetings, threaten to disrupt an election, threaten to disrupt an inaugural. They would deny to others the free speech that they demand for themselves. They have seized -- (Applause)

This very, very small group, and it is small, have seized upon the legitimate grievances of students and they have capitalized on the unease over the war to mount an attack on the entire American system. Theirs is the simple and totally unacceptable solution of our problems by violent protest.

Freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, or dissent -- these are among the most sacred liberties that we possess. And I want it clear from this platform that I have throughout my life and I will throughout the remaining days of my life defend those precious freedoms, the right to be different, the right to dissent, the right to speak, the right to assemble, the right to freedom of conscience without the interference of government or without the interference of any militant mobilized, organized self-righteous minority. (Applause)

But let me make it clear, disorder is not dissent. Indeed, disorder, especially highly organized disorder, is the enemy of dissent. So free men, free people, people of democratic faith and persuasion, people who believe in individual liberty, should have as their standard in a democracy dissent, yes; disorder, no. And it ought to be just that simple. (Applause)

I reject, therefore, as you gather, the extremism of the left or wherever they call themselves, and I call upon the American people to reject with equal fervor the extremism of the right and call upon the people to reject that, too.

And now a word about that kind of extremism. (Applause)

The right, the extreme right, are those who preach disrespect for our courts and some of our laws and who appeal to the darkest fears and passions and the deepest suspicions of our people. I saw a sign when I came into this city that said "Impeach Earl Warren." You don't need to. He is going to retire.

Ladies and gentlemen, these people seek simple solutions. Sometimes the simple solutions result in violent repression -- bumper stickers that say "Back your police." But bumper stickers will not stop crime and lawlessness. If you really want to support your police, and I think they deserve it, the way to do it is to pay them higher salaries, recruit better people, give them better equipment. (Applause)

Let's face it, the average police officer of this country gets two-thirds of a living wage. Yet you ask him to protect your home. You ask him to take care of the safety of your community; you understaff his force. You give him inadequate training. You give him inadequate equipment. You wouldn't think of putting an army in the field like that unless you were contemplating being called before a committee of the Congress and having Senator Albert Gore interrogate you. Let me tell you, that is some experience.

But crime will not be stopped by a simple four-point program that has been enunciated, which includes thinly veiled invitation to self-appointed vigilante action, disguised as something called a national coordinating center, whatever that means. To be honest, and we ought to be honest with each other about these things, all crime may never be ended. It never has been. But we need to wage war on it. It can be controlled and it can be controlled a lot better by sure, swift, and fair administration of justice.

I had the privilege of fighting crime as the mayor of a great city, the City of Minneapolis, for two terms as mayor. And may I say I fought it and fought it successfully with young people like are in this room. Young men and women in my government, they were 21, 22, 23 years of age. Yes, they called it Humphrey's Diaper Brigade, but we sure did clean up a lot of things around that town, I tell you.

And I propose when I am the President of these United States to follow the very same program I followed there, by speaking up for law observance, by backing my police officers, by giving them the better pay and better conditions that they deserve, but above all, but above all, not wanting my city to be known for its police department, but I wanted my city to be known for its university, for its schools, for its hospitals, for its jobs, for its homes. (Applause)

So let me say that crime will not be stopped or even curtailed by a political plunger who is gambling everything on a campaign of organized fear and hate. And this brings me very candidly to the candidacy of Mr. Wallace.

It is said that George Wallace is gaining in strength and respectability in the North. But he is not gaining in

respectability among those down here who know him best. And I think that is true. (Applause)

He stands, as he has always stood, as the apostle of the politics of fear, and I regret to say, the politics of racism. Today, some of his political managers and even some of his presidential electors are drawn from the ranks of the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Councils, the John Birch Society, the Armed Minute Men, and groups dedicated to the promotion of anti-Semitism -- electors pledged to Wallace in a number of states both North and South are frequently drawn from these very groups.

Recently we have heard that the Wallace candidate may create a political stalemate -- throw the election into the House of Representatives. Well, if it does, it will be these electors that all of the people of the United States will need to look to to express their political choice. What a sad day, and that is one reason why I say that the political system may well be in danger today.

Now, Mr. Wallace says he is for law and order, and I intend to come to grips with each of these candidates. They are not going to get by with generalities with this man. They are not going to get by with platitudes or even with bitter attack. Those who yearn for law and order -- and I do -- if you mean law and order for everybody, law protection for everybody, black and white, rich and poor -- well, they would do well to remember that George Wallace was governor of Alabama, the state with the highest murder rate in the United States, and they would do well to note that Alabama ranges fourth among all the states in aggravated assault.

Now, Mr. Wallace could not maintain order in his own state, but as governor he possesses police power where he has the power. Now he promises to maintain order in every city and state where he will have no power. I wonder what he has in mind. (Applause)

Let's put it on the line, my fellow students, and I am learning, too. And believe me, I am learning a harder way than you are learning. This is a rough, tough battle. Let's lay it on the line: The police power in the United States is not in the Federal Government. And thank God. We don't want it there.

The Constitution and the Tenth Amendment preserves the police power to the state and I am unalterably opposed to a national police system. And I thought that Mr. Wallace and Mr. Nixon were for states' rights. (Applause) That is what I thought.

Then I think I should make it clear what office I am running for. I am running for President, not sheriff. (Applause)

May I make it clear that when I am your President, I am going to help these governors and these mayors. I am going to go to the Congress to ask them to help with funds and resources and experts and technicians so that we can improve our law enforcement agencies. But I am not going to put a Federal police force in every state in this Union. I am going to leave it up to the people. (Applause)

Now, another word about Mr. Wallace. He gave the American people other lessons in law and order. Quite a nice lesson, too. He decided which courts suited him and disobeyed the rest. You try it sometime and see what happens to you.

Now.

He decided which judges he liked and vilified the rest. You try it.

He decided which laws he preferred and he defined the rest. Now he proposes teaching the Wallace method to the whole country and he thinks you will have law and order. It is ridiculous. It is utterly ridiculous. (Applause)

Now, let's see another dimension of this political problem. Today Mr. Wallace says he is a friend of the working man, and mind you, there are some working men who believe it. So if there are any of them in this hall tonight, I want to talk to you, because I spent a lifetime being your friend and sometimes, may I say, not gaining too many friends by doing it. I am no johnny-come-lately, you know, for the issue of civil rights, working with organized labor -- (Applause)

I have been through the refiner's fire. I have had the lash of the reactionaries on my back. There is plenty of scar tissue there. And I intend to talk and say what's on my mind.

Alabama housewives under this friend of the working man paid the highest sales tax in the nation, six cents to the dollar, no matter how poor you are, the most repressive tax there is. The wages for a working man in Alabama were the third lowest in the nation. What a friend of the working man he turned out to be. (Applause)

And in education, only two states in this Union spent less than Alabama, and it has one of the lowest working men's compensation systems of any state in the Union.

Ladies and gentlemen, Alabama deserves better. I can understand why they don't want him in Montgomery, but I don't want him in Washington, either. (Applause)

Now, we keep getting Mr. Nixon to talk like this, but he is going to play it cool. He thinks that some of those Wallace votes are going to come over to him. I know they are not going to come to me and I am going to talk about it as the truth is.

Mr. Nixon, since you and Mr. Wallace are competing basically for the same votes, why don't you have a little argument for a change instead of all these pleasantries? Why don't you get right down to cases and argue the case before the American people? Or do I have to do it for both of you? I guess so. (Applause)

But, now let's have a word about the campaign itself. Not enough to bring the program of law and order to Washington, either by direction or indirection. It is bad enough to have that antiliberal economic policy. I suppose that one didn't bother the Republican candidate too much. It is rather close

to the same philosophy. But let's talk about the conduct of the campaign.

Mr. Wallace has deliberately embarked on the campaign to divide the American people and to embitter some. He has sought to inflame fear, frustration, and he plays on prejudice. And he has sought to bring this nation inadvertently or by direction to the bringing of broad scale social and civil disorder. America has too many problems, grave problems of domestic and foreign policy. But they won't be solved by a candidate who can think of nothing better to do than if somebody should lie down in front of his car to run over them. (Applause)

I know that it makes a good news story. I know the feelings that a person has when he is set upon. No man in this country today has had to face more protesters, has had to face more indignities, has had to go through more humiliation than I have had these last four years, including my wife. We have gone through every trial. I have had them lie down in front of my car. I have had people spit on us. I have had them use obscenity that is beyond human description, in the presence of my wife. But I have never recommended running over anybody, just to heal it and get over it. (Applause)

You cannot have a President that indulges, you cannot have a President that makes decisions in anger. And you cannot have a President that uses all of the words of passion and all of the words of emotion to arouse a people to make decisions that could be catastrophically dangerous. This is serious business we are involved in. The nuclear age, where one erratic act can obliterate mankind, where one erratic act can stir up a mad disorder in this country, that can take the lives of hundreds. We need somebody to help, not somebody to cut; somebody to reconcile, not somebody to agitate; somebody to bind up the wounds, not somebody to use the mace. We need somebody in this country to inspire America, not to make it angry. (Applause)

And what about the campaign? Well, he says he will announce a platform anyway. That is very nice. He may even get around to picking a fellow extremist for his vice president any day. The man who stands in line second to succeed him, -- and may I say, whatever you may think of the three principles in this campaign, myself, the Republican nominee, and the third party candidate, I will tell you one thing you can be sure of, that the man that is the vice presidential nominee on the Democratic ticket, who is but a heartbeat away from the man who would be President in the Democratic Party, should we win, that man is totally worthy of your confidence and trust. He is a great American. (Applause)

I won't say anything about the others. I will just let you judge on ours.

Ordinarily, this incredible campaign would be a laughing matter, but it can't be in this year of rage and frustration. The third party candidate has attacked the courts in the name of law and order. He has supported those who would undermine

the independent judiciary, the ultimate guardians of our liberties. He has joined the ugly campaign against Justice Fortas, a campaign unmatched since the first Jew, Mr. Justice Brandeis, was first appointed to the high Court in 1916. He sought to stir up the dark prejudices (in people's minds).

He pretends to be the friend of the working man, but he is the creature of the most reactionary underground forces in American life. And he does not speak for the millions and millions of decent Southerners and Northerners who reject bigotry and hate. (Applause)

And he does not speak for those who believe in progress and education and justice and a better life for all. And he does not speak for those who resist, and rightly so, the rabid, violent extremisms -- left, right, up or down.

So I say to you solemnly tonight, these are troubled days. In the 1930s the reactionary forces of Germany thought they had found a man to speak for them. And a few years later, helped by an economic depression, that man destroyed not only his creators but the German Democracy, the European balance of power, the world political system. And we were bathed in the blood of World War II.

You say these things can never happen in America? It can't happen here? I devoutly hope and pray that you are right. But I have never seen a time in America when we were at a more critical juncture in our history since the War between the States. And I know from my personal experience, and we are closer to these possibilities of tragedy than I would ever have believed possible.

That is why I come here tonight. That is why I speak so firmly. I don't like to talk like this, but it must be done.

I know that my Republican opponent, why he does oppose the Wallace candidacy and he surely is no racist -- (Applause)

That was a very encouraging minority. I thank you very, very much.

He has within his ranks experience that makes precisely the same appeal. You will notice that people that don't like me have quit. Well, sometimes a fellow is known better by the enemies he makes than the friends he has.

I repeat that my Republican opponent, while opposing the Wallace candidacy and surely no racist, has within his ranks people who make precisely the same appeal, who have led the reactionary extremist forces in America for the past two decades and who continue these attacks at this very moment. And I know that in his speeches, my Republican opponent appeals to the same fears, the same passions, the same frustrations which, regretfully, could unleash in this country a torrent of unreasoning hate and opposition.

And I know that if my Republican opponent is elected and the

Republican economic recession results, which it generally does, the dark anger stirred by the third party candidate may become the overwhelming force in American life. I saw today as I landed at the airport, when I had on that big orange country jacket -- gentlemen, that was a nice jacket too, let me say -- I saw as I got off my plane, the Republican Truth Squad plane came in. And I want to tell you, it was something to behold. A play on words, to be sure. It is kind of a floating joke, you know, that is going around. So I went over to say hello to my dear friends. I think if you will take just a moment -- you have been kind enough, it is warm here and all that, but I want to talk about that. They are going to be here and they are going to have a press conference. They are good men. I like them.

