

FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY PM's
August 15, 1968

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
NEW JERSEY CITIZENS FOR HUMPHREY
FUND RAISING LUNCHEON
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
August 15, 1968

The 1968 election comes down to this: It is a contest between the people of purpose who think America's democratic destiny can be fulfilled . . . and the doubters who think we have to stop short.

You can find some of each in both parties.

But I take my stand on the proposition that no problem confronting this nation today is too big to be met effectively.

And I have found a lot of support for that position.

People are concerned, yes. But they are tired of the doubters. They are tired of the complainers.

They want to get on with the business of finding real security in a more peaceful world . . . of building neighborhoods filled with neighbors. They want solid progress.

We need the same kind of commitment from you -- and from a lot of other Americans of both parties -- that the founding fathers made when they pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor to the dream of a free nation.

And I am here to tell you that if we make that commitment -- if we put our full resources into it -- we and our children can have a better America in a safer world.

* * *

First and foremost, I think we can and must have peace -- and a reduction of the world's wasteful expenditure on arms. And I mean a peace which preserves America's security.

You could always have a temporary peace by simply withdrawing from the world -- by simply ignoring our international commitments in Berlin . . . Europe . . . Japan . . . and the nations of Southeast Asia.

But every President from Franklin Roosevelt to Lyndon Johnson has rejected this kind of peace. And as a result, freedom is on the offensive in the world today.

Or you can have a peace based on true reconciliation of differences . . . on peaceful engagement . . . on the kind of hard bargaining that produced a nuclear test ban treaty and a non-proliferation treaty . . . the kind that will, I am confident, bring a lasting peace to Vietnam. You can have a peace built on the slow, frustrating and urgent work of economic development.

That is the peace I seek. And I believe America has the courage, the vision, the resources and restraint to achieve it.

* * *

As for the problems here at home, they are great. But so are the assets we can marshal to meet them . . . together . . . as one nation.

After all, what do all Americans want?

Opportunity . . . not to be taken care of but to stand on their own feet.

A great President from New Jersey, Woodrow Wilson, put it this way:

"If any part of our people want to be wards . . . to be taken care of, if they want to be children patronized by the government, I am sorry, because it will sap the manhood of America. But I don't believe they do. I believe they want to stand on the firm foundations of law and right and take care of themselves."

The foundation of law and right today means a job at a living wage for every person ready and willing to work.

It means a full education for every child from his fourth year through college or vocational school -- on the basis of ability to learn, and not ability to pay.

It means having enough to eat.

It means a decent house in an open neighborhood . . . where the garbage is collected and the streets are repaired . . . where building codes are enforced . . . where there is safety for every man, woman and child.

And I promise you that America will be a better . . . richer . . . freer country when not just most of us . . . but all of us . . . enjoy those rights.

Now I want to say a word about what is being called the law and order issue.

You are going to hear a lot about it from me. But I call it order and justice.

You are going to hear a lot about it from others -- who will try to use it to divide America . . . to excuse their failure to deal constructively with other urgent social needs.

So let's get the facts straight.

Fact one: Crime has increased in America. People are rightly worried about it -- frightened -- and we must take new and decisive action at all levels of government to fight it.

Fact two: Our state and local governments, who bear direct responsibility for law enforcement, have not had the money, the trained manpower, or the modern technology to deal with this feature of our growing society. They have not kept pace.

The same can be said in the case of pollution, or education, or urban planning in many places. We have made progress -- but not enough.

Fact three: the kind of person-to-person crime that most concerns the average middle-class American afflicts the poor and the black even more. The most serious crimes -- murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault and burglary -- happen most often to the people who live in the poorest, most run-down areas of our cities.

The residents of these poorer areas are as anxious as anyone else for better law enforcement -- perhaps even more so since the rate of crime in their neighborhoods is higher.

Negroes are five times more likely to be murdered than whites, and four times more likely to be robbed.

Crime and inadequate law enforcement -- the constant fear of bodily injury to yourself and your children -- is one of the facts of poverty and blighted living that generates tensions in our cities.

Fact Four: Statistics show that crimes committed by a member of one race against a member of another comprise only a small percentage of the total.

For all law-abiding Negroes and poor, law enforcement should not mean repression, but liberation; not a further cause for resentment, but a new freedom from fear and the constant threat of violence.

My friends, I think Americans have a right to personal safety -- all Americans.

I think they can and must have that personal safety quickly -- all Americans.

We do not have to live with a rising crime rate -- any of us.

But the law and order we seek cannot be built on rhetoric or repression . . . by an emotional outburst of reaction.

Page

It is a social ill -- and an urgent one -- that can be met only by sober, responsible and massive action.

That means more action from local governments and citizens themselves in every community. But it also means a major supporting role for the federal government which I shall spell out in detail in the days ahead.

When I was Mayor of Minneapolis we used a simple and effective formula for combatting crime. I called upon the essentially law-abiding public for strict law observance, and I used every technique at my command to provide, fair, impartial and effective law enforcement -- in and for every community. We drove the rackets out of Minneapolis.

I think that formula will work for all America, and I mean to put the full weight of the federal government behind it.

* * *

The issue this year is not between races. It is not between rich and poor.

I repeat, the issue this year is between those who think America can realize its destiny as a free nation . . . and those who are ready to settle for less.

I am not ready to settle for less, nor are the vast majority of Americans.

I ask your help.

