

STATEMENT OF  
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
BEFORE THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION  
OF RETAIL DRUGGISTS

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Sheraton-Boston Hotel  
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Thank you very much. Thank you very much.

Thank you very much, my very dear and good friend and fellow citizen of the great North Star State of Minnesota, George Vilharm, and we don't mind also saluting a gentleman from Texas, Willard Simmons. So, we are very happy to see both sides represented here.

(Applause)

You have a pharmacist from Maine, that is good. Those are Muskie pharmacists out there. I am very happy to see you.

(Applause)

And I am particularly pleased, George, to see many of my dearest and closest friends that have always supported me but I never knew they were so much behind me as they are today, all these good Minnesota pharmacists up here on this platform with me, every one of them.

(Applause)

Ladies and gentlemen, I am no newcomer to this gathering. I just asked Willard, I said, which year is it now of the NARD Convention and I believe you said the 70th. Well, I guess we are ready for Medicare then.

(Laughter)

By the way, it hasn't worked too badly either, has it, fellows? I will tell you that it has done all right.

(Applause)

It hasn't hurt a pharmacist that I know of yet, nor a doctor, nor a hospital nor a nursing home, nor any other American.

But I want to talk to you as a participant in the work of this Association.

I do take a great deal of pride in the fact that we still have our family business. Whether you know it or not, I keep a watchful eye over it. Since I last spoke to you, the manager of that little store which supports seven or eight families in our community has passed on, my brother. I lost him a year ago this August to the deadly killer, cancer, which only once again reminds me of how much work we have to do and reminds me, and I want to remind this audience and I want to remind this nation that the retail druggist, the retail pharmacist, the professional pharmacist, is as much a part of the healing arts of the American community as a doctor or a therapist or a technician or a hospital manager or a nurse. The pharmacist, that professional pharmacist, trained, operating that store, is an integral factor in the health of the American community and I shall ever be mindful of it.

(Applause)

I want to compliment you on your good judgment in enhancing the reputation of the NARD by picking a man from Minnesota, my good friend, George Vilharm, as your President.

(Applause)

And since you are picking men from Minnesota as your president, may I say there is another one available.

(Laughter and applause)

I don't expect to do as well in the grocery stores as another candidate but I expect to do as well or better in the drug stores and I hope you get the message.

(Applause)

Four years ago we were together in San Francisco, as I recall, and I spoke to you then as the candidate for Vice President of the United States. Today I speak again as a member, as an old friend, and as a candidate for the highest office in this land and I do

hope that after this is all over, that you will invite me back again to speak to you as the President of the United States. If you do, I will come.

(Applause)

Now, with so many friends in this audience I was a little surprised to read a poll the other day which said that Richard Nixon has an edge among the nation's pharmacists. Well, I must say that is apparently just an old prescription that somebody is trying to refill.

(Laughter and applause)

Don't worry, now, George. Don't worry. I have been praying for George's politics for a long time. It is a temporary indisposition and I have a remedy which will work pretty well that I am going to talk to you a little bit about.

My surprise about that poll in-all good humor was because I think that the pharmacists who may have voted in that poll a little differently than I wish they would have forgotten to ask themselves a very basic question. Which of these candidates has really worked for in his public life, his private life, the small businessmen? And I think I might ask which of these parties has provided the greatest economic opportunity for the merchant, for the worker, for the corporate owner, for the stock owner, for the businessman?

So, I am going to talk to you first of all, first today, a little bit about my own record and try to make a sale and I am going to try to do it with professional standards.

I had a note here that a friend from this Association gave to me and it read just like this. Hubert, ask them what Dick Nixon ever has done for a small businessman, aside from three recessions, while he had the same office that you hold now, in the eight years from 1953 to 1961.

Now, that is a hard question to answer as are most questions about Mr. Nixon's specific positions on the key issues of this campaign. He has been so silent on so much that a pharmacist friend of mine suggested that my opponent maybe has been taking tranquilizers and that his name should be Richard Miltown Nixon.

(Applause and laughter)

I hope he will accept that in good humor because miltowns have a tendency to put one in good humor.

(Laughter)

Now, ask yourself what has the Democratic nominee done for small businessmen, and I know that many of you and a goodly number of you are not registered Democrats. I am well aware of that. Frankly, that doesn't bother me a bit. I had one of my sons come to me not long ago and tell me, he said, now, Dad, we feel just a little out of place in our community. I said, what is the matter? Well, he said, all the young folks out there say they are Republicans. They belong to the country club, they belong to different social groups and whenever we are with them they say, you know, if we talk politics, they say we are Republicans and I have to go around saying I am a Democrat. He said it sort of makes you feel out of place.

I said, Son, if it makes you feel better to say you are a Republican, don't let that bother you. Go right ahead and say it but just remember that you are in business and the only way you can afford to say you are Republican is to vote Democratic.

(Laughter)

So proceed to do so.

I guess he might have been doing so because he seems to be doing much better in the community and his business seems to be doing a little better.

In the four years since I last addressed you in San Francisco there is quite a story of our economy and every person in this audience knows it.

For example, our Gross National Product, which represents

the production and the wealth of this nation, adjusted for price rises, now, taking out the so-called inflation factor, is \$703 billion a year, up 215 billions of dollars in the last eight years.

Now, this means more capital and it means more spending for consumers and it means more sales and it means better health and it means better things.

The average factory worker's wages -- and by the way, you have an interest in them, most of them are your customers -- again adjusted for price increases and taxes, have risen more than 15 per cent from 1960 to this year. The family income of a family of four, adjusted for prices and taxes, after taxes, from 1961 to 1968 has risen 32 per cent. In the previous eight years it went up nine per cent. Those are facts.

The wholesale price index for goods produced has gone up 7.8 per cent the past eight years and it went up 9.2 per cent from 1952 to 1961.

The consumer price index has gone up 16 per cent these last eight years and it only went up 12 per cent in the preceding eight years. So you say, well, there you admit it. We have had a four per cent rise in consumer price index, and why? Well, I will tell you why. Lay it right on the line.

First of all, whose workers are better paid. Laundry workers are better paid, and they were poorly paid. Clerical workers are better paid, and they were underpaid. And I might add services have gone up. Hospital bills have gone up, medical bills have gone up. And we even know that drug bills have gone up.

So ladies and gentlemen, while we have had to have -- while we have had a four per cent increase in the consumer price index, we had a 32 per cent increase in family income after taxes, after price increases, as compared to nine, and you don't have to have a Harvard degree to figure out what that means. To the average family that means income, it means money for payment of mortgages, for vacation, for health, for food, for clothing, for a car, for the thousand and one things that a mother and father want.

Now, what did we pay -- what did we pay for that 12 per cent -- 16 per cent, that four per cent gap? What did you pay in those previous eight years, Mr. Businessman, and I am talking to you now as a businessman? You paid with three recessions. You paid with an unemployment rate of 7-1/2 per cent. You paid with \$175 billion of lost income in wages alone. You paid a minimum of \$50 billion a year for each of the eight years in lost plant capacity.

I submit that that is an awfully big price to pay for a four per cent advantage in the consumer price index. I believe that the American people are more interested in steady employment in steady profits, in steady investments than any other aspect of the economy, and now let me lay it on the line again because I didn't come here only to be a sweet loving fellow. I didn't come here only to tell you that I am a fellow pharmacist.

I want it perfectly clear that in any one of the last eight Democratic years, American business has made more net profit after taxes, after price adjustments, than in all of the eight combined Republican years put together.

Now, how a businessman can ignore that is beyond me.

(Applause)

Those are the facts. Some people don't like facts. But I have made up my mind in this campaign that I am going to tell it like it is.

Let me give you what the Lilly report tells us. Last year according to the Lilly Digest -- and the Ely Lilly Company is not a large contributor to Democratic campaigns

(Laughter)

I am ready, though, may I say, if they are interested.

(Laughter)

I have sold hundreds of thousands of dollars of their wonderful products. I consider it one of the finest pharmaceutical companies



in the world.

Well, the Billy Digest which, by the way, we always had our surveys made, too, by that company, said this, that the average self-employed pharmacist's pre-tax income, salary and profits was \$23,888, up more than \$5,200, or over 31 per cent, from the 1960 figure.

Now, somebody is going to say, yes, but what about those taxes? Well, I am happy to stand before you and say that I represent a government and an Administration that has reduced Federal taxes three times, property taxes at home have gone up, state taxes have gone up greatly, and only one increase in Federal taxes, one year, ten per cent surtax, so that today the average American is paying a lower tax by far at the Federal level than he paid in 1964, that he is paying less than he paid in 1960, far less than he paid in 1956.

I saw a headline that large yesterday, two days ago, in the Washington Post, on the financial page. It said, state taxes rise above Federal. And I am not complaining about the fact that Governors and state legislatures need more money. But I am amazed sometimes to find in the business community the lack of understanding of what has happened -- a stock market that has not been doing crazy but has represented steady growth on the Dow-Jones index, retail sales that have been going up, profits that have had a reasonable rate of increase, workers income that has gone up, and investment income that is larger than ever before in the history of this land.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is something that we can't ignore. So we have done some things, but we cannot take any of it for granted.

Despite this progress, there is much more I believe that a friendly partnership government can do to help the independent and small businessman and other businessmen, and that is going to be the case in a Humphrey Administration.

One of my first priorities as President of this nation will be to seek a revitalization of that great work of legislation now 32 years old known as the Robinson-Patman Act. I have been close to that legislation during 16 years in the Senate and in striving to strengthen this Magna Carta of small business I will proudly work shoulder to shoulder with that great American and the best friend this organization or the small businessman ever had, namely, Congressman Wright Patman.

(Applause)

That law, that law no longer serves fully as a bulwark against vicious price discrimination. I think it still is sound in principle and purpose.

The Robinson-Patman Act, however, cannot effectively cope with the newer, the more sophisticated but no less deadly forms of price favoritism. I have discussed this matter with a number of the members of Congress because I still have my interest in these things and they agree with me on the need to modernize the Act, and to outlaw every form of price discrimination injurious to small business.

Congressman Patman himself told me to call upon the pharmacists as I have before to spearhead this legislative campaign just as you did back in 1936 in passing the original Act.

So protect yourselves, my fellow pharmacists, before it is too late.

(Applause)

Now, another thing that a Humphrey Administration will do is to strengthen and further expand the Small Business Administration. I am proud to say that the number of loans made by the SBA in the past five years is more than 2-1/2 times the number made during the preceding ten years, and I am equally proud to say that the record of repayment is better than it has ever been. So no one is losing, and banks are participating. In fact, were it not for the Small Business Administration and its policies, and the matter of



the sharing of the loans between the private institutions and the SBA, I would hate to think of what the interest rate would be that some of you are paying today to get a loan if you want to start, if you want to modernize or if you want to expand or if you need some help.

Now, I know that many of you don't need it but may I remind you you may. Life is uncertain. The economy has no guarantee that everything will be all right. You may need a strong SBA, and while for the moment you might be able to sort of just put your nose up in the air and say, well, it means nothing to me, I have never asked them for help, I can remember many a proud businessman that said the same thing in the late 1920's, only to find himself selling apples.

Don't be too sure. Don't be afraid to build in the things that are necessary in the ultimate for your protection and in the immediate for the help of others.

Now, for those who have not had the financial backing to get some of these choice locations in suburban shopping centers, there will be an expansion of the lease guarantee program which, by the way, I initiated. That is one of my programs.

(Applause)

I held the very first hearings on the lease guarantee program as a member of the Senate Small Business Committee. I pioneered it. I introduced the original legislation.