As a matter of fact, I went over and had a fine visit with them. There is just one thing wrong with them, their politics, that is all. They got a little over to that side.

They say they will tell the truth. I hope they will tell this audience the truth. I hope they will tell that they refused to vote for federal aid for education for a university like this.

I hope they will tell you the truth. I hope they will tell you the truth that they refused to vote for federal aid to elementary and secondary education for the children of this land. Every one of those bills was either killed on the basis of race, religion or states' rights. Finally we got a President who said, what about the children? And we started to appropriate Federal funds, billions of dollars of it, so that today there is a better educational structure in America by far than there ever was before.

I hope they will tell you that every Federal aid to education program ever advanced in the Congress was killed by Republican votes. I hope they will tell you that truth. (Applause)

And I hope for the old ones that aren't here tonight, and there aren't as many, but I would say to you young folks when you go home and see your grandparents that you will tell them it was the Republican Party that voted to kill Medicare and it was the Democratic Party that made it a law, and that Mr. Nixon said it won't work. And I hope they will tell you the truth, that Mr. Nixon said the Peace Corps was a haven for draft dodgers.

Yes, I want them to tell you the truth. And when they do, you will know the truth and you will vote right. (Applause)

And I hope that they will tell you the truth about this recent conversion of the new Nixon, who spent 20 years of his life trying to kill the VA. (Applause)

And now that it is a going proposition, and now that the people of the Tennessee Valley support it almost to a man and a woman, he comes out boldly, forthrightly, courageously, and says I think it will work and I am for it. (Applause)

Yes, I hope they will tell you the truth. I hope he will tell you the truth that in 1954, when French colonialism was in its dying days at Dien Bien Phu and the French colonial forces were being defeated, that it was Mr. Nixon who said let's send in the Armed Forces of the United States, and it was Dwight Eisenhower who said break it off, Mr. Vice President, nobody is going at this particular time. I hope he will tell you the truth.

And I hope they will tell you the truth about some other things. I hope they will tell you the truth what has been happening. I hope they will tell you the truth that the modern model cities program, the programs for urban affairs, the programs for higher education, for elementary education, for every one of these programs has been passed by a Democratic Administration. I want the truth and I hope we will get it this election. (Applause)

I just tossed that one in for extras. I saw that plane come in today and it just sent something up through me and I said, here they come to tell the truth. Dear friends, remember what the scriptures say: "Seek ye the truth", and if you seek it, you will vote Democratic. (Applause)

Now, let me in all seriousness of a seminar conclude my remarks to you tonight.

Today above all else, good men, Republicans and Democrats alike, independent, and none of us have a monopoly on virtue, even though you would think so when we talk, I hope that good men will feel the moral obligation to speak out forthrightly and clearly about these dangers that I talked to you about to our Democratic institutions. If in this campaign I make no other contribution to American national life than to expose this threat personified in the candidacy of the third party candidate and expressed in his appeal, and it is an odious appeal, I will rest content on November 6, win or lose. One is never sure what the outcome will be. But I say the year 1968 calls for frank talk. It calls for the candor, the best that a man can give.

I tried to give that to you last night. Some people liked it, some didn't. Some in high places didn't like it, some did. But I made up my mind a long time ago, not knowing how this election would come out, that I wanted to be able to say on the night of that election that I have done my best, that I have given of myself, that I have spoken the truth as I see it.

I don't think that the third party candidate is going to be elected. I don't even think that the second party candidate is going to be elected. (Applause)

But what he stands for must be repudiated and repudiated overwhelmingly, and young Americans, you who are not filled with bitterness and hate, you who are not the children of a society that is now in its dying days of segregation and discrimination, you stand up. There are many things to protest about. You don't need to just protest about Vietnam.

Protest about the injustice that denies a boy or a girl, black or white, because he is poor, a chance for a decent life. Protest about the filth of our slums. Protest about the injustice that is perpetrated upon millions of our people simply because of the color of their skin. Volunteer, my friends, your services.

The politics of tomorrow is not the politics of the party, it is the politics of service, of giving of yourself, of sharing of yourself, of helping the other guy. Help him stand a little stronger and you will stand a little taller. (Applause)

America has been greatly blessed, so blessed that it is almost beyond human comprehension. And those of us that are so richly blessed, much will be required. We carry the heavy yet the sacred burden of proving to a doubting world, a frightened world, a dangerous world, that free men and free institutions do possess the means and the wisdom and the courage to govern themselves. This is our challenge. This is what Lincoln meant when he said we are the last best hope of earth. This is what Wilson said when he looked at the flag, "I want it not to be the flag only of the United States but the flag of hope, the flag of humanity."

People look to us. They want to know if we can make it work. We are the only real pluralistic society. We are the children of the immigrant, we are the people of every race, creed, and color. And the question now is what are we going to do with it?

Think for just a moment the terrible blow to liberty that would be sustained around the entire planet if our democracy should fail. The source and the inspiration for millions of our fellow human beings. I think that this is perhaps the hour of our greatest testing as a free people.

There is going to be a great referendum in this country on human decency in this election. We cannot be two nations separate and unequal. We cannot divide black and white, rich and poor, North and South. If we do, my dear friends, we will have failed not only ourselves, we will have failed the promise that is America and the hope of the world.

I say to a great group of students tonight, if you have never done anything in your life before, if you want to make a commitment, make a commitment to help this be one nation, with one citizenship, with equal rights and equal opportunity for every living soul in this country. (Applause)

Thank you, my good friends. Thank you, thank you, thank you. (Applause)

- - -

Sen Gore

~~Hubert H. Humphrey~~
Dr Holt

4 Mayor Rogers
Gov Clington
Miss ~~Rogers~~ U of Tenn

REMARKS
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE
October 1, 1968

Dr Weaver

Gary Crawford
Sen Gore

~~Belmont Memorial Library~~ ~~Venture Ventures~~
1319 Orange U of T.

I saw you play
1959-LSU

I have come to the South to talk straight about

a problem, an issue, and a man.

Rev Father
Mc Guire

This problem, this issue, and this man are of the
deepest concern to me and to every American in this election
campaign.

I have come to this great university to appeal not
to passion but to reason. I appeal to America's hopes, not her
fears.

U of T Singers - Voice of Reason

The problem is the frustration and anger and fear
that so many of our people feel.

Rug on the football field
13-M-in-Mini

Gary Crawford
Dr Andrew Hall
Sen Gore
Gov Clington
Amb. Ball

Dr Weaver
(approved my
speaking here
today)
Chris Whittle

↳ The issue is the preservation of our Democratic system of government.

↳ The man is George Corley Wallace.

↳ What I have to say may not be popular and this may not be the place to say it.

↳ But there is more at stake here than the Presidency.

↳ What is at stake is the greatest political system on earth and the social fabric of the nation we love.

↳ And I will say the same things in the South that I will say in the North.

↳ For the price of silence now may tomorrow be the end of our system of government and the end of our living together as a people.

↳ First, the problem.

Seven years ago, a respected educator, James Bryant Conant, warned us that the "social dynamite" in our cities was the hundreds of thousands of young Negroes in our cities who were both out of school and out of work.

↳ Today that generation has come of age -- and the "dynamite" has begun to explode.

↳ The anger and frustration of millions has erupted in violence in city after city.

↳ The reaction to the explosion has been fear -- fear of white suburbanites who see their homes threatened, fear of white workingmen who see their jobs threatened, fear of millions -- black and white -- who instinctively fear violence.

↳ To this has been added another frustration --
frustration over a tragic far-off war.

↳ Last night I expressed my own views on that war
and need not repeat them here except to say that if I am elected
President and the war has not ended, the first priority of the
Humphrey-Muskie Administration will be to bring that war to
an honorable conclusion.

↳ But there can be no doubt that the war has caused
frustration among many Americans.

↳ Finally, many young Americans feel left out, at odds
with their elders, and victimized by a world they never made.

↳ Yours is the generation that was born at the end of the great depression and World War II. ↳ You were the children of hope -- hope that at last Americans could grow up in pursuit of happiness. Free of hunger, fear, and war!

↳ Instead, you have found a society that has excluded -- for whatever reason -- 29 million of its members from its affluence; that has gone to war, that has murdered John F. Kennedy and Robert F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King,

↳ and some of you have found an educational system that was overburdened, undermanned, and out of date.

↳ The result -- and it is not exclusively an American phenomenon -- has been student protest -- sometimes peaceable and sometimes violent. Sometimes reasonable and sometimes senseless -- and almost always inexplicable to your elders.

↳ To sum up the problem, the frustrations of the poor, of the young, and of those who oppose the war have created a year of anxiety and that year of anxiety is putting our political system to its most severe test in modern times.

*Now that's
the Problem
the way I
see it.*

↳ Second, the issue.

↳ There are forces in this land striving to divide and embitter our people. They are demagogues who preach hate and fear and division. They are radical extremists of the Left and the Right.

↳ And let the issue be absolutely clear: Their objective is nothing less than the destruction of our political system -- the institutions of democratic government -- and the political processes which America has developed to govern this nation.

↳ On the extreme Left are those who chant and disrupt meetings and threaten to disrupt the election. They would deny to others the free speech, they demand for themselves.

↳ They have seized upon the legitimate grievances of students and capitalized on the unease over the war to mount an attack upon the entire American system.

↳ Theirs is the simple, and totally unacceptable, solution ^{open problems by} ~~by~~ violent protest.

↳ Freedom of speech, or assembly, or dissent are among the most sacred liberties we possess -- and I will defend them in this year of anxiety as I have defended them all my life.

↳ But disorder is not dissent. ↳ Indeed, disorder, especially organized disorder, is the enemy of dissent.

Dissent, yes! Disorder, no!

And destruction is not debate. Indeed, the violence of destruction can only silence the vitality of debate.

I reject the extremism of the Left and I call upon the American people to reject it.

and Equally do I reject the extremism of the Right. *and call*

upon the American people to reject it,
On the extreme right are those who preach

disrespect for our courts and for some of our laws and who

appeal to the darkest fears and deepest suspicions of our people.

the greatest racial prejudice, hate and fear,
They seek the simple solution of violent repression.

But bumper stickers will not stop crime, and the way to support your police is to give them higher salaries, better training, and better equipment. *and respect,*

But ~~neither~~ will crime be stopped by a "four-point program" which includes thinly veiled invitation to self-appointed vigilante action, disguised as something called a "national coordinating center" -- whatever that means.

To be honest, ^{all} crime ^{may} ~~will~~ never be ended -- it never has been -- but it can be controlled by the sure, swift, and fair administration of justice.

That's the way I fought crime and lawlessness when I was Mayor of Minneapolis. And I propose to follow the same course as President of the United States.

It will not be stopped or curtailed by a political plunger who is gambling everything on a campaign of organized hate.

And this brings me to the man: George Wallace.

↳ It is said that George Wallace is "gaining in strength and
respectability" in the North. ↳ But he is not gaining in
respectability among those down here who know him best.

↳ He stands, and he has always stood, as the apostle
of ~~freedom~~ and racism.

↳ Today some of his political managers, and even
some of his Presidential electors, are drawn from the ranks of
the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens' Councils, the John Birch
Society, the Armed Minutemen, or groups dedicated to the
promotion of anti-semitism.

↳ Electors pledged to Wallace in a number of states,
both North and South, are drawn frequently from the leadership
of White Citizens' Councils and the Birch Society.

~~↳ His Georgia State Chairman and pledged elector was formerly National President of the White Citizens' Councils.~~

~~↳ And more than half a dozen other Wallace electors have held executive committee or other important positions in the White Citizens' Councils.~~

↳ Recently, we have heard that the Wallace candidacy may create a political stalemate. If it does, it is to these electors that all the people of the United States must look to express their political choice. And that is one reason why I say the political system is in danger today.

↳ But Mr. Wallace says he is for law and order.

↳ Those who yearn for law and order would do well to remember that George Wallace was Governor of Alabama -- the state with the highest murder rate in the United States.

↳ They would do well to note that Alabama ranks fourth among all the states in aggravated assault.

↳ Wallace could not maintain order in his own state -- where he had the power -- but now he promises to maintain order in every city and state -- where he will not have the power!

↳ When he was Governor of Alabama, he gave the American people other lessons in law and order.

