



# news release

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## NIXON DENIES AMERICANS ADDED SECURITY OF NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY, VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY SAYS

Louisville, September 20 -- Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey said today that Nixon, in opposing ratification of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, "is taking responsibility for denying to the American people the added security from nuclear disaster which this treaty offers."

The Vice President said that the failure of the Senate to act favorably this year could doom the Treaty forever. "I don't think the cause of world peace is served by dozens of nations having the weapons which could plunge this world into World War III -- weapons which could turn some border conflict into a nuclear holocaust," he said.

"We can't afford to play political games with anything as serious as nuclear weapons," Vice President Humphrey said.

The Democratic nominee said Mr. Nixon has adopted a "strategy of silence or evasion." "Mr. Nixon seems more intent on proclaiming generalities than genuine beliefs -- more intent on pleasing everybody than revealing himself -- more intent on playing it safe than providing the American people with hard answers to tough questions."

But, Vice President Humphrey said, the nation will demand "a leader of conviction and belief" who faces the issues and speaks out forthrightly.

The text of his speech follows:

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REMARKS  
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY  
SEPTEMBER 20, 1968

Let's be candid tonight.

My campaign -- according to the polls and surveys -- has not peaked too soon.

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

The role is not new to me.

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

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

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

But there are advantages to the underdog role.

Your ears are closer to the ground.

You run faster.

And sooner or later, your opponent will start looking over his shoulders. And that's when you pass him on the insides.

We read every day about the cool, confident and composed Mr. Nixon -- the man who campaigns without running -- the man who takes it easy and never makes a mistake -- and either evades or straddles every major issue.

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

Is it confidence when he refuses to join me in a direct television debate on the issues -- or is it something else?

Is it confidence when he flees from invitations to answer questions on television news programs -- he has not appeared on a national panel show since 1966 -- or is it something else?

Is it confidence when he straddles the issues of this campaign and evades the challenges to this nation -- or is it something else?

Mr. Nixon seems more intent on proclaiming generalities than genuine beliefs -- more intent on pleasing everybody than revealing himself -- more intent on playing it safe than providing the American people with hard answers to tough questions.

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If Mr. Nixon were truly confident, why would he scurry and scramble away from a direct confrontation on the issues -- why would he fear exposing his beliefs to the good judgment of the American people?

You name it -- the treaty to stop spreading nuclear weapons -- the confirmation of Justice Fortas -- the implementation of civil rights legislation -- firearms control -- Mr. Nixon has either dodged the issue altogether or planted his feet firmly on both sides of the fence.

But the American people do not want a President who only mirrors the divisions, ambivalence and confusion -- as Mr. Nixon does so well.

The people want a man -- not a mannequin -- for President, a man who speaks out clearly and honestly.

The people do not want to be soothed by silence. They want a leader of conviction and belief.

It is all important today for the nation's leadership to face forthrightly the three realities of our time.

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

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

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

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

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

For the future, I pledge -- as President -- to spend my time -- no matter what the circumstances -- seeking peace. Peace will have priority in a Humphrey-Muskie Administration.

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

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The United States Senate is now debating a treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons around the world. Eighty nations have already signed this treaty. U. S. ratification is crucial if the world is to take another step away from the brink of nuclear disaster.

Ratification and implementation of this treaty mean that those nations not now possessing nuclear weapons will not acquire them.

I don't think the cause of world peace is served by dozens of nations having the weapons which could plunge this world into World War III -- weapons which could turn some border conflict into a nuclear holocaust.

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

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

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

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

Let the record be absolutely clear: Mr. Nixon is opposing ratification of the treaty this year. In so doing, Mr. Nixon is taking responsibility for denying to the American people the added security from nuclear disaster which this treaty offers.

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

There is trouble in America.

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

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

I put it very bluntly -- rioting, burning, sniping, mugging, traffic in narcotics and disregard for the law must and will be stopped.

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

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They will be stopped by reasoned, effective action by state, local and federal authority. This week, I released in Washington a comprehensive program to stop crime and violence in America -- a program to support local police with leadership and federal resources, including desperately needed money for higher salaries, better training and equipment.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Nixon's record is curious indeed. He has been for and against Social Security ... for and against minimum wage coverage ... for and against civil rights.

When Mr. Nixon and Mr. Agnew talk about help for the cities ... aid to education ... health ... homes and jobs ... just remember how Nixon-Agnew-Republicans voted on these issues ... 70 percent ... 80 percent ... 90 percent ... against federal aid to schools ... against cities ... Medicare ... Social Security ... slowing the arms race. Why, they even voted 97 percent against the control and extermination of rats.

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

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

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

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

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

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

I base my entire candidacy on the belief which comes from the depths of my soul that the American people will respond to the call for one citizenship -- open to all.

I am keenly aware of the fears and frustrations of the world in which we live. It is all too easy to play on these emotions.

But I refuse to do so. I intend to appeal not to fear, but to hope.

I intend to appeal not to frustration but to your faith.

There is a fundamental faith and goodness in the American people.

I intend to call upon that faith and that goodness. I call you to risk the hard path of greatness.

And so I say to America:

Put aside recrimination and dissension.

Turn away from violence and hatred.

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

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

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TRANSCRIPT  
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY  
GALA  
SEPTEMBER 20, 1968

Vice President Humphrey. Thank you, thank you.

Katie, I hope those young ladies that are going through the crowd with those buckets are taking up a collection.

It surely was wonderful to see them and it is so good to see so many fine young ladies actively participating in the Democratic Party. Which reminds me that Kentucky had the youngest delegate to the National Convention in Gail McHenry, as I recall.

My good friends and distinguished Democrats, there are so many honored guests here that time forbids that we mention too many, except that I surely want to acknowledge the presence of my old friend, Governor Ned Breathitt and of our good friend, Lt. Gov. Wendell Ford.

And of course, the co-chairman at this dinner. It is a wonderful thing when you can get a father and son combination to put on a dinner like this. Not every state can claim that and no Republican party can claim it.

I always have somebody in the audience that is reminding me of my lines. He wanted me to tell him a little bit about the Republican candidate. I prefer that he tell you. He confuses you better than I can.