Also may I say that to be stepped up under the Humphrey Administration will be the availability of low cost loans to help businesses that are forced to relocate because of urban renewal programs, and how many of you have been uprooted when somebody decided to put in a highway or you had an urban renewal program and you lost your location? A location is pretty important.

And yet, another step that I want to talk to you about is one that I think goes far beyond your immediate concerns as a druggist or a pharmacist. I want to talk to you about a number of things that are of higher importance than just the dollar. I have talked from the public platform about such matters of how to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and every mother and father in this audience has a concern about that.

Even today as I am speaking to you the Foreign Minister with the Federal Republic of Germany is meeting with the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union to talk about whether or not there is any way they can ease the tensions between those two great countries. Or within the last two months we witnessed the tragedy of the rape of Czechoslovakia. In the last years we witnessed the tragedy of war in Southeast Asia. Right now we are having to make decisions as to whether or not we are going to have to spend a \$100 million in a new arms race and every dollar will come out of your taxes. And after we have spent it, whether or not it gives us any more protection. Highly questionable.

So yesterday in talking to the United Press International editors, I outlined a program for them of at least an attempt, of at least an effort to try to halt this arms race before it starts to halt humanity, because as we build the specter of nuclear power and as those weapons spread to the Castros and to the Nassers and to others, which they surely will unless we can stop it, the level of danger in this world rises and I know that I am talking of people that are deeply concerned about their country.

There are no better citizens, none better, no more patriotic devoted citizens than the man or the woman that runs a retail establishment, that owns a piece of property, that pays his or her taxes in the local community, that supports the Community Fund and all the other activities, and I know that when I talk to the NARD in convention, that I am talking to a mighty good cross section of the best that is in America, and I want to appeal to the best that is in you today.

That is why I think that it is proper for me to say that we

need to be interested in many of the economic protections that we have in the new economics that keeps this economy moving, and it has been moving, and not a single thing that we want to do from here on out can be done unless we keep this economy growing. Recessions -- we hesitate to use that ugly word depression -- but recessions or slow downs are no longer just statistical facts. In a consumer economy, in a credit economy, they can be disastrous. And every one of us has a stake in it. And when I see my Republican opponent having as his chief economic adviser the man who gave advice during those other eight years of three recessions, I don't think that represents anything new.

I am very proud to say that the economic adviser of President Kennedy, President Johnson, and the man I brought to President Kennedy is from my own state of Minnesota, Dr. Walter Heller, and one of the great economists and fiscal experts of this nation, hired by the greatest banks of America to advise and counsel them, and comes to me free of charge, thank goodness, to counsel me and I look to him for advice and counsel.

Everything that we want is going to depend on whether or not we can keep America growing and if we can, we will have a trillion dollar economy by 1972 if we keep it at the same rate we are going now, a trillion dollar economy. And each year we will generate without a single increase in taxes an extra 15, 16, 20 billions of dollars of additional Federal revenues that can permit either tax reductions or to do some of the things that we desperately need to have done in America.

Now, I want to talk to you about one of the things that I think needs to be done. Oh, before I forget, before I forget, one of our fellow pharmacists whispered in my ear as I was coming up in the elevator, he said, listen, don't be afraid to get out there and tell them what is on your mind. Let them know where certain candidates stood on price stabilization measures, quality stabilization legislation, fair trade legislation.

Listen, I have taken more heat around this country for helping you pharmacists in fair trade than any ten men ought to take.

(Applause)

I have been accused of everything in the book.

Well, let me tell you why I was for it, because I run a drugstore. I understand what goes on. I am not writing books. I don't put out a newsletter. I have to look at a monthly account, a monthly audit. I have to pay salaries. I pay taxes. I take inventory. I know what it means to face a payroll. I do it every month, now. And I have been doing it every month since the death of my father. So, I know what it means.

And let me tell you discriminatory price practices are neither good for business or the consumer or the country. And when the chips were down and you needed me, I was there. And you didn't have to twist my arm. I twisted yours.

(Applause)

And my father before me. So I thought we would just spread that out on the record, too, but I got a letter, a copy of a letter here dated August 27, 1960, just eight years before my brother died, on the same date, who also fought the good fight for independent business, and by the way, if you are ever in South Dakota, the Humphrey Drugstore is still open. We are the last of the independents. We are still there and we are going to be there as long as I live. That name is going to be on that store.

(Applause)

I told my brother once when we were in rather a vicious price competition out there, I said, listen, let's stop giving our merchandise away. It is insulting to the merchandise.

(Laughter)

I said, if you have got to have -- if we have got to lose, let's go down in glory. Let's satisfy some people. Let's put a sign in the window and say bring in \$4 and we will give you five. That

way at least we can say that we did it with good old American currency.

But we didn't go down. We changed some of our merchandise, we upgraded the quality, we gave them the kind of service that a firm should give, and we are still there.

Let me tell you something. I am going to be the first pharmacist that audits the books from the White House for a drugstore (Applause)

Here is the letter from the Office of the Vice President, August 27, 1960. I wasn't there yet.

"Dear Mr. Forte" -- down at Baton Rouge, Louisiana -- "Some time has elapsed since you wrote to me concerning so-called fair trade legislation, and I want you to know that your letter did not go unnoticed. I share your view regarding dangers to our economy involved in this legislation. You may have noticed that you wrote that both the Justice and Commerce Departments have testified against such bills. In my opinion, fair trade or price fixing is inconsistent to a free enterprise economy. Certainly at a time when we are greatly concerned with high prices, the passage of fair trade legislation would contribute nothing to reasonable price stability or future economic growth. You may be sure that I appreciate having the benefit of your counsel on this matter. I am glad to have this opportunity to extend my best wishes."

Now, I want you to know the kind of letters I was sending out about that time. I was suggesting that one of the ways that we could preserve independent enterprise in this country was to at least have some kind of reasonable, reasonable balance in our economy, some kind of protection. After all, the worker gets it in a collective bargaining agreement. The farmer gets it in price supports. Other workers that are unorganized get it in minimum wages. The steel industry gets it through tariffs and quotas. But when you are running a drugstore or a grocery store or some little shop out here where most of the people are trying to make a living and very few get rich, they say you have got to just live up to Adam Smith.

Listen, Adam Smith is dead. And what we need to have in this country is a free enterprise economy that permits people to have enterprise, not just freedom to go broke, but freedom to make a living.

Now, I know things have changed but this is when the fight was on. My fellow Americans, if you are not going to keep score, if you are not going to keep score when the fight is on, then you can't expect anybody to stand with you when the next fight is on. You just have to make up your mind.

(Applause)

And I might add that while you are being told that you shouldn't have any help on reasonable prices you were also being taxed twice, a good deal more than you are being taxed, because in 1964 and 1965, tax bills were passed to reduce your taxes. In 1960 they were not. And in 1960 you were in the midst of the third recession taking jobs, taking income.

Well, I think we have got a bit of a record there and I intend to press it home.

Now, I want to talk to you about another matter. I know what it means to have a store stuck up or robbed. I know as a former Mayor of a great city what it means to have to combat crime. And I want to talk to you today now on crime and violence.

I am going to talk to the whole nation on it on Saturday and I want you to tune in. I am just going to touch it here today. But I am going to go into it in detail because there is a good deal -- I have forgotten the hour but there will be an ad in the paper. It is kind of hard to get television time and hard to get money for it.

This is one of the reasons, by the way, I would like to see the legislation passed that permits the Democratic nominee, the Republican nominee and the third party nominee to debate. I think you



you as American citizens are entitled to know what we have to say right from the same platform at the same time before the same audience under the same circumstances rather than each of us running around here hopefully giving you a speech and you will somehow or other forget what the other fellow says. I want a chance to be up here refuting what the other fellow says and I want him to have a chance to refute what I say if I am wrong. I am willing to take my chances and I think the American public deserves this of the candidates.

(Applause)

Quite frankly, I can't get any takers. But I am going to keep at it. That's the way you build a market, you know -- you keep at it. If you have got a good product, you keep working at it. If you have a bad one, you hide it under the counter. And I am not under the counter. I am behind the counter, and ready to do business.

(Applause)

I said I wanted to talk to you about crime and violence. I want to talk about it soberly and constructively. And I want to talk to you about how I think together we can get some results.

Crime is something that my opponents in this campaign talk about a good deal. In fact, all of the time, with considerable skill -- they appeal to the fears and the emotions of the American people. And with equal irresponsibility they neglect to

spell out what they would intend to do about this serious problem of crime and violence in our society.

I think I fully understand the growing concern, the deep unrest which the American people feel over the rising crime rate in America, over the threat of violence, over riots and burning and murdering and looting, mugging, and the narcotics traffic.

I know the dangers which small businessmen like yourselves face every day -- constant worry that perhaps your store will be held up today, or that your place of business will be burglarized at night, or that in a fit of emotion and passion that your area will be burned and looted.

And I know your courage and your determination to stay in your place of business, to serve your customers, to play a vital role, as I have said before, in your communities.

And I salute every one of you for this.

As a businessman and a citizen, you have a right to say -- "Alright, OK, Mr. Humphrey, what are you going to do about it?"

That is what I would like to spell out to you today.

The first thing I must tell you is that the President of the United States does not have the police power in this nation. Under the Constitution, under the 10th Amendment, the police power rests with the governors, the states, and the localities. And there is a reason for it. We have got enough power centered in the Federal Government without having a federal police force.

(Applause)

Now, the third party candidate says a lot about crime. That is his stock speech. He does not tell you however that, regrettably, that during his stewardship of his state, that the murder rate in the state was the highest in the land. Nor does he tell you that regrettably, that it had the second highest rate of assault, of high crime, aggravated crime. And he has never quite told us how he intends to fight crime as President of the United States.

I cannot accept as a program his oft-repeated solution of just running over people with his automobile as an answer.

And I notice that Mr. Nixon the other day said he could not accept it.

So we agree. It is no solution. It is an emotional outburst. And that is the last thing you need from a President who has on his desk, so to speak, the button that can detonate the nuclear weapon.

What you need in a President above all is stability. What you need in a President above all is a sense of maturity, a sense of restraint, confidence.

You do not need in a President of the United States someone who feels that there are simplistic answers to the most difficult questions that ever faced a society.

Last week Mr. Nixon made a statement on crime and it contained four major recommendations. I think I should note that prior to that, about two weeks before Mr. Nixon's statement, I had released our report on order and justice in America that specified 80 specific recommendations that could be carried out at federal, state and local levels to improve our law enforcement.

Well, Mr. Nixon's advisors forgot to tell you that out of these four recommendations, three of them are already in effect. A Cabinet level council re recommended. We have had that for better than two years to coordinate federal policy on the control and prevention of crime.

A National Coordinating Center. We have had that going for better than two years. And a National Academy of Law Enforcement. I bet that was news to Mr. Hoover. He thought he had one of those and I thought he did, too. In fact, when I was Mayor of Minneapolis I appointed as Chief of Police a man who took his training at the FBI Law Enforcement Academy. And we have more than tripled the resources for that Academy, and it is a good one.

Now, the only recommendation that was new, differed from existing programs, was to suggest a series of nationwide Town Hall conferences on crime prevention.

Now, I worried a little bit about that. I think that mayors and city councils might want to explore in their cities what more can be done and I have some suggestions. But these Town Hall conferences sound like rather a call for vigilantes or a little bit more talk about crime and that is something we don't need. The time for talking is over. What we need is action. And that is what I will give you as President.

I am the only candidate that can stand before the American people and say he did give action on the issue of law enforcement, and I have witnesses on this platform that have never been asked to testify but when I served as the Mayor of the City of Minneapolis,

in Minnesota, a city of over a half million people, and had the total and full responsibility for law and order, for managing a police department, for picking its officers, for disciplining its officers, or seeing to it that there was law enforcement, I guarantee you that the City of Minneapolis had it and no one has ever denied it to this day. And the President of this Association is one that can testify to it a thousand times.