↳ He decided which courts suited him -- and disobeyed the rest.

↳ He decided which judges he liked -- and he vilified the rest.

↳ He decided which laws he preferred -- and he defied the rest.

Now he proposes teaching the Wallace Method to the whole country.

Today Wallace says he is the friend of the working man. Let's look at his record as Governor of Alabama:

-- Alabama housewives pay the highest sales tax in the country -- six cents on the dollar;

Wages for the workingman in Alabama were the third lowest in the nation;

--In education, only two states spend less per pupil than Alabama;

--And it has one of the lowest workmen's compensation systems of any state in the union.

∟ And these are the accomplishments -- this is the record -- Mr. Wallace wants to bring to Washington.

∟ But, worst of all -- worse than the collapse of law and order in Alabama -- worse than his anti-liberal economic policies -- worst of all is his conduct in this campaign.

∟ He has deliberately embarked on a campaign to embitter and divide the American people. ∟ He has sought to inflame fear, frustration, and prejudice. He has sought to bring this nation to the brink of broad-scale civil disorder.

∟ America today has many problems -- grave problems of domestic policy and foreign policy -- but they won't be solved by a candidate who can think of nothing better to do than to threaten to run down people with a car.

↳ In the American system anybody -- ~~even George~~ ^{that includes Mr. Wells}

~~Conrad Wallace~~ -- has the right to run for President. But let's be absolutely clear about how he's going about it.

↳ He says he will announce a platform any day now.

↳ He may even get around to picking a fellow-extremist for his Vice President -- a man who would stand in line to succeed him. And the election is only five weeks away.

↳ Ordinarily his incredible campaign would be a laughing matter -- but not in this year of rage ^{frustration}

↳ He has attacked the courts -- in the name of law and order.

↳ He has applauded those who would undermine the independent judiciary -- the ultimate guardian of the liberties of all of us.

∟ He has joined the ugly campaign against Mr. Justice Fortas -- a campaign unmatched since the first Jew, Mr. Justice Brandeis, was appointed to the high court in 1916.

∟ He has sought to stir the darkest fears and prejudices harbored by the few and the frustration and anger felt by the many.

∟ He pretends to be the friend of the workingman, but he is the creature of the most reactionary underground forces in American life.

and He does not speak for millions of decent Southerners and Northerners who reject bigotry and hate, who despise the extremists of both Right and Left, and who believe in progress and education and justice and a better life for all.

Southerners

∟ I say to you solemnly: In the 1930's the reactionary forces of Germany thought they had found a man to speak for them, and a few years later, helped by an economic despression, that man had destroyed not only his creators but German democracy, the European balance of power, the world political system -- and the result was the carnage of World War II.

∟ You say these things could never happen in America. I devoutly pray that you are right. But I know from deep personal experience we are closer to this possibility than I would have ever believed possible.

Robert

∟ I know that my Republican opponent -- while opposing the Wallace candidacy -- has within his ranks many persons who make precisely the same appeal -- who have led the reactionary, extremist forces in America for the past two decades and who continue these attacks at this very moment.

And I know that in his speeches, my Republican opponent appeals to the same fears ... the same passions ... the same frustrations which can unleash in this country a torrent of unreasoning hate and repression.

And, ~~by~~, I know that if my Republican opponent is elected, and a Republican economic recession results, the dark anger stirred by the third-party candidate may become an overwhelming force in American life.

Today -- above all else -- good men have the moral obligation to speak out -- forthrightly and clearly -- about these dangers to our democratic institutions.

If in this campaign I make no other contribution to America's national life than to expose this threat -- personified in George Corley Wallace and expressed in his odious appeal -- I will rest content on November 6.

TVA
Record
Truth
Squad.

He will not be elected. But what he stands for
must be repudiated. Overwhelmingly.

* * * *

In this campaign Senator Muskie and I offer only
a reasoned and forthright accounting of where we -- the
American people -- find ourselves today --- and where we must
move in the months and years ahead.

*- to the future
America of 1976 -
2000*

America has been greatly blessed -- and of us
much will be required. We carry the heavy -- yet the sacred --
burden of proving to a doubting world -- a frightened world -- that
free men do possess the wisdom and the courage to govern themselves.

This is our challenge.

Think -- for just one moment -- the terrible blow to liberty that would be sustained around this globe if democracy failed in the United States -- the source and inspiration for millions of our fellow human beings.

This is perhaps the hour of our greatest testing as a free people.

We must be one nation, not two.!

separation

Once we start down the road to apartheid, we shall find there is no turning back.

The elite Spartans of Ancient Greece put down a minority, the Helots -- only to discover that they had fastened upon themselves a repressive and vicious police state.

Throughout history this pattern has been repeated again and again.

We must not permit this to become our fate.

We will find the solution not in repression but in justice.

Violence cannot be tolerated. But neither can injustice.

I offer to you no easy solutions. In this year of rage -- in this deadly danger abroad and at home -- there are none.

I offer you no hiding place. There is none.

But I offer you this -- my credo -- the words of Nathan Hale: "I am only one but I am one. I cannot do everything, but I can do something. And what I can do, that I ought to do. And what I ought to do, by the grace of God, I shall do." !

Remarks of Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice President of the United States
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee
October 1, 1968

For Release: WEDNESDAY AM'S (8 P.M., E.D.T., OCTOBER 1, 1968)

I have come to the south to talk candidly about a problem, an issue, and a man. This problem, this issue, and this man are of the deepest concern to me and to every American in this election campaign.

I have come to this great university to appeal not to passion but to reason. I appeal to America's hopes, not her fears.

The problem is the frustration and anger and fear that so many of our people feel.

The issue is the preservation of our Democratic system of government.

The man is George Corley Wallace.

What I have to say may not be popular and this may not be the place to say it. But there is more at stake here than the presidency. What is at stake is the greatest political system on earth and the social fabric of the nation we love.

And I will say the same things in the south that I will say in the north. For the price of silence now may tomorrow be the end of our system of government and the end of our living together as a people.

First, the problem.

Seven years ago, a respected educator, James Bryant Conant, warned us that the "social dynamite" in our cities was the hundreds of thousands of young Negroes in our cities who were both out of school and out of work.

Today that generation has come of age -- and the dynamite has begun to explode.

The anger and frustration of millions has erupted in violence in city after city.

The reaction to the explosion has been fear -- fear of white suburbanites who see their homes threatened, fear of white working men who see their jobs threatened, fear of millions -- black and white -- who instinctively fear violence.

To this has been added another frustration -- frustration over a tragic, far off war.

Last night I expressed my own views on that war and need not repeat them here except to say that if I am elected president and the war has not ended, the first priority of the Humphrey-Muskie Administration will be to bring that war to an honorable conclusion.

But there can be no doubt that the war has caused anger and frustration among many Americans.

Finally, many young Americans feel left out, at odds with their elders, and victimized by a world they never made.

Yours is the generation that was born at the end of the great depression and World War II. You were the children of hope -- hope that at last Americans could grow up in pursuit of happiness, free of hunger, fear, and war.

Instead, you have found a society that has excluded 29 million of its members from its affluence, that has gone to war, that has murdered your heroes, John F. Kennedy and Robert F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King and some of you have found an educational system that was overburdened, undermanned, and out of date.

The result -- and it is not exclusively an American phenomenon -- has been student protest -- sometimes peaceable and sometimes violent, sometimes reasonable and sometimes senseless -- and almost always inexplicable to your elders.

To sum up the problem, the frustrations of the poor, of the young, and of those who oppose the war have created a year of rage and that year of rage is putting our political system to its most severe test in modern times.

Second, the issue.

There are forces in this land striving to divide and embitter our people. They are demagogues who preach hate and fear and division. They are radical extremists of the left and the right.

And let the issue be absolutely clear: Their objective is nothing less than the destruction of our political system -- the institutions of democratic government -- and the political processes which America has developed to govern this nation.

On the extreme left are those who chant and disrupt meetings and threaten to disrupt the election. They would deny to others the free speech they demand. They have seized upon the legitimate grievances of students and capitalized the unease over the war to mount an attack upon the entire American system. Theirs is the simple -- and totally unacceptable -- solution of violent protest.

Freedom of speech, of assembly, of dissent are among the most sacred liberties we possess -- and I will defend them in this year of rage as I have defended them all my life.

But disorder is not dissent. Indeed, disorder, especially organized disorder, is the enemy of dissent.

And destruction is not debate. Indeed, the violence of destruction can only silence the vitality of debate.

I reject the extremism of the left and I call upon the American people to reject them.

Equally do I reject the extremism of the right.

On the extreme right are those who preach disrespect for our courts and for some of our laws and who appeal to the darkest fears and deepest suspicions of our people.

They seek the simple solution of violent repression.

But bumper stickers will not stop crime, and the way to support your police is to give them higher salaries, better training, and better equipment.

Neither will crime be stopped by a "four-point program" which includes a thinly veiled invitation to self-appointed vigilante action, disguised as something called a "National Coordinating Center" -- whatever that means.

To be honest, crime will never be ended -- it never has been -- but it can be controlled by the sure, swift, and fair administration of justice.

That's the way I fought crime and lawlessness when I was Mayor of Minneapolis. And I propose to follow the same course as President of the United States.

It will not be stopped or curtailed by a political plunger who is gambling everything on a campaign of organized hate.

And this brings me to the man: George Wallace.

It is said that George Wallace is "gaining in respectability" in the north. But he is not gaining in respectability among those down here who know him best.

He stands, and he has always stood, as the apostle of hate and racism.

Today some of his political managers and even some of his presidential electors are drawn from the ranks of the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens' Councils, the John Birch Society, the Armed Minutemen, or groups dedicated to the promotion of anti-semitism.

Electors pledged to Wallace in a number of states, both north and south, are drawn frequently from the leadership of White Citizens' Councils and The Birch Society. His Georgia State Chairman and pledged elector was formerly national president of the White Citizens' Councils. And more than half a dozen other Wallace electors have held executive committee or other important positions in The White Citizens' Councils.

Recently we have heard that the Wallace candidacy may create a political stalemate. If it does, it is to these electors that all the people of the United States must look to express their political choice. And that is one reason why I say the political system is in danger today.

But Mr. Wallace says he is for law and order.

Those who yearn for law and order would do well to remember that George Wallace was Governor of Alabama -- the state with the highest murder rate in the United States.

They would do well to note that Alabama ranks fourth among all the states in aggravated assault.

Wallace could not maintain order in his own state -- where he had the power -- but now he promises to maintain order in every city and state -- where he will not have the power.

When he was Governor of Alabama, he gave the American people other lessons in law and order.

He decided which courts suited him -- and disobeyed the rest.

He decided which judges he liked -- and he vilified the rest.

He decided which laws he preferred -- and he defied the rest.

Now he proposes teaching the Wallace method to the whole country.

Today Wallace says he is the friend of the working man. Let's look at his record as Governor of Alabama:

--Alabama housewives pay the highest sales tax in the country -- six cents on the dollar;

--Wages for the workingman in Alabama were the third lowest in the nation;

--In education, only two states spend less per pupil than Alabama;

--And it has one of the lowest workmen's compensation systems of any state in the union.

And these are the accomplishments -- this is the record -- Mr. Wallace wants to bring to Washington.

But worst of all -- worse than the collapse of law and order in Alabama-- worse than his anti-liberal economic policies -- worst of all is his conduct in this campaign

He has deliberately embarked on a campaign to embitter and divide the American people. He has sought to inflame fear, frustration, and prejudice. He has sought to bring this nation to the brink of broad scale civil disorder.

America today has many problems -- grave problems of domestic policy and foreign policy -- but they won't be solved by a candidate who can think of nothing better to do than to threaten to run down people with a car.

In the American system anybody -- even George Corley Wallace -- has the right to run for president. But let's be absolutely clear about how he's going about it.

He says he will announce a platform any day now. He may even get around to picking a fellow-extremist for his vice president -- a man who would stand in line to succeed him. And the election is only five weeks away.

Ordinarily his incredible campaign would be a laughing matter -- but not in this year of rage.

He has attacked the courts -- in the name of law and order.

He has applauded those who would undermine the independent judiciary -- the ultimate guardian of the liberties of all of us.

