

NEWS FROM: DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
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HUMPHREY HAILS COLLEGE OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE AS
POINTING WAY TO BETTER POLICE PROTECTION

New York, N. Y., October 11 -- Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey today hailed the John Jay College of Criminal Justice here for meeting "the need for better educated, better trained, more professional policemen."

But he pointed out that police officers in many departments lack access to such training in liberal arts or police science."

Reemphasizing his view that real support of police requires money and action rather than talk and slogans, Humphrey said "I will propose meaningful Federal assistance for local police. And I mean support of salaries, training and modern equipment."

He pointed out that he had been backing these goals since 1945 when he became Mayor of Minneapolis. As Mayor his policy was for law enforcement of such a character that people said of police officers walking the street 'There goes a good man.'

"My objective hasn't changed. I pledge my support to America's police departments ... I want it said of every police officer in this country: 'Now there goes a good man.'"

The text of his remarks is attached.

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
JOHN JAY COLLEGE OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE
OCTOBER 11, 1968

The John Jay College of Criminal Justice -- part of the City University of New York. Think of it: A college education in the liberal arts -- open to any New York City policeman -- specialized undergraduate and graduate education in scientific crime detection and prevention and law enforcement.

One of America's greatest needs is being met here -- the need for better educated, better trained, more professional policemen.

I have been fighting for better education and training for police officers -- and better salaries and stronger community support -- for a long time. Since 1945, as a matter of fact, when I was elected Mayor of Minneapolis.

That Police Department in Minneapolis was a fine one, filled with fine men, led by fine men, and they had my unflagging and dedicated support. And I think I had theirs.

They knew that I was committed to upholding the law and that I was committed to upholding them.

I helped build public support for that Police Department, but they really did it themselves -- by the fair and effective way they operated.

I want to say something about how I supported the police in Minneapolis, because it says a great deal, in fairly specific terms, about how I look at order and justice -- and how I intend to strengthen our police departments, and strengthen the impartial and complete enforcement of the law, if I am sentenced to the White House in November.

Back in the war years, Minneapolis was known as a bigoted town. It was an anti-semitic town. It was a town that repressed any aspirations that imaginative and courageous Negroes had about attaining some of that equality we talk about.

Page Two

We talked about it on the Fourth of July and then put it back in mothballs until next summer.

To help the City deal with that problem, I set up a Mayor's Human Relations Commission, one of the first in the country.

Now, the sensitive and imaginative officers in the Police Department realized, as I did, that the police had to lead the way in this effort, so we initiated a police training course in human relations -- the first in the United States.

That background will give you an idea of why I admire this college -- a police college with courses in sociology, psychology, anthropology and religion.

But what about the police departments large and small all over the country that have no access to education in either the liberal arts or police science?

What about the Americans who still think that law observance and law enforcement comes cheap?

This is one problem I intend to tackle if I am your next President. Indeed, I can think of few problems more urgent.

I will propose meaningful federal assistance for local police. And I mean support for salaries, training and modern equipment.

But, as you know, it's not just law enforcement; it's also law observance.

When I was Mayor of Minneapolis, I told my policemen, "Anybody can enforce the law, but we want law observance. Anyone can enforce the law by frightening people, but I want you to be able to walk down the street and have people say, 'There goes a good man.'"

My objective hasn't changed. I pledge my support to America's police departments and I can document this support right back to 1945. I want it said of every police officer in this country: "Now there goes a good man."

That will be my goal as President of the United States.

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TRANSCRIPT

JOHN JAY COLLEGE

GEORGE BALL, Senior Foreign Policy Advisor to Vice President Humphrey
NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK

OCTOBER 11, 1968

EXCERPTS FROM QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

Q: Mr. Ambassador, you were known as the official dove in residence at one time. I was wondering whether your former colleagues had undergone any sort of agonizing re-appraisal of earlier decisions in Vietnam?

A: There is a lot of history behind this. We have to separate two things. I think we have to separate the question of whether we should have ever gotten into Vietnam on which men can have differing views. I have expressed my view. I have always thought it was a mistake. I expressed that view when I was in the government. I have written a book since then in which I have expressed the view also. I think that is one thing. The second thing is what do we do about it now, which is the practical situation this country is confronted with. My own view, and I think I can say with a good deal of assurance that I'm reflecting the views of the Vice President too, we did a lot of thinking together on this problem during the period that we served together in the United States government. My own view is that this is a problem which has to be disposed of as quickly as possible. I know if the Vice President becomes President he will put this at the very top of his list of priorities -- to reach a political conclusion of the South Vietnamese struggle just as fast as he can so that our attention can be turned to other of the larger problems around the world without having to continue to conduct a shooting war in Southeast Asia in which Americans are being killed in which American resources are being spent and to which American attention is being so seriously deflected. Now how to do this. Obviously at this late state I don't think anyone wants to turn and run. Certainly the Vice President doesn't and I don't. Nor is it necessary. Personally, I think that an honorable settlement can be worked out and that it can be worked out fairly early in the term of Vice President Humphrey if he is President -- I can't speak on what any other President might do. And I think it can be worked out on terms which the American people will feel have fulfilled their obligations there. I am more optimistic than most, but I have dealt with the problem for seven long years. I think that the problem of getting into substantive negotiations is one where any new President is going to have to make his own decisions. This is what the Vice President has indicated he will do. I think he has a clear course as to what can be done once he becomes President. When we are talking about the whole question of foreign policy, we may be talking about electing a President for at least four years primarily in terms of what he will do within the relatively early months of his administration. And without regard to the very critical and dangerous and complex problems which he may face just a little bit later. And I have reference particularly to the problems in Central Europe because I think Czechoslovakia had a far more profound meaning than most people have appreciated up to now. But as for Vietnam, I think I could make a very firm prediction to you -- that within the relatively early months of the Administration of President Humphrey there can be a major breakthrough toward substantive negotiations and that we can get very far down the road toward an honorable settlement.

Q: Ambassador Ball, would that breakthrough he related to a bombing halt?

A: Obviously that is one aspect. There is no question and I think the Vice President has made his views very clear in the Salt Lake City speech which he gave on this that what he is looking for is some indication of good faith. He suggested the possibility of observing what happens in the de-militarized zone. The North Vietnamese could pull their forces out of the de-militarized zone without any loss of face on their side because they have never admitted they had any in there. This is something that could be given as a gesture. It is not the only token of good faith, the only sign of good faith which needs to be shown. Other clearer indications would be sufficient from the Vice President's point of view. But in any event I think I can say with a good deal of assurance that if he becomes President we can be in substantive negotiations quite quickly and we can reach an honorable solution within a fairly early period in his term.

Q: Mr. Ambassador, although the Democratic candidate for the United States Senate for the State of New York is not supporting the Vice President, would he not build a bridge to the McCarthy and Kennedy supporters if he would endorse Mr. O'Dwyer?

A: Again, I am at a disadvantage on this point. I don't know what conversations the Vice President may have had with Paul O'Dwyer or what the relationship may be, but let me say that as far as people who did support Senator McCarthy or Senator McGovern or those who were supporting my good friend, Bobby Kennedy, there is every desire on the part of the Vice President to see a united party. And I don't think that the views that he has expressed are in any way incompatible with the objectives of party unity.

Q: I understand that there is a great deal of discussion about quality of arms for NATO rather than quantity. Can you give me some indication of the views of the Vice President on this?

A: There are problems of the qualitative upgrading of the NATO arms. This is a problem which is complicated by the fact that the Europeans obviously for their own reasons would like to have some part in the equipping of their own forces. There have been efforts to standardize on so-called NATO arms which are built to common specifications. We are in a situation right now where a number of the European contingents are understrength and under equipped. What this means more than anything else is a new determination on the part of the European governments to spend more on their military contribution than they have been willing up until now to do. A very big drive has to be made to bring about a different common measure of effort as far as NATO goes which means really providing the resources to make possible the kind of more sophisticated and more effective equipment than we now have.

Q: The Vice President has advocated selling planes to Israel. Do you not believe that this may wind up in another arms race and another involvement of United States troops in the Middle East?