We had organized crime. We had organized rackets. We had violence in our streets and we stopped it. I know that it can be done. I didn't get time to write a paper about it, that is all; I was too busy enforcing the law, and the people of my city felt they could walk home at night secure and were proud of our parks and you could walk in the parks, and we didn't let them settle kibir-management disputes and violence on the street; and we didn't have race riots on the streets. But we had law and order.

Of course, I did some things about it. I increased the salary of the police officers. I recruited some more police officers. I demanded discipline. I trained the police officers or had them trained, not only in how to use a gun but how to use their head; trained them in human relations and community relations; never let a man get on the Police Department that wasn't approved in



his neighborhood.

We organized 13 community councils in our city and every new patrolman before he could get off the probationary list to become a certified police officer had to be acceptable to that neighborhood-

We had precinct stations, too. You can't mechanize a police department totally. You have to humanize it. So there can be law enforcement.

But what happens is that my opponents in this campaign forget to talk about the additional resources that are urgently needed by state and local police. They fail to spell out a responsible program to reduce crime and violence. I think these bumper stickers

are O. K. that say "Support Your Police". That makes a good sign if you have right along side of it Humphrey and Muskie it makes it better. But I think they are all right.

But I say that he who refuses to support your local police with the additional resources, money and equipment, that man is a fraud, and that he refuses to support them at all.

You can lecture your police from here on out and you can get up here high and mighty and righteous and recite Scripture and it still won't get you law enforcement.

John Kennedy once said, peace and freedom are not cheap. Ladies and gentlemen, law and order are not cheap. If you want it, pay for it. You are paying for crime now through robberies and theft and burglaries and rape and mugging. The most expensive thing in this land today is crime. And we spend very little on preventing it or controlling it.

I happen to know that most of the localities have no additional revenue base. I have been a mayor of a city and I have been working the last four years with the mayors of cities. I have been with more mayors of the cities of the United States than any ten public officials put together. It has been my job.

I have had over fifty meetings with mayors across this country. I have met with legislative leaders and with governors and I know what some of their problems are. I am not trying to be critical of them. They are crying out for help. And I think it is time now that we did something to help them.

What do you see when you look at your local police. What do you find? You find that we have neglected and overlooked and short-changed our policemen for decades. Every police department with few exceptions in this country is undermanned and the men are underpaid. Most of them get two-thirds of a living wage and that is a fact, And all too many of them are undertrained.

We need more police officers, better trained police officers, higher selection of police officers, and much better training, and yet we give these men the most important job, one of the most important in our society, then we pay them below scale, so to speak, two-thirds of what is necessary to support a family.

We make them the agents of social order and rightly demand that they behave properly and lawfully, even in the face of extreme provocation from lawbreakers. They are always being accused of everything, but we rarely give them the kind of quality training

they know they need to do their jobs effectively.

We train a social worker, a librarian, a school teacher that works in the same neighborhood as the police officer, but when it comes to a police officer, we measure his biceps, his thighs, his chest, take his heart beat, see how strong he is and hire him. And he has all too little police training before he is on a job and he doesn't want it that way.

He wants to be trained. He wants and needs modern technical equipment, and he ought to have it.

We even tie up our best police officers with menial clerical work unconnected with the business of preventing, deterring and detecting crime.

Do you know what a police officer has to do today? If he arrests somebody on the street, he has got to take his time away from his family, unpaid, to go to court.

Now, what kind of nonsense is that? If he is going to follow -- the followthrough for a police officer is in the court where he can be there to testify but if he goes to court he goes there on his own, even though he has arrested that violator, even at the risk of his life, and you don't even pay him and I don't even pay him by our taxes to do the work, the clerical work and the testimony and all that it takes for effective prosecution.

To wage war on crime we need professional people whose training combines the highest standards, and this means professional programs. It means the best interdisciplinary training in crime prevention, crime control and the protection of human rights.

We need a police officer to know his rights and he needs to know yours. He has no right to brutalize you and you have no right to harass him. He needs to know what his rights are and what your rights are and it doesn't do any good to condemn the courts and the Attorney General because all they are doing is interpreting what your citizenship rights are.

Believe me, it is pretty important when you have got a big government like we have got now to know what your rights are. You had those investigators come in your stores, some of you. You better know what your rights are.

I have been around long enough. We have all been looked over one way or another. And it is important for people to understand that a government should not have unlimited power. And it is important therefore, for people to understand that a citizen's rights even when he is accused or even when he is apprehended, that those rights are protected, but it is also important for that person that does the apprehending and the law enforcement to know what his rights are and then you start to get a balance in this country.

(Applause)

I have some ideas. I think we are going to have to have at our universities much more training in law enforcement and criminal procedures. We are going to need schools of criminal justice just like schools of law or medicine. And I want to propose that the assistance necessary to bring the vital work of law enforcement and crime prevention to professional standing be a part of the Federal responsibility.

I have also proposed councils of civil peace that should be organized at the state and where possible the metropolitan level. Such a council would include representation from all racial, religious and economic groups in the state. The state Attorney General's Office, the National Guard, the law enforcement agencies, and the officials of local government.

Now, what could these councils for civil peace do? Well, they can provide a state community relations service designed to prevent violence and to gain community cooperation and to hear the voices of those who are not heard, and it could set up a coordinated early warning system so that coming disorders might be detected in advance and be stopped before they begin. It could establish a central communications network vital to effective law enforcement.

A council of civil peace ought to be in every state. Go home and ask your Governor to set one up. It would provide a way and a means for those who would be the innocent victims of violence to have an opportunity to forestall that tragedy and to bring to bear their knowledge, their information, and their sense of citizenship.

So you see, my friends, there are things that can be done.

There is the issue, for example, of fire arms, and most -- think of the hundreds of police that have been killed in the performance of their duty because of the promiscuous use of fire arms. I think that fire arm control, particularly in these urban centers, is of vital importance. We neither --

(Applause)

-- we neither protect ourselves or support our local police by condoning the easy access to these weapons by criminals, assassins and snipers, the mentally disturbed and the narcotic addicts. And that is what we are dealing with, my friends.

We are dealing with people that are ill and sick, people that have resorted to violence because they have lost either hope or they are the victims of addiction or they have become habitual criminals.

Congress has finally acted to ban the mail order and interstate sales of rifles, shotguns and ammunition, and the states should act to pass registration and licensing laws and if they don't, then the Congress should act.

Now, that has been my position. But I know it is not very popular out in the midwest. I know it is not at all popular in the far west. And I know I lost a lot of votes because of it.

So, Mr. Nixon hasn't taken a stand on this important question. But I want to tell you that we live in a time when we need to take stands. We cannot have the promiscuous sale of revolvers and shot guns and small arms and automatic weapons as if somehow or another they were a child's toy.

There is far too much guerrilla warfare activity going on in our cities now, far too much sniping, far too many killings, far too many police officers that are shot down in cold blood simply because they are trying to apprehend someone who is committing an unlawful act.

So I have to ask where does my opposition stand? Where do they stand? Why don't they speak out? Your life is at stake.

Now, I am not going to take the time to go through today, but I will on Saturday night, the things that we have learned how to control a riot, and riots can be controlled. Make no mistake about it. But it requires prompt, effective action, not any kind of hesitancy, and requires the closest coordination of federal, state and local authorities. It requires advance planning and it requires large numbers of men, and it requires mobilization of business and governmental facilities for community needs that must be met.

Remember that most of the people that are the poor people are the victims of the riots. Most crime takes place in the valley of the poor, by the poor, against the poor. And one thing that I am going to insist on when I am President of the United States is not only that we have law enforcement, that we have equal legal and law protection. You have far too few law enforcement officers in the area where people cry out for it.

Only recently in Watts, California, two thousand residents signed a petition asking for more police. Not long ago in Baltimore, Maryland, in the black neighborhoods, the people cried out for more police. Yet, you and I are led to believe that they are the ones that want to commit the crimes. The crimes they commit are generally against their own, themselves. But they are citizens of the United States and every citizen, tall or short, thin or fat, black or white, is entitled to safety and protection and a safe and decent neighborhood. That is what he is entitled to.

(Applause)



So you are going to hear a lot of campaign oratory. I am here to tell you that it is going to take money. I am here to tell you that it is going to take determination, and the next President of the United States is going to have to say to the Congress and to you that it is cheaper and better to pay the police, to train the police, to give them the equipment, to mobilize the resources that are necessary, than it is to just talk, talk, talk.

We don't need any more reports. Listen, ladies and gentlemen, we could fill up this stage with the reports on crime that we have. We have got all the statistical evidence that the computers can consume for the next ten years. What we need is action.

Now, we started with the Safe Streets Act last year and some of the loudest voices for law and order voted against it, or voted to cut down its funds. I could give you figures to prove, if you want a little politics -- and I have been giving you a little, I will give you some more -- that the top seven crime states in the country have Republican Governors. But I don't think it proves a thing. I don't think it proves anything to say that the Vice Presidential nominee of the Republican ticket, that his state has the fourth highest crime rate in the nation. He talks a lot about law and order. My Vice Presidential nominee has the fifth lowest. So, if you want to vote on who has the best rating, you have got to vote for him.

(Applause)

And I am happy to tell my fellow Minnesotans that we are in the lower ten -- we are in the lower 20 per cent.

So when it comes to crime, you take a look at New York, California, Maryland, and Alabama, and then take a look at Minnesota and Maine. Gee, we come out smelling like a rose.

(Laughter)

But I don't think that means a thing. All I think it means is it is just a statistics that you can use if you want to be mean and nasty and have a little demagoguery, because I don't think the Governors want crime and I don't think mayors do and they don't commit it. And I don't think Attorney Generals want crime.

Criminals commit crime. And those are the ones that we have to do something about. Campaign oratory has never caught a thief or stopped a riot.

The only question about civil peace in America is how do we best get it. And I have given you a few things and a few suggestions. People must obey the law and the law must be enforced. At the same time people must feel that the society of law in which they live offers them justice in the true sense. So, we have to keep moving on both fronts.

A gentleman handed me a note. I have got a lot of notes for this speech, I will tell you. A lot of people told me what to say up here and I decided I would say what I wanted to say.

(Applause and laughter)

One of the things that was suggested, and it makes some sense, was that you could capsule the subject -- this is the way he put it, saying this -- law and order without justice is like faith and hope without charity.

Now, there is another way to put it. We need to build communities and neighborhoods of law observance. We must support our police with dollars as well as with slogans. We have boys clubs and youth activities. Most of the crime in this country is committed by juveniles. As a matter of fact, my dear friends, there hasn't been any increase in adult crime in the last three years. But there has been a tragic increase in juvenile crime.

Over 80 per cent of all the crime in America is committed by young people under the age of 18, most of it under the age of 15, large amounts of it between the ages of six and 11. And I am not talking about wisecrackers. I am talking about serious crime.

Doesn't that tell you something about what is going on? Maybe we need to take a look at our schools. Do we have to close them up

at 4:00 o'clock? There are playgrounds and facilities.

Maybe we need to take a look at what is going on in youth unemployment. When you have an unemployment rate of black youth as high as 30 to 35 per cent in some cities, and I know of what I speak, you have trouble, and when you have an unemployment rate of teenage youth, white in some cities of 17 to 20 per cent, you have trouble.

When I was a boy I went to the drug store with my dad. So did you. Or you went to work. But that guy that is working in the automobile factory can't take his kid along to the job. And the person that is working for Fly Lilly in that laboratory can't take junior along to just kind of learn how to be a chemist. We don't do anymore, and because we want things, mother works and dad works and the kids are left home sometimes and the automobile is here and there is permissiveness, and you and I know it.