He has joined the ugly campaign against Mr. Justice Fortas -- a campaign unmatched since the first jew, Mr. Justice Brandeis, was appointed to the high court in 1916.

He has sought to stir the darkest fears and prejudices harbored by the few and the frustration and anger felt by the many.

He pretends to be the friend of the working man but he is the creature of the most reactionary underground forces in American life.

He does not speak for millions of decent southerners and northerners who reject bigotry and hate, who despise the extremists of both right and left, and who believe in progress and education and justice and a better life for all.

I say to you solemnly in the 1930's the reactionary forces of Germany thought they had found a man to speak for them, and a few years later, helped by an

economic depression, that man had destroyed not only his creators but German democracy, the European balance of power, the world political system -- and the result was the carnage of World War II.

You say these things could never happen in America. I devoutly pray that you are right. But I know from deep personal experience we are closer to this possibility than I would have ever believed possible.

I know that my Republican opponent -- while opposing the Wallace candidacy -- has within his ranks many persons who make precisely the same appeal -- who have led the reactionary, extremist forces in America for the past two decades and who continue these attacks at this very moment.

And I know that in his speeches my Republican opponent appeals to the same fears ...the same passions ... the same frustrations which can unleash in this country a torrent of unreasoning hate and repression.

And, finally, I know that if my Republican opponent is elected and a Republican economic recession results, the dark anger stirred by the third-party candidate may become an overwhelming force in American life.

Today -- above all else -- good men have the moral obligation to speak out -- forthrightly and clearly -- about these dangers to our democratic institutions.

If in this campaign I make no other contribution to America's national life than to expose this threat -- personified in George Corley Wallace and expressed in his odious appeal to rage -- I will rest content on November 6.

He will not be elected. But what he stands for must be repudiated overwhelmingly.

#

In this campaign Senator Muskie and I offer only a reasoned and forthright accounting of where we -- the American people -- find ourselves today -- and where we must move in the months and years ahead.

America has been greatly blessed -- and of us much will be required. We carry the heavy -- yet the sacred -- burden of proving to a doubting world -- a frightened world -- that free men do possess the wit, the wisdom and the courage to govern themselves.

Think -- for just one moment -- the terrible blow to liberty that would be sustained around this globe if democracy failed in the United States -- the source and inspiration for millions of our fellow human beings.

This is perhaps the hour of our greatest testing as a free people.

We must be one nation, not two.

Once we start down the road to apartheid, we shall find there is no turning back.

The elite Spartans of ancient Greece put down a minority, the Helots -- only to discover that they had fastened upon themselves a repressive and vicious police state.

Throughout history this pattern has been repeated again and again.

We must not permit this to become our fate.

We will find the solution not in repression but in justice.

Violence cannot be tolerated. But neither can injustice.

I offer you no easy solutions. In this year of rage -- in this deadly danger abroad and at home -- there are none.

I offer you no hiding place. There is none.

But I offer you this -- my credo -- the words of Nathan Hale: "I am only one but I am one. I cannot do everything, but I can do something. And what I can do, that I ought to do. And what I ought to do, by the grace of God, I shall do."

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

I HAVE COME TO THE SOUTH TO TALK CANDIDLY ABOUT A PROBLEM, AN ISSUE, AND A MAN. THIS PROBLEM, THIS ISSUE, AND THIS MAN ARE OF THE DEEPEST CONCERN TO ME AND TO EVERY AMERICAN IN THIS ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

I HAVE COME TO THIS GREAT UNIVERSITY TO APPEAL NOT TO PASSION BUT TO REASON. I APPEAL TO AMERICA'S HOPES, NOT HER FEARS.

THE PROBLEM IS THE FRUSTRATION AND ANGER AND FEAR THAT SO MANY OF OUR PEOPLE FEEL.

THE ISSUE IS THE PRESERVATION OF OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

THE MAN IS GEORGE CORLEY WALLACE.

WHAT I HAVE TO SAY MAY NOT BE POPULAR AND THIS MAY NOT BE THE PLACE TO SAY IT. BUT THERE IS MORE AT STAKE HERE THAN THE PRESIDENCY. WHAT IS AT STAKE IS THE GREATEST POLITICAL SYSTEM ON EARTH AND THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF THE NATION WE LOVE.

AND I WILL SAY THE SAME THINGS IN THE SOUTH THAT I WILL SAY IN THE NORTH. FOR THE PRICE OF SILENCE NOW MAY TOMORROW BE THE END OF OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT AND THE END OF OUR LIVING TOGETHER AS A PEOPLE.

FIRST, THE PROBLEM.

SEVEN YEARS AGO, A RESPECTED EDUCATOR, JAMES BRYANT CONANT, WARNED US THAT THE "SOCIAL DYNAMITE" IN OUR CITIES WAS THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF YOUNG NEGROES IN OUR CITIES WHO WERE BOTH OUT OF SCHOOL AND OUT OF WORK.

TODAY THAT GENERATION HAS COME OF AGE -- AND THE DYNAMITE HAS BEGUN TO EXPLODE.

THE ANGER AND FRUSTRATION OF MILLIONS HAS ERUPTED IN VIOLENCE IN CITY AFTER CITY.

SYSTEM THAT WAS OVERBURDENED, UNDERMANNED, AND OUT OF DATE.

THE RESULT-- AND IT IS NOT EXCLUSIVELY AN AMERICAN PHENOMENON -- HAS BEEN STUDENT PROTEST -- SOMETIMES PEACEABLE AND SOMETIMES VIOLENT SOMETIMES REASONABLE AND SOMETIMES SENSELESS -- AND ALMOST ALWAYS INEXPLICABLE TO YOUR ELDERS.

TO SUM UP THE PROBLEM, THE FRUSTRATIONS OF THE POOR, THE RAGE OF THE YOUNG, AND OF THOSE WHO OPPOSE THE WAR HAVE CREATED A YEAR OF RAGE AND THAT YEAR OF RAGE IS PUTTING OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM TO ITS MOST SEVERE TEST IN MODERN TIMES.

SECOND, THE ISSUE.

THERE ARE FORCES IN THIS LAND STRIVING TO DIVIDE AND EMBITTER OUR PEOPLE. THEY ARE DEMAGOGUES WHO PREACH HATE AND FEAR AND DIVISION. THEY ARE RADICAL EXTREMISTS OF THE LEFT AND THE RIGHT.

AND LET THE ISSUE BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR: THEIR OBJECTIVE IS NOTHING LESS THAN THE DESTRUCTION OF OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM -- THE INSTITUTIONS OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT -- AND THE POLITICAL PROCESSES WHICH AMERICA HAS DEVELOPED TO GOVERN THIS NATION.

ON THE EXTREME LEFT ARE THOSE WHO CHANT AND DISRUPT MEETINGS AND THREATEN TO DISRUPT THE ELECTION. THEY WOULD DENY TO OTHERS THE FREE SPEECH THEY DEMAND. THEY HAVE SEIZED UPON THE LEGITIMATE GRIEVANCES OF STUDENTS AND CAPITALIZED THE UNEASE OVER THE WAR TO MOUNT AN ATTACK UPON THE ENTIRE AMERICAN SYSTEM. THEIRS IS THE SIMPLE -- AND TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE -- SOLUTION OF VIOLENT PROTEST.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH, OF ASSEMBLY, OF DISSENT ARE AMONG THE MOST SACRED LIBERTIES WE POSSESS -- AND I WILL DEFEND THEM IN THIS YEAR OF RAGE AS I HAVE DEFENDED THEM ALL MY LIFE.

BUT DISORDER IS NOT DISSENT. INDEED, DISORDER, ESPECIALLY ORGANIZED DISORDER, IS THE ENEMY OF DISSENT.

AND DESTRUCTION IS NOT DEBATE. INDEED, THE VIOLENCE OF DESTRUCTION CAN ONLY SILENCE THE VITALITY OF DEBATE.

I REJECT THE EXTREMISM OF THE LEFT AND I CALL UPON THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO REJECT THEM.

EQUALLY DO I REJECT THE EXTREMISM OF THE RIGHT.

ON THE EXTREME RIGHT ARE THOSE WHO PREACH DISRESPECT FOR OUR COURTS AND FOR SOME OF OUR LAWS AND WHO APPEAL TO THE DARKEST FEARS AND DEEPEST SUSPICIONS OF OUR PEOPLE.

THEY SEEK THE SIMPLE SOLUTION OF VIOLENT REPRESSION.

BUT BUMPER STICKERS WILL NOT STOP CRIME, AND THE WAY TO SUPPORT YOUR POLICE IS TO GIVE THEM HIGHER SALARIES, BETTER TRAINING, AND BETTER EQUIPMENT.

NEITHER WILL CRIME BE STOPPED BY A "FOUR-POINT PROGRAM" WHICH INCLUDES THINLY VEILED INVITATION TO SELF-APPOINTED VIGILANTE ACTION, DISGUISED AS SOMETHING CALLED A "NATIONAL COORDINATING CENTER - WHATEVER THAT MEANS.

TO BE HONEST, CRIME WILL NEVER BE ENDED -- IT NEVER HAS BEEN -- BUT IT CAN BE CONTROLLED BY THE SURE, SWIFT, AND FAIR ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

THAT'S THE WAY I FOUGHT CRIME AND LAWLESSNESS WHEN I WAS MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS. AND I PROPOSE TO FOLLOW THE SAME COURSE AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

IT WILL BE STRICKEN

IT WILL NOT BE STOPPED OR CURTAILED BY A POLITICAL PLUNGER WHO IS GAMBLING EVERYTHING ON A CAMPAIGN OF ORGANIZED HATE.

AND THIS BRINGS ME TO THE MAN: GEORGE WALLACE.

IT IS SAID THAT GEORGE WALLACE IS "GAINING IN RESPECTABILITY" IN THE NORTH. BUT HE IS NOT GAINING IN RESPECTABILITY AMONG THOSE DOWN HERE WHO KNOW HIM BEST.

HE STANDS, AND HE HAS ALWAYS STOOD, AS THE APOSTLE OF HATE AND RACISM.

TODAY SOME OF HIS POLITICAL MANAGERS AND EVEN SOME OF HIS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS ARE DRAWN FROM THE RANKS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, THE WHITE CITIZENS' COUNCILS, THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY, ANXX THE ARMED MINUTEMEN, OR GROUPS DEDICATED TO THE PROMOTION OF ANTI-SEMITISM.

ELECTORS PLEDGED TO WALLACE IN A NUMBER OF STATES, BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH, ARE DRAWN FREQUENTLY FROM THE LEADERSHIP OF WHITE CITIZENS

COUNCILS AND THE BIRCH SOCIETY. HIS GEORGIA STATE CHAIRMAN AND PLEDGED ELECTOR WAS FORMERLY NATIONAL PRESIDENT OF THE WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS. AND MORE THAN HALF A DOZEN OTHER WALLACE ELECTORS HAVE HELD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OR OTHER IMPORTANT POSITIONS IN THE WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS.

RECENTLY WE HAVE HEARD THAT THE WALLACE CANDIDACY MAY CREATE A POLITICAL STALEMATE. IF IT DOES, IT IS TO THESE ELECTORS THAT ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES MUST LOOK TO EXPRESS THEIR POLITICAL CHOICE. AND THAT IS ONE REASON WHY I SAY THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS IN DANGER TODAY.

BUT MR. WALLACE SAYS HE IS FOR LAW AND ORDER.

CONTINUATION OF UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE TEXT:

THOSE WHO YEARN FOR LAW AND ORDER WOULD DO WELL TO REMEMBER THAT GEORGE WALLACE WAS GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA -- THE STATE WITH THE HIGHEST MURDER RATE IN THE UNITED STATES.

THEY WOULD DO WELL TO NOTE THAT ALABAMA RANKS FOURTH AMONG ALL THE STATES IN AGGRAVATED ASSAULT.

WALLACE COULD NOT MAINTAIN ORDER IN HIS OWN STATE -- WHERE HE HAD THE POWER -- BUT NOW HE PROMISES TO MAINTAIN ORDER IN EVERY CITY AND STATE -- WHERE HE WILL NOT HAVE THE POWER.

WHEN HE WAS GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA, HE GAVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OTHER LESSONS IN LAW AND ORDER.

HE DECIDED WHICH COURTS SUITED HIM -- AND DISOBEYED THE REST.