A: He said two things. He has said that in order to restore a balance in the arms situation that the 50 Phantom jets that Israel has been asking for we should go ahead with. But much more than that if we are ever to have any real peace and stability in that area there has to be some form of control over the infusion of arms into the area. This means that the principal arms suppliers have to get together. The two principal arms suppliers are the Soviet Union on the one hand, historically France which has been a very big arms supplier to Israel but which has stopped following the June War. The United States which has provided only those arms which were needed to keep an imbalance from being created which would almost certainly be an invitation to aggression. I think the problem therefore is two-fold. In the longer run the solution can only come about through an agreed peace -- an agreed peace which must reflect not merely something imposed on the parties but something which the parties accept. Hopefully, some progress is being made on this. The speech which the Israeli foreign minister, Mr. Eban, made the other day is a step forward. Up to this point the Israeli government had not expressed any very concrete ideas on what peace might be like. We have working on this problem as the agent of the Security Council, a very experienced Swedish diplomat, Mr. Gunnar Jarring. He's worked for about 10 months on this so far and he is making some progress. Right now in a sense is the critical time as far as the solution of the Middle Eastern problems are concerned because of the fact that all of the Foreign Ministers are here. They're all here. They're able to consult, if they will, without being in the full glare of the Kleig lights which happens if they have to move from one capital to another and they have the very active assistance of Dr. Jarring and the encouragement of all the other nations that are here. And I would hope that between now particularly in the mystical date which is the 22nd of November which is the anniversary of the resolution which was passed by the Security Council a year ago when Dr. Jarring was appointed and that between now and the 22nd of November some real progress can be made toward reaching an agreement. This isn't easy because passions are very high, as I need not remind you, and the problems are complex and there has to be substantial accommodation on each side and that hasn't been forthcoming yet, but progress is being made. From having watched this problem for a very long time very closely, I would think that we may well be at a point where, given very good luck, much can be done not through the General Assembly but just the fact that these people are here at the time on the occasion of the General Assembly to move the whole problem toward some kind of resolution. Now that is the first problem -- how to find peace. The second problem goes along with that. Once peace is established the arms race begins to lose its significance because the pressures behind it are not the same. And I would hope that simultaneously with the development of peace in the area there can be an agreement among the arms supply nations. The Soviet Union has said they are prepared to do this. Let's see if there is really good faith behind it. It's not at all clear that there is but it must be explored.

Q: How do you feel about the issues of this campaign?

A: Well, I feel very deeply about the issues in this campaign and wouldn't have left my post and let me tell you my own thinking which led me to do that. I have expressed this a bit in the past, but I am convinced that the one thing that the people of the world and I say of the world, the entire world, are more preoccupied with, right now, than almost any issue is whose going to lead the greatest nation. Just before I resigned from my post at the United Nations, I was in Europe; I talked to a number of my old friends in governments there. The great preoccupation was whose going to be the leader of the United States because this is the all important question from their point of view. They look to this country for leadership; they look to this country to provide the wisdom and stability to maintain the peace and I said to myself: "You have important responsibilities at the United Nations. They're not responsibilities that other men can't fill because there are other highly informed men in this country, in the United States. What should you be concentrating on that can be of the greatest benefit to your country and to the world?" And the answer came back very clear as far as I was concerned that I wanted to have a role in trying to persuade the American people that the man I envisioned as being by far the best equipped was elected to this post. I think that this is going to happen inspite of the rather gloomy predictions in the polls. They haven't yet reflected the situation after the Salt Lake City speech which I think was a turning point in Vice President Humphrey's campaign. But you asked me for my own ideas of what the issues aretake over people territory by force; they have. And the instances that you cite, of Korea, Vietnam and so on, are instances where there has been some effort to expand the perimeter of Communist power by force which has not been what we're interested in at all. Now actually I think that if you look at the records of the two sides -- the records of the West and particularly of the United States has been extremely good. Over the years there's been a succession of communist failures -- their inability to penetrate in Africa, their inability to bring down the Indian state, which they tried to do in '62, their inability to establish their power in South Korea, their inability to bring about more than just an area of serious tension in the Middle East. All of these things are not examples of communist success. They are examples of really communist failures. So I don't think we ought to be apologetic about what's happened over the last 20 years as far as western policy is concerned. I think it's been good. That there should be initiatives on the western side and on the United States side -- of course there should. And if you will look at the record of the Vice President as a Senator over a period of years, I think you'll find more initiatives there than any other single member of the Senate. He is the only man in the Senate who has come to grips with the problem of trying to turn down this arms race before it gets way beyond us. If we go into an anti-ballistic missile race on a full-deployment basis which Mr. Nixon is suggesting, we're getting into a situation where in a few years we're going to be spending so great a part of our national income on arms which is pure waste that we're not going to be a great rich country any more in relation to some of the countries that aren't doing that with all the risk that this entails, the terrible waste imposed on us. It was the Vice President who was the one who was the real author of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. He was one of the main men who was behind the partial Test Ban Treaty. He is the man who initiated the Disarmament and Control Administration within the government. We'd never had any group studying this systematically before. His record in this field is fantastic and I challenge anyone to name one piece of substantive legislation, of any consequence whatever, that Mr. Nixon ever initiated during the entire time he was in the House or Senate. So that I don't think you have to do more than look at the Vice President's record to see that as far as having ideas. . . the original proposal for the Peace Corps was the Vice President's idea. As far as having ideas and initiatives -- I know that he will be a man who will have them.

(Additional Ball quote not on Metromedia tape)

"I think people have underestimated what happened in Czechoslovakia. We are seeing the dissolution of the Soviet's empire in Eastern Europe, as happens with all empires. This will be the area of greatest concern, because the stakes are high. Both sides have a great deal to lose, and the chance of a confrontation is great. West Germany will be the focal point of East-West difficulties. The Soviets have tried to make the West Germans scapegoats for what they did in Czechoslovakia."

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Vice President was ill with the flu and was unable to make the appearance at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice -- Ambassador Ball delivered the prepared remarks.....

*Pres Riddle
Dem Hawley*

OPENING REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

JOHN JAY COLLEGE OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

OCTOBER 11, 1968

*Outgrown our seminar
While instructor grows
complex so does everything else
Tendency not to modernize*

The John Jay College of Criminal Justice --

part of the City University of New York. Think of it:

A college education in the Liberal Arts -- open to any

New York City policeman. Specialized undergraduate

and graduate education in scientific crime detection and

prevention and law enforcement.

*idea -
That
is what
we've
done*

One of America's greatest needs is being met
here -- the need for better educated, better trained,
more professional policemen.

I have been fighting for better education and
training for police officers - and better salaries and
stronger community support - for a long time. Since 1945,

as a matter of fact, when I was elected Mayor of Minneapolis.

That Police Department in Minneapolis was a fine one, filled with fine men, led by fine men, and they had my onflagging and dedicated support. And I think I had theirs.

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I helped build public support for that Police Department, but they really did it themselves -- by the fair and effective way they operated.

I want to say something about how I supported the police in Minneapolis, because it says a great deal, in fairly specific terms, about how I look at order and justice -- and how I intend to strengthen our police

departments, and strengthen the impartial and complete enforcement of the law, if I am sentenced to the White House in November.

Back in the war years, Minneapolis was known as a bigoted town. It was an anti-semitic town. It was a town that repressed any aspirations that imaginative and courageous Negroes had about attaining some of that equality we talk about.

We talked about it on the Fourth of July and then put it back in mothballs until next summer.

To help the city deal with that problem, I set up a Mayor's Human Relations Commission, one of the first in the country.

Now, the sensitive and imaginative officers in the Police Department realized, as I did, that the police had to lead the way in this effort, so we initiated a police

training course in Human Relations -- the first in the United States.

That background will give you an idea of why I admire this college -- a police college with courses in sociology, psychology, anthropology and religion.

But what about the police departments large and small all over the country that have no access to education in either the Liberal Arts or Police Science?

What about the Americans who still think that law observance and law enforcement comes cheap?

This is one problem I intend to tackle if I am your next president. Indeed, I can think of few problems more urgent.

I will propose meaningful federal assistance for local police. And I mean support for salaries, training and modern equipment.

But, as you know, it's not just law enforcement; it's also law observance.

When I was Mayor of Minneapolis, I told my policemen, "anybody can enforce the law, but we want law observance. Anyone can enforce the law by frightening people, but I want you to be able to walk down the street and have people say, 'there goes a good man.'"

My objective hasn't changed. I pledge my support to America's police departments and I can document this support right back to 1945. I want it said of every police officer in this country: "Now there goes a good man".

That will be my goal as President of the United States.