And then, there is that poor family where there is a woman that wants to work and she is -- there is maybe no man in the house, but there are children, and yet that woman wants to work, and so she leaves her kids in a filthy street. She goes off to do housework or clerical work or shop work and there is no day care center.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have got to do something about this because all the talk isn't going to do it. We are going to have to build day care centers so that if a mother wants to get off from relief, where she ought to, she can go to work and leave her child in a decent place and knowing when she comes home that that child has not been victimized, that that child hasn't been mauled, that that child hasn't been taught how to use dope. That is where the dope goes. And once the addiction starts, there is no end to it.

So you, my fellow druggists and fellow Americans, we have got a job on our hands. Support the police. Support our schools. See that those schools that you paid for are used. Get the padlocks off the gates. Let's find jobs for young people.

I have been chairman for four years of the Youth Opportunity Council in this country with little or no money. I didn't get a special appropriation from Congress. Once we got \$75 million in the whole four years, for the whole country. Ladies and gentlemen, we found a million two hundred and fifty thousand jobs a year ago for needy teenagers. I went from one end of this country to the other, didn't get an headline. Nobody was interested in that. They were much more interested in the demonstrations, much more interested in somebody carrying a placard rather than somebody having a work card showing that he was on a job. And we opened up our schools in 50 of the major cities of this land. This summer I had the top athletes of America training young people in athletics, free of charge. Olympic stars, baseball stars. Bob Gibson of the St. Louis Cardinals. Willie Horton of the Detroit Tigers,

(Applause)

doing a job. Really doing a magnificent job for young Americans.

We ought to have it in every city in America. You ought to go home and ask your mayor did you have a program or didn't you, of law and order.

We can have it. I ask you to help me get it. You give me a chance to lead this country, my fellow Americans, and we will not only lead it in terms of respect for the law and enforcement of the law but we will also lead it with an observance and respect for the human being. We will build safe neighborhoods. We will give kids a chance. And for those that are the law breakers, they will be dealt with quickly and firmly. For those that think that the way to cure our problems is to burn and loot, they will find that they can't get by with it.

For those that want to help and want to make something of their lives, they need a President that understands them, that is sympathetic with them. They need a President that wants to inspire them, not to repress them. They need a President that wants to lead them, not to shove them down.

And I want the chance in this country to inspire America to its greatness, to appeal to the basic goodness that is in this American community, because I think we are better than we act. I think we can do better than we have done. I think that our best days are yet to be lived. I think we haven't even touched the great availability of human resources that are here for good.

My fellow Americans, if we work together and if we banish from our hearts hatred and suspicion and bitterness and doubt, if we listen not to those that appeal to the passions but rather to those that appeal to our hopes, if we listen not to those that appeal to fear and despair but rather, those that appeal to hope and faith, I think we can make it.

I want, my friends in the drug -- in the National Association of Retail Druggists to be the community leaders in what I think can be a better day and a new day for America.

Thank you very much.

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NEWS FROM: The Democratic National Committee  
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Washington, D.C. 20037  
202-333-8750

Release for Wednesday PMs  
October 9, 1968

For Further Information:  
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DC-589

HUMPHREY PROPOSES SPECIFIC, STRAIGHTFORWARD PROGRAM TO COMBAT CRIME,  
CALLS ON RIVAL TO TALK SENSE ON THE ISSUE

Boston, Mass., October 9 -- Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey said today that he has offered a specific, straightforward program to combat crime while his rivals have relied on talk and slogans and have failed to propose the actions needed to give real support to local police.

Noting that police forces have been "neglected," "overlooked", "shortchanged," "undermanned," "underpaid" and "often undertrained", Humphrey declared "that he who refuses to support your local police with additional money, that man refuses to support them at all."

"And so when Mr. Nixon forgets in his statement to talk about the additional resources urgently needed by state and local police, he fails totally to spell out a responsible program to reduce crime and violence in this country."

Three points in Nixon's anti-crime program are already contained in existing programs while the fourth and only new point seems to call either for "vigilantes or for more talk about crime," Humphrey said.

Wallace likewise has no positive program and "I don't accept his oft-repeated solution of running people over with his automobile as an adequate answer."

Speaking to the National Association of Retail Druggists, Humphrey said small businesses benefit from Democratic policies of prosperity. The Democratic nominee said "I stand ready to reexamine the problem of price discrimination and update the Robinson-Patman Act for the protection of small business."

The text of his remarks is attached.

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REMARKS  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RETAIL DRUGGISTS  
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS  
OCTOBER 9, 1968

For Release: Wednesday PMs  
October 9, 1968

It is a special pleasure to be here today with men and women who are both my long-time friends and leaders in their communities.

And the pleasure is even greater because the National Association of Retail Druggists has shown the wisdom--and the sense of sound precedent--to choose a man from Minnesota, my good friend George Wilharm, as president.

With so many friends in this audience, I was a little surprised to read a poll the other day which said that Richard Nixon has the edge among the nation's pharmacists.

Don't worry. It's just a temporary indisposition, and I have a remedy which works pretty well.

First, just ask yourself what Richard Nixon has ever done for the small businessman.

Then think about those three job-killing, profit-cutting Republican recessions in the 1950's. You and I know that the people--the workers and housewives, the pharmacists and small businessmen--are the ones who feel the pinch in a recession.

By now you're beginning to feel a lot better about the Democrats--well enough to start asking some questions about what Mr. Nixon is prescribing this year.

I've been trying to find that out myself--without much success.

He won't debate the issues....He won't even discuss them in public.

Where does he stand on that treaty to keep atom bombs out of the hands of the Nassers and Castros of this world?

Where does he stand on fiscal reform to ease some of the burdens of the local taxpayer and the middle income taxpayer?

Where does he stand on small business?

Take the Robinson-Patman Act, for example.

That law seeks to protect the small businessman against abuses of economic power by the big chains...but it needs revision and modernization.

I stand ready to reexamine the problem of price discrimination and update the Robinson-Patman Act for the protection of small business.

What about Mr. Nixon?

Have you received one of his private letters?

I think Mr. Nixon has an obligation to speak out--publicly, and not in secret letters slipped under the door--especially when the interests of millions of small investors are involved.

I'm beginning to think Mr. Nixon is taking the American people for granted--and I say that is no way to run for President of the United States.

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Today I want to talk to you about a problem of real concern to the small businessmen...to all of us--the problem of crime. And I want to talk about it soberly...constructively...and I want to tell you how we can get results.

Crime is something Mr. Nixon and Mr. Wallace talk about all the time.

With considerable skill they appeal to the fears and emotions of the American people...and with equal irresponsibility, they neglect to spell out what they intend to do about the serious problem of crime in our society.

I understand the growing concern...the deep unrest...which the American people feel over the rising crime rate in America.

I know the dangers which small businessmen like yourselves must face every day...the constant worry that perhaps your store will be held up today...or that your place of business will be burglarized at night.

I know your courage and your determination to stay in your place of business...to serve your customers...to play your vital role in your respective communities.

And I salute you for all of this.

As businessmen you have every right to ask: "Okay, what are you going to do about it?"

That's what I intend to spell out today.

Mr. Wallace says a lot about crime. But he has, to the best of my knowledge, never bothered to say how he would fight crime as President of the United States.

I don't accept his oft-repeated solution of running people over with his automobile as an adequate answer.

Last week Mr. Nixon made a statement on crime. It contained four major recommendations.

Mr. Nixon's advisors forgot to tell him that three of them--a "cabinet-level council" to coordinate Federal policy on the control and prevention of crime, a National Coordinating Center and a National Academy of Law Enforcement--were already part of the Federal government's program to fight crime.

The only new recommendations made by Mr. Nixon--the only recommendation he had not copied, from existing programs--was to suggest a series of nationwide town hall conferences on crime prevention.

This sounds like either a call for the vigilantes or for more talk about crime. America doesn't need either one. The time for talking is over--we need action. And that's what I will give you as President.

No, we don't need any more studies...commission reports...conferences...seminars...or bull sessions on how to fight crime.



And so when Mr. Nixon forgets in his statement to talk about the additional resources urgently needed by state and local police, he fails totally to spell out a responsible program to reduce crime and violence in this country.

I think the bumper stickers are right..."Support your local police."

And I say that he who refuses to support your local police with additional money ...that man refuses to support them at all.

In present circumstances, these additional resources must come primarily from the Federal government. As you know well, our states and municipalities simply lack the tax base to support major increases in their law enforcement budgets.

When we look at our local police, what do we find?

We find that we have neglected and overlooked and shortchanged our policemen for decades.

Our police forces are undermanned...and the men are underpaid and often under-trained.

We give these brave men one of the most important jobs in our society. Then we pay them on the average of two-thirds of what is necessary to support a family in moderate circumstances.

We make them the agents of social order, and rightly demand that they behave lawfully in the face of extreme provocation from lawbreakers.

But we rarely give them the kind of quality training they know they need to do their jobs effectively.

We don't give them modern technical equipment.

We even tie them up with clerical work unconnected with the business of preventing, deterring, and detecting crime.

To wage war on crime in our modern society, we need professional people whose training combines the highest standards and the best interdisciplinary training in crime prevention, crime control, and the protection of human rights.

That means professional programs in our colleges and universities. Too few have them today.

I believe it also means new federally supported schools of criminal justice--like schools of law or schools of medicine.

As President, I would propose the assistance necessary to bring the vital work of law enforcement and crime prevention to professional standing.

\* \* \*

My Republican opponent has also avoided any discussion of one major issue which relates directly to reducing terror on our streets, protecting merchants from violence and murder, and innocent citizens from brutal attack--the issue of firearms.

. . . more

We neither protect ourselves nor support our local police by condoning the easy access to these weapons by criminals, assassins, snipers, the mentally disturbed, and narcotics addicts.

Congress has finally acted to ban the mail order and interstate sales of rifles, shotguns, and ammunition. If the states do not act promptly to pass registration and licensing laws, the next Congress must do so. This has been my position--I now repeat my support for such action.

But where does Mr. Nixon stand on this important question? He says he has spoken out on 167 major issues. Gun control is evidently not among them.

Finally, rioting in American cities must stop.

If there is looting and burning it must--and it will--be punished according to the laws against theft and arson.

As President, I would provide additional training for National Guard units in riot control, teamwork and planning.

I would maintain small, highly-trained National Guard riot control units on continual alert, for short-term service in any community.

And I would stand ready to respond to any legitimate call from states or cities for military manpower in the event of massive disorders.

These are the specific actions I would take as President to reduce crime and stop riots.

I could give you figures to prove that the top seven crime states in the country have Republican Governors -- and law enforcement in this country is primarily a state and local matter.

I could give you figures to prove that Governor Agnew's Maryland leads the nation with the highest murder rate in the nation.

But Governors...or Attorneys General...or Presidents do not commit crime. Criminals commit crime.

Campaign oratory never caught a thief or stopped a riot.

So let's talk sense about this issue.

The only question about civil peace in America is this: how do we best get it?

I have given you a specific, straightforward program.

People must obey the law. And the law must be enforced.

At the same time, people must feel that the society of law in which they live offers them justice in the true sense.

So we have to keep moving on both fronts. We can't let down on either.

PAGE FIVE

And so I appeal not to your fears, but to your reason.

I ask you to vote your hopes, not your hates.

I ask you to join me -- with faith in the essential greatness of this country--  
in building in America a society where the rule of law is supreme, and where the  
people live by that law -- because it is just.

I ask your help.

