

TELEVISION ADDRESS BY

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
LAW AND ORDER

- - -

Saturday, October 12, 1963

My fellow Americans, last week I spoke to you about one of the campaign's major issues: How to achieve peace abroad.

I told you what I will do to end the war in Vietnam if there is no cease fire and negotiations are not yielding promise by January 20, 1969.

I told you how I would stop the bombing as a step towards peace -- a risk within our national interest -- and I proposed a cease-fire, the de-Americanization of the war, and free elections in South Vietnam with everyone taking part.

But, tonight, I want to speak with you frankly about achieving peace here at home.

For this is a time for some straight talk on the issue of crime and violence and riots.

Every American has a right to life -- to live in safety -- free from coercion, threat or violence.

And, all my life I have worked to assure every American the right to live in safety and to make the most of himself.

I have discussed our common problems with thousands and thousands of people in hundreds of towns and cities -- long before this campaign ever began. I have visited every one of our 50 states. I know America. And I know that Americans want to live in safety.

I know that husbands want their wives and children to be safe when they leave for work.

And I know that mothers want their children to be safe on their way home from school.

And I know that merchants want to be safe in their stores.

I know that families -- in cities large and small -- and in rural America -- want safety, too.

Yet, what do we hear and what do we see?

Well, we hear extremists preaching hate and violence.

And we read about robberies and killing.

We see and read about riots, and fire-bombing and sniping. And we know that all of this is going on in our country. And many Americans are afraid.

They wonder why more is not being done about it.

And, more can be done, and when I am President, more will be done.

The first obligation of government is to provide for the safety of every American in his home or his neighborhood.

Grabbing guns, and throwing fire bombs, and cynically discrediting America's institutions and insisting on racial name-calling is not progress.

To the violent few who, through their words and actions would join guerilla movements, I say that you are as mistaken and anti-American as the extremist white groups that would equally spread fear and violence throughout the land.

And if this trend towards guerilla bands and vigilantes continues, there is no question in my mind but that strong legislation is inevitable to stop their activities.

As President I would propose such legislation.

We cannot tolerate in America armed terrorist groups of any color or persuasion.

On this there can be -- and there will be -- no compromise.

A candidate for President, however, must be honest with the American people, and with all of them.

Most Americans are decent and they are fair-minded people who are willing to give everyone a fair chance. But today many Americans are afraid -- they're afraid of crime and they're afraid of riots. Fear has replaced trust.

Many white Americans fear black Americans and many blacks fear whites.

And the result is rising tension, frustration, hate, and violence.

But before we act out of frustration and fear, let's be calm and sensible and honest with each other.

There are blacks who break the law.

There are also whites who break the law and both should be brought to justice and the same kind of justice.

The issue in 1968 is not who is against crime and violence.

The issue in 1968 is who can -- and will -- do something about it. Now, I know these problems first hand.

Right after I was elected Mayor of Minneapolis, I went to Washington to ask the advice of J. Edgar Hoover about cleaning up crime in Minneapolis.

Mr. Hoover gave me some good advice. He said, get the best man that you possibly can for police chief and then give him all the support that he needs. Now, I followed his recommendation and I went back to Minneapolis to get the job done and as Mayor, I rode around that city at night in patrol cars with out police officers. I went with them and saw that they closed down gambling houses and illegal bars whose operators have always been able to buy off somebody.

I raised police salaries, too, but I insisted on first-class police performance.

I backed my police and I asked the community to back them.

Now, we didn't finish the job overnight. I was threatened more than once by hoodlums who didn't appreciate the heat.

But we ran the racketeers out of town and we laid the foundation for a decent city for all the people -- and I'm still proud of this record. Now, I got results in Minneapolis. And I'll get results for you as President of the United States.

But, let's be clear what we're talking about. Ninety-eight per cent of our police forces are state and local . . . not Federal. The basic police power, you know, is in your state and local government. And, this is in accord with our Constitutional tradition.

Americans don't want a national police force that could lead to a police state.

But with a determined Federal Government I say that we can beat crime and we can put down rioting and violence.

Your President -- and your Federal Government -- can give your state and local officials desperately needed help in our battle against crime.

And when I am your President they will get this help. I intend to take the offensive against crime.

Criminal justice is a three-step process.

It begins with the police.

It proceeds with the courts.

It ends -- if the defendant is guilty -- in prison

Now, first, a word -- your local policemen need help.

We give them one of the most important and difficult jobs in society -- to balance order and liberty . . . to regulate the conduct of rebellious children, and quarrelling couples, and drunken drivers, and people filled with generations of hate.

And then we pay them, on the average, about two-thirds of what is necessary to support a family, and we give them second-rate

education and training.

Last year over 50,000 jobs for police officers just could not be filled. And chances are that your city is short of police right now.

That's why you are probably not getting the protection that you deserve.

Now, there is a second hard fact that we must face: Our courts are understaffed, they're overworked and they're overcrowded.