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3/ Cal Committee on

4/ National Town meeting

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OPENING REMARKS
JOHN JAY COLLEGE OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE
OCTOBER 11, 1968

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THE JOHN JAY COLLEGE OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE--PART OF THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK. THINK OF IT: A COLLEGE EDUCATION IN THE LIBERAL ARTS---OPEN TO ANY NEW YORK CITY POLICEMAN. SPECIALIZED MR. KLIGER HAS GONE OUT FOR THE MOMENT THAT'S AXXXXX ALL RIGHT WE JUST WANT TO BE SURE HE GETS THIS NEXXXX MESSAGE. NOW I SHALL START THE REMARKS FROM THE BEGINNING.

THE JOHN JAY COLLEGE OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE--PART OF THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK. THINK OF IT: A COLLEGE EDUCATION IN IN THE LIBERAL ARTS--OPEN TO ANY NEW YORK CITY POLICEMAN. SPECIALIZED UNDERGRADUATE AND GRADUATE EDUCATION IN SCIENTIFIC CRIME DETECTION AND PREVENTION AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

ONE OF AMERICA'S GREATEST NEEDS IS BEING MET HERE-- THE NEED FOR BETTER EDUCATED, BETTER TRAINED, MORE PROFESSIONAL POLICEMEN.

I HAVE BEEN FIGHTING FOR BETTER EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR POLICE OFFICERS--AND BETTER SALARIES AND STRONGER COMMUNITY SUPPORT--FOR A LONG TIME. SINCE 1945, AS A MATTER OF FACT, WHEN I WAS ELECTED MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS.

THAT ~~MINNEAPOLIS~~ POLICE DEPARTMENT IN MINNEAPOLIS WAS A FINE ONE, FILLED WITH FINE MEN, LED BY FINE MEN, AND THEY HAD MY UNFLAGGING AND DEDICATED SUPPORT. AND I THINK I HAD THEIR NO CIT FOR HHH GO AHEAD PLEASE

THEY KNEW THAT I WAS COMMITTED TO UPHOLDING THE LAW AND THAT I WAS COMMITTED TO UPHOLDING ~~THEM~~ THEM.

I HELPED BUILD PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THAT POLICE DEPARTMENT, BUT THEY REALLY DID IT THEMSELVES--BY THE FAIR AND EFFECTIVE WAY THEY OPERATED.

I WANT TO SAY SOMETHING ABOUT HOW I SUPPORTED THE POLICE IN MINNEAPOLIS, ~~BECAUSE~~ BECAUSE IT SAYS A GREAT DEAL, IN FAIRLY SPECIFIC TERMS, ABOUT HOW I LOOK AT ORDER AND JUSTICE--AND HOW I INTEND TO STRENGTHEN OUR POLICE DEPARTMENTS, AND STRENGTHEN THE IMPARTIAL AND COMPLETE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAW, ~~IF~~ IF I AM SENTENCED TO THE WHITE HOUSE IN NOVEMBER.

BACK IN THE WAR YEARS, MINNEAPOLIS WAS KNOWN AS A BIGOTED TOWN. IT WAS AN ANTI-SEMITIC TOWN. IT WAS A TOWN THAT REPRESSED ANY ASPIRATIONS THAT IMAGINATIVE AND COURAGEOUS NEGROES HAD ABOUT ATTAINING SOME OF THAT EQUALITY WE TALK ABOUT.

WE TALKED ABOUT IT ON THE FOURTH OF JULY AND THEN PUT BACK IN MOTHBALLS UNTIL NEXT SUMMER.

TO HELP THE CITY DEAL WITH THAT PROBLEM, I SET UP A MAYOR'S HUMAN RELATIONS ~~COMMISSION~~ COMMISSION, ONE OF THE FIRST IN THE COUNTRY.

NOW, THE SENSITIVE AND IMAGINATIVE OFFICERS IN THE POLICE DEPARTMENT REALIZED, AS I DID, THAT THE POLICE HAD TO LEAD THE WAY IN THIS EFFORT, SO WE INITIATED A POLICE TRAINING COURSE IN HUMAN RELATIONS---THE FIRST IN THE UNITED STATES.

THAT BACKGROUND WILL GIVE YOU AN IDEA OF WHY I ADMIRE THIS COLLEGE--A POLICE COLLEGE WITH COURSES IN SOCIOLOGY, PSYCHOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY AND RELIGION.

BUT WHAT ABOUT THE POLICE DEPARTMENTS LARGE AND SMALL ALL OVER THE COUNTRY THAT HAVE NO ACCESS TO EDUCATION IN EITHER THE LIBERAL ARTS OR POLICE SCIENCE?

WHAT ABOUT THE AMERICANS WHO STILL THINK THAT LAW OBSERVANCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT COMES CHEAP?

THIS IS ONE PROBLEM I INTEND TO TACKLE IF I AM YOUR NEXT PRESIDENT. INDEED, I CAN THINK OF FEW PROBLEMS MORE URGENT.

~~THE PROBLEM OF THE POLICE DEPARTMENT~~
I WILL PROPOSE MEANINGFUL FEDERAL ~~BACK~~ ASSISTANCE FOR LOCAL POLICE. AND I MEAN SUPPORT FOR SALARIES, TRAINING AND MODERN EQUIPMENT.

BUT, AS YOU KNOW, IT'S NOT JUST LAW ENFORCEMENT; IT'S ALSO LAW OBSERVANCE.

WHEN I WAS MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS, I TOLD MY POLICEMEN, "ANY BODY CAN ENFORCE THE LAW, BUT WE WANT ~~LAW~~ LAW OBSERVANCE. ANYONE CAN ENFORCE THE LAW BY FRIGHTENING PEOPLE, BUT I WANT YOU TO BE ABLE TO WALK DOWN THE STREET AND HAVE PEOPLE SAY, 'THERE GOES A GOOD MAN.'"

MY OBJECTIVE HASN'T CHANGED. I PLEDGE MY SUPPORT TO AMERICA'S POLICE DEPARTMENTS AND I CAN DOCUMENT THIS SUPPORT RIGHT BACK TO 1945. I WANT IT SAID OF EVERY ~~(UNDERLINE EVERY)~~ POLICE OFFICER IN THIS COUNTRY: "NOW THERE GOES A GOOD MAN".

THAT WILL BE MY GOAL AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

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END OF MESSAGE
DID YOU RECEIVE OK
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cc Kelly + Max K FELKNOR

I am grateful for this forum -- a unique educational institution that is part of the City University of New York devoted to providing a liberal arts college education, as well as specialized graduate work in criminal justice, for police officers. I particularly appreciate such a forum because I have been an advocate of better education and training for police officers -- and better salaries -- and more and better community support -- since I started doing something about it back in 1945 -- 23 years ago -- when I ~~became~~ became mayor of Minneapolis. And that, I might remind you, was before either of my opponents for the Presidency entered ~~politics~~ politics.

I'm also grateful for this audience, an audience of white Americans and black Americans, and an audience largely made up of policemen. I particularly appreciate this audience because I want to talk today about order and justice, and I have only one story to tell to whites and blacks, policemen and civilians.

Yes, unlike Mr. Nixon, who says one thing to one group while his staff people are sending out special and private ~~messages~~ commitments to special interest groups, there is only one Hubert Humphrey. And that's true whether we're here in the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, or in Harlem or Queens Village. It's true whether we're in black Bedford-Stuyvesant in Brooklyn, or white

Bedford Village in Westchester County. Or in Watts or Orange County, or South Chicago or the North Shore.

You won't find one Hubert Humphrey saying -- like Mr. Nixon -- to the Negro, "stick with me and I'll give you what you want," and another saying to the white, "Don't worry --we'll leave all that to private enterprise."

Yes, my fellow-Americans, there's only one Hubert Humphrey -- but more important, there's only one America -- and one order, and one justice, and one law. If the price of a four-year lease on the White House is saying one thing to one group and an opposite thing to another group, then I'll go back to Waverly, Minnesota, as a private citizen. And I'll do it with my head up.

Since the first days of this republic, ^{the} /President ^{has} ~~have~~ been referred to as ^{the} /chief magistrat~~es~~. As "magistrate" comes to us from the Latin, it means "teacher," and the President is indeed ^{the chief} a teacher. There are some facts that we haven't learned ^{as well as we should have} /in this nation -- and bear in mind that I'm talking about facts, not arguments or points of view.

I speak of order and justice -- and the facts I suggest this nation has not learned as a people are basic to the understanding of order and justice.

~~Imwank~~ The facts I want to talk about are the facts of crime, and from three points of view. First, from the point of view of crimes against property. Second, crimes against the person. And third, crimes ~~from~~ from the viewpoint of ~~many~~ color. And here I would remind you again that I welcome this ~~audience~~ audience of ~~blacks and whites~~ black Americans and white Americans, because I have only one story to tell on order and justice.