Katie, won't it be wonderful in the United States when Ed Muskie can sit up there as the presiding officer of the Senate, and say, the Senator from Kentucky, Katie Peden?

It almost makes me want to be Vice President. But I lost my seniority clause. My contract is expiring, and I have to look for new work.

Dear friends, I am honored by Katie's introduction, and I want at this time to just mention the importance, the importance of her election. She has all of the qualifications that are required for eminent and distinguished service in the United States Senate. She has that charm, she has that ability, she has that intelligence, and she has that experience. And Kentucky can have a great national name for itself by electing Katie Peden to the Senate.

Well, we have a big program ahead of us and I am not going to try to take up the whole evening of that program. This is a gala. This is supposed to be a lot of fun. And I know my friend, Buddy Hackett, is over here and he is going to do a job for us tonight

as are others, so you are looking forward to that. You have a rich program already. I want to get right down to business, because we have some business to do tonight.

Well, I say if you have to be interrupted in a speech, it is nice to have it from a friend or a relative, one or the other.

You know somebody said it was time for me to be very candid about things and I am going to be candid about my campaign. According to the polls and the surveys I have been reading, I gather my campaign has not peaked too soon. And no one can accuse us of being fat cats. In fact, they say we are underdogs.

But the fact is that that role is not new to me and it isn't new to you. I was an underdog when I ran for Mayor of Minneapolis in 1945 just before I won, I might add. And I was an underdog when I ran for the U.S. Senate in 1948 with Harry Truman -- just before we won, I might add. And I was an underdog many times in the Senate when we stood there and led the fight for such programs as the Peace Corps, Medicare, Food for Peace, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, just before we won in each of those fights.

So, my friends, if you have to have a role in life, the one that I am used to, the one that I have been most comfortable in is to be the underdog. I don't intend to bite anybody, but I do intend to bark. And I intend to bark tonight. And I intend to bark in the spirit of Alben Barkley who knew how to bark about being a Kentuckian around this country.

There are some advantages to being an underdog. Your ears are closer to the ground and you hear what people are saying. Oh, yes, you can even sniff out the enemy a little better. And you can run faster. And sooner or later, your opponent will have to start looking over his shoulder. And when he does, he may trick himself up a little bit, in case you know what I mean.

And that is the time when he is looking over his shoulder, stumbling over his feet, that you pass him on the inside and start getting out in front and come in on the finish line on November 5 and get the medals and win the prize and gain the victory.

Oh, you know, everyday, we read about that cool, that confident, that composed, that smiling Mr. Nixon, the man who campaigns without running, the man who takes it easy, never



makes a mistake, never has the chance. Never is willing to appear on these shows on television, where they ask him the questions, never, ever, takes a stand, either evades or straddles every major issue. I am going to send him some kind of talcum powder. He must be getting saddle sores, straddling all those issues. Why, I heard the other day, they said, well, Mr. Vice President, you don't realize what you are up against. You are up against the new Nixon. Another fellow said you are up against the old Nixon. I said never mind about the new one or the old one, the one I worry about is the real one. And that is the one you want to worry about, too.

Now, I want to ask Mr. Nixon some questions. I know that he is having a little trouble hearing these questions, but if we keep it up long enough, he is apt to get the message. I know my Republican friends are sometimes slow learners or hard of hearing, and they also have a little shortsighted vision. They have a lot of infirmities, but we can help him tonight.

I want to hear where Mr. Nixon stands on one of the greatest issues of our time. I want to know where he stands on that treaty that rests in the United States Senate now, that will stop the spread of these dangerous nuclear weapons to dozens of countries across this earth. Is he for the treaty or is he against it? I think the American people have a right to know.

I want to know where Mr. Nixon stands on civil rights. When he is in North Carolina, he is soft on it. When he is up in Iowa, he is strong on it. I want to know just where the real Nixon is. Where do you stand, Mr. Nixon, on the issue of desegregation and civil rights?

I want to know where Mr. Nixon stands on the subject of federal aid to education. When he is talking to teachers, he says he thinks there ought to be more money for education. When he is talking to local government people, he says the taxes are too high.

Mr. Nixon, where do you stand? Are you for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act? Are you for more money for our schools or are you just for talk? We want to know. And, Mr. Nixon, where do you stand on the subject that was mentioned from this platform tonight? Why, the Republican Platform had some of the nicest things to say. I want to tell you when I read that platform, I said to myself, it has taken them a long time, but they have come home to Thomas Jefferson. They have come back. They are in the promised land. They begin to learn. That platform indicated that they were for these things.

Why, they said they were for the elderly. They wanted the elderly to have dignity. They wanted the elderly to have the respect of the people and they wanted the elderly to have care.

Then I took a look and I must ask Mr. Nixon tonight, where did you stand and where do you stand on Medicare for the elderly? We would like to know. I know where you stood when you were in Congress, because I was there with you. I introduced the bill and you said it was a socialist scheme. I want to know now, Mr. Nixon, have you changed your mind? Is it the old Nixon, the new Nixon or the real Nixon? That is what I want to know for the elderly people of this country?

And where do you stand on law and order? Why, he says he is for it. He says he wants to double the rate of convictions. But then he says he does not want to double the war on poverty. Now, Mr. Nixon has a special interest in poverty. He helped bring some of it to this country under that Republican administration.

Where does he stand on the issue of law and order? On the one hand, he condemns the Supreme Court. On the other hand, he

condemns the Attorney General, the chief law enforcement officer of this country.

He never tells you how he is going to get it. He just says, we are going to convict more people. Convict them how? With courts that are already over-loaded? With policemen that are already over-worked? With District Attorney's offices that are already under-staffed? Mr. Nixon, what is your program? I think we have a right to know.

And I might suggest to Mr. Nixon that the office that both he and I are running for is not the office of sheriff. We are trying to run for the office of President. And the office of President not only requires that you shall insure them all; it not only requires that you shall insure domestic tranquility, but it also insures that you shall promote justice and Mr. Nixon, law and order and justice are one and the same package.

So I ask Mr. Nixon tonight, are you willing to pay the price for police salaries that are too low now? Are you willing to pay the price for adequate police training? Are you willing to pay the price for the social programs which will get at these breeding grounds of crime? I think the American people have a right to know. And we are going to keep asking him until he gives us some answers, and when he gives us the answers, that will be the end of Mr. Nixon, because his answers will be wrong.