# # # #



## MASSACHUSETTS - ECONOMIC COMPARISON

The Voter's choice in November is between progress as represented by Hubert Humphrey and conservatism and stagnation as represented by Richard Nixon and George Wallace. It is a choice between a Democratic Administration and Congress which will continue the forward move and a Republican Administration and Congress dominated by conservatism which will return the country to the economic stagnation of the 1950's.

Between 1952 and 1960 the Republicans, while Richard Nixon was Vice President, proved they have learned little since the Coolidge-Roover days.

In the Nixon-Republican years, real gross national product (in 1968 prices) grew only \$113 billion. Between 1960 and 1968, under the Democrats, it grew \$264 billion, or 45%.

During the Nixon-Republican years there were three sharp recessions. Since President Kennedy was inaugurated, we have had 91 months of uninterrupted growth and prosperity, as reflected in jobs, reduced unemployment and in worker's income.

What has happened to the nation's economy as a whole is reflected in individual states. In state after state we find the same story. The state prospers or stagnates as the country prospers or stagnates.

In Massachusetts total personal real income (in 1968 prices) increased in the Republican years, 1953 to 1960, by less than \$3 billion. In the Democratic years from 1960 to 1967 it increased more than \$5 billion.

Per capita real income (also in 1968 prices) increased \$405 between 1953 and 1960 and increased \$793 from 1960 to 1967.

Consequently an average Massachusetts family of four had almost \$3200 more purchasing power in 1967 than at the end of the Nixon-Republican years. That is, while living as well as it had in 1960, such a family could in 1967 put a child through college.

Massachusetts farmers bore their full share of Republican policies. Real income per farm rose only \$68, or 2%, for the entire period 1953 to 1960. It rose \$1005 between 1960 and 1967, a 26% increase.

Much of the prosperity of Massachusetts during the Democratic Administrations has derived from better job opportunities. Non-agricultural jobs increased less than 65,000 between 1953 and 1960. Between 1960 and 1967 they surged ahead 218,000 jobs, more than 11%.

The great industrial centers of Massachusetts reflect the differences in Republican and Democratic policies in their unemployment figures. In 1961, 7 of the 8 metropolitan labor market areas in Massachusetts had over 6% unemployment. Three of them, Fall River, New Bedford and Lowell, had over 9% unemployment. In May 1968, none of the eight areas had more than 5% unemployment, and three of the eight were below 4%.

Education is one of the foundations of future prosperity and future freedom of America. The educational policies of the United States and the prosperity of Massachusetts are reflected in what has happened in the field of education here.

In the important area of vocational education during the Nixon-Republican years 1953 to 1960, enrollment increased only 5,000 students. But since the academic year 1960-61 enrollment in vocational education has increased by 68,000 to more than double the 1960-61 level.

Similarly, college enrollment rose only 41,000 between 1953 to 1960 but rose more than 100,000 between 1960 and 1967.

Only 9 new junior colleges were established in Massachusetts in the Nixon-Republican years from 1953 to 1960 but 16 have been established since 1960.

The prosperity of the United States is not an accident. Prosperity is not inevitable. The Republicans proved that not only back in the early 30's but they proved it again with Mr. Nixon as Vice President in the 1950's. Prosperity, stability and growth are a consequence of implementing sound economic policies. They are a consequence of a commitment to fulfill the directive of the Full Employment Act. The Democratic Party has proven in the past that it can fulfill its economic responsibilities. The Humphrey-Muskie Administration will not only continue that commitment but will expand and broaden it to encompass all of our people.

\* \* \* \* \*

| <u>Massachusetts</u>  | <u>1953</u> | <u>1960</u> | <u>1967</u> | <u>Republicans</u><br><u>Change 1953-1960</u> | <u>Democrats</u>  |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|---|-------------------|
| Total real personal income (1968 prices, \$ million)        | \$11,859    | 14,813      | 19,873      | +\$2954<br>+ 25%                              | +\$5060<br>+ 34%  |
| Real per capita income (1968 prices)                        | \$2468      | \$2873      | \$3666      | + \$405<br>+ 16%                              | + \$793<br>+ 28%  |
| Total Non-Agricultural employment (thous.)                  | 1845.0      | 1909.9      | 2128.3      | + 64.9  | +218.4            |
| Rate of unemployment  | NA          | 5.1%        | 4.2%        | NA  | -18%              |
| Net real income per farm (1968 prices)                      | \$3771      | \$3839      | \$4844      | + \$68<br>+ 2%                                | + \$1005<br>+ 26% |
|   | (1953-54)   | (1960-61)   | (1966-67)   |   |                   |
| Enrollment in vocational education (Fiscal year, thousands) | 62.6        | 67.6        | 135.6       | + 5.0<br>+ 8%                                 | + 68.0<br>+101 %  |
| College enrollment (Fall of year, thousands)                | 92.9        | 134.1       | 236.0       | +41.2<br>+44%                                 | + 101.9<br>+ 76%  |
| No. of 2-yr. institutions of higher learning (fall of year) | 10          | 19          | 35          | +9  | +16               |

\* \* \* \* \*

## SOCIAL SECURITY IN MASSACHUSETTS

(Excluding Medicare)

Despite the active opposition of the Republicans, Social Security legislation was passed by the Democrats and expanded by the Democrats in the 1940's and 1960's.

|  | <u>1953</u> | <u>1960</u> | <u>1967</u> |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| No. of retired workers receiving Social Security benefits (thousands)            | 151.1       | 293.0       | 414.9       |
| Average monthly Social Security payment to retired workers                       | \$54.20     | \$77.25     | \$99.47     |
| No. of beneficiaries receiving all types of Social Security benefits (thousands) | 226.0       | 500.0       | 692.7       |
| Total annual payments to all Social Security beneficiaries (\$ million)          | \$144.1     | \$412.6     | \$674.8     |

Massachusetts:

Urban Unemployment Under Republicans and Democrats  
Unemployment Rates in Labor Market Areas (Per cent)

| <u>AREA</u>         | <u>Republican 1961</u> | <u>Democratic 5/68</u> |
|---------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Fall River          | 9.5%                   | 4.2%                   |
| New Bedford         | 9.2                    | 4.3                    |
| Lowell              | 9.1                    | 4.9                    |
| Brockton            | 7.4                    | 3.6                    |
| Lawrence-Haverhill  | 7.4                    | 4.5                    |
| Springfield-Holyoke | 6.7                    | 4.6                    |
| Worcester           | 6.6                    | 3.5                    |
| Boston              | 4.8                    | 3.2                    |

Number of Areas Having  
Unemployment Rates of

|            |   |   |
|------------|---|---|
| 6% or more | 7 | 0 |
| 9% or more | 3 | 0 |
| 5% or less | 1 | 8 |



REMARKS

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RETAIL DRUGGISTS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

OCTOBER 9, 1968

*Geo Wilharm  
and family*

L It is a special pleasure to be here today with men and women  
who are both my long-time friends and leaders in their communities.

L And the pleasure is even greater because the National Association  
of Retail Druggists has shown the wisdom -- and the sense of sound  
precedent -- to choose a man from Minnesota, my good friend  
George Wilharm, as president.

With so many friends in this audience, I was a little surprised  
to read a poll the other day which said that Richard Nixon has the  
edge among the nation's pharmacists.

L Don't worry. It's just a temporary indisposition, and I have a  
remedy which works pretty well.

└ First, just ask yourself what Richard Nixon has ever done  
for the small businessman.

└ Then think about those three job-killing, profit-cutting  
Republican recessions in the 1950's. └ You and I know that the  
people -- the workers and housewives, the pharmacists and  
small businessmen -- are the ones who feel the pinch in a recession.

└ By now you're beginning to feel a lot better about the Democrats --  
well enough to start asking some questions about what Mr. Nixon  
is prescribing this year.

└ I've been trying to find that out myself -- without much success.

└ He won't debate the issues .... He won't even discuss them in  
public.

└ Where does he stand on that treaty to keep atom bombs out  
of the hands of the Nassers and Castros of this world?

Spe

**OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON**

August 27, 1960

Dear Mr. Fort:

Some time has elapsed since you wrote to me concerning so-called fair trade legislation, and I want you to know that your letter did not go unnoticed.

I share your view regarding the dangers to our economy involved in this legislation. You may have noted since you wrote that both the Justice and Commerce Departments have testified against such bills.

In my opinion, fair trade or price-fixing is inconsistent in a free enterprise economy. Certainly at a time when we are already greatly concerned with high prices the passage of fair trade legislation would contribute nothing to reasonable price stability or future economic growth.

You may be sure that I appreciate having the benefit of your comments on this matter. I am glad to have this opportunity to extend my best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Richard Nixon

Mr. Charles F. Fort, President  
Food Town Ethical Pharmacies, Inc.  
Post Office Box 2911  
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

--COPY--



└ Where does he stand on ~~fiscal~~ <sup>Tax</sup> reform to ease some of the burdens of the local taxpayer and the middle income taxpayer?

└ Where does he stand on small business <sup>the role of Small Business in American Enterprise</sup>?

└ Take the Robinson-Patman Act, for example.

└ That law seeks to protect the small businessman against abuses of economic power by the big ~~companies~~ <sup>conglomerates</sup> ... but it needs revision and modernization.

└ I stand ready to reexamine the problem of price discrimination and update the Robinson-Patman Act for the protection of small business.

└ What about Mr. Nixon?

← Have you received one of his private letters?

∟ I think Mr. Nixon has an obligation to speak out -- publicly,  
and not in secret letters slipped under the door -- especially when  
the interests of million small investors are involved.

∟ I'm beginning to think Mr. Nixon is taking the American  
people for granted -- and I say that is no way to run for President  
of the United States.

~~\*\*\*~~  
∟ Today I want to talk to you about a problem of real concern to  
the small businessmen ... to all of us -- the problem of crime *and Violence.*  
And I want to talk about it soberly ... constructively ... and I  
want to tell you how we can get results.

∟ Crime is something Mr. Nixon and Mr. Wallace talk about  
all the time.

∟ With considerable skill they appeal to the fears and emotions  
of the American people ... and with equal irresponsibility, they  
neglect to spell out what they intend to do about the serious problem  
of crime in our society.

└ I understand the growing concern ... the deep unrest ... which the American people feel over the rising crime rate in America.

└ I know the dangers which small businessmen like yourselves must face every day ... the constant worry that perhaps your store will be held up today ... or that your place of business will be burglarized at night. *or burned + looted.*

└ I know your courage and your determination to stay in your place of business ... to serve your customers ... to play your vital role in your respective communities.

└ And I salute you for all of this.

As businessmen you have every right to ask: "Okay, what are you going to do about it?"

└ That's what I intend to spell out today.

Mr. Wallace says a lot about crime. But he has, to the best of my knowledge, never bothered to say how he would fight crime as President of the United States.

↳ I don't accept his oft-repeated solution of running people over with his automobile as an adequate answer.

↳ Last week Mr. Nixon made a statement on crime. It contained four major recommendations.

↳ Mr. Nixon's advisors forgot to tell him that three of them -- a "cabinet-level council" to coordinate Federal policy on the control and prevention of crime, a National Coordinating Center and a National Academy of Law Enforcement -- were already part of the Federal government's program to fight crime.

Done

↳ The only new recommendations made by Mr. Nixon -- the only recommendation he had not copied, from existing programs -- was to suggest a series of nationwide town hall conferences on crime prevention.



↳ This sounds like either a call for the vigilantes or for more talk about crime.

↳ America doesn't need either one. The time for talking is over -- we need action. - ~~We have the Reports !!~~

We need Action - And that's what I will give you as President.

↳ No, we don't need any more studies ... commission reports ... conferences ... seminars ... or bull sessions on how to fight crime.

↳ And so when Mr. Nixon forgets in his statement to talk about the additional resources urgently needed by state and local police, he fails totally to spell out a responsible program to reduce crime and violence in this country.