First, crimes against property. This nation has been sorely troubled by crime, and especially organized crime, for a long, long time. When I became mayor of Minneapolis in 1945, that city was a home away from home for big league gangsters when the heat was on in Chicago, or wherever else they hung their hats. When I left that town in 1948 to go to the Senate of the United States, I want to tell you that welcome mat had been taken in, so far as organized crime was concerned.

When I became mayor I had precious little in the way of power -- the most significant thing I could do was to appoint the chief of police. Well, the people of that city were sick and tired of being victimized by gangsters, of having their city shamed by the freedom which the mob enjoyed in Minneapolis, and that was no small part of the reason they elected me mayor.

The first thing I did was to go and visit with J. Edgar Hoover and ask his advice on the ~~finding~~ selection of a modern, and tough, and fair, and intelligent, chief of police.

Now we've been hearing a lot of needling directed at Mr. Hoover. But I hardly need tell an audience of law enforcement officers that under J. Edgar Hoover the Federal Bureau of Investigation ~~has~~ has developed the finest program for training local police officers in scientific crime detection and up-to-date criminology that this world has known. *that some* I am sure ~~that a number~~ of you men have been advanced in your careers by this program -- the FBI ~~Police~~ Academy -- and I know, as you know, that ~~there~~ prominent among the finest policemen in every city in the country *are those whose* ~~have had their~~ *have been* abilities and ~~their~~ careers advanced by FBI training. And what that adds up to is that every city in the country has improved the protection of its citizens as a result of that training.

So I'm not about to apologize for going to J. Edgar Hoover for advice on how to pick out the right policeman chief.

And I'm sure this audience of law enforcement officers won't be surprised at what he told me. The first thing he said was ~~that~~ ^{to} ~~select the best chief I could find~~ ^{man that could be found.} obviously I had to hire a local man if one was qualified.

And the second thing he said was that we had right there in Minneapolis one of the finest police officers the FBI had ever trained. That was Ed Ryan, a tough cop who believed that laws were meant to be enforced, impartially and completely.

Well, you know that just tickled me, because Ed Ryan was my neighbor, and had become my good friend, and as a matter of fact Ed Ryan, that tough cop, was one of the reasons I decided to run for mayor ~~back in 1917~~ in the first place. Because ^{had} he told me, with great disillusion and disgust, when I was a private citizen ~~x~~ teaching at the University of Minnesota, of the restraints that higher-ups in the department and the city administration placed in the way of honest policemen~~x~~. The first man in the world I wanted to make chief of police was Ed Ryan, but I wasn't going to make a move until I had gotten the best impartial and professional advice I could, and there was only one place to go: J. Edgar Hoover.

Well, ~~when I appointed Ed Ryan~~ ^{when I appointed Ed Ryan} I sent for Ed Ryan after I took office, and I said to him, "You've been sounding off about what to do to clean up this town. Don't look now, but you're the new police chief." ~~xxx~~ And I said, "Ed, I'll take care of politics and my reputation; you take care of the police department and your reputation. This is going to be ~~an irresponsible~~ an honest administration of responsible men," I said, "But I want both of us to take care of ~~the~~ the crime. I want this town cleaned up -- now. I want the hoods moved out -- now."

with some help from the ~~Minneapolis~~ rest of the department, to be sure -

Ed Ryan and I moved the hoods out. There was some disturbance in the process. Both Ed and I ~~were~~ ^{had our lives} threatened. One night some punk took a shot at me as I stood right in my front yard. The next day Ed asked me ~~how I felt~~ how I felt. I told him the order stood. It stood. ~~It stood.~~ We got the big league gangsters out of Minneapolis, and we cleaned up on the petty local racketeers too.

That shot somebody took at me brings me to crimes against the person. Murder was a fairly common occurrence in Minneapolis in the day when the gangs operated there with impunity. Private citizens were shot, especially if they happened to be crusading newspaper men or were otherwise in the way of the syndicate. ~~This period~~ I went in as mayor just before the end of World War II, and in my two terms great numbers of servicemen came home to Minneapolis, or came through Minneapolis on their way home, or came there to attend the University of Minnesota on the GI Bill of Rights. Well, all kinds of petty crooks were victimizing these young veterans -- mugging them, ~~examining them, robbing them,~~ holding them up. We cut down on crimes of violence, hard and fast, ~~in accordance with the law.~~ ~~upholding the law~~ and strictly in accordance with the law.

~~Now I want to touch on a few minutes on order and justice from the viewpoint of the police.~~

That police department in Minneapolis was a fine one, filled with fine men, led by fine men, and they had my unflagging and dedicated support. And I'm proud to tell you that I had their support. They ~~knew that~~ knew that I was committed to upholding the law, and that I was committed to upholding them. I helped build public support for that police department, but I hasten to add that they built it basically themselves because of the fair and effective way they functioned.

You know, I think it's too bad that so many of the citizens in this nation of ours take the police for granted. It's too bad that a few years ago it had to ~~have~~ be the John Birch Society that came up with a program to "support your local police." I was greatly relieved when the ^{American} Bar Association launched its program of respect for law and law enforcement. The idea of support for the police is far too vital a matter for our public safety to be left to a bunch of right wingers who believe that our government is shot through with spies and traitors. It's every citizen's responsibility to support his local police. It's no cause to be monopolized by extremists, or left to the extremists by the default of the great majority of responsible and moderate citizens.

It also is too important to be left to the cynics and wise guys who responded to the John Birch Society's program with the gag line, "Support your local police -- bribe a cop today." (And bribing a cop was par for the course in Minneapolis before/Hubert Humphrey, by the way.)

I want to say something about how I supported the police in Minneapolis, because it says a great deal, in fairly specific terms, about how I look at order and justice, and how I intend to strengthen our police departments, and strengthen the impartial and complete ~~admin~~ enforcement of the law if the voters send me to the White House.

This brings me to the subject of order and justice in terms of race. Minneapolis in the war years was known as a bigoted town. It was an anti-Semitic town. It was a town that repressed any ^{particularly} aspirations that even/imaginative and courageous Negroes had about attaining some of that equality we ~~talked about in 1945~~ used to talk about on the Fourth of July and then put back in mothballs until next summer.

INSERT (A) PAGE 7

Now even in 1968, this institution is unique. So needless to say we had nothing like it in Minneapolis in 1945. But some of us were groping in the right direction. When I became mayor I needed the advice and the support of the city in my determination to have one of the best, most effective and most respected police departments in the nation. I needed advice and support in finding the right man to head the department. So I set up a Citizens Commission on Law Enforcement to advise me, and when I made Ed Ryan chief it was with the unanimous approval of that Law Enforcement Commission.

Then we set up the Mayor's Human Relations Commission, one of the first in the country. And the sensitive and imaginative officers in the police department realized, as I did, that some of the men on the force were reflecting the bigotry that was rampant in the city at large. So together we initiated a training course in human relations in the police department — the first in the United States.

shift from
to remember from
I had to
in writing me
but proud

(X) it was bad - avoid -

what you doing
today I struggled
to do 23 yrs ago -
I know I could...
how diff -

WPCU
FTHS
The police
and I asked
for help
off top -

One of the first things I did ~~was~~ as mayor was to set up a
~~Citizens Committee on Law Enforcement, and another~~ -- one of the first
in the nation -- on Human Relations. I discovered that some of the
police were reflecting the bigotry that was rampant in a large part of
the city as a whole. Following the recommendations of those
committees of concerned and responsible citizens, I set up the
first human relations course for police officers in that this country
has seen. ^{Our} objective was to ^{help} get the police ^{gain a real understanding} trying to understand
their various ethnic groups that made up that community -- their
constituents, the people ~~that~~ they were there to protect. And I ~~told~~
the police department, ~~why I was doing it,~~ said to ~~them,~~ "Anybody
can enforce the law, but we want law observance." I told them,
~~police~~ "Of course you can enforce the law by frightening people,
but I want you to be able to walk down the street and have people
say, 'there goes a good man.' I want just your presence ^{to} make people
want to observe the law."

Well, I still do. And in Minneapolis I showed that I knew how
And no other candidate for President can make that statement.
to go about it. I still do. I want our police officers to be
respected not on the basis of fear, but on the basis of performance.
Performance - and understanding. Mutual understanding. That's what
breeds respect, and mutual respect.