I will ask a simple question like this: Where does he stand on the food stamp program? I know where he stood on it when he was in Congress. But I wonder if he has changed. Where does he stand on money for the Peace Corps that he once called a draft dodging apparatus. Where does he stand on that? Where does he stand on the Alliance for Progress? And where does he stand on Project Headstart?

Just a few things we would like to know, Mr. Republican. Before you start to go to the American people with this general bundle of generalities and a plentitude of platitudes, I think we have a right to know where the Republican nominee stands on these questions.

And by the way, Mr. Nixon, where do you stand on television debates? I am ready. Are you? Why, I have a response from him. Mr. Nixon says that he has taken his stand on 167 separate issues. This is what he said. And I said to an audience today in Springfield that the stand he has taken on those 167 issues makes a bowl of jello look like cement.

No, my friends, it is not enough to say yes, but --

It is not enough to say I am for it but not now. It isn't enough to say I like the general idea but I don't know about the specifics. The American people in this crucial year of 1968 have a right to ask of the candidates for this highest office in the gift of the American people, where do you stand, Mr. Candidate? And they have a right to get some answers. And I am going to keep after him until we get some answers.

You know, I see where Mr. Nixon has a shadow cabinet. Well, I wish he would come out of the dark shadows himself. A shadow cabinet isn't what this country needs. This country does not need a man in the presidency that can duck and bob and weave as if he is an open-field halfback. What this country needs is a man who knows how to be a captain and a quarterback to be able to direct this country and give it some firm leadership. That is why you need a Democrat in the White House.

Now, before I go on, I just want to talk a little economics with you, because I read the other day where my opponent said that he is just the man to do something to our economy. And I said, you never said straighter, more honest words in your life. Not do something for it, but do something to it. You know there is a lot of difference between these candidates. One is Trickle-down Richard and the other is Percolate-up Hubert. And there is a lot of difference in that kind of economics.

Listen, my fellow Americans. Everything that we want in this country, every program that we talk about, everything that Katie Peden will work for in the Senate, everything that a governor or a legislature will work for in this state depends upon the health of our economy. The economy is the strong blade, the strong base of this nation.

And let's take a look at the record. During those eight Nixon-Republican years in the 1950's, we had three job-killing recessions, three job-killing recessions, that cost this country in lost income \$175 billion. Somebody said the other day that there was not a dime's worth of difference between Mr. Nixon and Mr. Humphrey. And I said to him the other day, yes, there is, \$175 billion difference, that is how much.

Khrushchev, Nikita Khrushchev in those days said that he would bury us economically. Well, fortunately, Khrushchev is out of office and so is Nixon, and I think we had better keep them both out of office.

Now, we have had 90 straight months of economic growth in this country and an all-time record, and we have had no recessions. What has happened to the American pay checks during those Nixon years and during those Democratic years? What has happened during those years when the Republicans were in and those years when the Democrats have been? Well, during the Democratic years, personal income has gone up over three times faster than during the Republican years. This means almost \$3,000 per year of additional income for every American family of four. It means a new car every year or a college education for your son or your daughter.

Now, I submit to you, that is a pretty good premium when you cast a ballot for a Democratic candidate.

But, ladies and gentlemen, there is something else more important than economics. What is happening in our country today is of grave concern. There are really three realities in America today, three realities that we face and that we must come to grips with.

The first reality is the absolute necessity on the part of the next President of the United States to find through every honorable means within his power a way to achieve peace in Vietnam. That is the first reality.

And, my fellow Americans, if I am privileged to serve as your President, I promise you from this platform tonight, as one who has been close to this problem for four years, as one who has had to agonize through it, as one who has suffered through all of the attacks that have been levelled upon us, I pledge to you that I will do everything, God willing, within the authority and the power of the President of the United States to find an honorable way to find an honorable peace to end this war so we can get on with the business here at home.

Thank you very much.

My dear friends, if we but stand together, if we but work together, if we but pool our resources together, we can do what

needs to be done.

Now, the second reality that this nation faces is the absolute necessity of finding peace and justice in our own country, in our own cities, in our own nation, and to find it soon,

Ladies and gentlemen, this is called many things.

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Some people call it law and order. Some people just say we have to crack down on crime. Other people say that we have got to subdue the violence.

Let me make it clear-cut. If I am the President of the United States, I will do everything within my power to mobilize the resources of this country to make sure that violence does not plague our streets, to put down the rioting, to stop the looting, to stop the sniping, and to do what is necessary to provide safety for the American people in their neighborhoods and in their cities. It will be done.

But may I add one other thing? Just as I am determined that we shall combat crime, and I have laid out a program with 84 specific recommendations -- police training, upgrading the quality of police personnel, improving the discipline of our police forces, strengthening the enforcement agencies of this government in the drug traffic, strengthening the district attorney's offices, helping our cities with the necessary funds to improve their police administration -- a host of things.

Just as I know we need to do that, let me say that in America, law and order has another thing to it. It is civil order and civil justice. The other side of that coin is that the inequities and the injustices in America must be rooted out in this country just as we crack down on crime and violence.

My Republican opponent says he will double the rate of convictions. Well and good, Mr. Nixon. But I want you to know that I intend not only to enforce the law, but I intend to double the rate of new housing in this country, of building new neighborhoods in this country, of helping in education in this country, because that is what we need.

For every penitentiary that Mr. Nixon and Strom Thurmond builds, we will build a new city and a new neighborhood and a decent place in which people can live.

We know how to enforce the law. I have been a mayor of a city of over a half million people. I have been in charge of a police department. I combatted organized crime, I fought it and won. I know what it means to take on that responsibility. But you are not going to get law and order out of a man who tries to develop distrust in the United States Supreme Court. You are not going to get law and order out of anyone who comedesms the highest law enforcement officer in this country, the Attorney General. You are going to get law and order when you breed respect for the law, and when you have a program, my friends, that gets at the problem.

Now, the third problem, the third reality in our country is the necessity for unity, for unity in this great Republic, this great federal union, E Pluribus Unum, this one nation.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are at the decisive point again in our history. Just as Abraham Lincoln faced a nation divided, so today we face a nation that is on the precipice of division. This nation cannot settle for two nations separate and unequal

We cannot have a nation divided black against white, rich against poor, urban against rural, north against south. America cannot survive that way.