HE DECIDED WHICH JUDGES HE LIKED -- AND HE VILIFIED THE REST.

HE DECIDED WHICH LAWS HE PREFERRED -- AND HE DEFIED THE REST.

NOW HE PROPOSES TEACHING THE WALLACE METHOD TO THE WHOLE COUNTRY.

TODAY WALLACE SAYS HE IS THE FRIEND OF THE WORKING MAN. LET'S LOOK AT HIS RECORD AS GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA:

-- ALABAMA HOUSEWIVES PAY THE HIGHEST SALES TAX IN THE COUNTRY -- SIX CENTS ON THE DOLLAR;

-- WAGES FOR THE WORKINGMAN IN ALABAMA WERE THE THIRD LOWEST IN THE NATION;

-- IN EDUCATION, ONLY TWO STATES SPEND LESS PER PUPIL THAN ALABAMA;

-- AND IT HAS ONE OF THE LOWEST WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION SYSTEMS OF ANY STATE IN THE UNION.

AND THESE ARE THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS -- THIS IS THE RECORD -- MR. WALLACE WANTS TO BRING TO WASHINGTON.

BUT WORST OF ALL -- WORSE THAN THE COLLAPSE OF LAW AND ORDER IN ALABAMA :- WORSE THAN HIS ANTI-LIBERAL ECONOMIC POLICIES -- WORST OF ALL IS HIS CODUCT IN THIS CAMPAIGN.

HE HAS DELIBERATELY EMBARKED ON A CAMPAIGN TO EMBITTER AND DIVIDE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. HE HAS SOUGHT TO INFLAME FEAR, FRUSTRATION, AND PREJUDICE. HE HAS SOUGHT TO BRING THIS NATION TO THE BRINK OF BROAD SCALE CIVIL DISORDER.

AMERICA TODAY HAS MANY PROBLEMS -- GRAVE PROBLEMS OF DOMESTIC POLICY AND FOREIGN POLICY -- BUT THEY WON'T BE SOLVED BY A CANDIDATE WHO CAN THINK OF NOTHING BETTER TO DO THAN TO THREATEN TO RUN DOWN PEOPLE WITH A AR.

IN THE AMERICAN SYSTEM ANYBODY -- EVEN GEORGE CORLEY WALLACE -- HAS THE RIGHT TO RUN FOR PRESIDENT. BUT LET'S BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR ABOUT HOW HE'S GOING ABOUT IT.

HE SAYS HE WILL ANNOUNCE A PLATFORM ANY DAY NOW. HE MAY EVEN GET AROUND TO PICKING A FELLOW-EXTREMIST FOR HIS VICE PRESIDENT -- A MAN WHO WOULD STAND IN LINE TO SUCCEED HIM. AND THE ELECTION IS ONLY FIVE WEEKS AWAY.

ORDINARILY HIS INCREDIBLE CAMPAIGN WOULD BE A LAUGHING MATTER -- BUT NOT IN THIS YEAR OF RAGE.

HE HAS ATTACKED THE COURTS :- IN THE NAME OF LAW AND ORDER.

HE HAS APPLAUDED THOSE WHO WOULD UNDERMINE THE INDEPENDENT JUDICIAR -- THE ULTIMATE GUARDIAN OF THE LIBERTIES OF ALL OF US.

HE HAS JOINED THE UGLY CAMPAIGN AGAINST MR. JUSTICE FORTAS -- A CAMPAIGN UNMATCHED SINCE THE FIRST JEW, MR. JUSTICE BRANDEIS, WAS APPOINTED TO THE HIGH COURT IN 1916.

HE HAS SOUGHT TO STIR THE DARKEST FEARS AND PREJUDICES HARBORED

BY THE FEW AND THE FRUSTRATION AND ANGER FELT BY THE MANY.

HE PRETENDS TO BE THE FRIEND OF THE WORKINGMAN BUT HE IS THE CREATURE OF THE MOST REACTIONARY UNDERGROUND FORCES IN AMERICAN LIFE.

HE DOES NOT SPEAK FOR MILLIONS OF DECENT SOUTHERNERS AND NORTHERNERS WHO REJECT BIGOTRY AND HATE, WHO DESPISE THE EXTREMISTS OF BOTH RIGHT AND LEFT, AND WHO BELIEVE IN PROGRESS AND EDUCATION AND JUSTICE AND A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL.

I SAY TO YOU SOLEMNLY IN THE 1930'S THE REACTIONARY FORCES OF GERMANY THOUGHT THEY HAD FOUND A MAN TO SPEAK FOR THEM, AND A FEW YEARS LATER, HELPED BY AN ECONOMIC DEPRESSION, THAT MAN HAD DESTROYED NOT ONLY HIS CREATORS BUT GERMAN DEMOCRACY, THE EUROPEAN BALANCE OF POWER, THE WORLD POLITICAL SYSTEM :- AND THE RESULT WAS THE CARNAGE OF WORLD WAR 2.

YOU SAY THESE THINGS COULD NEVER HAPPEN IN AMERICA. I DEVOUTLY PRAY THAT YOU ARE RIGHT. BUT I KNOW FROM DEEP PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WE ARE CLOSER TO THIS POSSIBILITY THAN I WOULD HAVE EVER BELIEVED POSSIBLE.

I KNOW THAT MY REPUBLICAN OPPONENT -- WHILE OPPOSING THE WALLACE CANDIDACY -- HAS WITHIN HIS RANKS MANY PERSONS WHO MAKE PRECISELY THE SAME APPEAL -- WHO HAVE LED THE REACTIONARY, EXTREMIST FORCES IN AMERICA FOR THE PAST TWO DECADES AND WHO CONTINUE THESE ATTACKS AT THIS VERY MOMENT.

AND I KNOW THAT IN HIS SPEECHES MY REPUBLICAN OPPONENT APPEALS TO THE SAME FEARS ... THE SAME PASSIONS ... THE SAME FRUSTRATIONS WHICH CAN UNLEASH IN THIS COUNTRY A TORRENT OF UNREASONING HATE AND REPRESSION.

AND, FINALLY, I KNOW THAT IF MY REPUBLICAN OPPONENT IS ELECTED AND A REPUBLICAN ECONOMIC RECESSION RESULTS, THE DARK ANGER STIRRED BY THE THIRD-PARTY CANDIDATE MAY BECOME AN OVERWHELMING FORCE IN AMERICAN LIFE.

TODAY -- ABOVE ALL ELSE -- GOOD MEN HAVE THE MORAL OBLIGATION TO SPEAK OUT -- FORTHRIGHTLY AND CLEARLY -- ABOUT THESE DANGERS TO OUR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS.

IF IN THIS CAMPAIGN I MAKE NO OTHER CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICA'S NATIONAL LIFE THAN TO EXPOSE THIS THREAT -- PERSONIFIED IN GEORGE CORLEY WALLACE AND EXPRESSED IN HIS ODIIOUS APPEAL TO RAGE -- I WILL REST CONTENT ON NOVEMBER 6.

HE WILL NOT BE ELECTED. BUT WHAT HE STANDS FOR MUST BE REPUDIATED, OVERWHELMINGLY.

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IN THIS CAMPAIGN SENATOR MUSKIE AND I OFFER ONLY A REASONED AND FORTHRIGHT ACCOUNTING OF WHERE WE -- THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- FIND OURSELVES TODAY -- AND WHERE WE MUST MOVE IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS AHEAD.

AMERICA HAS BEEN GREATLY BELSSED -- AND OF US MUCH WILL BE REQUIRED. WE CARRY THE HEAVY -- YET THE SACRED -- BURDEN OF PROVING TO A DOUBTING WORLD -- A FRIGHTENED WORLD -- THAT FREE MEN DO POSSESS THE WIT, THE WISDOM AND THE COURAGE TO GOVERN THEMSELVES.

THINK -- FOR JUST ONE MOMENT -- THE TERRIBLE BLOW TO LIBERTY THAT WOULD BE SUSTAINED AROUND THIS GLOBE IF DEMOCRACY FAILED IN THE UNITED STATES -- THE SOURCE AND INSPIRATION FOR MILLIONS OF OUR FELLOW FELLOW HUMAN BEINGS.

THIS IS PERHAPS THE HOUR OF OUR GREATEST TESTING AS A FREE PEOPLE.

WE MUST BE ONE NATION, NOT TWO.

ONCE WE START DOWN THE ROAD TO APARTHEID, WE SHALL FIND THERE IS NO TURNING BACK.

THE ELITE SPARTANS OF ANCIENT GREECE PUT DOWN A MINORITY, THE HELOTS -- ONLY TO DISCOVER THAT THEY HAD FASTENED UPON THEMSELVES A REPRESSIVE AND VICIOUS POLICE STATE.

THROUGHOUT HISTORY THIS PATTERN HAS BEEN REPEATED AGAIN AND AGAIN.

WE MUST NOT PERMIT THIS TO BECOME OUR FATE.

WE WILL FIND THE SOLUTION NOT IN REPRESSION BUT IN JUSTICE.

VIOLENCE CANNOT BE TOLERATED. BUT NEITHER CAN INJUSTICE.

I OFFER YOU NO EASY SOLUTIONS. IN THIS YEAR OF RAGE -- IN THIS
DEADLY DANGER ABROAD AND AT HOME -- THERE ARE NONE.

I OFFER YOU NO HIDING PLACE. THERE IS NONE.

BUT I OFFER YOU THIS -- MY CREDO -- THE WORDS OF NATHAN HALE:
"I AM ONLY ONE BUT I AM ONE. I CANNOT DO EVERYTHING, BUT I CAN DO
SOMETHING. AND WHAT I CAN DO, THAT I OUGHT TO DO. AND WHAT I OUGHT TO
DO, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, I SHALL DO."

END OF TEXT OF UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE SPEECH.
PLS. ADVISE.

ANYONE THERE?

ATTN ED ALFRIED ---- FOLLOWING ALSO GOES TO TED VAN DYK

DEM FOR HHH DC
ATTENTION TED VAN DYK
FROM DOUG BENNET
HERE IS A TEXT FOR GENERAL USE IN WVA, AND FOR ONCE WHEREVER
INDICATED.

WE ARE NOW TRYING TO ASCERTAIN THE ITINERARY AND DEVELOP
LOCAL REFERENCES TO FEDERAL PROGRAMS IN THE IMMEDIATE AREA.
THESE---IF WE GET THEM---COULD BE GIVEN TO THE VP ON CARDS FOR
USE AT THE APPROPRIATE STOPS

THE REACTION TO THE EXPLOSION HAS BEEN FEAR -- FEAR OF WHITE SUBURBANITES WHO SEE THEIR HOMES THREATENED, FEAR OF WHITE WORKINGMEN WHO SEE THEIR JOBS THREATENED, FEAR OF MILLIONS -- BLACK AND WHITE -- WHO WHO INSTINCTIVELY FEAR VIOLENCE.

TO THIS HAS BEEN ADDED ANOTHER FRUSTRATION -- FRUSTRATION OVER A TRAGIC FAROFF WAR.

LAST NIGHT I EXPRESSED MY OWN VIEWS ON THAT WAR AND NEED NOT REPEAT THEM HERE EXCEPT TO SAY THAT IF I AM ELECTED PRESIDENT AND THE WAR HAS NOT ENDED, THE FIRST PRIORITY OF THE HUMPHREY-MUSKIE ADMINISTRATION WILL BE TO BRING THAT WAR TO AN HONORABLE CONCLUSION.

BUT THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT THE WAR HAS CAUSED ANGER AND FRUSTRATION AMONG MANY AMERICANS.

FINALLY, YOUNG STRIKE THIS LINE

FINALLY, MANY YOUNG AMERICANS FEEL LEFT OUT, AT ODDS WITH THEIR

ELDERS, AND VICTIMIZED BY A WORLD THEY NEVER MADE.

YOURS IS THE GENERATION THAT WAS BORN AT THE END OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND WORLD WAR II. YOU WERE THE CHILDREN OF HOPE -- HOPE THAT AT LAST AMERICANS COULD GROW UP IN PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS, FREE OF HUNGER, FEAR, AND WAR.