Now we hear a lot this year about "law and order." And often
as not when you hear some politician utter the phrase, you hear
a ~~xx~~ roar like a ~~mob~~ crowd at a bullfight -- a vindictive roar,
the roar of a mob with blood in its eyes. And the reason for that
is that ^{those words} "law and order" have -- indeed -- become code words for something
~~that means something quite~~ quite unlike what the words ^{themselves} really mean. The
difference between what ^{those} the words "law and order" ~~say~~ really mean, and
what they seem to mean, is literally as great as the difference between
black and white.

white, and to many blacks,

and to ~~all too many~~ ~~the~~ black men,
To some ~~white men,~~ "law and order" has come to mean, "keep the
Negro in his place." ~~And it is not too many Negroes it is not too many~~
~~the same old same old~~ *But this is to* Both groups misunderstand the proper function, ~~of,~~
~~and~~ the reality, of ~~the~~ law and of order. For we are, as I have suggested,
one America, with one body of law, ~~one~~ ^{requiring one} kind of order, offering one
kind of justice.

~~The white man~~

There are other code words: "violence in the streets" has come to
mean "negroes looting." "A man's home is his castle" has come to
mean "I don't have to sell my house to a Negro." "Civil rights,"
God help us, has come to mean "Negro favoritism."

And here we come to the very heart of white misunderstanding of
the significance of equal justice, equal protection, equal opportunity.
The leading voices of ~~what might be called~~ ~~the~~ our great civic
and religious institutions -- what we might call the conscience of
America -- have been overcome at the great gulf between what our
expressions of freedom and equality ~~say~~ ^{promise} and what our society actually
has delivered ~~to the Negro.~~ *They have made an* And in the effort to say to the black
American, "look here; we mean it; America will indeed deliver on ~~the~~ *its*
~~promise~~ promise of equal justice and equal opportunity and equal
protection of law," *But* in this effort ~~they may have~~ I suspect they -- we --
have overlooked or underestimated the need to communicate also with
the white citizen.

Perhaps
~~It strikes me as possible -- indeed likely -- that we have~~
exclusively talked too ~~much~~ to ourselves, ~~the~~ the activists in the civil rights movement
I fear we have said and ~~too much~~ to the Negroes, *white* and too little to those Americans who
in all innocence and good faith have misunderstood just what it is we
propose to do.

most of
 For the Americans who set up a bloodthirsty ~~murder~~ ^{shout} when George Wallace talks of "law and order" are not bigots or haters, ~~most of them~~. They are reacting out of fear that Negro gains will be made only at their expense. And that is ~~not~~ ^{neither} the purpose ^{even} nor the by-product of the American ~~purpose~~ ^{system}.

Taking equality and opportunity away from those who have won ~~it~~ them the hard way is not how we ~~bestow~~ are to bestow these blessings on those who have not yet won them.

Dislike it as we ~~will~~ ^{may}, we can ~~take in stride~~ ^{come to grips with} the fact that "law and order" is a code word and ~~that we must~~ find another phrase to convey what it really means. Is it too much then to ask that, ~~we~~ ^{now come to grips with} dislike it as we ~~will~~ ^{may} will, we ~~take in stride~~ ^{mean} the fact that to some American s "civil rights" has become a code word ~~for~~ ^{at white expense} black favoritism [?]
 I think not.

I think we have to swallow hard and find a way to get across what we mean, to present the idea instead of yesterday's synonym ~~for~~ for it.

Then let us get about it. Let us say to the ~~white~~ black American, and the white American, at the same moment and in the same voice, "Here is America. The dream is yours. It is coming true. However belatedly the black man ~~will~~ gains its benefits, these benefits come freely from the whole society, and not by depriving g the white man of his share of those benefits."

Louis Carroll's Humpty Dumpty told Alice "When I use a word it means just what I want it to mean, nothing more and nothing less." But that's not good enough for this world on the right side of the looking glass. When we use a word its meaning has to be as transparently clear to every hearer as it is to us.

The failure of words -- or more accurately our failure to seek and find and use the right word for the temper of the time [^] has enabled a whole mythology to grow up that seems to support the misinterpretations of our meaning.

Consider, for example, the matter of "violence in the street." ^{When} The white man -- ~~and~~ certainly the one who is listening to George Wallace -- ~~when he~~ hears ~~of~~ that phrase ^{he} thinks of rampaging Negroes threatening his home and his wife and his life. He knows that crime rates are rising, and he knows that Negro crime rates are rising faster. But there the knowledge stops, ~~and~~ ^{This} is one reason I have cited the responsibility of the President as teacher. Who knows, among generally well-informed, generally well-intentioned, generally unbigoted white ^{who know} laymen, the real facts about crime and race? You know, as law enforcement officers, and I know, as a former mayor and Senator and as Vice President, that ~~the inter-racial~~ Negro criminals prey on Negro victims, and white criminals prey on white victims. You know and I know that inter-racial crime is all but non-existent. You know and I know that ^{in such} ~~what~~ inter-racial crime ^{as} does exist, ~~some~~ white criminals victimizing ^e black citizens more often than the ~~much feared reverse~~ but exceedingly rare reverse ~~situation of Negro criminals victimizing whites.~~

You know, as I know, that this is true right down the line through every category of crime, including murder, assault and rape. You know, as I know, that the trigger-word of "rape" terrifies women for ~~themselves~~ themselves and their daughters, and men for their wives and daughters, and that many whites ~~men~~ ~~many~~ are haunted by the specter of Negro rapists. And yet we also know ^{what} that ~~as~~ that great, white, southern editor, the late W. J. Cash, ~~publicly~~ said of Negro rape of southern

white women after the Civil War is true for white ~~xxxx~~ women in the country at large today: there was a chance ^{of} ~~that~~ ~~xxx~~ a white woman ~~would be~~ ^{being} raped by a Negro -- but it was no greater than the chance that she would be struck by lightning.

~~xx~~ Lack of information crystallizes around these matters, and emotions encrust them further, and the simple truth hardly ever comes to view. You know these things. I know these things. And let me assure you that George Wallace and Richard Nixon know them too, even if one plays on them cynically and the other allows them to be used in his behalf callously.

~~Adlai Stevenson said in 1952, "Let's talk sense to the American people."~~ I want to talk ~~sense~~ ^{to} to the American people. I want to present ^{facts} real facts to the American people. A ~~Presidential~~ campaign for the Presidency of the United States is no playground for hobgoblins. I say to black Americans here and anywhere else, you can trust me to continue and try to increase ~~leadership~~ the leadership the Presidents of the Democratic Party have brought to ~~the~~ ^{your} quest for equal justice and equal opportunity, and I will say ~~in the presence of~~ that in the presence of the white men in this room and anywhere in the land.

And I say to ~~the~~ white men ~~in this room, you can trust~~ here and anywhere else, ~~that~~ you can trust me to supply the kind of honest and thoughtful leadership that will bring ~~xxxx~~ equal justice to the Negro without jeopardizing what you and your forebears have won; you can trust me for the kind of leadership that will not take from you to give to black Americans or any other minority. And I will say that in the presence of the black men in this room or anywhere in the land.

For, my fellow-citizens, we live in one America, in the midst of plenty that only fairy tales described a ~~xxx~~ generation ago. We have

INSERT (B) PAGE 12

The white man has heard a great deal in recent years about the history of injustice to the Negro. Perhaps we have not said enough to the black man about the history of injustice to the white. I don't suggest that two wrongs cancel each other out — but some knowledge of a history of shared repression might kindle a bit of mutual understanding that America could use to good advantage.

I don't enjoy recalling these shameful episodes from our past, but they can't be swept under the rug. We can't get away with rewriting the history of hardship and great risk with which so many of our white ethnic groups finally won the full equality they now enjoy.

INSERT (C) PAGE 12

And bear in mind, my friends, the vengeful roars of those mobs probably sounded pretty much like the roars at a Wallace rally today.

one law, one order, one justice, ~~and~~ They have survived great injustice, great divisions, great protests, even great violence, and they will ~~and~~ continue to survive.