In some cities, two years pass before a criminal case is even brought to trial. Witnesses die. Convictions are lost. Dangerous criminals walk the streets awaiting trial.

Now, if the courts were adequately equipped to handle their workload, justice would be swift and effective.

So, we need to help our courts -- not attack them.

Then, there is this shocking fact:

Of the nearly half-million Americans now in jail and prison, three out of every four will be arrested again for another crime.

Now, if we reduce the number of repeaters by only one-fifth, we would stop the increase in crime.

If we cut the number of repeaters in half, the crime rate would drop sharply.

But, the most tragic fact of all is that almost the entire increase in crime since 1960 has been caused by young people. Last year, people under 25 committed 88 per cent of the auto thefts . . . 82 per cent of the burglaries . . . and 80 per cent of the arsons.

A majority of crimes against property -- burglary, larceny and car theft -- are committed by young people between the ages, mind you, of 11 and 17.

But there is one encouraging fact:

Our battle against organized crime is showing results. Last year the Federal Government indicted a record number of 1,166 persons for organized crime -- compared with only 19 in the last year we had a Republican Administration.

But the forces of organized crime continue to expand their activities.

In the face of these realities, you ask them what must be done?

Well, the most urgent need is Federal assistance to states and cities for better pay, professional training, and the most modern equipment for our law enforcement officers.

Your local police need better technical equipment such as automatic fingerprint identification systems . . . safe, non-lethal weapons. . . and night vision and sensor devices like used by the Army . . . and fast computerized information systems and radio and other communication equipment, such as a pocket-sized walkie-talkie, especially for foot patrolmen -- to help speed policemen to the scene of the crime in the first critical minutes.

Your local police need better professional training, too.

And here the Federal Government has made a start, but more must be done.

We can establish centers for crime prevention and control at every major university. Since 1965 we have already done this at 27 institutions.

We can continue to expand the FBI National Academy at Quantico, Virginia. It does a good job.

The Federal Government can, and should, help our states to establish and maintain police training institutions and cooperative training programs such as the Operation Combine in New Jersey.

We must help our police -- through fellowships and grants -- to obtain in-service training and education.

And citizens must have police alarm call boxes throughout their city to summon help -- just as you have fire alarm boxes to call the fire department.

And we must help cities improve their street lighting -- and we must do it on a national scale. You see, crime drops rapidly when all the streets are properly lighted. You just ask the citizens of St. Louis and other cities where it has been done.

So, I shall propose a nationwide street lighting program. I shall call in police and local officials and the electric utility industry to put this program into action.

I shall then also propose a new National Courts Assistance Act -- to get our courts the skilled manpower and the efficient techniques that they need.

And, I will see that the Federal Government helps law schools to train more prosecutors, and public defenders, and other court officers.

I will take the lead in changing our prisons from schools for crime into places where men break the vicious cycle of crime.

And let me be very clear on this next point: Juvenile offenders must be made to respect the law and their fellow-citizens. They, and their parents, must understand that if they break the law, they will have to be punished.

But, this is only part of the story.

We can prevent juvenile crime through programs strengthening family ties.

We must provide jobs for all Americans -- so that fathers can raise their children with dignity.

And there is so much more that we can do. We can use our schools over the weekends and during vacations, and we can . . . establish day-care centers to help working mothers . . . and rebuild our cities so that our young people will not be out of work and out of school. . . but out of trouble and off the streets, working and learning to become useful citizens.

Yes, we must do everything necessary to protect our young people and particularly to protect them from the terrible tragedy of drug addiction.

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

This means an increase in enforcement personnel.

It means prosecuting drug peddlers to the full extent of the law.

It means a large-scale program for treating drug addiction and for rehabilitating its victims.

And, we must also keep guns out of the hands of criminals, and drug addicts and the mentally ill.

Now if the states do not act promptly, I hope they will, I shall propose legislation to the Congress for full registration and licensing of firearms.

Now, as for organized crime, I would expand the successful organized crime strike forces within the Department of Justice and strengthen their efforts through an increase in personnel . . . a new planning and research unit . . . and a computerized system for collecting and correlating all of the intelligence about organized crime.

And I would enlist the help of both legitimate business and organized labor -- increasingly the targets of organized crime -- in reporting information about the syndicate's activities.

For decades, you know, we have shamefully neglected our law enforcement agencies.

Now we are reaping the harvest of this sad neglect.

Revenues available from the local tax base on property are no longer enough to meet the urgent needs of law enforcement.

Therefore, I have proposed Federal revenue-sharing with the states and the localities. This will help provide more money at the state and local level.

But beyond this, for a direct attack against crime itself, I shall propose in January to the Congress a tenfold increase in funds available under the Safe Streets Act passed this year -- an increase from 62 million to 620 million dollars.

Last year crime cost the American people 27 billion dollars. And for a small fraction of this amount we can sharply reduce this tragic loss and we can save lives and protect property and we can help banish fear.

Now, if Congress approves my request, I promise you that these funds will be on their way to the states and the local police departments immediately.

I know these things are not cheap.