INSTEAD, YOU HAVE FOUND A SOCIETY THAT HAS EXCLUDED 29 MILLION OF ITS MEMBERS FROM ITS AFFLUENCE, THAT HAS GONE TO WAR, THAT HAS MURDERED YOUR HEROES, JOHN F. KENNEDY AND ROBERT F. KENNEDY AND MARTIN LUTHER KING AND SOME OF YOU HAVE FOUND AN EDUCATIONAL

Salt Lake City: 910 925-5251
Ed Alfriend
Ted Van Dyk

U of Tennessee

Draft 1 (jbm)

I have come to the South to talk candidly about a problem, ~~two~~ ^{and this man as of} the deepest concern
~~This problem, this issue,~~
issued, and a man that are of ~~importance~~ to me and to every American
in this election campaign.

~~They are matters of urgent concern because our very political
and therefore our life as a nation
system may be at stake. Only once before in our national history
has the political system broken down, and the tragic civil conflict
of a hundred years ago resulted.~~

I say to you solemnly that ^{our} that political system is in danger today.
between nations,

When war breaks out ~~between~~ it means that the international
political system has failed. When violence and disorder become widespread
at home, it signals a danger that our domestic political system is in danger.

I have come to this great University to ~~discuss the problems of the~~

~~not~~ appeal to passion but ~~appeal~~ to reason. I appeal to America's hopes, not her fears.

The ~~problem~~ problem is the frustration and anger ~~and~~ and fear that so many of our people feel.

The issue ~~is~~ *in the preservation of our democratic system of government.* ~~is the preservation of our democratic system of government.~~ ~~is the preservation of our democratic system of government.~~

The man is George ~~Wallace~~ Corley Wallace.

What I have to say ~~may~~ may not be popular and this may not be the place to ~~say~~ say it. But there is more at stake here than the presidency ~~in~~ in 1968. What is at stake is the ~~the~~

greatest political system on earth and the the social fabric of

the nation we love. *9* And I will say the same things in the South that I will say in the North. For the price of silence ~~may~~ *now* ~~be~~ *tomorrow* be the end of our system of government and ~~of~~ *the end* ~~of~~ *our* living together as a people.

First, the problem.

Seven years ago, a respected educator, James Bryant Conant, ~~checked~~ us warned that the ~~social~~ "social dynamite" in our cities was the ~~time~~ bomb ticking away ~~in~~ in our society. He was talking about the

hundreds of thousands ~~of~~ of young Negroes in our cities who were *both* out of school and out of work.

Today that generation has come of age---and the dynamite has ~~been~~ *gun* to explode.

The anger and frustration of millions of our people--and not all are black--has erupted

people who are shut out from the affluent society--and not all are black--has erupted in violence in city after city.

The reaction to the explosion has been fear---fear of white suburbanites who see their homes threatened, fear of white workingmen who see their jobs threatened, fear of millions ~~who~~ ^{--- black and white ---} who ~~instinctively~~ ^{instinctively} fear violence.

To this has been added another frustration---frustration over a tragic faroff war ~~which~~.

~~THE X P O S I T I O N X O X M X O X H A X M W X M~~

~~X H A X W A X H X S X O X I G X O X M X M I X I O X M X O X P X X D E M P H X X X~~

~~M X H X O X S X O X M X M P X P X X~~

INSERT KOMING (FROM SALT LAKE)

Last night I expressed my own views on that war and need ~~it~~ ^{not} repeat them here. But there can be no doubt that ~~it~~ ^{the war} has caused anger and frustration among many Americans.

except to say that ~~the~~ ^{if} ~~the war is~~ I am elected President and the war has not ended, ~~between~~ ^{the} first priority of the Humphrey-McBain administration will be to bring that war to an honorable conclusion.

many

and finally, ~~the students~~ young ~~people~~ Americans feel left out, at odds with their elders, and victims ^{imized by} of a world they never made.

Yours is the generation that was born at the end of ~~World War II~~ of the ~~Great~~ Great Depression and World War II. You were the children of hope--- hope that at last ~~the~~ Americans could grow up in pursuit of happiness, free of hunger, fear, and war. Instead, ^{you} you have found a society that has excluded ²⁹ ~~30~~ million ~~of~~ of its members from its affluence, that has gone to war, that has murdered your heroes, John F. Kennedy and Robert ~~W~~ F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King ~~and the others~~. And some of your ha

of you have found an educational system that was overburdened, undermanned, and out of date.

The result, ~~has~~---and it is not exclusively an American phenomenon---has been student protest, sometimes peaceable ^{and} sometimes violent, almost always inexplicable to your elders violent sometimes reasonable and sometimes senseless ^a and almost always ^a inexplicable to your elders.

The frustrations of the ~~disadvantaged~~

To sum up the problem,

the young, and of
~~In any case,~~ the frustrations of the poor, and of those who oppose the

war have created a climate of anger

war have created a year of ~~anger~~ rage ~~and~~. And that year of rage is putting our political system to its ~~most~~ most ~~severe~~ severe test in modern times.

Second, the issue.

~~They are not new i~~

There are forces ~~abroad~~ in this land striving to divide and embitter our people. ~~They are radical extremists of the right and the left~~ our people. They are demagogues who preach hate and fear and division. They are radical extremists of the ~~right~~ left and the right.

On the ~~extreme~~ extreme left are those who chant and disrupt meetings and threaten to disrupt the election. They would deny to others the free speech they demand. They have seized upon the legitimate grievances of students and capitalized the unease over the war to mount an attack upon the entire American system. Theirs is the ~~simple~~ *-- and totally unacceptable --* simple solution of violent protest.

And let the issue be absolutely clear: their objective is nothing less than the destruction of our political system -- the institution of Communist government -- and the political process which America has developed ~~to~~ to govern this nation.

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Freedom of speech, of assembly, of dissent are ~~fundamental~~ among the most sacred liberties we possess---and I will defend them ~~them~~ in this year of rage as I have defended them all my life.

But disorder is not dissent. ~~Disorder~~ Indeed, disorder, especially organized disorder, is the enemy of dissent.

~~And ~~disorder~~ violence is not dissent. Indeed, ~~that~~ violence and destruction can only silence~~

~~Indeed, the violence of d~~

debate.

And ~~destruction~~ is not ~~disorder~~. Indeed, the violence of destruction can only silence the vitality of debate.

I reject the extremism of the left and I call upon the American people to reject them.

Equally ~~do~~ I reject the extremism of the right.

On the ~~far~~ extreme right are those who preach disrespect for our courts ~~and for some of our laws~~ and for some of our laws and who appeal to the darkest fears and deepest suspicions of our people.

They seek the simple solution of violent repression.

But bumper stickers will not stop crime, and the way to support your ~~police is to~~

police is to give them ~~more~~ higher salaries, better training, and better equipment.

crime be stopped by
 Neither will a "four-point program" which includes a ~~thinly~~ thinly veiled invitation to ~~organized vigilante action~~ self-appointed vigilante action., disguised as something called a ~~thinly~~ "National Coordinating Center", whatever that means.

(To be honest)
 Crime will ~~never~~ never be ~~stopped~~ ^{ended}---it never has been---
 the
 but it can be controlled by ~~the~~ sure, swift, and fair administration of justice.

That's the way I ~~to~~ fought crime and lawlessness when I ~~was~~ was mayor of Minneapolis. And I propose to ~~do the same~~ follow the same course as Presidents of the United States.

It will not be stopped or curtailed by a ~~political~~ political plunger who is gambling everything on a campaign of organized hate.

And this brings me to the man: George Wallace.

It is said that George Wallace is "gaining in respectability" in the North. But he is not gaining in respectability ~~in~~ among those down here who know him best.

He ~~stands~~ stands, and he has always stood, as the apostle of hate and racism.

Today ~~some of~~ some of his political ~~managers~~ managers and even his presidential electors are drawn from the ranks of the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens' Councils, the John Birch Society, the armed Minutemen, ~~and~~ groups dedicated to the promotion of anti-Semitism.

~~Wallace has not repudiated the ~~known~~ support of Ku Klux Klansmen.~~ ^{check}

Electors pledged to Wallace in a number of states, both North and South, are drawn frequently from ~~the ranks of the~~ the leadership of White Citizens Councils ^{and} the Birch Society. His George ^{is} state chairman and ~~pledged~~ ^{was} pledged elector formerly ^{is} was national president.

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of the White Citizens Councils. And more than half a dozen other Wallace electors ~~have~~ have held executive committee or other important positions in the White Citizens Councils.

~~MOVE UP+++END WITH WALLACE SAYS HE IS FOR LAW AND ORDER.~~

~~It is to these electors that the people~~

Recently we have heard that the Wallace candidacy may create a political stalemate. If it does, it is to these electors that all the people of the United States must look to express their political choice. And that is one reason why I say the political system is in danger today.

[But Mr. Wallace says he is for law and order.

~~When Wallace was Governor of Alabama, his state had the highest murder rate in the United States. He~~

~~Wallace was Governor of Alabama~~

Those who yearn for law and order would do well to remember that George Wallace ~~was~~ ^{is} Governor of Alabama---the state with the highest murder rate in the United States. *They would do well to note that Alabama ranks* ~~It ranked~~ fourth among all the states in aggravated assault.

~~But it ranks near the bottom among the states in the things that matters.~~

Alabama

states in aggravated assault.

Wallace could not maintain order in his own state---where he had the power---but now he promises to maintain order in every city and state where he will not have the power.

When he was Governor of Alabama, he gave the American people other ~~lessons~~ lessons in law and order.

He decided which courts suited him---and disobeyed the rest.

He decided which judges he liked---and he vilified the rest.

He decided which laws he preferred---and he defied the rest.

Now he proposes teaching the Wallace method to the whole country.

Today Wallace says
~~Alabama bank~~

~~He says~~ he is the friend of ~~the~~ the working man. Let's look at his record as Governor of Alabama:

---Alabama housewives pay the highest sales tax in the country--- six cents on the dollar;

---wages for the workingman in Alabama were the third lowest in the nation;

---in education, only two states spend less per pupil than Alabama;

---and it has one of the lowest workmen's compensation systems of any state in the union.

And these are the accomplishments---this is the record---Mr. Wallace wants to bring to Washington. ~~Well, I don't think he's going to get the chance---and he knows it. He is the spoiler in this election.~~

But worst of all ~~is~~---worse than the collapse of law and order in Alabama---worse than his anti-liberal economic policies---worst of all is his conduct in this campaign.

He has deliberately embarked on a campaign to embitter and divide the American people. He has sought to inflame the fears, the frustrations, and the prejudices of some of our people. He has sought to bring this nation to the brink of broad scale civil disorder.

grave problems of domestic policy and foreign policy

America today has many problems---but they won't be solved by a ~~the~~ candidates who can think of nothing better to do than

to threaten to run down people with a car.

In the American system anybody--even George Corley Wallace--has the right to run for President. But let's be absolutely clear about how he's going about it.

He says he will announce a platform any day now. He may even get

around to picking a fellow ~~man~~ ^{- determined} for ~~the~~ ^{his} Vice President, who would ^{--- a man} succeed him ^{stand in line to} if he were elected. And ~~the~~ the election is only five ~~or~~ weeks away. ~~His campaign is a laughing matter~~

^{Ordinarily} His incredible campaign would be a laughing matter---but not in this year of rage.

He has attacked the ~~the~~ courts --- in the name of law and order.

He has applauded those who would undermine the independent judiciary--- the ~~the~~ ^{ultimate} final guardian of the liberties of all of us.

He has ~~joined~~ joined the ugly campaign ~~the~~ against Mr. Justice Fortas---a campaign unmatched since the first Jew, Mr. Justice Brandeis, was appointed to the high Court in 1916, ~~and~~.

He has sought to stir the darkest fears and prejudices harbored by the few and ~~the~~ the frustration and anger felt by the many.

He pretends to be the friend of the workingman but he is the creature of the most reactionary underground forces in American life.

~~In my opinion, he will not even carry the South.~~ He does not speak for millions of decent Southerners, ^{and Northerners} who reject bigotry and hate, ~~who~~ ^{despise} ~~and~~ who ~~believe~~ ^{and who} believe in progress and ~~justice~~ education and justice and a better life for all.

I say to you ~~solemnly~~ ^{solemnly}: ~~that~~ In the

1930s the ~~the~~ ^{of Germany} reactionary forces thought they had found a man to speak for them, and in a few years he had ~~ruined~~

for them, and in a few years, ^{later,} helped by ~~and~~ an economic depression, ~~the~~ that man had destroyed not only ^{this} ~~his~~ creators but German democracy, the European balance of power, the world political system---and the result was the carnage of World War II.