This last best hope of earth can only fulfill its mission; the American dream can only be realized if we have people who lead this nation that want to bind up the wounds, people of understanding, people of reason, people of prudent judgment, people of forbearance and tolerance, people whose lives have been characterized by a love of humanity.

And ladies and gentlemen, the next President of the United States must be more than a policeman. He must be more than a law man. The next president of the United States must be the healer of this Republic, the educator of this Republic, the leader of this Republic, to bring this nation into one great citizenship.

Yes, my friends, I base my entire candidacy, I base my entire candidacy upon the belief which comes from the very depths of my soul, that the American people will respond to this call for one citizenship, open to all. I am not going to campaign, I am unwilling, let me say, to pay the price of winning a presidency by setting group against group, section against section, race against race. I am not going to have any compact with extremism, and I say to the Republican nominee that it was a sad day for this country when he had to join arms with Mr. Number One Dixiecrat in order to be assured of that nomination. I did not have to do that. Yes, my friends, it is an interesting observation that the man who led certain Democrats out of the Democratic Convention of 1948, the man who established the Dixiecrat segregation party of 1948, the man that walked out on me when I said it was time for the Democratic Party to stand up forthrightly in the bright sunshine of human rights -- that man that walked out of our convention brought Mr. Nixon into the Republican Convention for his acceptance speech.

Well, I can come to this audience tonight and tell you that we had to make no deals -- no back-room ones, no front-room ones, none in the basement, none in the kitchen, and none in the barn. No deals.

When I made my recommendation for your Vice President nominee, I gave to you a man of impeccable character, I gave you a man that is a two-terms governor of his state; I gave you a man two terms United States Senator. I gave you a person that is a brilliant student of the law. I gave you a man who understands the problems of the cities as well as the country. I gave you a man who can serve as President of the United States. That is why the Democratic Party has another reason to win in November 1968.

Yes, I believe that we can win this election or I would not be here. But we are not going to win it unless we believe we can win it.

And my fellow Democrats, if there ever was a time to unite our forces, it is now. A party that seeks to lead this country must first be able to lead itself. A leader that seeks to lead this country must help unite his own party. And I come here tonight to ask your help.

We have a great decision. I think you have to search deep into your heart and soul as to whether or not you want the man who is the Republican nominee or the Third Party nominee to be the President of the United States. You have to ask yourself which of these men can you trust to be your President and to lead this nation? That is the question you have to ask.

So I came with my faith restored once again in the processes of our democracy.

I have never had any doubt that we would do the right thing. I worry not about the temporary gyrations of politics. I think the American people know that we are making a basic decision. We are either going to make a decision to turn back, to turn back into days of despair, of conflict, of dissension, of segregation and division, or we can make a decision to stand pat while the world moves by us, to duck and to bob and to evade the issues, to try to be right on everything and popular all the time.

Or we can take another stand. That is the stand that I take, that I think it is time for those of us who seek to be President of the United States not to try to please everybody, but to try to find the right thing and the principle that you believe in. And I am going to stand on the principle of human equality and human opportunity, equal equality and equal opportunity for every American regardless of race, color, or creed.

So, let us go forth. Let us go forth now from this place. Stand with me now. Stand with me. Let us go forth from this place.

Let us go forth from this dinner tonight determined that America will not turn its back upon its own people. Let us go forth from here believing that there is a basic goodness in this country, that there is a basic greatness in this country. And let it be known that in the year 1968, just as in 1932, just as in 1948, and just as in 1960, we were determined to move this country forward, that we are determined to make this country the finest place in the world for the finest people in the world, the American people.

I ask your help. Thank you very much.

Taxed 9/19/12:00  
STATEMENT OF VICE-PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Louisville, Kentucky, September 20, 1968

The most basic opportunity of all---the opportunity without which there is no other---is the opportunity for health.

This right must be enjoyed by all citizens. We can not permit health care to be least available where it is most needed---among the less fortunate.

Louisville has taken a long ~~xxxx~~ step toward providing comprehensive health care for all.

The Park-~~xx~~ Duvalle Neighborhood Health Center is the impressive result of close cooperation between a wide range of federal agencies, local organizations, foundations and businesses and the residents of the Park-Duvalle area. This kind of partnership, which has worked so well in Louisville, needs to be duplicated--and expanded--throughout the United States.

Medical care for all citizens must have a high priority in all our ~~deese~~ domestic planning and it must, as it does in Louisville, mean more than a haphazard treatment of disease. It must be strongly oriented toward prevention and education. Improvement of the quality of life of an entire family--not merely the treatment of a sick child or a disabled parent--should be its goal.

But, no matter how well this is done, we can not permit ourselves to fall into the pattern of doing things for people rather than with them. I am tremendously encouraged by the fact that these health centers are the creation of the people they are serving, with neighborhood residents deeply involved in planning and decision-making.

Finally, the neighborhood health centers have brought far more than better medical care to depressed areas. They have meant new jobs and new careers. In Park-Duvall, for example,

seventy per cent of the center's employees are area residents who were trained for new health careers within the center itself. These area residents are not only lifting themselves out of poverty, but they are providing a tangible sign of hope to their neighbors.

I look forward to ~~xx~~ a time when Louisville's example will have been followed again and again across the country.



The Skunk Co-Chairman

J R Miller

REMARKS  
① Kate Pedersen

Barkley

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

SEPTEMBER 20, 1968

Helene Henry -  
youngest delegate to Nat Conv

Wendell Ford  
Bob Kennedy  
Wendell Ford

Let's be candid tonight.

My campaign -- according to the polls and surveys --  
has not peaked too soon.

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

The role is not new to me.

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

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

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

But there are advantages to the underdog role.

Your ears are closer to the ground. !

You run faster. !

Sooner or later your opponent will start looking over his shoulder.

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

We read every day about the cool, confident and composed Mr. Nixon -- the man who campaigns without running -- the man who takes it easy -- never makes a mistake -- and either evades or straddles every major issue. !

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

↳ I want to hear where Mr. Nixon stands on the spread of nuclear weapons. Is he for or against the treaty that would stop their spread?