But a society that asks so much of its police, its courts, and its prisons must be willing to pay the bill.

And the bill is worth it because:

Your life can be saved.

Your children will be protected.

And, your home will be secure.

Now, I will need your help in getting the approval of the Congress.

If you are prepared to help, tell your Congressman or Senator now.

Let him know now -- before the election -- so that we can get this money early in the next session of Congress.

If your Congressman or Senator is not prepared to vote for these funds, you should think about voting for someone who will.

Now that is the problem of crime. But, there is also the problem of riots and disorders.

And I know you are distressed and outraged by the riots and disorder in many of our cities. And so am I.

We cannot build a just society in the midst of violence. And the best way to stop riots is to keep them from ever starting.

A Council of Civil Peace would be an effective early warning system for any trouble that might lie ahead. Its job would be to head off riots before they began.

But if they do break out, looting and burning must -- and I say, will, be stopped.

Looters and arsonists must be punished according to the law -- and they will be.

The key, of course, to stopping riots is immediate mobilization of the police and National Guard in sufficient numbers to end the violence in its early stages.

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

I will maintain small, highly mobilized National Guard riot control units ready for immediate service when needed.

And I will stand ready to respond to any legitimate call from states or cities for military manpower in the event of large-scale disorders.

But we cannot expect the police or the National Guard to solve all of society's problems.

We have laws -- and when I am President they will be enforced.

We need order -- and when I am President we will have order.

But we also need individual liberty and justice, and when I am President we will have liberty and justice, too.

Any one who seriously believes that order can exist without liberty and justice is tragically -- even dangerously -- misguided.

And anyone who tells this country -- as Mr. Nixon has -- that poverty and crime have little or no relationship, is fooling you and himself.

Now, all of us know that poverty, despair, alienation have throughout history been the breeding ground for crime.

And I am pledged to overcoming these evils -- just as I am pledged to defeat crime.

On this, too, there can be no compromise.

All of what I have talked about tonight is possible and when I am President, your President, these things will be done.

My two principal opponents in this campaign have talked a great deal about crime and they have played heavily on fear.

The third party candidate has talked of little else but crime and race.

And he has appealed to the fears and the emotions felt by so many of our white citizens.

He has said he would take care of criminals and anarchists.

But he has never told us how -- except to downgrade our courts, threaten our liberties, or even run over his enemies with his automobile.

When he was Governor of Alabama, he gave the American people quite a demonstration of his kind of law and order.

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

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

He decided which laws he preferred -- and he attempted to defy others.

The murder rate in his state was the highest in the country. And the rate of aggravated assault was close behind.

I think the American people have the right to ask: If he behaved this way as Governor of Alabama, how would he behave as the President of the United States?

Now, my Republican opponent -- as you would expect, has used more careful language.

But in speech after speech -- on platform after platform -- he has played upon the fears and the emotions of the American people.

Some of his TV ads and commercials have done exactly the same thing.

Last week, for example, Mr. Nixon released a statement on crime. It contained four so-called "major" recommendations.

His advisors, of course, forgot to tell him that three of those recommendations were already part of the Federal Government's program to fight crime.

The only new recommendation made by Mr. Nixon was to suggest a series of nationwide town-hall conferences on crime prevention -- just more talk about crime and plenty of talk we've had.

Well, the time for talking is over. What we need is action. And we need specific programs to do the job.

And on this, Mr. Nixon has remained silent.

But Mr. Nixon's Republican colleagues in Congress have not been silent.

Eighty-nine per cent of the Republicans in the House of Representatives voted against a Democratic proposal to give the policemen in the District of Columbia extra pay for completing college-level courses in law enforcement.

Sixty-six per cent of the Republicans in the Senate voted against the Democratic proposal to prevent extremist groups -- like the American Nazi Party or the Black Panthers -- from qualifying as gun dealers in order to stockpile guns at wholesale prices.

And ninety-five per cent of the House Republicans voted against a Democratic proposal to create a coordinated, unified Federal effort to wipe out the narcotics and dangerous drug traffic when they opposed the creation of a Federal Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs.

I think there is in the American people enough courage to resist these appeals to fear . . . and enough compassion to reject repression . . . and enough wisdom to ignore the demagogues.

America has, we know, serious problems. This, we know.

But America has a vast majority of millions of people who want to solve these problems not in anger and recrimination, but in peace and reconciliation and in trust in one another.

And it is to those millions that I appeal.

It is in them that I put my faith.

If there is one thing that I have learned as a young man, as Mayor of a great city, and then as Senator and as Vice President, it is that nothing comes easy. Problems don't go away because you want them to go away. Problems aren't solved by hallyhoo. Problems are solved by work, hard work, rolled-up sleeves work, work of not just one man, either, but of many men. This has been the experience of our America. The problem of crime and violence is not going to go away just because we think it is bad and we wish it would go away. It will go away only if we work at it, and this means dedication, commitment, energy, brains, and it means money, more money for police and more money for equipment.

Now, this country was built by men who said: "I want to give my sons and grandsons something better and I will work for it."