You say these things could never happen in America. I devoutly pray that you are right. But I know from deep personal experience we are closer to this possibility than I would have ever believed possible.

~~x~~ I know that my Republican opponent--while opposing the ~~Wallace~~ Wallace candidacy--has within his ranks many persons who make precisely the same appeal--who have ~~led~~ led the reactionary, extremist forces ^{in America} for the past two decades and who continue these attacks at this very moment.

And I know that in his speeches ^{my Republican opponent} ~~he~~ appeals to the same fears. . . the same passions. . . the same frustrations which can unleash in this country a torrent of unreasoning hate and repression.

And, finally, I know that if my Republican opponent is elected and a Republican economic recession results, the dark anger stirred by the third-party candidate may become ~~an~~ an overwhelming force in American life.

Today--above all else--good men have the moral obligation to speak out--forthrightly and clearly--about these dangers to our democratic institutions.

If in this campaign I make no other contribution to ~~the~~ America's national life ^{than} to expose this threat--~~the~~ personified in ~~the~~ George Corley Wallace and ^{expressed in} his odious appeal to rage--I will rest content on November 6.

He will not be elected. But what he stand for must be repudiated overwhelmingly.

* * *

In this campaign Senator Muskie and I offer only a reasoned and forthright accounting of where we--the American people--find ourselves today-- and where we must move in the months and years ahead.

America has been greatly blessed--and of us much will be required. We carry the heavy--yet the sacred--burden of

proving to a doubting world--a frightened world--that free men do possess the wit, the wisdom, and the courage to govern themselves.

Think--for just one moment--the terrible blow to liberty that would be sustained around this globe if democracy failed in the United States--the source and ~~inspiration~~ inspiration for millions of our fellow human beings.

This is perhaps the hour of our greatest testing as a free people.

We must be one nation, not two.

Once we start down the road to apartheid, we shall find there is no turning back. ~~We shall find our social fabric torn~~

The elite Spartans of ancient Greece put down a minority, the Helots--only to discover that they had fastened upon themselves a repressive and vicious police state.

Throughout history this pattern has been repeated again and again.

We must not permit ^{this} ~~it~~ to become our fate.

We will find the solution not in repression but in justice.

Violence cannot be tolerated. But neither can injustice.

I ~~offer you~~ ^{offer you no} easy solutions. In this year of rage--~~ink~~ ~~in~~ in this time of deadly danger abroad and at ~~home~~ home--there are none.

I offer you no hiding place. There is none.

But I offer you this--my credo--the words of Nathan Hale:

"I am only one but I am one. I cannot do everything, but I can do something. And what I can do, that I ought to do. And what I ought to do, by the grace of God, I ~~xx~~ shall do."

RMN-UT

DEM FOR HHH DC
ARE U READY TO RECEIVE THETET XXX THE TEXT OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF TENNESSEE SPEECH?

IS SOMEONE AT THE TX MACHINE?
DEM FOR HHH DC
ATTENTION: ED ALFRIEND

WOULD YOU PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING DRAFT TO TED VAN DYK

REMARKS
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

*Wed AM's
Oct 2*

straight

I HAVE COME TO THE SOUTH TO TALK ~~CANDIDLY~~ ABOUT A PROBLEM, AN
ISSUE, AND A MAN. THIS PROBLEM, THIS ISSUE, AND THIS MAN ARE OF THE
DEEPEST CONCERN TO ME AND TO EVERY AMERICAN IN THIS ELECTION
CAMPAIGN.

I HAVE COME TO THIS GREAT UNIVERSITY TO APPEAL NOT TO PASSION
BUT TO REASON. I APPEAL TO AMERICA'S HOPES, NOT HER FEARS.

THE PROBLEM IS THE FRUSTRATION AND ANGER AND FEAR THAT SO MANY
OF OUR PEOPLE FEEL.

THE ISSUE IS THE PRESERVATION OF OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF
GOVERNMENT.

THE MAN IS GEORGE CORLEY WALLACE.

WHAT I HAVE TO SAY MAY NOT BE POPULAR AND THIS MAY NOT BE THE
PLACE TO SAY IT. BUT THERE IS MORE AT STAKE HERE THAN THE PRESIDENCY.

WHAT IS AT STAKE IS THE GREATEST POLITICAL SYSTEM ON EARTH AND THE
SOCIAL FABRIC OF THE NATION WE LOVE.

AND I WILL SAY THE SAME THINGS IN THE SOUTH THAT I WILL SAY IN
THE NORTH. FOR THE PRICE OF SILENCE NOW MAY TOMORROW BE THE END OF
OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT AND THE END OF OUR LIVING TOGETHER AS A
PEOPLE.

FIRST, THE PROBLEM.

SEVEN YEARS AGO, A RESPECTED EDUCATOR, JAMES BRYANT CONANT, WARNED US THAT THE "SOCIAL DYNAMITE" IN OUR CITIES WAS THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF YOUNG NEGROES IN OUR CITIES WHO WERE BOTH OUT OF SCHOOL AND OUT OF WORK.

TODAY THAT GENERATION HAS COME OF AGE -- AND THE DYAMITE HAS BEGUN TO XPLODE.

THE ANGER AND FRUSTRATION OF MILLIONS HAS ERUPTED IN VIOLENCE IN CE CITY AFTER CITY.

THE REACTION TO THE EXPLOSION HAS BEEN FEAR -- FEAR OF WHITE SUBURBANITES WHO SEE THEIR HOMES THREATENED, FEAR OF WHITE WORKINGMEN WHO SEE THEIR JOBS THREATENED, FEAR OF MILLIONS -- BLACK AND WHITE -- WB WHO INSTINCTIVELY FEAR VIOLENCE.

TO THIS HAS BEEN ADDED ANOTHER FRUSTRATION -- FRUSTRATION OVER A TRAGIC FAROFF WAR.

LAST NIGHT I EXPRESSED MY OWN VIEWS ON THAT WAR AND NEED NOT REPEAT THEM HERE EXCEPT TO SAY THAT IF I AM ELECTED PRESIDENT AND THE WAR HAS NOT ENDED, THE FIRST PRIORITY OF THE HUMPHREY-MUSKIE ADMINISTRATION WILL BE TO BRING THAT WAR TO AN HONORABLE CONCLUSION.

BUT THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT THE WAR HAS CAUSED ~~ANGER AND~~ FRUSTRATION AMONG MANY AMERICANS.

~~FINALLY, YOUNG STRIKE THIS LINE~~

FINALLY, MANY YOUNG AMERICANS FEEL LEFT OUT, AT ODDS WITH THEIR ELDERS, AND VICTIMIZED BY A WORLD THEY NEVER MADE.

YOURS IS THE GENERATION THAT WAS BORN AT THE END ~~of~~ THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND WORLD WAR 11. YOU WERE THE CHILDREN OF HOPE -- HOPE THAT AT LAST AMERICANS COULD GROW UP IN PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS, FREE OF HUNGER, FEAR, AND WAR.

INSTEAD, YOU HAVE FOUND A SOCIETY THAT HAS EXCLUDED ^{for whatever reason} 29 MILLION OF ITS MEMBERS FROM ITS AFFLUENCE, THAT HAS GONE TO WAR, THAT HAS MURDERED ~~YOUR HEROES~~ JOHN F. KENNEDY AND OBERT F. KENNEDY AND MARTIN LUTHER KING, AND SOME OF YOU HAVE FOUND AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM THAT WAS OVERBURDENED, UNDERMANNED, AND OUT OF DATE.

THE RESULT-- AND IT IS NOT EXCLUSIVELY AN AMERICAN PHENOMENON -- HAS BEEN STUDENT PROTEST -- SOMETIMES PEACEABLE AND SOMETIMES VIOLENT

SOMETIMES REASONABLE AND SOMETIMES SENSELESS -- AND ALMOST ALWAYS
INEXPLICABLE TO YOUR ELDERS.

TO SUM UP THE PROBLEM, THE FRUSTRATIONS OF THE POOR, THEXX OF ^{anxiety}
THE YOUNG, AND OF THOSE WHO OPPOSE THE WAR HAVE CREATED A YEAR OF ~~RAGE~~
AND THAT YEAR OF ^{anxiety} ~~RAGE~~ IS PUTTING OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM TO ITS MOST
SEVERE TEST IN MODERN TIMES.

SECOND, THE ISSUE.

THERE ARE FORCES IN THIS LAND STRIVING TO DIVIDE AND EMBITTER
OUR PEOPLE. THEY ARE DEMAGOGUES WHO PREACH HATE AND FEAR AND
DIVISION. THEY ARE RADICAL EXTREMISTS OF THE LEFT AND THE RIGHT.

AND LET THE ISSUE BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR: THEIR OBJECTIVE IS
NOTHING LESS THAN THE DESTRUCTION OF OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM -- THE
INSTITUTIONS OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT -- AND THE POLITICAL PROCESSES
WHICH AMERICA HAS DEVELOPED TO GOVERN THIS NATION.

ON THE EXTREME LEFT ARE THOSE WHO CHANT AND DISRUPT MEETINGS
AND THREATEN TO DISRUPT THE ELECTION. THEY WOULD DENY TO OTHERS
THE FREE SPEECH THEY DEMAND. THEY HAVE SEIZED UPON THE LEGITIMATE
GRIEVANCES OF STUDENTS AND CAPITALIZED THE UNEASE OVER THE WAR TO
MOUNT AN ATTACK UPON THE ENTIRE AMERICAN SYSTEM. THEIRS IS THE
SIMPLE -- AND TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE -- SOLUTION OF VIOLENT PROTEST.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH, OF ASSEMBLY, OF DISSENT ARE AMONG THE MOST SACRED
LIBERTIES WE POSSESS -- AND I WILL DEFEND THEM IN THIS YEAR OF ~~RAGE~~ ^{anxiety}
AS I HAVE DEFENDED THEM ALL MY LIFE.

BUT DISORDER IS NOT DISSENT. INDEED, DISORDER, ESPECIALLY
ORGANIZED DISORDER, IS THE ENEMY OF DISSENT.

AND DESTRUCTION IS NOT DEBATE. INDEED, THE VIOLENCE OF DESTRUCTION
CAN ONLY SILENCE THE VITALITY OF DEBATE.

I REJECT THE EXTREMISM OF THE LEFT AND I CALL UPON THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE TO REJECT THEM .

AND I DO I REJECT THE EXTREMISM OF THE RIGHT.

ON THE EXTREME RIGHT ARE THOSE WHO PREACH DISRESPECT FOR OUR COURTS AND FOR SOME OF OUR LAWS AND WHO APPEAL TO THE DARKEST FEARS AND DEEPEST SUSPICIONS OF OUR PEOPLE.

THEY SEEK THE SIMPLE SOLUTION OF VIOLENT REPRESSION.

BUT BUMPER STICKERS WILL NOT STOP CRIME, AND THE WAY TO SUPPORT YOUR POLICE IS TO GIVE THEM HIGHER SALARIES, BETTER TRAINING, AND BETTER EQUIPMENT.

NEITHER WILL CRIME BE STOPPED BY A "FOUR-POINT PROGRAM" WHICH INCLUDES THINLY VEILED INVITATION TO SELF-APPOINTED VIGILANTE ACTION, DISGUISED AS SOMETHING CALLED A "NATIONAL COORDINATING CENTER - WHATEVER THAT MEANS.

TO BE HONEST, CRIME WILL NEVER BE ENDED -- IT NEVER HAS BEEN -- BUT IT CAN BE CONTROLLED BY THE SURE, SWIFT, AND FAIR ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

THAT'S THE WAY I FOUGHT CRIME AND LAWLESSNESS WHEN I WAS MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS. AND I PROPOSE TO FOLLOW THE SAME COURSE AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

~~IT~~ WILL BE STRICKEN

IT WILL NOT BE STOPPED OR CURTAILED BY A POLITICAL PLUNGER WHO IS GAMBLING EVERYTHING ON A CAMPAIGN OF ORGANIZED HATE.

AND THIS BRINGS ME TO THE MAN: GEORGE WALLACE.