↳ Where does he stand? ! *stop*

↳ I want to know where Mr. Nixon stands on civil rights.

↳ Where do you stand, Mr. Nixon?

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

↳ Where do you stand on law and order? Are you just for law and order --- or are you willing to pay the price for police salaries, police training and for the social programs that will *get at* the breeding grounds of crime?

↳ Where do you stand on the Food Stamp Program?

↳ Where do you stand on money for the Peace Corps ... Alliance for Progress ... for Project Head Start?

~~I just don't believe that Mr. Nixon's strategy of silence or evasion will work.~~

*Where does he stand on television debates?*

*I am ready. But Mr. Nixon seems to have had a change of heart.*

167 - issues - ~~Taken a stand~~  
~~3-A -~~  
Like Jello!!

~~That nation today may be divided on policies,  
ambivalent in mood and confused by the complexities of change  
and crisis.~~

~~But the American people do not want a President  
who only mirrors the division, ambivalence and confusion --- as  
Mr. Nixon does so well.~~

The people want a man -- not a mannequin -- for  
President, a man who speaks out clearly and honestly.

The people do not want to be soothed by silence.  
They want a leader of conviction and belief.

I see where Mr Nixon has a Shadow  
Cabinet - Well, I wish he would  
get out of the Shadows of his  
own evasions, Double-talk -  
and his yes-but.

# Economy

Now, before I go on, I want to set Mr. Nixon straight on this economy of ours and just who knows how to help this country grow and who doesn't.

My opponent has been saying around this country that he is just the man to set this economy right

do something for our economy  
will grow the only

~~I say. Let's look at the record.~~

Truck  
Down  
Richard!  
Threaten  
up  
Aunt!

During the eight Nixon Republican years in the 1950's we had three job killing recessions. Krushchev said he would bury us economically.

Now we have had 90 straight months of economic growth -- and all time record. We have had no recessions. !

What happened to American pay checks during the Nixon years and during the Democratic years?

Pay check

During the Democratic years personal income has gone up over 3 times faster than during the Nixon years.

That means almost three thousand dollars per year for a family of four -- a new car or a year's college education for our children.

It is all important today for the nation's leadership to face forthrightly the three realities of our time.

The ~~first~~ <sup>the</sup> reality is the necessity for peace in Vietnam and throughout the world.

The ~~second~~ <sup>2<sup>nd</sup></sup> reality is the necessity for peace and justice in our cities and in our nation.

The ~~third~~ <sup>second</sup> reality is the necessity for unity in our country.

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

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

As President I will do everything in my power to find a way to end this war & I shall do so honorably

Reuther  
yes

For the future, I pledge -- as President -- to spend my time -- no matter what the circumstances -- seeking peace.

Peace will have priority in a Humphrey -Muskie Administration.  
*Peace in Vietnam will be my first objective.*

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

~~The United States Senate is now debating a treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons around the world. Eighty nations have already signed this treaty. U. S. ratification is crucial if the world is to take another step away from the brink of nuclear disaster.~~

~~Ratification and implementation of this treaty mean that those nations not now possessing nuclear weapons will not acquire them.~~

~~I don't think the cause of world peace is served by dozens of nations having the weapons which could plunge this world into World War III -- weapons which could turn some border conflict into a nuclear holocaust.~~

I favor Senate ratification of this treaty this year.

The long-term security interests of the United States will be served by its prompt approval.

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

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

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

Let the record be absolutely clear: Mr. Nixon is opposing ratification of the treaty this year. In so doing, Mr. Nixon is taking responsibility for denying to the American people the added security from nuclear disaster which this treaty offers.

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



# The necessity for Peace & Justice at home in our cities.

There is trouble in America.

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

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

I put it very bluntly -- rioting, burning, sniping, mugging, traffic in narcotics and disregard for the law must and will be stopped.

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

They will be stopped by reasoned, effective action by state, local and federal authority. This week I released in Washington a comprehensive program to stop crime and violence in America -- a program to support local police with leadership and federal resources, including desperately needed money for higher salaries, better training and equipment.

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

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

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

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

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

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

~~Mr. Nixon's record is curious indeed. He has been for and against Social Security ... for and against minimum wage coverage... for and against civil rights.~~

~~When Mr. Nixon and Mr. Agnew talk about help for the cities ... aid to education ... health ... homes and jobs ... just remember how Nixon-Agnew Republicans voted on these issues... 70 percent ... 80 percent ... 90 percent ... against federal aid to schools ... against cities ... Medicare ... Social Security ... slowing the arms race. Why, they even voted 97 percent against the control and extermination of rats.~~

~~Agnew~~  
The ~~big~~ reality in this campaign is the necessity for unity and reconciliation in this country.

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

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

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

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

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

I base my entire candidacy on the belief which comes from the depths of my soul that the American people will respond to the call for one citizenship -- open to all.

I am keenly aware of the fears and frustrations of the world in which we live. It is all too easy to play on these emotions.

But I refuse to do so. I intend to appeal not to fear, but to hope.

I intend to appeal not to frustration but to your faith.

There is a fundamental faith and goodness in the American people.

I intend to call upon that faith and that goodness.

I call you to risk the hard path of greatness.

And so I say to America:

Put aside recrimination and dissension.

Turn away from violence and hatred.

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

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

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ADDRESS OF VICE-PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

FREEDOM HALL, LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

September 20, 1968

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Introduction by Katherine Peden. Standing Ovation.

MR. HUMPHREY: Thank you, very much. Thank you.  
Thank you. (continuing applause) Thank you, very much.  
Thank you. Thank you.

Katie, I hope those young ladies that are going through the crowd with those buckets are taking up a collection. (Laughter and applause) But it's surely wonderful to see them. And it's so good to see so many fine young ladies actively participating in the Democratic Party ... which reminds me that Kentucky had the youngest delegate to the national convention in Gail McHenry, as I recall. (Applause)

My good friends and distinguished Democrats, there are so many honored guests here this evening ... that time will not permit that we mention too many ... except I do want to acknowledge the presence of my old friend, Governor Ned Breathitt, and of my good friend, Lt. Governor Wendell Ford, (applause) and, of course, the co-chairmen of this dinner. It's a wonderful thing when you can get a father and son combination to put on a dinner like this. Not every state can claim that ... and no Republican party can claim it. (applause)

Interruption: Tell 'em about Tricky Dick, Hubert!