What I offer you is the opportunity to pass on to your children and grandchildren a better world than the one that we inherited.

Now, tonight I have talked with you about the realities of crime and violence in America. I have told you specifically what I intended to do about them as President. I have clear differences with Mr. Nixon and Mr. Wallace on this vital issue as I have on the great issues of Vietnam, of the arms race, of human rights in America, of the crisis in our cities, of economic and social growth.

For the past eight years Mr. Nixon has called for great debates by the Presidential candidates. Now when challenged to such debates, he ducks the issue, as I believe he is ducking the other basic and vital issues in this campaign. And I ask why is Mr. Nixon afraid to debate? Why does he fear the judgment of the American people?

I call on Mr. Nixon and Mr. Wallace to join me in open debate, the three of us together on the same platform. I do not believe the American people should trust any man as President if he dare not trust himself in the free competition of ideas.

We must not let a President be elected by the size of his advertising budget or because he has more money to spend than the other candidates. I am willing to put myself and my programs and my ability before the American people for judgment. This is an obligation that I feel I owe, and I will meet this obligation.

I ask the Republican nominee and the third party candidate to do the same. I call on Governor Agnew and General LeMay to have the courage to meet my Vice Presidential running mate, Senator Ed Muskie of Maine, in similar open debate.

I say let the people hear us. Let the people compare. Let the people choose. Let the people decide. Let the American people be our jury and cast their decision and their judgment.

In this I ask for your help and in this I hope that I may merit your vote.

Thank you.

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And I know that merchants want to be safe in their stores.

I know that families -- in cities large and small -- and in rural America -- want safety, too.

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Looters and arsonists must be punished according to the law -- and they will be.

The key, of course, to stopping riots is immediate mobilization of the police and National Guard in sufficient numbers to end the violence in its early stages.

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

I will maintain small, highly mobilized National Guard riot control units ready for immediate service when needed.

And I will stand ready to respond to any legitimate call from states or cities for military manpower in the event of large-scale disorders.

But we cannot expect the police or the National Guard to solve all of society's problems.

We have laws -- and when I am President they will be enforced.

We need order -- and when I am President we will have order.

But we also need individual liberty and justice, and when I am President we will have liberty and justice, too.

Any one who seriously believes that order can exist without liberty and justice is tragically -- even dangerously -- misguided.

And anyone who tells this country -- as Mr. Nixon has -- that poverty and crime have little or no relationship, is fooling you and himself.

Now, all of us know that poverty, despair, alienation have throughout history been the breeding ground for crime.

And I am pledged to overcoming these evils -- just as I am pledged to defeat crime.

On this, too, there can be no compromise.

All of what I have talked about tonight is possible and when I am President, your President, these things will be done.

My two principal opponents in this campaign have talked a great deal about crime and they have played heavily on fear.

The third party candidate has talked of little else but crime and race.

And he has appealed to the fears and the emotions felt by so many of our white citizens.

He has said he would take care of criminals and anarchists.

But he has never told us how -- except to downgrade our courts, threaten our liberties, or even run over his enemies with his automobile.

When he was Governor of Alabama, he gave the American people quite a demonstration of his kind of law and order.

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

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

He decided which laws he preferred -- and he attempted to defy others.

The murder rate in his state was the highest in the country. And the rate of aggravated assault was close behind.

I think the American people have the right to ask: If he behaved this way as Governor of Alabama, how would he behave as the President of the United States?

Now, my Republican opponent -- as you would expect, has used more careful language.

But in speech after speech -- on platform after platform -- he has played upon the fears and the emotions of the American people.

Some of his TV ads and commercials have done exactly the same thing.

Last week, for example, Mr. Nixon released a statement on crime. It contained four so-called "major" recommendations.

His advisors, of course, forgot to tell him that three of those recommendations were already part of the Federal Government's program to fight crime.

The only new recommendation made by Mr. Nixon was to suggest a series of nationwide town-hall conferences on crime prevention -- just more talk about crime and plenty of talk we've had.

Well, the time for talking is over. What we need is action. And we need specific programs to do the job.

And on this, Mr. Nixon has remained silent.

But Mr. Nixon's Republican colleagues in Congress have not been silent.

Eighty-nine per cent of the Republicans in the House of Representatives voted against a Democratic proposal to give the policemen in the District of Columbia extra pay for completing college-level courses in law enforcement.

Sixty-six per cent of the Republicans in the Senate voted against the Democratic proposal to prevent extremist groups -- like the American Nazi Party or the Black Panthers -- from qualifying as gun dealers in order to stockpile guns at wholesale prices.

And ninety-five per cent of the House Republicans voted against a Democratic proposal to create a coordinated, unified Federal effort to wipe out the narcotics and dangerous drug traffic when they opposed the creation of a Federal Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs.

I think there is in the American people enough courage to resist these appeals to fear . . . and enough compassion to reject repression . . . and enough wisdom to ignore the demagogues.

America has, we know, serious problems. This, we know.