IT IS SAID THAT GEORGE WALLACE IS "GAINING IN RESPECTABILITY" IN THE NORTH. BUT HE IS NOT GAINING IN RESPECTABILITY AMONG THOSE DOWN HERE WHO KNOW HIM BEST.

HE STANDS, AND HE HAS ALWAYS STOOD, AS THE APOSTLE OF HATE AND RACISM.

TODAY SOME OF HIS POLITICAL MANAGERS AND EVEN SOME OF HIS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS ARE DRAWN FROM THE RANKS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, THE WHITE CITIZENS' COUNCILS, THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY, AND THE ARMED MINUTEMEN, OR GROUPS DEDICATED TO THE PROMOTION OF ANTI-SEMITISM.

ELECTORS PLEDGED TO WALLACE IN A NUMBER OF STATES, BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH, ARE DRAWN FREQUENTLY FROM THE LEADERSHIP OF WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS AND THE BIRCH SOCIETY. HIS GEORGIA STATE CHAIRMAN AND PLEDGED ELECTOR WAS FORMERLY NATIONAL PRESIDENT OF THE WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS. AND MORE THAN HALF A DOZEN OTHER WALLACE ELECTORS HAVE HELD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OR OTHER IMPORTANT POSITIONS IN THE WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS.

RECENTLY WE HAVE HEARD THAT THE WALLACE CANDIDACY MAY CREATE A POLITICAL STALEMATE. IF IT DOES, IT IS TO THESE ELECTORS THAT ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES MUST LOOK TO EXPRESS THEIR POLITICAL CHOICE. AND THAT IS ONE REASON WHY I SAY THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS IN

CONTINUATION OF UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE TEXT:

THOSE WHO YEARN FOR LAW AND ORDER WOULD DO WELL TO REMEMBER THAT GEORGE WALLACE WAS GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA -- THE STATE WITH THE HIGHEST MURDER RATE IN THE UNITED STATES.

THEY WOULD DO WELL TO NOTE THAT ALABAMA RANKS FOURTH AMONG ALL THE STATES IN AGGRAVATED ASSAULT.

WALLACE COULD NOT MAINTAIN ORDER IN HIS OWN STATE -- WHERE HE HAD THE POWER -- BUT NOW HE PROMISES TO MAINTAIN ORDER IN EVERY CITY AND STATE -- WHERE HE WILL NOT HAVE THE POWER.

WHEN HE WAS GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA, HE GAVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OTHER LESSONS IN LAW AND ORDER.

HE DECIDED WHICH COURTS SUITED HIM -- AND DISOBEYED THE REST.

HE DECIDED WHICH JUDGES HE LIKED -- AND HE VILIFIED THE REST.

HE DECIDED WHICH LAWS HE PREFERRED -- AND HE DEFIED THE REST.

NOW HE PROPOSES TEACHING THE WALLACE METHOD TO THE WHOLE COUNTRY.

TODAY WALLACE SAYS HE IS THE FRIEND OF THE WORKING MAN. LET'S LOOK AT HIS RECORD AS GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA:

-- ALABAMA HOUSEWIVES PAY THE HIGHEST SALES TAX IN THE COUNTRY -- SIX CENTS ON THE DOLLAR;

-- WAGES FOR THE WORKINGMAN IN ALABAMA WERE THE THIRD LOWEST IN THE NATION;

-- IN EDUCATION, ONLY TWO STATES SPEND LESS PER PUPIL THAN ALABAMA;

-- AND IT HAS ONE OF THE LOWEST WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION SYSTEMS OF ANY STATE IN THE UNION.

AND THESE ARE THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS -- THIS IS THE RECORD -- MR. WALLACE WANTS TO BRING TO WASHINGTON.

BUT WORST OF ALL -- WORSE THAN THE COLLAPSE OF LAW AND ORDER IN ALABAMA :- WORSE THAN HIS ANTI-LIBERAL ECONOMIC POLICIES -- WORST OF ALL IS HIS CONDUCT IN THIS CAMPAIGN.

HE HAS DELIBERATELY EMBARKED ON A CAMPAIGN TO EMBITTER AND DIVIDE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. HE HAS SOUGHT TO INFLAME FEAR, FRUSTRATION, AND PREJUDICE. HE HAS SOUGHT TO BRING THIS NATION TO THE BRINK OF BROAD SCALE CIVIL DISORDER.

AMERICA TODAY HAS MANY PROBLEMS -- GRAVE PROBLEMS OF DOMESTIC POLICY AND FOREIGN POLICY -- BUT THEY WON'T BE SOLVED BY A CANDIDATE WHO CAN THINK OF NOTHING BETTER TO DO THAN TO THREATEN TO RUN DOWN PEOPLE WITH A AR.

IN THE AMERICAN SYSTEM ANYBODY -- EVEN GEORGE CORLEY WALLACE -- HAS THE RIGHT TO RUN FOR PRESIDENT. BUT LET'S BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR ABOUT HOW HE'S GOING ABOUT IT.

HE SAYS HE WILL ANNOUNCE A PLATFORM ANY DAY NOW. HE MAY EVEN GET AROUND TO PICKING A FELLOW-EXTREMIST FOR HIS VICE PRESIDENT -- A MAN WHO WOULD STAND IN LINE TO SUCCEED HIM. AND THE ELECTION IS ONLY FIVE WEEKS AWAY.

ORDINARILY HIS INCREDIBLE CAMPAIGN WOULD BE A LAUGHING MATTER -- BUT NOT IN THIS YEAR OF RAGE.

HE HAS ATTACKED THE COURTS :- IN THE NAME OF LAW AND ORDER.

HE HAS APPLAUDED THOSE WHO WOULD UNDERMINE THE INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY -- THE ULTIMATE GUARDIAN OF THE LIBERTIES OF ALL OF US.

HE HAS JOINED THE UGLY CAMPAIGN AGAINST MR. JUSTICE FORTAS -- A CAMPAIGN UNMATCHED SINCE THE FIRST JEW, MR. JUSTICE BRANDEIS, WAS APPOINTED TO THE HIGH COURT IN 1916.

HE HAS SOUGHT TO STIR THE DARKEST FEARS AND PREJUDICES HARBORED BY THE FEW AND THE FRUSTRATION AND ANGER FELT BY THE MANY.

HE PRETENDS TO BE THE FRIEND OF THE WORKINGMAN BUT HE IS THE CREATURE OF THE MOST REACTIONARY UNDERGROUND FORCES IN AMERICAN LIFE.

HE DOES NOT SPEAK FOR MILLIONS OF DECENT SOUTHERNERS AND NORTHERNERS WHO REJECT BIGOTRY AND HATE, WHO DESPISE THE EXTREMISTS OF BOTH RIGHT AND LEFT, AND WHO BELIEVE IN PROGRESS AND EDUCATION AND JUSTICE AND A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL.

I SAY TO YOU SOLEMNLY IN THE 1930'S THE REACTIONARY FORCES OF GERMANY THOUGHT THEY HAD FOUND A MAN TO SPEAK FOR THEM, AND A FEW YEARS LATER, HELPED BY AN ECONOMIC DEPRESSION, THAT MAN HAD DESTROYED NOT ONLY HIS CREATORS BUT GERMAN DEMOCRACY, THE EUROPEAN BALANCE OF POWER, THE WORLD POLITICAL SYSTEM -- AND THE RESULT WAS THE CARNAGE OF WORLD WAR II.

YOU SAY THESE THINGS COULD NEVER HAPPEN IN AMERICA. I DEVOUTLY PRAY THAT YOU ARE RIGHT. BUT I KNOW FROM DEEP PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WE ARE CLOSER TO THIS POSSIBILITY THAN I WOULD HAVE EVER BELIEVED

I KNOW THAT MY REPUBLICAN OPPONENT -- WHILE OPPOSING THE WALLACE CANDIDACY -- HAS WITHIN HIS RANKS MANY PERSONS WHO MAKE PRECISELY THE SAME APPEAL -- WHO HAVE LED THE REACTIONARY, EXTREMIST FORCES IN AMERICA FOR THE PAST TWO DECADES AND WHO CONTINUE THESE ATTACKS AT THIS VERY MOMENT.

AND I KNOW THAT IN HIS SPEECHES MY REPUBLICAN OPPONENT APPEALS TO THE SAME FEARS ... THE SAME PASSIONS ... THE SAME FRUSTRATIONS WHICH CAN UNLEASH IN THIS COUNTRY A TORRENT OF UNREASONING HATE AND REPRESSION.

AND, FINALLY, I KNOW THAT IF MY REPUBLICAN OPPONENT IS ELECTED AND A REPUBLICAN ECONOMIC RECESSION RESULTS, THE DARK ANGER STIRRED BY THE THIRD-PARTY CANDIDATE MAY BECOME AN OVERWHELMING FORCE IN AMERICAN LIFE.

TODAY -- ABOVE ALL ELSE -- GOOD MEN HAVE THE MORAL OBLIGATION TO SPEAK OUT -- FORTHRIGHTLY AND CLEARLY -- ABOUT THESE DANGERS TO OUR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS.

IF IN THIS CAMPAIGN I MAKE NO OTHER CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICA'S NATIONAL LIFE THAN TO EXPOSE THIS THREAT -- PERSONIFIED IN GEORGE CORLEY WALLACE AND EXPRESSED IN HIS ODIOUS APPEAL ~~TO RAGE~~ -- I WILL REST CONTENT ON NOVEMBER 6.

HE WILL NOT BE ELECTED. BUT WHAT HE STANDS FOR MUST BE REPUDIATED. OVERWHELMINGLY.

#

IN THIS CAMPAIGN SENATOR MUSKIE AND I OFFER ONLY A REASONED AND FORTHRIGHT ACCOUNTING OF WHERE WE -- THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- FIND OURSELVES TODAY -- AND WHERE WE MUST MOVE IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS

AMERICA HAS BEEN GREATLY BELSSED -- AND OF US MUCH WILL BE
REQUIRED. WE CARRY THE HEAVY -- YET THE SACRED -- BURDEN OF
PROVING TO A DOUBTING WORLD -- A FRIGHTENED WORLD -- THAT FREE MEN
DO POSSESS THE WIT, THE WISDOM AND THE COURAGE TO GOVERN THEMSELVES.

THINK -- FOR JUST ONE MOMENT -- THE TERRIBLE BLOW TO LIBERTY THAT
WOULD BE SUSTAINED AROUND THIS GLOBE IF DEMOCRACY FAILED IN THE UNITED
STATES -- THE SOURCE AND INSPIRATION FOR MILLIONS OF OUR FELLOW
FELLOW HUMAN BEINGS.

THIS IS PERHAPS THE HOUR OF OUR GREATEST TESTING AS A FREE
PEOPLE.

WE MUST BE ONE NATION, NOT TWO.

ONCE WE START DOWN THE ROAD TO APARTHEID, WE SHALL FIND THERE IS
IS NO TURNING BACK.

THE ELITE SPARTANS OF ANCIENT GREECE PUT DOWN A MINORITY, THE
HELOTS -- ONLY TO DISCOVER THAT THEY HAD FASTENED UPON THEMSELVES
A REPRESSIVE AND VICIOUS POLICE STATE.

THROUGHOUT HISTORY THIS PATTERN HAS BEEN REPEATED AGAIN AND
AGAIN.

WE MUST NOT PERMIT THIS TO BECOME OUR FATE.

WE WILL FIND THE SOLUTION NOT IN REPRESSION BUT IN JUSTICE.

VIOLENCE CANNOT BE TOLERATED. BUT NEITHER CAN INJUSTICE.

I OFFER YOU NO EASY SOLUTIONS. IN THIS YEAR OF RAGE -- IN THIS
DEADLY DANGER ABROAD AND AT HOME -- THERE ARE NONE.

I OFFER YOU NO HIDING PLACE. THERE IS NONE.

BUT I OFFER YOU THIS -- MY CREDO -- THE WORDS OF NATHAN HALE:

"I AM ONLY ONE BUT I AM ONE. I CANNOT DO EVERYTHING, BUT I CAN DO
SOMETHING. AND WHAT I CAN DO, THAT I OUGHT TO DO. AND WHAT I OUGHT TO
DO, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, I SHALL DO."

END OF TEXT OF UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE SPEECH.
PLS. ADVISE.

ANYONE THERE?



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