↳ I think the bumper stickers are right ... "Support your local police."

↳ And I say that he who refuses to support your local police with additional money ... that man refuses to support them at all.

↳ In present circumstances, these additional resources must come primarily from the Federal government. As you know well, our states and municipalities simply lack the tax base to support major increases in their law enforcement budgets.

↳ When we look at our local police, what do we find?

↳ We find that we have neglected and overlooked and shortchanged our policemen for decades.

↳ Our police forces are undermanned ... and the men are *often* underpaid and often undertrained.

↳ We give these brave men one of the most important jobs in our society. Then we pay them on the average of two-thirds of what is necessary to support a family in moderate circumstances.

↳ We make them the agents of social order, and rightly demand that they behave lawfully in the face of extreme provocation from lawbreakers.

↳ But we rarely give them the kind of quality training they know they need to do their jobs effectively.

↳ We don't give them modern technical equipment.

↳ We even tie them up with clerical work unconnected with the business of preventing, detering, and detecting crime.

↳ To wage war on crime in our modern society, we need professional people whose training combines the highest standards and the best interdisciplinary training in crime prevention, crime control, and the protection of human rights.

↳ That means professional programs in our colleges and universities. Too few have them today.

I believe it also means new federally supported schools of criminal justice --- like schools of law or schools of medicine.

As President, I would propose the assistance necessary to bring the vital work of law enforcement and crime prevention to professional standing.

Councils for Civil Peace should be organized at the state, and where possible the ~~metropolitan~~ metropolitan level.

Such a Council could include representation from all racial, religious and economic groups in the state ... the state attorney general's office ... the National Guard ... law enforcement agencies and officials of local government.

It could provide a state community relations service designed to prevent violence and to gain community cooperation and hear the voices of those who have gone unheard. It could set up a coordinated early warning system so that coming disorders might



be detected in advance, and perhaps, be stopped before they begin. It could establish a central communications network -- vital to effective law enforcement.

A Council of Civil Peace could provide a way and a means for those who would be the innocent victims of violence to have an opportunity to forestall that tragedy and to bring to bear their knowledge, their information and their sense of citizenship.

L My Republican opponent has also avoided any discussion of one major issue which relates directly to reducing terror on our streets, protecting merchants from violence and murder, and innocent citizens from brutal attack -- the issue of firearms.

h We neither protect our selves nor support our local police by condoning the easy access to these weapons by criminals, assassins, snipers, the mentally disturbed, and narcotics addicts.

Congress has finally acted to ban the mail order and interstate sales of rifles, shotguns, and ammunition. ~~the~~ <sup>shined</sup> states ~~do not act promptly to~~ pass registration and licensing laws, <sup>and if</sup> ~~not then~~ the next Congress must do so. This has been my position.

~~I now repeat my support for such action.~~

But where does Mr. Nixon stand on this important question?

~~He says he has spoken out on 167 major issues. Gun control~~

~~But~~ As we seek basic and high priority solutions to these problems, we cannot tolerate lawlessness and riots. However great the grievance, we must face the fact that every riot is unlawful. This violence must and will be ended. It is harmful to the fundamental social goals we all seek.

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders made many important recommendations for the operation of the police, courts and jails as well as military resources in preparing for and dealing with riots. These recommendations must be implemented:

- When a riot occurs, there must be rapid introduction of sufficient manpower into the area for prompt action, including, if necessary, augmentation of the police force by adequate numbers of military -- National Guard or regular Army. The emphasis must be on additional men rather than on guns.

- Curfews should be established early and then systematically tapered off when conditions permit.
- Minimum force should be used, but arrests should be made rapidly and in sufficient number to stem the tide of violence; in other words, arrests rather than shooting.
- If necessary, tear gas or other nonlethal weapons should be used to contain violence.
- Police and military training for riot control is vital.
- Advance planning for the integration of local, state and federal forces is essential. There must be central command.
- Adequate communication must be provided for all forces.
- Access to and prompt evaluation of the necessary data is vital. We must know quickly what is happening, where, and how many persons are involved.
- Mobilization of business and government facilities for community needs must be swift. The victims of the riots will need food, housing, clothing and medical care.
- Advance planning must be undertaken for the administration of justice, adequate jails, and an adequate number of judges for the courts in order to process the cases.

Here

-- A central headquarters to provide authoritative sources of information should be planned. Dangerous rumors must be corrected as soon as possible. People must be given accurate and truthful information. This requires the cooperation of radio, television and press.

-- It is absolutely essential that TV, in particular, and radio and press secondarily, accept their responsibility in these riot situations to report the facts but not to inflame the situation further.

In the area of direct responsibility, the federal government should:

-- Provide additional training for the National Guard units in each state in riot control, teamwork, and planning.

-- Support small, highly-trained National Guard riot control units on continual alert, for short-term service in any community. These units should be directly controlled by the individual state governments or, where appropriate, by the community itself.

-- Stand ready to respond to any legitimate call from states or cities for military manpower in the event of massive disorders.



- See to it that training and proper equipment are available to criminal justice personnel responsible for controlling disorder.
- Encourage local efforts to bring into the control process the chief victims of riots -- the ghetto dwellers themselves.
- Continuously study, update and disseminate to local communities the latest information on control efforts.

B. Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime

America's best hope for significantly and continuously reducing crime is to cut into juvenile delinquency and youth crime. In 1965, a majority of all arrests for major crimes against property and a substantial minority of arrests for major crimes against the person involved persons under 21. In 1966, 70 percent of first offenders were under the age of 25. Recidivism rates for young offenders are higher than those for any other age group. Estimates indicate that one in every six male youths will be referred to juvenile court in connection with a delinquent act (excluding traffic offenses) before his 18th birthday. A significant change in any of these figures would result in a substantial, immediate and pervasive improvement in the national crime problem.

~~L And I would stand ready to respond to any legitimate call from states or cities for military manpower in the event of massive disorders.~~

L These are the specific actions I would take as President to reduce crime and stop riots.

L I could give you figures to prove that the top seven crime states in the country have Republican Governors -- and law enforcement in this country is primarily a state and local matter. (

< I could give you figures to prove that Governor Agnew's Maryland leads the nation in violent crime -- and that George Wallace governed a state with the highest murder rate in the nation.

L But Governors ... or Attorneys General ... or Presidents do not commit crime. Criminals commit crime.

Being here today is a special pleasure for me, because I am among men and women who both are my long-time friends, and who are leaders in communities across the land. And the pleasure is enhanced because N.A.R.D. has shown the wisdom of picking a man from Minnesota, my good friend George Wilharm, as president.

Four years ago, in San Francisco, I spoke to you -- as I had many times before -- as an old friend, and also as a candidate for Vice President of the United States. Today I speak again as an old friend, and as a candidate for the highest office in our land. And I hope you will invite me back again to speak to you as President of the United States!

With so many friends in this audience, I was somewhat surprised to read a poll contending that more of the nation's pharmacists favor Richard Nixon for President than support me. My surprise was not just because I am a pharmacist, and have so long advocated legislation to help them and other small businessmen.

My surprise was because I think the pharmacists who are for my opponent may have forgotten to ask themselves the question-- "What has Dick Nixon ever done for the small businessman?" -- aside from three recessions while he was Vice President.

That's a hard question to answer -- as are most questions about Mr. Nixon's specific positions on the key issues of this campaign. He's been so silent on so much that a pharmacist friend of mine suggested my opponent has been taking tranquilizers, and that his name should be Richard "Miltown" Nixon.

Now, ask yourself, what has Hubert Humphrey done for the small businessman, and -- in fact -- for all the American economy. In the four years since I addressed your meeting in San Francisco, our economy has continued the unparalleled expansion that began in 1961.

Our Gross National Product -- adjusted for price rises -- is \$703 billion a year, up \$215 billion in the eight years of the Kennedy-Johnson-Humphrey administrations. This means more spending by consumers in small businesses.

The average factory worker's wages -- again adjusted for price increases -- have risen more than 15% from 1960 to this year. This means a better standard of living for these workers, and more business for you!

And unemployment has dropped from the 1960 ~~Eisenhower-Nixon~~ <sup>Republican</sup> level of 7.5% to 3.5% of the labor force today.

This prosperity has brought more jobs, more customers, better products, greater demand, and more profits. And you have shared directly in our economy's growth. Last year, according to the Lilly Digest, the average self-employed pharmacist's pre-tax income -- salary and profits -- was \$23,888, up more than \$5,200 -- or over 31% -- from the 1960 figure.

Now, these figures may not be very important to a big Wall Street lawyer. But they are to me, and not only because of my many years of N.A.R.D. membership, and the fact that the Humphrey Pharmacy, in Huron, S.D., is in its 65th year as a family-owned enterprise. The economic progress you have made is important to me because small business is the keystone of America's prosperity. As small business goes, so does big business, and it's about time everyone in this country realized that!

Despite the progress that has been made in recent years, there is much more your government in Washington must do to help the small businessman. And it's going to be done in the Humphrey Administration!

One of my first priorities, as President of this nation, will be to seek a revitalization of that great work of legislation, now 32 years old, the Robinson-Patman Act.

And in striving to strengthen this Magna Carta of small business, I will work shoulder-to-shoulder with that great American who helped make it a law, Congressman Wright Patman.

This law no longer serves fully as a bulwark against vicious price discrimination. While still sound in principle and purpose, the Robinson-Patman Act cannot effectively cope with the newer, more sophisticated -- but no less deadly -- forms of price favoritism.



I have discussed this with Congressman Patman, and he agrees with me on the need to modernize the Act to outlaw every form of price discrimination injurious to small business. And he told me to call upon the pharmacists to spearhead this legislative campaign just as you did back in 1936 in passing the original Act.

Another thing the Humphrey Administration will do is strengthen and expand even further the Small Business Administration. I am proud to say that the number of loans made by SBA in the past five years is more than two-and-one-half times the number made in the preceding 10 years.

For those of you who have not had the financial backing to get some of those choice locations in suburban shopping centers, there will be an expansion of the lease guarantee program. It provides guarantees that enable small druggists and other businessmen to compete for shopping center sites. Also to be stepped up under the Humphrey Administration will be the availability of low-cost loans to help businesses forced to relocate because of urban renewal programs.

Yet another step the Humphrey Administration will take that will aid the small businessman is the launching of a unified, non-partisan, national campaign to meet the challenge of crime, and the paralyzing fear it produces. Perhaps more than any other small businessman, you druggists must feel that you can safely keep your stores open late at night for both the protection of the public health, and the convenience of your customers.

Because this is such a vital question, I am deeply troubled at the wild rhetoric some candidates are using when discussing crime, and their making it a partisan issue. Some candidates are using statistics on crime the way a drunkard uses a lamppost -- more to lean on than for illumination.

I could give you FBI figures that list the top seven crime states -- all with Republican governors. And figures showing that 23 of the 25 states with Democratic governors are below the national average in crime. And other statistics that show the state which has spiralled to number one in violent crime, and number two in aggravated assault and robbery, is Cal. Agnew's Maryland *Neo Wallace*

But those figures wouldn't mean a thing -- for crime is committed by criminals . . . not by governors, Republican or Democratic . . . <sup>not</sup> by presidents, Republican or Democratic . . . and not

by attorneys general, Republican or Democratic.

It is time to stop the double-talk, and instead to talk sense to the American people. I have a comprehensive program to strengthen state and local law enforcement agencies. I am solidly committed to more federal funds to be used locally to hire more police, pay them better salaries, and train them more effectively.

Mr. Nixon says nothing about money to strengthen local police. This key question of paying the bills for effective law enforcement is separating the leaders from the partisan politicians. Let me detail what I, as President, will do about the problem of crime.