They always have somebody in the audience reminding me of my lines --- wanting me to tell them a little bit about the Republican candidate. I would prefer that he tell you; he confuses you better than I can. (Laughter and Applause)

Katie, won't it be wonderful in the United States Senate when Ed Muskie can sit up there as the presiding officer of the Senate and say, "The Senator from Kentucky, Katie Peden." (Applause) It almost makes me want to be vice-president. But I lost my seniority clause; my contract is expiring; and I have to look for new work. (Laughter and Applause)

Dear friends, I'm honored by Katie's introduction. And I want to --- at this time --- just stress the importance --- the importance of her election. She has all the qualifications that are required for distinguished service in the United States Senate. She has that charm. She has that ability. She has that intelligence. She has that experience. And Kentucky can have a great national leader by electing Katie Peden to the Senate. (Applause)

Well, we have a big program ahead of us, and I'm not going to try to take up the whole evening of that program. This is a gala. This is supposed to be a lot of fun. And I know my friend Buddy Hackett is over here, and he is going to do a job for us tonight ... we are looking forward to that. I'm going to



get right down to business tonight, because we have some business to do tonight.

Interruption: Pour it on, Hubert!

Well, I say if you have to be interrupted in a speech, it's nice to have it from a friend or relative, one or the other. (Laughter and Applause)

You know, somebody said it's time for me to be very candid about things, and I'm going to be candid about my campaign. According to the polls, the surveys that I've just seen, I judge my campaign has not peaked too soon. (Laughter) And no one can accuse us of being fat cats. In fact, they say we are underdogs! But the fact is ... that that role is not new to me, and it isn't new to you. I was the underdog when I ran for Mayor of Minneapolis in 1945 --- just before I won, I might add. (Applause) And I was the underdog when I ran for the United States Senate in 1948, with Harry Truman --- just before we won, I might add. (Applause) And I was an underdog many times in the Senate when we stood there and led the fight for such programs as the peace corps, medicare, food for peace, the nuclear test ban treaty --- just before we won in each of those efforts. (Prolonged Applause)

So, my friends, if you have to have a role in life, the one that I'm used to and the one I've been most comfortable

in is to be the underdog. I don't intend to bite anybody; but I do intend to bark; and I intend to bark tonight. (Applause) And I intend to bark in the spirit of Alben Barkley, who knew how to bark down here in Kentucky. (Prolonged Applause)

You know, there are some advantages in being an underdog --- your ears are closer to the ground, and you hear what people are saying. (Laughter) Oh yes, you can even sniff out the enemy a little better, and you can run faster. And sooner or later, your opponent will have to start looking over his shoulder, and when he does, he may trick (sic) himself up a little bit, in case you know what I mean. (Laughter and Applause) And that's the time, when he is looking over his shoulder, stumbling over his feet, that you catch him on the inside and start getting out in front and come in on the winning side on November 5th and get the benefit ... and get the prize and go to victory. (Prolonged Applause)

Oh, every day you read about that cool, that confident, that composed, that charming Mr. Nixon, the man who campaigns without running, the man that takes it easy, never makes a mistake, never has the chance, never is willing to appear on shows on television where they ask the questions, never, ever takes a stand. He either evades or straddles every major issue ... I'm going to send him some talc powder --- he must be getting saddle sore from straddling all those issues. (Prolonged Applause)

Why, the other day, one man said, "Mr. Vice-President, you don't realize what you are up against. You are up against the new Nixon." And another fellow said to me, "Oh, no you're not. No you're not," said, "You're up against the old Nixon." I said, "Never mind about the new one or the old one; the one I'm worried about is the real one!" And that's the one you ought to worry about, too. (Applause)

I want to ask Mr. Nixon some questions. I know he is having some difficulty hearing these questions, but if we keep up long enough, he is apt to get the message. I know my Republican friends are sometimes slow learners ... or ... are hard of hearing. And they also have a little shortsighted vision. They have a lot of infirmities, but we can help them tonight. I want to hear where Mr. Nixon stands on one of the great issues of our time. I want to know where he stands on that treaty that rests in the United States Senate now that will stop the spread of these dangerous nuclear weapons in dozens of countries across this earth. Is he for the treaty or is he against it? I think the American people have a right to know. (Applause)

I want to know where Mr. Nixon stands on civil rights. When he is in North Carolina he is soft on it. When he is up in Iowa he is strong on it. I want to know where the real Mr. Nixon is. Where do you stand, Mr. Nixon, on the issue of desegregation and civil rights? (Applause)

I want to know, I want to know where Mr. Nixon stands on the subject of federal aid to education. When he is talking to teachers, he says he thinks there ought to be more money for education. When he talks to the gold dollar people, he says the taxes are too high. Mr. Nixon, where do you stand? Are you for the elementary and secondary education act? Are you for more money for our schools? Or is this just talk? We want to know. (Applause)

And, Mr. Nixon, where do you stand on the subject that was mentioned from this platform tonight? Why, the Republican platform had the nicest things to say. I tell you, when I read that platform, I said to myself, "It's taken them a long time, but they have come home --- to Thomas Jefferson. They have come back." That platform indicated that they were for these things: Why they said they would support the elderly. They wanted the elderly to have dignity. They wanted the elderly to have the respect of the people. And they wanted the elderly to have care. And then, I took notice, and I want to ask Mr. Nixon tonight: where did you stand and where do you stand on medicare for the elderly? We would like to know. (Applause) I know where you stood when you were in Congress, because I was there with you. I introduced the bill, and you said it was a socialist scheme. I want to know now, Mr. Nixon, have you changed your mind?