~~The black man, wrapped in resentment and concern for his own plight that we have ~~and~~ proceeded so slowly to end, can be understood if he forgets that many of his white fellow-citizens won the full ~~equality~~ equality they now enjoy with only at great hardship and great risk.~~

Scarcely more than a hundred years ago mobs of American nativists were burning convents and tarring and feathering Irish immigrants. ~~and~~ Even in my boyhood I remember signs in store windows reading "Help Wanted; No Irish Need Apply." ^{Catholics and Jews, Italians and} Poles, and ~~Italians and~~ Germans and Japanese and people from ~~and thousands and hands~~ every corner of this world came here seeking the dream, and many of them were not only rebuffed but abused, victimized, shamed and scorned. ^{shall than our} Will we ^{that the ancestors of} work on fellow-Americans today the kind of indignities, some of ^{the ancestors of} our ^{us} ancestors worked on ^{others in our past} others, so much more ignorant ~~than~~ ^{than our present?} I think not. ^{certainly} Not if we understand that we ^{neither} ~~don't~~ seek to ^{not need to} take from one to give to the other. Not if we understand that here in America there is room for all of us and plenty for all of us, and that in the expansion of our economy to supply more jobs and more comforts and more income and more dignity to all of us we can indeed live in a degree ~~not only~~ of plenty, ^{and} ~~but~~ of equal justice and equal opportunity, never before dreamed of.

My friends, when I flew into New York ^{this week,} yesterday and came in over ^{its} that great harbor, we passed by the Statue of Liberty. Sitting there ^{on} ~~the~~ ^{that air} plane, reflecting on what I ^{might} ~~would~~ say to you today, I thought of the prophetic vision of America which Emma Lazarus wrote and which

is inscribed on the statue:

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

That's the America my mother came to from Norway 80 years ago.

That's the America Ed Muskie's father came to from Poland.

That's the American that discovered, too late, that it had
some ~~was~~ tired, some poor, some huddled masses yearning to breathe
free, of its own, right here. And though the discovery ~~was~~ was too late
it was made, and though ^{for too long} ~~the next morning~~ that lamp beside the
golden door didn't shine inside it, ~~for too long~~, now it does.

That's the America we live in, and ~~it exists~~ ^{although} ~~the American that~~ the haters
and the anarchists deny ^{that it} exists, and simultaneously seek to destroy ^{it,} they
will fail.

That America is populated with 200 million men and women and children
of good will, and a few thousand ^{madmen and unbelievers.} ~~nutcases~~ For 200 million Americans did
not murder John Kennedy; 200 million Americans ~~did~~ did not murder Martin
Luther King; 200 million Americans did not murder Robert Kennedy; 200
million Americans ~~did not do these things~~ recoiled in horror at these
~~things~~ deeds.

Some ^{people} of that 200 million, of good will, ^{from time to time} are deceived, or frustrated,
or moved by ignorance ^{or fear} or misunderstanding or trickery, into smashing
out at the society. ~~Was~~ The tormented youth who took his hatred of
--and his rifle --
society/to the top of that tower in Texas and spread death over the
campus: was this America? No. The Klansmen who murdered Mrs. Liuzzo
for riding in a car with a Negro civil rights worker: was this America?
No. ~~Was~~ The rebellious youths who took their frustration and resentment
to the streets in Watts and Detroit and a dozen other cities in the past

three troubled years: was this America? No. These deeds were the acts of human beings who were moved past the point of tolerance by madness or frustration, ^{who were} filled with hatred to the point of exploding. This was Cain killing Abel, ~~Somebody pulling down somebody else~~ the third man murdering the fourth.

And like the story of Cain and Abel, these outbursts of wanton violence in our land give us a message, the hard way. We cannot, of course, tolerate ~~this kind~~ ^{the} method of communication. But it is equally true that we dare not ignore the message. The message is that frustration and indignity and lack of opportunity still exist, for all our efforts to eradicate them. The message is that we have to re-examine and re-direct our efforts to eradicate them. We can deal with the ~~illicit method of communication.~~ ^{medium} When the message reaches us through violence and disorder, we can put down the disorder and end the violence by enforcing the laws that are being broken. But to stop ~~them~~ ^{with enforcement}, to tune out the ~~enemy~~ ^{the enemy} channel and ignore the message, is like taking an aspirin every hour for a splitting headache. If the headache is caused by a brain tumor, the aspirin diet can keep you from going to the doctor until it's too late.

You see, enforcement alone is not enough. This, I think, is the deepest meaning of community support for the police, for law and order, for the proper functioning of the democratic republic in which we live.

Where there is evil, root it out; where there is ignorance, shed light; where there is misunderstanding, spread understanding; where there is falsehood, bring truth.

We are faring well at rooting out evil where it exists. We have made ^{progress} ~~progress~~ never before equalled, in the five years of Lyndon Johnson's administration, in bringing the light of education to banish ignorance. ~~77~~

Here we are at least well on the way. It is where misunderstanding and falsehood reside that we have not brought enough light or enough effort. ~~That~~ That is why I have spoken of the problems of communicating what we really mean, and of supplying the real facts in the emotional night ^{that} ~~surrounding~~ ^s the subject of violent crime.

Let us resolve to let no man who has ^{already} made his way fear that progress for his lost brother ~~exists~~ ^{exists} deprives him of his own. Let us resolve to present facts in such ~~context~~ context that they cannot be twisted into falsehood.

Let us pledge to black and white ^{increasingly effective} police protection for black and white, for the enemy is the criminal, not the color. Let our police officers remember that ~~they bring~~ the protection they bring ^{is the dire need of the ghetto as well as the} ^{rightful} ^{and the silk stocking} ^{district} expectation of the suburb. Let those who would riot remember that the riot's toll is taken from their own number. Let those who fear riots remember that riots are explosions at the scene of ^{deprivation and} ~~the~~ frustration, not raids on neighboring communities of plenty.

Let us put away our fantasies and fallacies, and remember ~~in~~ that — as Martin Luther King once put it, he wanted to be the white man's brother, not his brother-in-law. And finally, let us ~~renew~~ say to the white man who is worried about order, give justice, and to ~~the~~ the black man who is worried about justice, supply order.

And to and for those where the action is, the brave and honorable men who man the police departments of this nation, I would paraphrase ~~the~~ ^{late} Adlai Stevenson, who said, "your public servants serve you right." Our policemen ~~serve~~ serve us right; sometimes no better than we deserve, ~~often~~ but usually better. Our police deserve better of our society, and only in that way will we better our police. This ~~college~~ institution, this remarkable John Jay College of Criminal Justice is exactly the right

place for that thought to be uttered, for right here is the answer to one of the big questions of how to improve law enforcement. Education in the liberal arts, and specialized training in scientific crime prevention and law enforcement. And the kind of policemen this institution ^{exists to} generate answers to out will ~~answer~~ the other questions, of ~~more~~ bigger salaries and of increased public respect, cooperation and understanding. Here is the way to that public attitude I ~~make~~ first spoke of so long ago in Minneapolis: ~~"I want people to say, 'there goes a good man.'"~~ ~~I~~ ~~want~~ just your presence make people want to observe the law." *I want people to say, when you walk down the street, "There goes a good man."*

#

Opening Remarks

John Jay College of Criminal Justice
October 11, 1968

This is a unique educational institution, and I'm

sorry I wish it had a hundred counterparts.

The John Jay College of Criminal Justice -- part of the City University of New York. Think of it: a college education in the liberal arts open to any New York City policeman. Specialized undergraduate and graduate education in scientific crime detection and prevention and law enforcement.

One of America's greatest needs in being met here the need for better educated, better trained, more professional policemen.

been fighting for
~~I appreciate this form, because I have advocated~~ better education and training for police officers - and better salaries and

stronger community support - *Maloney Time: since 1945, as a matter of fact,*
~~since 1945. That's when I~~

when I was elected Mayor of
~~started doing something about it 13 years ago, when I~~

Minneapolis.
~~became Mayor of Minneapolis.~~

The next day Ed asked me how I felt. I told him the order stood. It stood. We got the big league gangsters out of Minneapolis, and we cleaned up on the petty local racketeers too.

That shot somebody took at me brings me to crimes against the person. Murder was a fairly common occurrence in Minneapolis in the day when the gangs operated there with impunity. Private citizens were shot, especially if they happened to be crusading newspaper men or were otherwise in the way of the syndicate. I went in as Mayor just before the end of World War II, and in my two terms great numbers of servicemen came home to Minneapolis, or came through Minneapolis on their way home, or came there to attend the University of Minnesota on the GI Bill of Rights. Well, all kinds of petty crooks were victimizing these young veterans --- mugging them, holding them up. We cut down on crimes of violence, hard and fast, and strictly in accordance with the law.