But America has a vast majority of millions of people who want to solve these problems not in anger and recrimination, but in peace and reconciliation and in trust in one another.

And it is to those millions that I appeal.

It is in them that I put my faith.

If there is one thing that I have learned as a young man, as Mayor of a great city, and then as Senator and as Vice President, it is that nothing comes easy. Problems don't go away because you want them to go away. Problems aren't solved by ballyhoo. Problems are solved by work, hard work, rolled-up sleeves work, work of not just one man, either, but of many men. This has been the experience of our America. The problem of crime and violence is not going to go away just because we think it is bad and we wish it would go away. It will go away only if we work at it, and this means dedication, commitment, energy, brains, and it means money, more money for police and more money for equipment.

Now, this country was built by men who said: "I want to give my sons and grandsons something better and I will work for it."

What I offer you is the opportunity to pass on to your children and grandchildren a better world than the one that we inherited.

Now, tonight I have talked with you about the realities of crime and violence in America. I have told you specifically what I intended to do about them as President. I have clear differences with Mr. Nixon and Mr. Wallace on this vital issue as I have on the great issues of Vietnam, of the arms race, of human rights in America, of the crisis in our cities, of economic and social growth.

For the past eight years Mr. Nixon has called for great debates by the Presidential candidates. Now when challenged to such debates, he ducks the issue, as I believe he is ducking the other basic and vital issues in this campaign. And I ask why is Mr. Nixon afraid to debate? Why does he fear the judgment of the American people?

I call on Mr. Nixon and Mr. Wallace to join me in open debate, the three of us together on the same platform. I do not believe the American people should trust any man as President if he dare not trust himself in the free competition of ideas.

We must not let a President be elected by the size of his advertising budget or because he has more money to spend than the other candidates. I am willing to put myself and my programs and my ability before the American people for judgment. This is an obligation that I feel I owe, and I will meet this obligation.

I ask the Republican nominee and the third party candidate to do the same. I call on Governor Agnew and General LeMay to have the courage to meet my Vice Presidential running mate, Senator Ed Muskie of Maine, in similar open debate.

I say let the people hear us. Let the people compare. Let the people choose. Let the people decide. Let the American people be our jury and cast their decision and their judgment.

In this I ask for your help and in this I hope that I may merit your vote.

Thank you.

# # #

FOR RELEASE: 6:30 PM Saturday  
SUNDAY AM's  
October 13, 1968

TELEVISION ADDRESS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

LAW AND ORDER

October 12, 1968

Last week I spoke to you about one of the campaign's major issues: How to achieve peace abroad.

I told you what I will do to end the war in Vietnam if there is no cease fire and negotiations are not yielding promise by January 20, 1969.

I told you how I would stop the bombing as a step toward peace -- a risk within our national interest -- and I proposed a cease-fire, the de-Americanization of the war, and free elections in South Vietnam with everyone taking part.

Tonight, I want to speak with you frankly about achieving peace here at home.

For this is a time for straight talk on the issue of crime and violence and riots.

Every American has a right to life -- to live in safety -- free from coercion, threat or violence.

All my life I have fought to assure every American the right to live in safety and to make the most of himself.

I have discussed our common problems with thousands of people in hundreds of towns and cities -- long before this campaign began. I have visited every one of our 50 states. I know America.

I know that Americans want to live in safety.

I know that husbands want their wives and children to be safe when they leave for work.

I know that mothers want their children to be safe on their way home from school.

I know that merchants want to be safe in their stores.

Page 2

I know that families -- in cities large and small -- and in rural America -- want safety.

Yet, what do we see and hear?

We hear extremists preaching hate and violence.

We read about robbery and killing.

We see and read about riots, fire-bombing and sniping.

We know all of this is going on in our country. And many Americans are afraid.

They wonder why more is not being done about it.

More can be done, and, if I am President, more will be done.

The first obligation of government is to provide for the safety of every American in his home and neighborhood.

Grabbing guns, throwing fire bombs, cynically discrediting America's institutions and insisting on racial name-calling is not progress.

To the violent few who, through their words and actions would join guerilla movements, I say that you are as mistaken and anti-American as the extremist white groups that would equally spread fear and violence through the land.

If this trend toward guerilla bands and vigilantes continues, there is no question in my mind but that strong legislation is inevitable to stop their activities.

As President I would propose such legislation.

We cannot tolerate in America armed terrorist groups of any color or persuasion.

~~On this there can be -- there will be -- no compromise.~~

235 → A candidate for President must be honest with the American people -- all of them.

Most Americans are decent, fair-minded people who are willing to give everyone a fair chance. But today many Americans are afraid -- afraid of crime--afraid of riots. Fear has replaced trust.

Many white Americans fear black Americans. Many blacks fear whites.

And the result is rising tension, frustration, hate, and violence.

But before we act out of frustration and fear, let's be calm and sensible and honest with each other.

There are blacks who break the law.

There are also whites who break the law. Both should be brought to justice--the same justice.