Is it the new Nixon, the old Nixon, or the real Nixon? That's what I want to know --- for the elderly people in this country. (Applause)

Where do you stand on law and order? Why he says he is for it. He says he wants to double the rate of convictions. But then, he says he doesn't want to double the work, doesn't want to double the war on poverty. Now, Mr. Nixon has a special interest in poverty. He helped bring some of it to this country under that Republican administration. (Laughter and Applause) Where does he stand on the issue of law and order? On one hand he says he is for it. On the other hand, he condemns the attorney general, the chief law enforcement officer of this country. He never tells you how he is going to get it. He just says, "We are going to convict more people." Convict them how? ...With courts that are already overloaded? ...With policemen who are already overworked? ...With district attorney offices that are already understaffed? Mr. Nixon, what's your program? I think we have a right to know. (Prolonged Applause)

And I might suggest to Mr. Nixon that the office both he and I are running for is not the office of sheriff. We are trying to run for the office of president. (Applause) And the office of president not only requires that you shall observe the law, it not only requires that you shall insure domestic tranquility, but it also provides and requires that you shall promote justice. (Applause) And, Mr. Nixon, law

and order and justice are one and the same package! (Prolonged Applause)

So, I ask Mr. Nixon tonight: Are you willing to pay the price for police salaries that are too low now? Are you willing to pay the price for adequate police training? Are you willing to pay the price for social programs that will get at the breeding grounds for crime? I think the American people have a right to know. And we are going to keep asking him until he gives us some answers. And when he gives us the answers, that will be the end of Mr. Nixon, because his answers will be wrong. (Prolonged Applause)

Or I might ask him a question like this: Where does he stand on the food stamp program? I know where he stood on it when he was in Congress, but I wonder if he has changed. Where does he stand on money for the Peace Corps --- that he once called, that he once called a draft dodging apparatus? (Boos) Where does he stand on that? Where does he stand on the alliance for progress, and where does he stand on head start? Just a few things we would like to know, Mr. Republican. Before you go to the American people with a generous quantity of generalities and a plentitude of platitudes, I think we have a right to know where the Republican nominee stands on these subjects. (Applause)

And by the way, Mr. Nixon, where do you stand on television debates? I'm ready! Are you? (Applause)

Why, I've had a response from him. Mr. Nixon says he has taken a stand on 167 separate issues. That's what he said. And I said to an audience today in Springfield that the stands that he has taken on those 167 issues makes a bowl of jelly look like cement. (Laughter and Applause)

Oh, my friends, it isn't enough to say, "Yes, but..." It isn't enough to say, "I'm for it, but not now." It isn't enough to say, "I like the general idea, but I don't know about the specifics." The American people in this crucial year of 1968 have a right to ask of the candidates for this honored office in the gift of the American people, "Where do you stand, Mr. Candidate?" And they have a right to get some answers. And I'm going to keep after him until we get some answers. (Prolonged Applause)

You know, I've seen where Mr. Nixon has a shadow cabinet. Well, I wish he would come out of the dark shadows himself. A shadow cabinet isn't what this country needs. This country doesn't need a man in the presidency that can duck and dodge and weave as if he is an open field half-back; what this country needs is a man who knows how to be a captain and a quarterback to give this country firm leadership. And that's why we need a Democrat in the White House. (Prolonged Applause)

Now, before I go on, I want, I just want to talk a little economics with you, because I read the other day where

my opponent said that he is just the man to do something for our economy. And I said, "You never said straighter, more honest words in your life. Not do something for it, but do something to it." You know, there's a lot of difference between these candidates. One is trickle-down-Richard, and the other one is percolate-up-Hubert. And there's a lot of difference in that kind of economics. (Applause)

Listen, my fellow Americans, everything that we want in this country, every program that has been talked about, everything that Katie Peden will work for in the Senate, everything your governor or legislature will work for in this state depends on the health of our economy. The economy needs a strong base, the strong base of this nation. And let's take a look at the record. During those eight Nixon Republican years in the 1950's, we had three job-killing recessions, three job-killing recessions that cost this country, in lost income, 175 billion dollars.

Somebody said the other day that there wasn't a dime's worth of difference between Mr. Nixon and Mr. Humphrey. And I said, "Yes there is --- 175 billion dollars difference. That's how much." (Applause)

Khrushchev, Khrushchev, Nikita Khrushchev, in those days, said that he would bury us economically. Well, fortunately, Khrushchev is out of office, and so is Nixon. And I think we



had better keep them both out of office. (Prolonged Applause)

Now, we have had nine straight months of economic growth in this country --- an all time record, and we have had no recessions. What happened with the American paychecks during those Nixon years and during those Democratic years? What happened during those years when the Republicans were in and those years when the Democrats were in? Well, during the Democratic years, personal income has gone up over three times faster than during the Republican years. This means almost \$3,000.00 per year of additional income for every American family of four. It means a new car every year or a college education for your son or your daughter. Now, I suggest to you that's a pretty good premium when you cast your ballot for a Democratic candidate. (Applause)

But, Ladies and Gentlemen, there is something else more important than economics. What is happening in our country today is of great concern. There are three realities in America today, three realities that we face and that we must come to grips with.

The first reality is the absolute necessity on the part of the next President of the United States to find through every honorable means within his power a way to achieve peace in Vietnam - that's the first reality. (Prolonged applause)

And, my fellow Americans, my fellow Americans, if I'm privileged to serve as your president, I promise you from this platform tonight, as one who has been close to this problem for four years, as one who has had to agonize through it, as one who has suffered through all of the attacks that have been leveled upon us, I pledge to you that I will do everything, God willing, within the authority and the power of the President of the United States to find an honorable way --- to find an honorable means --- to end this war, so we can get on with the business here at home. (Prolonged Applause. Standing Ovation) Thank you very much. And my dear friends, if we but stand together, if we but work together, if we but pool our resources together, we can do what needs to be done.

Now, the second reality that this nation faces is the absolute necessity of finding peace and justice in our own country, in our own cities, in our own nation, and to find it soon. (Applause) Ladies and Gentlemen, this is called many things. Some people call it law and order. Some people just say that we have to crack down on crime. Other people say that we've got to subdue the violence. Let me make it clear-cut: if I am the President of the United States, I will do everything within my power to mobilize the resources of this country to make sure that violence does not take our streets, to put down the rioting, to stop the looting, to stop the sniping, and to

do what is necessary for the safety of the American people in their neighborhoods and in their cities! It will be done!