That police department in Minneapolis was a fine one, filled with fine men, led by fine men, and they had my unflagging and dedicated support. And *I think I had theirs!* They

knew that I was committed to upholding the law and that I was

committed to upholding them. I helped build public support for

that police department, but ~~I had to add that they built it~~

~~basically themselves~~ ^{-- by} ~~because of~~ the fair and effective way they

~~functioned.~~ *operated.*

~~You know, I think it's too bad that so many of our citizens~~

~~in this nation of ours take the police for granted. It's too~~

~~bad that a few years ago it had to be the John Birch Society~~

~~that came up with a program to "support your local police." I~~

~~was greatly relieved when the American Bar Association launched~~

~~its program of respect for law and law enforcement. The idea of~~

~~support for the police is far too vital a matter for our public~~

~~safety to be left to a bunch of right wingers who believe that~~

~~our government is shot through with spies and traitors. It's~~

~~every citizens responsibility to support his local police. It's~~

~~no cause to be monopolized by extremists, or left to the extremists~~

by the default of the great majority of responsible and moderate citizens.

It also is too important to be left to the cynics and wise guys who responded to the John Birch Society's program with the gag line, "Support your local police --- bribe a cop today."

(An bribing a cop was par for the course in Minneapolis before --- but not after --- Hubert Humphrey, by the way.) =

~~XXXXXX~~ I want to say something about how I supported the police in Minneapolis, because it says a great deal, in fairly specific terms, about how I look at order and justice, and how I intend to strengthen our police departments, and strengthen the impartial and complete enforcement of the law, if ~~the voters~~ ^{I am}

Submitted
~~send me~~ to the White House *in November.*

~~You know,~~ ^Back in the war years, Minneapolis was known as a bigoted town. It was an anti-Semitic town. It was a town that repressed any aspirations that ~~even particularly~~ imaginative and

courageous Negroes had about attaining some of that equality we talk about. (We talked about it on the Fourth of July and then put back in mothballs until next summer.

To help the city deal with that problem, I set up a Mayor's Human Relations Commission, one of the first in the country.

Now, the sensitive and imaginative officers in the police department realized, as I did, that ~~the police had to~~ *the police had to* ~~lead the way in this effort,~~ *lead the way in this effort,* ~~were reflecting the dignity of the city at large. That was just making it tougher to build the kind of respect we wanted for our police.~~ So we initiated a police training course in human relations-- the first in the United States.

~~Our objective was to help the police gain a real understanding of the various ethnic groups that made up that community.~~

That background will give you an idea of ~~why~~ *why* I admire this college. A police college with courses in sociology, ~~and~~ ^{and} psychology and anthropology and religion.

~~I'm not worried about you men. I'm worried~~ *[But what*
about the police

departments large and small all over the country that have no access

to education in either the liberal arts or police science. [?]

~~What about the~~ *Still think*
~~I'm worried about Americans who haven't stopped to think~~
~~& law enforcement comes cheap?~~
that law observance ~~doesn't come cheap.~~

~~This is one problem I intend~~
~~to tackle if I am your next~~
~~forward-looking administration. And if the voters do send me~~
~~President. Indeed, I can~~
~~to the White House, one of the very first proposals I intend to~~
~~think of few problems more urgent.~~
~~lay before the Congress is for Federal aid to local police.~~

~~I will propose~~
~~My proposal will be an urgent program for meaningful federal~~

assistance for local police. And I mean support for salaries,
training and modern equipment.

~~How else, in the foreseeable future, are our local com-~~
~~munities to recruit and train and equip their police depart-~~
~~ments? How else prepare them to do the job you want to do, and~~
~~can do, and that the public has a right to expect?~~

~~But, as you know, it not just~~
~~that job is not only~~ law enforcement, ~~It is~~ also law obser-

vance. ~~When I was mayor of Minneapolis, I told my Policemen,~~

"Anybody can enforce the law, but we want law observance. ~~or anyone~~

~~course you can enforce the law by frightening people, but I~~

want you to be able to walk down the street and have people

say, 'there goes a good man.' " ~~I want just your presence to make~~

~~people want to observe the law."~~

~~My objective hasn't changed. My influence just might. I~~

pledge my support to America's police departments and I can document

~~this support~~

~~A right back to 1945. Now I ask your support, so we can see some~~

~~real action.~~

I want it said of every
Police officer in this country:

"Now there goes a good man."

That will be my goal as
President of the United States.

type - 11 WPL
wrt - 8 WPL

18
9
144

28
280
308 WPP

2 = 616
3 = 924
4 = 1232

and I'm sorry.

This is a unique educational institution,
~~but~~ I wish it had ^{a hundred} counterparts in every section
of the country. [¶] The John Jay College of Criminal
Justice - part of the City University of New York.
Think of it: a ~~liberal~~ college education in the liberal
arts, open to any New York City policeman. Specialized
undergraduate and graduate education ~~and~~ ⁱⁿ
in scientific crime detection and prevention and
law enforcement. ~~Here is where~~ [¶] One of America's greatest
needs is being met here: the need for better educated,
better trained, more professional policemen. That's
~~why I wish this college were not unique.~~

I particularly appreciate this forum, because
I have ~~been an~~ advocated [&] better education and
training for police officers - and better salaries
and stronger community support - ^{since 1945.} ~~ever since~~
^{That's when} ~~since even before~~ I started doing something
about it ~~when I was~~ - 23 years ago, when I became
Mayor of Minneapolis. ~~back in 1945.~~

(A)

(B)

Meanwhile, ~~because~~ I had to have the solid
support of the community, ~~it's my determination~~
to have one of the best, most effective, well paid
and well trained and well respected police departments
in the nation. ^I I set up a Citizens Law Enforcement
Commission to give me advice, and to help me
gain the support of all segments of the city for our

I was
determined

police force. They ~~approved~~ Ed Ryan ~~unanimously~~.
And I got their unanimous approval of Ed Ryan
for chief.

(C)

(D)

(E)

To help the city deal with that problem I set up
a Mayor's Human Relations Commission, one of
the first in the country. ^{Now}, the sensitive and
imaginative officers in the police department
realized, as I did, that some of the men on the
force were reflecting the bigotry of the city
at large. ^{That} ~~and it was impairing the~~ just
making it tougher to build the kind of respect
we wanted for our police. So we initiated a
~~the first~~ police training course in human
relations - the first in the United States.

That background will ^{give you an idea of} ~~show you~~ how I
admire this college, ^{a police college} with ~~the~~ courses in
sociology and psychology and anthropology
and religion.

~~It's not only our police officers, by
any means, that need perspectives of this kind
to understand the varied minority groups that
make up your great city and our great country.~~

(3)

Now, I'm beginning to fear that ~~some of these new~~
~~perspectives~~ those of us that have been talking about
minority problems need some help with our
perspectives, too. There are two areas that concern me.

First,

(F)

(G)

(H)

There's another area where perspective
is lacking. Many of our white citizens are greatly
concerned at the fact that crime rates are

(I)

~~But the most dangerous do not know them.~~
~~We who do know them have an obligation~~
~~to present the real facts, in perspective, to the~~
~~people at large. A campaign for the Presidency~~
~~of the United States is no playground for hobgoblins.~~

~~Communication of real facts, and real~~
~~meanings~~

Many of our black citizens lack perspective
on some of the suffering to which whites have
been subjected. Who remembers that barely a
century ago mobs of American

(J)

~~These are perspectives you can gain~~
~~here in this great College of Criminal~~
~~Justice. I'm not worried about you men.~~
~~I'm worried about the police departments~~

4

15 1/3

23
187

3080
1540
108
4725

3081745
1540
205

5 2/3

large and small all over the country that have no access to education in either the liberal arts or police science.

I'm worried about Americans who haven't stopped to think that law observance doesn't come cheap. ~~I think~~ ^{all} We can solve these problems, given a realistic and forward-looking administration. And if the voters do send me to the White House one of the very first proposals I intend to lay before the Congress is ~~a plan~~ ^{for federal aid} to local police. ^{My proposal} will be an urgent program for meaningful federal assistance for local police. ^{And I mean support that} salaries, training and modern equipment. For I believe that ^{in the foreseeable future} only federal assistance can ~~equip~~ recruit and train and equip ^{their} American police departments. ^{How else prepare} ~~so they~~ ^{they} are able to do the job ~~that~~ you want to do, and can do, and that the public has a right to expect? ^{That} That job is not only law enforcement; it is also law observance. When I was mayor of Minneapolis I told my policemen, "Anybody

will be an
If How else, in the foreseeable future, are our local communities to

(K)

My objective hasn't changed. My influence ~~stability~~ just might. I pledge my support to America's police departments and I can document it right back to 1945. Now I ask your support, so we can see some real action.