We must be honest with ourselves--both as to the fears which grip many Americans today--and as to the sources of crime and violence in America.

I want to say tonight to every mother and every father, to every son and every daughter, we must stop the muggings, the murders and the violence.

Americans should no longer be afraid to ride a bus or subway at night-- or walk down streets to visit their neighbor.

A park should be a safe haven--not a place of danger.

We cannot have a country where bus drivers are afraid to carry cash-- where taxi cab drivers have to carry guns and lead pipes in order to protect themselves.

We must stop these outrages.

Whatever the cost, it must be done.

~~The issue in 1968 is not who is against crime and violence.~~

The issue in 1968 is who can --and will -- do something about it.

I know these problems first hand.

Right after I was elected Mayor of Minneapolis, I came to Washington to ask the advice of J. Edgar Hoover about cleaning up crime in Minneapolis.

Mr. Hoover gave me some good advice-- get the best man you can for police chief and then give him all the support he needs. I followed his recommendation and I went back to Minneapolis to get the job done.

As Mayor, I rode around the city at night in patrol cars with our police officers. I went with them and saw that they closed down gambling houses and illegal bars whose operators had always been able to buy off somebody.

I raised police salaries -- and I insisted on first-class performance.

I backed my police and I asked the community to back them.

We didn't finish the job overnight. I was shot at more than once by hoodlums who didn't appreciate the heat.

But we ran the racketeers out of town and laid the foundations for a decent city for all the people -- and I'm still proud of this record.

I got results in Minneapolis. And I'll get results as President of the United States.

But let's be quite clear what we're talking about. Ninety-eight per cent of our police force are state and local ... not federal. The basic police power is in your states and local governments. This is in accord with our Constitutional tradition.

Americans don't want a national police force. That could lead to a police state.

And we won't have a police state if I am your President.

But with a determined federal government I say we can beat crime and put down rioting and violence.

Your President -- and your federal government -- can give your state and local officials desperately needed help in our battle against crime.

If I am President, they will get this help. I intend to take the offensive against crime.

Criminal justice is a three-step process.

It begins with the police.

It proceeds with the courts.

It ends -- if the defendant is guilty -- in prison.

First, your local policemen need help.

We give them one of the most important and difficult jobs in society -- to balance order and liberty ... to regulate the conduct of rebellious children ... quarrelling couples ... drunken drivers, and people filled with generations of hate.

Then we pay them, on the average, two-thirds of what is necessary to support a family, and we give them education and training more appropriate to skilled laborers than professionals.

Last year over 50 thousand jobs for police officers could not be filled.

Chances are your city is short of police right now.

That's why you are probably not getting the protection you deserve.

There is a second hard fact we must face: Our courts are understaffed, overworked and overcrowded.

In some cities, two years pass before a criminal case is brought to trial. Witnesses die and convictions are lost. Dangerous criminals walk the streets awaiting trial.

If the courts were adequately equipped to handle their workload, justice would be both swift and effective.

We need to help our courts -- not attack them.

Then, there is this shocking fact:

Of the nearly half-million Americans now in jail and prison, three out of four will be arrested again for another crime.

If we reduced the number of repeaters by only one-fifth, we would stop the increase in crime.

If we cut the number of repeaters in half, the crime rate would drop sharply.

The most tragic fact of all is that almost the entire increase in crime since 1960 has been caused by young people. Last year people

under 25 committed 88 percent of the auto thefts'... 82 per cent of the burglaries'... and 80 per cent of the arsons.

A majority of crimes against property -- burglary, larceny and car theft -- are committed by young people between the ages of 11 and 17.

But there is one encouraging fact:

Our battle against organized crime is showing results. Last year the federal government indicted a record number of 1,166 persons for organized crime -- compared with only 19 in the last year we had a Republican Administration.

But the forces of organized crime continue to expand their activities.

\* \* \* \* \*

In the face of these realities, what must be done?

The most urgent need is federal assistance to states and cities for better pay, professional training, and the most modern equipment for our law enforcement officers.

Your local police need better technical equipment such as automatic fingerprint identification systems ... safe, non-lethal weapons ... night vision and sensor devices used by the Army ... fast computerized information systems and radio and other communication equipment, such as pocket-sized walkie-talkies, especially for foot patrolmen -- to help speed policemen to the scene of the crime in the first critical minutes.

Your local police need better professional training.

Here the federal government has made a start, but more must be done.

We can establish centers for crime prevention and control at every major university. Since 1965 we have already done this at 27 institutions.

We can continue to expand the FBI National Academy at Quantico, Virginia.

The federal government can, and should, help our states to establish and maintain police training institutes and cooperative training programs

such as Operation Combine in New Jersey.

We must help our police--through fellowships and grants--to obtain in-service training and education.

Citizens must have police alarm call boxes throughout their city to summon help--just as fire alarm boxes call the fire department.

We must help cities improve their street lighting--and we must do it on a national scale. Crime drops rapidly when all streets are properly lighted--just ask the citizens of St. Louis and other cities where it has been done.