(Prolonged Applause)

But may I add one other thing: just as I am determined that we shall combat our enemies --- and I've laid out a program with 84 specific recommendations, police training, upgrading police personnel, improving the discipline of police forces, strengthening the enforcement agencies, controlling the drug traffic, strengthening the district attorneys' offices, helping our cities with the necessary funds to improve their police administration, a host of things --- just as I know we need to do that, let me say that in America law and order has another thing to it --- it's civil order and civil justice. The other side of that coin is that the inequities and the injustices in America must be rooted out in this country just as we crack down on crime and violence. (Prolonged Applause)

My Republican opponent says he will double the rate of convictions. Well and good, Mr. Nixon, but I want you to know that not only do I intend to enforce the law, but I intend to double the rate of housing in this country, of building new neighborhoods in this country, of helping education in this country, that's what we need. (Applause) For every penitentiary Mr. Nixon and Strom Thurmand build we will build

a new city and a new neighborhood and a decent place for people to live. (Applause) We know how to enforce the law. I've been a Mayor of a city of over half a million people; I've been in charge of a police department; I've combatted organized crime; I've fought it and won. I know what it means to take on that responsibility. But you are not going to get law and order out of a man whose advice is to \*\*\* the Supreme Court. You are not going to get law and order out of anyone who condemns the highest law enforcement officer in this country, the attorney general. You are going to get law and order when you breed respect for the law and when you have a program, my friends, that gets at the problem. (Applause)

Now, the third problem --- the third reality in our country --- is the necessity for unity --- for unity in this great republic. This great federal union, e pluribus unum, this one nation. Ladies and Gentlemen, we are at the decisive point again in our history. Just as Abraham Lincoln faced a nation divided, so, today, we face a nation that is on the precipice of division. This nation cannot settle for two nations that are not equal. We cannot have a nation divided --- black against white, rich against poor, urban against rural, north against south. America cannot survive that way. This last best hope of earth can only fullfil its mission, the American dream can only be realized if we have people who lead this nation who want to bind up the wounds, people of under-

standing, people of reason, people of prudent judgment, people of forbearance and tolerance, people whose lives can be characterized by a love of humanity. And, Ladies and Gentlemen, the next President of the United States must be more than a policeman. He must be more than a lawman. The next President of the United States must be the healer of this republic, the educator of this republic, and the leader of this republic to bring this nation into one of good citizenship. (Prolonged Applause)

Yes, My Friends, I base my entire candidacy, I base my entire candidacy upon the belief, which comes from the very depths of my soul, that the American people will respond to this call for one citizenship, open to all. I am not going to campaign, I am unwilling to pay the price of winning the presidency by setting group against group, section against section, race against race. I am not going to have any contact with extremism, and I say to the Republican nominee, it was a sad day for this country when he had to join arms with Mr. Number One Dixiecrat in order that he would be assured of that nomination. I didn't have to do that. (Applause)

Yes, My Friends, it is an interesting observation that the man who led certain Democrats out of the Democratic convention of 1948, the man who established the Dixiecrat segregationist party in 1948, the man that walked out on me

when I said it was time for the Democratic party to stand up forthrightly in the bright sunshine of civil rights, that man that walked out of our convention brought Mr. Nixon in to the Republican convention for his acceptance speech. (Applause)

Well, I can come to this audience tonight and tell you we had to make no deals --- no backroom ones, no frontroom ones, none in the basement, none in the kitchen, and none in the barn --- no deals. When I made my recommendation for your vice presidential nominee, I gave you a man of impeccable character, I gave you a man two terms governor of his state, I gave you a man two terms United States senator, I gave you a brilliant student of the law, I gave you a man who understands the problems of the cities as well as the country, I gave you a man who could serve as President of the United States. That's why the Democratic party has another reason to win in November 1968. (Applause)

Yes, I believe that we can win this election, or I wouldn't be here. But we are not going to win it unless we believe we can win it. And my fellow Democrats, if there ever was a time to unite our forces it is now. A party that seeks to lead this country must first be able to lead itself. And a leader who seeks to lead this country must help unite his own party. And I come here tonight to ask your help. We have a great decision. I think you have to search deep in your

heart and soul as to whether or not you want the man who is the Republican nominee or the third party nominee to be the President of the United States. You have to ask yourself which of these men can you trust to be your president and lead this nation. That's the question you have to ask. (Applause)

So, I come with my faith restored, once again, in the processes of our democracy. I never had any doubt that we would do the right thing. I worry not about the temporary gyrations of politics. I think the American people know that we are making a basic decision. We can make a decision to turn back, to turn back to the days of despair, of conflict, of dissension, of segregation and division. Or, we can make the decision to stand pat while the world goes by us --- to just get along and evade the issues, to try to be right about everything and popular all the time. Or, we can take the other stand, and that's the stand that I take. And I think it's time for those of us who seek to be President of the United States not to try to please everybody but to try to find the right thing and the principle that you believe in, and I'm going to stand on the principle of human equality and human opportunity, equality and equal opportunity for every man, regardless of race, color, or creed. (Prolonged Applause)

So, let us go forth, (applause) let us go forth from this place, (Continuing Applause) stand with me now,

stand with me, and let us go forth from this place, let us go forth from this dinner tonight determined that America will not turn its back upon its own people. Let us go forth believing in the basic goodness in this country and the basic greatness in this country and let it be known in this year of 1968 that --- just as in 1932 and just as in 1948 and just as in 1960 --- that we were determined to move this country forward, that we were determined to make this country the finest place in the world for the finest people in the world, the American people, I ask your help. Thank you very much.  
(Prolonged Applause. Standing Ovation)



COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY)
COUNTY OF JEFFERSON ) SCT.

I, Yvonne Cherry Huddleston, a notary public in and for the Commonwealth of Kentucky, State at Large, do certify that an address was delivered by Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey at Freedom Hall, in Louisville, Jefferson County, Kentucky, on the 20th day of September, 1968, beginning at or about the hour of 9:00 p.m. (EDT) before a Democratic campaign rally, that said address was then and there taken and recorded by me in shorthand and by magnetic tape, that said address was carefully transcribed by me from my shorthand notes, and that the foregoing transcript, consisting of eighteen (18) pages, sets forth a true and complete record of the address delivered by Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey upon the occasion and at the time mentioned above.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereunto affixed my hand and official seal, this 26th day of September, 1968.

Yvonne Cherry Huddleston
Notary Public, Kentucky, State at Large

My commission expires October 3, 1970.



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