- End -

185/1665

40/1705

40/1745

First, ~~crimes against property~~. This nation has been sorely troubled by crime, and especially organized crime, for a long, long time. ~~When I became mayor of Minneapolis in 1945, that city was a home away from home for big league gangsters when the heat was on in Chicago, or wherever else they hung their hats.~~ *In those days Minneapolis* When I left that town in 1948 to go to the Senate of the United States, I want to tell you that ^{the} welcome mat had been taken in, so far as organized crime was concerned.

Now the ~~When I became mayor, I had precious little in the way of power.~~ *of Minneapolis had* The most significant thing I could do was to appoint the chief of police. Well, the people ~~of that city~~ were sick and tired of being victimized by gangsters, of having their city shamed by the freedom which the mob enjoyed in Minneapolis, ~~and that was no small part of the reason they elected me mayor.~~ *one important*

The first thing I did was to ~~go and~~ visit with J. Edgar Hoover, ^{and ask} his advice on the ~~fixing~~ ^{ad} selection of a modern, ~~and~~ tough, and fair, ~~and~~ intelligent, chief of police.

^{heard} Now we've been hearing a lot of needling directed at Mr. Hoover. But I hardly need tell an audience of law enforcement officers that under J. Edgar Hoover the Federal Bureau of Investigation ~~has~~ ^{has} developed the finest ^{national} program for training local police officers in scientific crime detection and up-to-date criminology that this world has known. I am sure that ^{some} a number of you men have been advanced in your careers by this program -- the FBI's Police Academy -- and I know, as you know, that ~~that~~ ^{are those who} prominent among the finest policemen in every city in the country ^{have been} ~~have~~ had their abilities and ~~their~~ careers advanced by FBI training. And what that adds up to is that every city in the country has improved the protection of its citizens as a result of that training.

So I'm not about to apologize for going to J. Edgar Hoover for advice on how to pick out the right policeman chief.

And I'm sure this audience of law enforcement officers ^{you} won't be surprised at what he told me. ^{first:} The first thing he said was that ~~pick out the best man that could be found.~~ obviously I had to hire a local man if ~~one~~ ^{one} was qualified.

And ~~the~~ second thing he said was that we had right there in Minneapolis ^{we had} one of the finest police officers the FBI had ever trained. That was Ed Ryan, a tough cop who believed that laws were meant to be enforced, impartially and completely.

Well, you know that just tickled me, because Ed Ryan was my neighbor, and had become my good friend, and as a matter of fact Ed Ryan, that tough cop, was one of the reasons I decided to run for mayor ~~back in 1911~~ in the first place. ~~Because he told me, with great disillusion and disgust,~~ ^{had} when I was a private citizen ~~x~~ ^{it was} teaching at the University of Minnesota, ^{ed that told me} of the restraints that higher-ups in the department and the city administration ^{had} placed in the way of honest policemen. ⁹ The first man in the world I wanted to make chief of police was Ed Ryan. But I wasn't going to make a move until I had gotten the best impartial and professional advice. ~~could,~~ ^{for that,} and there was only one place to go: J. Edgar Hoover.

Well, ~~when I was appointed~~ ~~Ed Ryan~~ ~~chief~~, I sent for Ed Ryan ~~after~~ I took office, and I said to him, "You've been sounding off about what to do to clean up this town. Don't look now, but you're the new police chief." ^{"I'll"} ~~And~~ I said, "Ed, I'll take care of politics and my reputation; you take care of the police department and your reputation. This is going to be ~~an~~ ^{an} honest administration of responsible men," ~~I said,~~ "But I want both of us to take care of ~~the~~ the crime. I want this town cleaned up -- now. I want the hoods moved out -- now."

*with some help from the rest of the department,
to be sure.*

Ed Ryan and I moved the hoods out, ^{had our lives} There was some disturbance in the process. Both Ed and I ~~were~~ threatened. One night some punk took a shot at me as I stood right in my front yard. [#] The next day Ed asked me ~~how~~ ~~how~~ ~~how~~ how I felt. I told him the order stood. It stood. ~~It stood.~~ We got the big league gangsters out of Minneapolis and we cleaned up on the petty local racketeers too.

That shot somebody took at me brings me to crimes against the person. Murder was a fairly common occurrence in Minneapolis in the day when the gangs operated there with impunity. Private citizens were shot, especially if they happened to be crusading newspaper men or were otherwise in the way of the syndicate. ~~This~~ ~~experience~~ I went in as mayor just before the end of World War II, and in my two terms great numbers of servicemen ~~came~~ home to Minneapolis, or came through Minneapolis on their way home, or came there to attend the University of Minnesota on the GI Bill of Rights. Well, all kinds of petty crooks were victimizing these young veterans -- mugging them, ~~holding them up.~~ holding them up. We cut down on crimes of violence, hard and fast, ~~with the law.~~ ~~upholding the law~~ an dstrictly in accordance with the law.

~~Minneapolis~~ ~~was a fine one~~ ~~filled with fine men~~ ~~led by fine men~~ ~~and they had my unflinching and dedicated support~~ ~~And I'm proud to tell you that I had their support~~ ~~They knew that I was committed to upholding the law~~ ~~and that I was committed to upholding them~~ ~~I helped build public support for that police department~~ ~~but I hasten to add that they built it basically themselves~~ ~~because of the fair and effective way they functioned~~

That police department in Minneapolis was a fine one, filled with fine men, led by fine men, and they had my unflinching and dedicated support. And I'm proud to tell you that I had their support. They ~~knew~~ knew that I was committed to upholding the law, and that I was committed to upholding them. I helped build public support for that police department, but I hasten to add that they built it basically themselves because of the fair and effective way they functioned.

You know, I think it's too bad that so many of the citizens in this nation of ours take the police for granted. It's too bad that a few years ago it had to ~~have~~ be the John Birch Society that came up with a program to "support your local police." I was greatly relieved when the ^{American} Bar Association launched its program of respect for law and law enforcement. The idea of support for the police is far too vital a matter for our public safety to be left to a bunch of right wingers who believe that our government is shot through with spies and traitors. It's every citizen's responsibility to support his local police. It's no cause to be monopolized by extremists, or left to the extremists by the default of the great majority of responsible and moderate citizens.

It also is too important to be left to the cynics and wise guys who responded to the John Birch Society's program with the gag line, "Support your local police -- bribe a cop today." (And bribing a cop was par for the course in Minneapolis before/Hubert Humphrey, by the way.)

I want to say something about how I supported the police in Minneapolis, because it says a great deal, in fairly specific terms, about how I look at order and justice, and how I intend to strengthen our police departments, and strengthen the impartial and complete ~~enforcement~~ enforcement of the law if the voters send me to the White House.

This brings me to the subject of order and justice in terms of ^{race.} ^{Minneapolis} Minneapolis, in the war years, was known as a bigoted town.

It was an anti-Semitic town. It was a town that repressed any aspirations that even/imaginative and courageous Negroes had about attaining some of that equality we ~~talked about~~ ^{used to talk} about. ^{We talked about it} on the Fourth of July and then put back in mothballs until next summer.

One of the first things I did ~~was~~ as mayor was to set up a Citizens Committee ^{Asian} on Law Enforcement, and another -- one of the first in the nation -- on Human Relations. I discovered that some of the police were reflecting the bigotry that was rampant in a large part of the city as a whole. Following the recommendations of those committees of concerned and responsible citizens, I set up the first human relations course for police officers in that this country has seen. ^{Our} My objective was to ^{help} get the police ^{gain a real} to trying to understanding their various ethnic groups that made up that community -- their constituents, the people ~~that~~ they were there to protect. And I told the police department, why I was doing it. I said to them, "Anybody can enforce the law, but we want law observance." ~~I told them,~~ police, "Of course you can enforce the law by frightening people, but I want you to be able to walk down the street and have people say, 'there goes a good man.' I want just your presence ^{to} make people want to observe the law."

Well, I still do. And in Minneapolis I showed that I knew how And no other candidate for President can make that statement. to go about it. / I still do. I want our police officers to be respected not on the basis of fear, but on the basis of performance. Performance - and understanding. Mutual understanding. That's what breeds respect, and mutual respect.

Now we hear a lot this year about "law and order." And often as not when you hear some politician utter the phrase, you hear a ~~xx~~ roar like a ~~mob~~ crowd at a bullfight -- a vindictive roar, the roar of a mob with blood in its eyes. And the reason for that is that ^{those words} "law and order" have -- indeed -- become code words for something ~~that is not~~ quite unlike what the words ^{themselves} really mean. The difference between what ^{those} the words "law and order" ~~xx~~ really mean, and what they seem to mean, is literally as great as the difference between black and white.



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