I shall propose a nation-wide street lighting program. I shall call in local and police officials and the electrical utility industry to put this program into action.

I shall propose a new National Courts Assistance Act--to give our courts the skilled manpower and efficient techniques they need.

I will see that the federal government helps law schools to train more prosecutors, public defenders, and other court officers...advises local courts on the use of modern computerized equipment...and provides substantial aid for reform of state and local criminal courts.

I will take the lead in changing our prisons from schools for crime into places where men break the cycle of crime.

And let me be very clear on this next point: Juvenile criminals must be made to respect the law and their fellow-citizens. They, and their parents, must understand that if they break the law, they will be punished.

But this is only part of the story.

We can prevent juvenile crime through programs strengthening family ties.

We must provide jobs for all Americans -- so that fathers can raise their children with dignity.

And there is much more we can do. We can use our schools over weekends and during vacations... establish day-care centers to help working mothers... and rebuild our cities so that our young people will not be out of work and out of school... but out of trouble and off the streets, working and learning to become useful citizens.

We must do everything necessary to protect our young people from the tragedy of drug addiction.

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

This means an increase in enforcement personnel.

It means prosecuting drug peddlers to the full extent of the law.

It means a large-scale program for treating drug addiction and for rehabilitating its victims.

We must also keep guns out of the hands of criminals, drug addicts and the mentally ill.

If the states do not act promptly, I shall propose legislation to the Congress for full registration and licensing of firearms.

As for organized crime, I would expand the successful organized crime strike forces within the Department of Justice and strengthen their efforts through an increase in personnel... a new planning and research unit... and a computerized system for collecting and correlating intelligence about organized crime.

I would enlist the help of both legitimate business and labor -- increasingly the targets of organized crime -- in reporting information about the Syndicate's activities.

\* \* \* \*

For decades we have shamefully neglected our law enforcement agencies.

Now we are reaping the harvest of this neglect.

Revenues available from the local tax base on property are no longer enough to meet the urgent needs of law enforcement.

I propose federal revenue-sharing with the states and localities. This will help provide more money at the state and local level.

Beyond this, a direct attack against crime itself, I shall propose in January to the Congress a tenfold increase in funds available under the Safe Streets Act passed this year--an increase from 62 million to 620 million dollars.

Last year crime cost the American people 27 billion dollars. For a small fraction of this amount we can sharply reduce this tragic loss... save lives... protect property and help banish fear.

If Congress approves my request, I promise you that these funds will be on their way to the states and to local police departments immediately.

These things are not cheap.

But a society that asks so much of its police, its courts, and its prisons must be willing to pay the bill.

And the bill is worth paying because:

Your life can be saved.

Your children will be protected.

Your home will be secure.

I will need your help in getting the approval of the Congress.

If you are prepared to help, tell your Congressman or Senator now.

Let him know now--before the election--so that we can get this money early in the next session of Congress.

If your Congressman or Senator is not prepared to vote for these funds, you should think about voting for someone who will.

That is the problem of crime. There is also the problem of riots and disorders.

I know you are distressed and outraged by the riots and disorders in many of our cities. And so am I.

We cannot build a just society in the midst of violence.

The best way to stop riots is to keep them from starting.

To do that, I propose the establishment of Councils of Civil Peace in our states and cities.

They would be organized at state and metropolitan level-- including representation from all racial, religious and economic groups, as well as the state attorney general's office...the National Guard...law enforcement agencies and local government.

A Council of Civil Peace would be an effective early-warning system for any trouble that might lie ahead. Its job would be to head it off before it began.

But if they do break out, looting and burning must--and will-- be stopped.

Looters and arsonists must be punished according to the law-- and they will be.

The key to stopping riots is immediate mobilization of police and National Guard in sufficient numbers to end the violence in its early stages.

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

I will maintain small, highly-mobile National Guard riot control units ready for immediate service when needed.

I will stand ready to respond to any legitimate call from states or cities for military manpower in the event of large-scale disorders.

But we cannot expect police or National Guard to solve all of society's problems.

We have laws -- and if I am President they will be enforced.

We need order -- and if I am President we will have order.

But we also need individual liberty and justice, too.

Any one who seriously believes that order can exist without liberty and justice is tragically -- even dangerously -- misguided.

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I am pledged to overcoming these evils -- just as I am pledged to defeat crime.

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The third party candidate, George Wallace has talked of little else but crime and race.

George Wallace has appealed to the fears and emotions felt by so many of our white citizens.

He has said he would take care of criminals and anarchists.

But he has never told us how -- except to downgrade our courts, threaten our liberties, or run over his enemies with his automobile.

When he was Governor of Alabama, he gave the American people quite a demonstration of law and order.

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

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

He decided which laws he preferred -- and attempted to defy others.

The murder rate in his state was the highest in the country. The rate of aggravated assault was close behind.

I think the American people have the right to ask: If he behaved this way as Governor of Alabama, how would he behave as President of the United States?

My Republican opponent -- Richard Nixon -- has used more careful language.