My public career began as mayor of Minneapolis. When I took office, the city was racket-ridden. When I left for the Senate four years later, we had driven the rackets out. So I can speak to you with some authority.

I cleaned up Minneapolis by being fair, being tough, spending enough, and -- above all -- knowing the enemy .... knowing who he is, where he is, how he is supplied, his objective and tactics, his weak points, and what is needed to beat him.

First, who commits crime? It is mostly juveniles and young adults. Crime rates for adults have remained relatively stable, and the entire increase in the crime rate since 1960 was caused by persons under 18.

This shows that our tactics must be aimed at giving young people positive activities to lead them away from crime and violence.

\*\* We must develop new programs designed to strengthen family ties.

\*\* We must change our welfare system, which often disrupts rather than fosters family life.

\*\* Most schools close at 4 p.m. and over the weekend. We need constructive activities after classes -- for parents as well as children.

\*\* More extensive day-care centers would help working mothers provide a healthy environment for young children.

\*\* For older children we must provide a wide variety of constructive programs -- after school, during weekends, and throughout the summer.

Groups such as the police boys clubs know this, and have acted. These programs are just as important -- even more important -- than courts, police and prisons.

I have spent three years as Vice President heading a national project to give our young people -- especially forgotten youths of our slums -- the chance to hold a job, get to school, and compete in sports. I found that, given an even break, few kids are going to let you down.

In the long run, we can only cut crime by getting at its causes: slums, unemployment, rundown schools and houses. This is where crime begins and where it must end.

At the same time -- and with equal commitment -- we must press the battle on crime itself, and with all the resources at our command.

What are our forces? First, there are the front-line forces -- the local police who carry the burden of our battle against crime. Yet we have shortchanged our policemen for decades. Our police forces are undermanned. The men are underpaid and often undertrained.

We give these brave men one of the most important jobs in our society. Then we pay them two-thirds of what is necessary to support a family in moderate circumstances.

We make them the agents of social order, and rightly demand that they behave lawfully in the face of extreme provocation from lawbreakers. But we rarely give them the kind of training they need to do their jobs effectively.

We don't give them modern technical equipment. We even tie them up with clerical work unconnected with the business of preventing, deterring, and detecting crime. We don't adequately train them in community relations.

We just don't back them up. Is it any wonder that we often don't have the kind of law enforcement we want, demand, and deserve?

I am going to do something about it. As President, I will put the resources of the Federal government -- for the first time on a major scale -- behind our local police forces.

Second, we have our courts. We hear in some quarters today that the courts are causes of crime ... that they condone it. Courts are an easy target for anyone who wants to find an easy scapegoat to explain inaction.

Our courts are ethical and devoted to justice. Where our courts fail, they do so primarily because they are understaffed, overworked, and overcrowded. The solution is to give the courts the tools to do their job. And I will do just that.

The Federal government will support training and recruitment of court personnel, and we will make the criminal justice process in the District of Columbia a model for the nation.

Third, we have our correctional institutions. When 80 per cent of all people arrested are repeaters, these institutions are not providing adequate correction. Too often our prisons provide only custody, not rehabilitation.

They are not designed to help as many prisoners as possible and to protect society against the threat. They are not institutions to provide work and education ... but merely schools for crime. This must be stopped.

As President, I would propose that the Federal government provide assistance to our state and local correctional institutions -- while also doing a more effective job in Federal penitentiaries. We can and will rehabilitate offenders who can be returned to society to live productive lives. And we will protect the public from those we cannot cure.

The private citizen -- and especially you businessmen -- also can play a key role in reducing crime and delinquency, by offering employment opportunities to those seeking to return to a law-abiding life after a criminal conviction.

Reducing the number of repeaters is crucial to controlling crime. The National Crime Commission has pointed out that inability to get a job -- or the training needed to qualify for one -- often makes it most difficult, if not impossible, for those released from prison to avoid the pressures leading to a career in crime.

In some communities, businessmen have set up training programs in prisons to help develop

skills needed for particular kinds of work on the outside, and have guaranteed jobs in that field when the man is released. We must expand these efforts, for only in such ways can the costly cycle of lifetime careers in crime be reduced.

Local police, courts, correctional institutions, rehabilitation -- we can radically improve them all. But to cope with crime, we must go farther.

To wage war on crime, we need professional people whose training combines the highest standards and the best training in crime prevention, crime control, and the protection of human rights.

That means professional programs in our colleges and universities. Too few have them today.

It also means new federally supported schools of criminal justice -- like schools of law or schools of medicine. As President, I would propose the assistance necessary to bring the vital work of law enforcement and crime prevention to professional standing.

On the issue of crime in America there is no substitute for plain talk ... honest talk ... and responsible talk.

And so I put it plainly: rioting, burning, sniping, mugging, traffic in narcotics and disregard the law are the advance guard of anarchy. They must -- and they will -- be stopped.

And so I put it responsibly: The answer does not lie in attacks on our courts, or our laws, or law enforcement officials.

The answers lie in reasoned, effective action by state, local and federal authority -- each bearing its share of the burden ... each exercising its rightful responsibility to protect the lives and property of all our citizens.

We do not want a police state. But we must have a state of law and justice. I say the time has come to support our local police.

I say we must support them with action -- not with slogans.

We must support them with better salaries -- so they can raise their families in security and dignity. We must support them with better training -- so they have the skills needed to fight crime

successfully. We must support them with better equipment -- so they have the benefit of every technological advance.



⌞ We must support our police with effective gun control legislation -- for we know that the use of guns to murder in cities with weak gun laws is nearly double that in cities with strong laws. And know that of the 355 police officers murdered since 1960, 96 per cent were killed with guns.

⌞ And we must support our police by building communities and neighborhoods of law observance -- where citizens obey the law willingly because the law is just and because their lives have meaning and opportunity -- and that means jobs, education, training, and above all, a spirit of true community and equality among all our people.

⌞ And, in the end, we must support our police with dollars as well as with sense. Because all these things are not cheap.

⌞ Finally, I think it is time for moratorium on emotion and lack of reason when it comes to this issue. The only question about civil peace in America is this: How do we best get it?

⌞ I have given some suggestions today. And I guess my final summing up would be this: Civil peace is made up, in two equal parts, of order and justice.

⌞ My view on this subject can be capsulized in a saying I heard recently. It is this -- "Law and Order without Justice, is like Faith and Hope without Charity".

⌞ Of course we must, and shall, have law and order, but we can't have it with any degree of permanence unless it is founded fundamentally upon justice. ⌞ It is possible, of course, to have law and order by lining up the Army on the streets of our cities. But what happens when the soldiers leave? Order can be imposed by repression -- it has been at many times, in many places. Germany and Italy, under Hitler and Mussolini, had one form of law and order. The streets were safe, or reasonably so. But the means used was repression -- a dictatorship, based on secret police, with no citizen really safe.

⌞ That was law and order without justice, and a society without justice is not the kind of a society we can, or will, have in America.

Order and justice go together. You can't separate them. People must obey the law. And the law must be enforced. At the same time, people must feel that the society of law in which they live

offers them justice in the true sense.

So we have to keep moving on both fronts. We can't let down on either. And so I appeal not to your fears, but to your reason. I ask you to vote your hopes, not your hates.

I ask you to join me in building in America a society where the rule of law is supreme, and where the people live by that law -- because it is just. I ask your help.

(DAS -- 10/1/68)

∟ Campaign oratory never caught a thief or stopped a riot.  
So let's talk sense about this issue.

∟ The only question about civil peace in America is this:  
how do we best get it?

I have given you a specific, straightforward program.

∟ People must obey the law. And the law must be enforced.  
At the same time, people must feel that the society of law  
in which they live offers them justice in the true sense.

∟ So we have to keep moving on both fronts. We can't let  
down on either.

And so I appeal not to your fears, but to your reason.

I ask you to vote your hopes, not your hates.

I ask you to join me -- with faith in the essential greatness  
of this country -- in building in America a society where the

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rule of law is supreme, and where the people live by that  
law -- because it is just.

I ask your help.

# # #

DEM FOR HHH DC  
ATTENTION: GENE CARLSON

# BOSTON

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
NATIONAL ASSN OF RETAIL DRUGGISTS  
BOSTON, MASS.  
OCTOBER 9, 1968

IT IS A SPECIAL PLEASURE TO BE HERE TODAY WITH MEN AND WOMEN WHO ARE BOTH MY LONG-TIME FRIENDS AND LEADERS IN THEIR COMMUNITIES.

AND THE PLEASURE IS EVEN GREATER BECAUSE THE NATIONAL ASSN. OF RETAIL DRUGGISTS HAS SHOWN THE WISDOM -- AND THE SENSE OF SOUND PRECEDENT -- TO CHOOSE A MAN FROM MINNESOTA, MY GOOD FRIEND GEORGE WILHARM, AS PRESIDENT. (GEORGE WILHARM)

WITH SO MANY FRIENDS IN THIS AUDIENCE, I WAS A LITTLE SURPRISED TO READ A POLL THE OTHER DAY WHICH SAID THAT RICHARD NIXON HAS THE EDGE AMONG THE NATION'S PHARMACISTS.

DON'T WORRY. IT'S JUST A TEMPORARY INDISPOSITION, AND I HAVE A REMEDY WHICH WORKS PRETTY WELL.

FIRST, JUST ASK YOURSELF WHAT RICHARD NIXON HAS EVER DONE FOR THE SMALL BUSINESSMAN.

THEN THINK ABOUT THOSE THREE JOB-KILLING, PROFIT-CITTING REPUBLICAN RECESSIONS IN THE 1950'S. YOU AND I KNOW THAT THE PEOPLE -- THE WORKERS AND HOUSEWIVES, THE PHARMACISTS AND SMALL BUSINESSMEN -- ARE THE ONES WHO FEEL THE

INCH IN A RECESSION.

BY NOW YOU'RE BEGINNING TO FEEL A LOT BETTER ABOUT THE DEMOCRATS -- WELL ENOUGH TO START ASKING SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT WHAT MR. NIXON IS PRESCRIBING THIS YER.

I'VE BEEN TRYING TO FIND THAT OUT MYSELF -- WITHOUT MUCH SUCCESS.

HE WON'T DEBATE THE ISSUES .... HE WON'T EVEN DISCUSS THEM IN PUBLIC.

WHERE DOES HE STAND ON THAT TREATY TO KEEP ATOM BOMBS OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE NASSERS AND CASTRO OF THIS WORLD. ?

WHERE DOES HE STAND ON FISCAL REFORM TO EASE SOME OF THE BURDENS OF THE LOCAL TAXPAYER AND THE MIDDLE INCOME TAXPAYER?

WHERE DOES HE STAND ON SMALL BUSINESS?

TAKE THE ROBINSON-PATMAN ACT, FOR EXAMPLE.



7  
THAT LAW SEEKS TO PROTECT THE SMALL BUSINESSMAN AGAINST ABUSES OF ECONOMIC POWER BY THE BIG CHAINS ... BUT IT NEEDS REVISION AND MODERNIZATION.

I STAND READY TO REEXAMINE THE PROBLEM OF PRICE DISCRIMINATION AND UPDATE THE ROBINSON-PATMAN ACT FOR THE PROTECTION OF SMALL BUSINESS.

WHAT ABOUT MR. NIXON?

HAVE YOU (ULINE) RECEIVED ONE OF HIS PRIVATE LETTERS?

I THINK MR. NIXON HAS AN OBLIGATION TO SPEAK OUT -- PUBLICLY, AND NOT IN SECRET LETTERS SLIPPED UNDER THE DOOR -- ESPECIALLY WHEN THE INTERESTS OF MILLION SMALL INVESTORS ARE INVOLVED.

I'M BEGINNING TO THINK MR. NIXON IS TAKING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR GRANTED -- AND I SAY THAT IS NO WAY TO RUN FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

\* \* \*

TODAY I WANT TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT A PROBLEM OF REAL CONCERN TO THE SMALL BUSINESSMEN ... TO ALL OF US -- THE PROBLEM OF CRIME. AND I WANT TO TALK ABOUT IT SOBERLY ... CONSTRUCTIVELY ... AND I WANT TO TELL YOU HOW WE CAN GET RESULTS.

CRIME IS SOMETHING MR. NIXON AND MR. WALLACE TALK ABOUT ALL THE TIME.

WITH CONSIDERABLE SKILL THEY APPEAL TO THE FEARS AND EMOTIONS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ... AND WITH EQUAL IRRESPONSIBILITY, THEY NEGLECT TO SPELL OUT WHAT THEY INTEND TO DO ABOUT THE SERIOUS PROBLEM OF CRIME IN OUR SOCIETY.

I UNDERSTAND THE GROWING CONCERN ... THE DEEP UNREST ... WHICH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FEEL OVER THE RISING CRIME RATE IN AMERICA.

I KNOW THE DANGERS WHICH SMALL BUSINESSMEN LIKE YOURSELVES MUST FACE EVERY DAY ... THE CONSTANT WORRY THAT PERHAPS YOUR STORE WILL BE HELD UP TODAY .. OR THAT YOUR PLACE OF BUSINESS WILL BE BURGLARIED AT NIGHT.

I KNOW YOUR COURAGE AND YOUR DETERMINATION TO STAY IN YOUR PLACE OF BUSINESS ... TO SERVE YOUR CUSTOMERS ... TO PLAY YOUR VITAL ROLE IN YOUR RESPECTIVE COMMUNITIES.

AND I SALUTE YOU FOR ALL OF THIS.

AS BUSINESSMEN YOU HAVE EVERY RIGHT TO ASK: "OKAY, WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?"

THAT'S WHAT I INTEND TO SPELL OUT TODAY.

MR. WALLACE SAYS A LOT ABOUT (ULINE) CRIME. BUT HE HAS, TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE, NEVER BOTHERED TO SAY HOW HE WOULD FIGHT CRIME AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

I DON'T ACCEPT HIS OFT-REPEATED SOLUTION OF RUNNING PEOPLE OVER WITH HIS AUTOMOBILE AS AN ADEQUATE ANSWER.

LAST WEEK MR. NIXON MADE A STATEMENT ON CRIME. IT CONTAINED FOUR MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS.

MR. NIXON'S ADVISORS FORGOT TO TELL HIM THAT THREE OF THEM -- A "CABINET-LEVEL COUNCIL" TO COORDINATE FEDERAL POLICY ON THE CONTROL AND PREVENTION OF CRIME, A NATIONAL COORDINATING CENTER AND NA A NATIONAL ACADEMY OF LAW ENFORCEMENT -- WERE ALREADY PART OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAM TO FIGHT CRIME.

THE ONLY NEW RECOMMENDATIONS MADE BY MR. NIXON -- THE ONLY RECOMMENDATION HE HAD NOT COPIED, FROM EXISTING PROGRAMS -- WAS TO SUGGEST A SERIES OF NATIONWIDE TOWN HALL CONFERENCES ON CRIME PREVENTION

THIS SOUNDS LIKE EITHER A CALL FOR THE VIGILANTES OR FOR MORE TALK ABOUT CRIME.

AMERICA DOESN'T NEED EITHER ONE. THE TIME FOR TALKING IS OVER -- WE NEED ACTION.

AND THAT'S WHAT I WILL GIVE YOU AS PRESIDENT.

NO, WE DON'T NEED ANY MORE STUDIES ... COMMISSION REPORTS ... CONFERENCES ... SEMINARS...ORBULL SESSIONS ON HOW TO FIGHT CRIME.

AND SO WHEN MR. NIXON FORGETS IN HIS STATEMENT TO TALK ABOUT THE ADDITIONAL RESOURCES URGENTLY NEEDED BY STATE AND LOCAL POLICE, HE FAILS TOTALLY TO SPELL OUT A RESPONSIBLE PROGRAM TO REDUCE CRIME AND VIOLENCE IN THIS COUNTRY.

I THINK THE BUMPER STICKERS ARE RIGHT ... "SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL POLICE."

AND I SAY THAT HE WHO REFUSES TO SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL POLICE WITH ADDITIONAL MONEY ... THAT MAN REFUSES TO SUPPORT THEM AT ALL.

IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, THESE ADDITIONAL RESOURCES MUST COME PRIMARILY FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. AS YOU KNOW WELL, OUR STATES AND MUNICIPALITIES SIMPLY LACK THE TAX BASE TO SUPPORT MAJOR INCREASES IN THEIR LAW ENFORCEMENT BUDGETS.

WHEN WE LOOK AT OURLOCAL POLICE, WHAT DO WE FIND?

WE FIND THAT WE HAVE NEGLECTED AND OVERLOOKED AND SHORTCHANGED OURPOLICEMENFOR DECADES.

OUR POLICE FORCES AREUNDERMANNED ... AND THE MEN ARE UNDERPAID AND OFTEN UNDERTRAINED.

WE GIVE THESE BRAVE MEN ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT JOBS IN OUR SOCIETY. THEN WE PAY THEM ON THE AVERAGE OF TWO-THIRDS OF WHAT IS NECESSARY TO SUPPORT A FAMILY IN MODERATE CIRCUMSTANCES.

WE MAKE THEM THE AGENTS OF SOCIAL ORDER, AND RIGHTLY DEMAND THAT THEY BEHAVE LAWFULLY IN THE FACE OF EXTREME PROVOCATION FROM LAWBREAKERS.

BUT WE RARELY GIVE THEM THE KIND OF QUALITY TRAINING THEY KNOW THEY NEED TO DO THEIR JOBS EFFECTIVELY.

WE DON'T GIVE THEM MODERN TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT.

WE EVEN TIE THEM UP WITH CLERICAL WORK UNCONNECTED WITH THE BUSINESS OF PREVENTING, DETERRING, AND DETECTING CRIME.

TO WAGE WAR ON CRIME IN OUR MODERN SOCIETY WE NEED PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE WHOSE TRAINING COMBINES THE HIGHEST STANDARDS AND THE BEST INTERDISCIPLINARY TRAINING IN CRIME PREVENTION, CRIME CONTROL, AND THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THAT MEANS PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMS IN OUR COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES. TOO FEW HAVE THEM TODAY.

I BELIEVE IT ALSO MEANS NEW FEDERALLY SUPPORTED SCHOOLS OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE -- LIKE SCHOOLS OF LAW OR SCHOOLS OF MEDICINE.

AS PRESIDENT, I WOULD PROPOSE THE ASSISTANCE NECESSARY TO BRING THE VITAL WORK OF LAW ENFORCEMENT AND CRIME PREVENTION TO PROFESSIONAL STANDING.

\* \* \*

MY REPUBLICAN OPPONENT HAS ALSO AVOIDED ANY DISCUSSION OF ONE MAJOR ISSUE WHICH RELATES DIRECTLY TO REDUCING TERROR ON OUR STREETS, PROTECTING MERCHANTS FROM VIOLENCE AND MURDER, AND INNOCENT CITIZENS FROM BRUTAL ATTACK -- THE ISSUE OF FIREARMS.

WE NEITHER PROTECT OURSELVES NOR SUPPORT OUR LOCAL POLICE BY CONDONING THE EASY ACCESS TO THESE WEAPONS BY CRIMINALS, ASSASSINATING, SNIPERS, THE MENTALLY DISTURBED, AND NARCOTICS ADDICTS.

CONGRESS HAS FINALLY ACTED TO BAN THE MAIL ORDER AND INTERSTATE SALES OF RIFLES, SHOTGUNS, AND AMMUNITION. IF THE STATES DO NOT ACT PROMPTLY TO PASS REGISTRATION AND LICENSING LAWS, THE NEXT CONGRESS MUST DO SO. THIS HAS BEEN MY POSITION -- I NOW REPEAT MY SUPPORT FOR SUCH ACTION.

BUT WHERE DOES MR. NIXON STAND ON THIS IMPORTANT QUESTION? HE SAYS HE HAS SPOKEN OUT ON 167 MSL-WSY[ILLEGIBLE]. GUN CONTROL IS EVIDENTLY NOT AMONG THEM.

FINALLY, RIOTING IN AMERICAN CITIES MUST STOP.

IF THERE IS LOOTING AND BURNING IT MUST -- AND IT WILL -- BE PUNISHED ACCORDING TO THE LAWS AGAINST THEFT AND ARSON.

AS PRESIDENT, I WOULD PROVIDE ADDITIONAL TRAINING FOR NATIONAL GUARD UNITS IN RIOT CONTROL, TEAMWORK AND PLANNING.

I WOULD MAINTAIN SMALL, HIGHLY TRAINED NATIONAL GUARD RIOT CONTROL UNITS ON CONTINUAL ALERT, FOR SHORT-TERM SERVICE IN ANY COMMUNITY.

AND I WOULD STAND READY TO RESPOND TO ANY LEGITIMATE CALL FROM STATES OR CITIES FOR MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE EVENT OF MASSIVE DISORDERS.

THESE SPECIFIC ACTIONS I WOULD TAKE AS PRESIDENT TO REDUCE CRIME AND STOP RIOTS.

I COULD GIVE YOU FIGURES TO PROVE THAT THE TOP SEVEN CRIME STATES IN THE COUNTRY HAVE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS-- AND LAW ENFORCEMENT IN THIS COUNTRY IS PRIMARILY A STATE AND LOCAL MATTER.

I COULD GIVE YOU FIGURES TO PROVE THAT GOVERNOR AGNEW'S MARYLAND LEADS THE NATION IN VIOLENT CRIME -- AND THAT GEORGE WALLACE GOVERNED A STATE WITH THE HIGHEST MURDER RATE IN THE NATION.

BUT GOVERNORS ... OR ATTORNEYS GENERAL .. OR PRESIDENTS DO NOT COMMIT CRIME. CRIMINALS COMMIT CRIME.

CAMPAIGN ORATORY NEVER CAUGHT A THIEF OR STOPPED A RIOT.

SO LET'S TALK SENSE ABOUT THIS ISSUE.

THE ONLY QUESTION ABOUT CIVIL PEACE IN AMERICA IS THIS: HOW DO WE BEST GET IT?

I HAVE GIVEN YOU A SPECIFIC, STRAIGHTFORWARD PROGRAM.

PEOPLE MUST OBEY THE LAW. AND THE LAW MUST BE ENFORCED.

AT THE SAME TIME, PEOPLE MUST FEEL THAT THE SOCIETY OF LAW IN WHICH THEY LIVE OFFERS THEM JUSTICE IN THE TRUE SENSE.

SO WE HAVE TO KEEP MOVING ON BOTH FRONTS. WE CAN'T LET DOWN ON EITHER.

AND SO I APPEAL NOT TO YOUR FEARS, BUT TO YOUR REASON.

I ASK YOU TO VOTE YOUR HOPES, NOT YOUR HATES.

I ASK YOU TO JOIN ME -- WITH FAITH IN THE ESSENTIAL GREATNESS OF THIS COUNTRY -- IN BUILDING IN AMERICA A SOCIETY WHERE THE RULE OF LAW IS SUPREME, AND WHERE THE PEOPLE LIVE BY THAT LAW -- BECAUSE IT IS JUST.

I ASK YOU HELP.

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END OF TEXT FOR BOSTON.



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