But in speech after speech -- on platform after platform -- he has played upon the fears and emotions of the American people.

Some of his TV ads and commercials have done exactly the same thing.

Last week, Mr. Nixon released a statement on crime. It contained four so-called "major" recommendations.

Mr. Nixon's advisers forgot to tell him that three of his recommendations were already part of the federal government's program to fight crime.

The only new recommendation made by Mr. Nixon was to suggest a series of nationwide town-hall conferences on crime prevention -- more talk about crime.

The time for talking is over. We need action. And we need specific programs to do the job.

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But Mr. Nixon's Republican colleagues in Congress have not been silent.

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That's how the Nixon-Republicans keep guns out of the hands of irresponsible radicals and extremists.

And ninety-five per cent of the House Republicans voted against a Democratic proposal to create a coordinated, unified federal effort to wipe out the narcotics and dangerous--drug traffic when they opposed the creation of a Federal Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs.

\* \* \*

I think there is in the American people enough courage to resist appeals to fear...enough compassion to reject repression...and enough wisdom to ignore the demagogues.

I once again challenge my Republican opponent and the Third Party candidate to meet with me on national television before the American people to debate these issues honestly and openly.

The American people have a right to know exactly what each candidate will do about our country's problems if he is elected.

America has serious problems.

But America has a vast majority of millions of people who want to solve these problems not in anger and recrimination, but in peace and reconciliation.

It is to those millions that I appeal.

It is to them that I put my faith.

We have laws.

If I am President, they will be enforced. We need order.

If I am President, we will have order.

And we need individual liberty. And if I am President, we will have liberty too.

The great work of civilization has always been to maintain both order and individual liberty in the same society.

What is at stake in this Presidential election is the character of American society for years to come.

Ours is the greatest political system on earth.

It is the noblest, freest social system yet devised.

If the voices of bigotry and fear prevail, we can lose everything we have labored so hard to build.

I can offer you no easy solutions. There are none.

I offer you no hiding place. There is none.

I offer you the conviction of a lifetime that America can and must act decisively to assure personal security without compromising either personal freedom or individual liberty.

I say we can do it.

I ask for your help and your vote.

# # # # #

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10-10-68

To Be  
Tux

SPECIAL STATEMENT TO THE PEOPLE OF CINCINNATI

What happens to American cities happens to America. Local government today faces one of the most exciting challenges in ~~the~~ history--~~x~~ to build cities <sup>where</sup> ~~in which~~ people may live in safety, in dignity, and in comfort and to create a ~~new~~ society which respects and protects these rights.

As the former mayor of a great city, as the President's liason with American cities over the past ~~x~~ four years, I am familiar with the problems and the promise of urban ~~new~~ society.

I know what is needed.

We need local governments that are strong enough to face the challenge.

We need national leadership that ~~will support~~ will support, not stifle local initiative, ~~that will provide resources and technical assistance without feeling that is buying the right to unnecessary intervention in local decision-making.~~

We need private enterprise that accepts its own responsibility for urban development, ~~and~~ that will play a cooperative role in providing new opportunities for the inner city.

I <sup>am offering</sup> ~~have offered~~ a <sup>four</sup> ~~three~~-part formula of federal support to enable local goverments better to meet the needs of their citizens.

It is a program that will make a difference in Cincinnati.

First, a National Urban Development Bank which would sell stocks and federally-guaranteed bonds to private investors. Those funds would then be re-lent at federally subsidized rates to local governments, school districts, housing authorities and private undertakings designed to serve public needs. Such a bank ~~would~~ could convert a relatively low federal ~~expenditure~~ <sup>investment</sup> into a high rate of urban development.

Second, a program of federal support for our local police forces, to enable them to do the job we ask them to do <sup>with higher salaries,</sup> ~~Federal funds would be available to raise police salaries,~~ increase <sup>d</sup> recruitment, <sup>and</sup> improve <sup>d</sup> training and community relations ~~and~~. ~~streamline our courts and modernize our penal institutions.~~

Third, increased and expanded federal support for education. Local districts simply cannot bear the entire burden of complete education from pre-school through college or vocational training. I also advocate an ~~Adult~~ Adult Opportunity Act to give new hope to the thousands of adults whose lack of education bars them from full participation in our national economic abundance.

Fourth, a new policy of tax-sharing to give state and local governments access to rising federal revenues. <sup>and limit on revenue local projects</sup> Where local tax <sup>will</sup> bases have not expanded, ~~no~~ <sup>no</sup> money for programs ~~must~~ <sup>has</sup> come from drastically increased tax rates--a serious burden on local residents. <sup>new federal</sup> These funds would contribute greatly to meeting the local priorities of education, welfare, health and housing.

With the cooperation of federal, state and local governments, and the commitment of your private ~~sector~~ sector, Cincinnati has already done a great deal. I have seen the redevelopment of your inner city; I have heard of programs to rebuild deteriorating neighborhoods and to hire and train the jobless.

Together we can do more--and shape a new progress for the American city.



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