#

Rev 7 Alupous
& loop us

✓ Gov Hughes
✓ Sen Williams
✓ Cong Rodino
✓ Mayor Hugh Addonizio
✓ Cong Minish
(mayor) John Kenney
✓ Harry Lerner

REMARKS

(1) Robert Merrill
+ Marion

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

NEW JERSEY CITIZENS FOR HUMPHREY
FUND RAISING LUNCHEON

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

AUGUST 15, 1968

(2) Tyana Brato
(3) The Trio

✓ The 1968 election comes down to this! It is a contest

between the people of purpose who ~~think~~ ^{believe} America's democratic

The American Dream

destiny can be fulfilled ... and the doubters who think we have

~~to stop short~~ lived lost faith.

You can find some of each in both parties.

But I take my stand on the proposition that no problem

confronting this nation today is too big to be met effectively.

Disclaimer - not accepted!

✓ day means
✓ you back
✓ day this
✓ you ahead

∟ And I have found a lot of support for that position.

∟ People are concerned, yes. ∟ But they are tired of the
doubters. They are tired of the complainers.

∟ They want to get on with the business of finding real
security in a more peaceful world ... of building neighborhoods
filled with neighbors. They want solid progress.

commitment ∟ We need the same kind of commitment from you -- and
from a lot of other Americans of both parties -- that the founding
fathers made when they pledged their lives, their fortunes and
their sacred honor to the dream of a free nation.

And I am here to tell you that if we make that commitment --
if we put our full resources into it -- we and our children can
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Johnson has rejected this kind of peace. And as a result,
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* * *

Problems
+
assets
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But so are the assets we can marshall to meet them ...
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making + difficult

After all, what do all Americans want?

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The foundation of law and right today means a job at a
living wage for every person ready and willing to work.

It means the opportunity to own
your own business

Elementary
Secondary

It means a full education for every child from his

Pre-school

~~fourth year through~~ college or vocational school -- on the

basis of ability to learn, and not ability to pay.

↳ It means having enough to eat.

↳ It means a decent house in an open neighborhood ...
where the garbage is collected and the streets are repaired

... where building codes are enforced ... where there is safety
for every man, woman and child.

↳ And I promise you that America will be a better ... richer
... freer country when not just most of us ... but all of us ...

enjoy those rights.

(Security & Justice for all)

↳ Now I want to say a word about what is being called the
"law and order issue."

↳ You are going to hear a lot about it from me. But I
call it order and justice. - Law enforcement & Law Officers

You are going to hear a lot about it from others -- who
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will try to use it to divide America. to excuse their failure
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rightly worried about it - frightened -- and we must take new
and decisive action at all levels of government to fight it. to control it

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direct responsibility for law enforcement, have not had the money,
the trained manpower, or the modern technology to deal with this
feature of our growing society. They have not kept pace. had to keep pace.

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or urban planning in many places. We have made progress -- but
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#4

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for resentment, but a new freedom from fear and the constant
threat of violence. !

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protection of life + property - all Americans.

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I think they can and must have that personal safety +
quickly ~~for~~ all Americans.

We do not have to live with a rising crime rate -- any
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But the law and order we seek cannot be built on rhetoric
or repression ... by an emotional outburst of reaction!

~~Violence - Lawlessness~~
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vast majority of Americans.

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#

you. The issue is between those
who preach the Politics
of ~~Fear~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ and those who
practice the Politics
of hope & progress.

I am a man of Hope, ~~of faith~~,
~~of confidence~~, and of Progress.
~~Do~~ With faith & Confidence in
our people & our Country!

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GREATER NEWARK CITIZENS :
: :
COMMITTEE FOR HUMPHREY LUNCHEON :
: :
ROBERT TREAT HOTEL :
: :
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, :
: :
AUGUST 15, 1968 :

DISTINGUISHED GUESTS ON THE DAIS:

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
Vice President of the United States

GEORGE HANEY,
Toastmaster

THE HONORABLE RICHARD J. HUGHES,
Governor of the State of New Jersey

THE HONORABLE HUGH J. ADDONIZIO,
Mayor of the City of Newark,

THE HONORABLE HARRISON A. WILLIAMS
United States Senator,

THE HONORABLE PETER RODINO, JR.,
Congressman

THE HONORABLE JOSEPH J. MINISH,
Congressman

ROBERT MERRILL,
Metropolitan Opera Company

BERNARD J. HELLRING, ESQ.,
Greater Newark Citizens for Humphrey

THE HONORABLE CARMEN ARMENTI,
Mayor of the City of Trenton

THE HONORABLE PATRICIA SHEEHAN,
Mayor of the City of New Brunswick

1 THE HONORABLE THOMAS DUNN,
2 Mayor of the City of Elizabeth

3 THE HONORABLE JOHN V. KENNEY,
4 Former Mayor of Jersey City

5 THE HONORABLE RALPH CONTE,
6 Former Mayor of Bloomfield

7 HARRY LERNER,
8 Chairman, Essex County Democratic Organiza-
9 tion

10 THE HONORABLE CALVIN WEST,
11 Councilman at Large, Newark

12 THE HONORABLE IRVINE TURNER,
13 Councilman, Newark

14 THE HONORABLE JOSEPH J. BENUCCI,
15 Postmaster, Newark

16 MRS. CONSTANCE WOODRUFF,
17 Regional Representative, IGLU

18 LOUIS REILLY,
19 President, Port National Bank

20 MARTIN SEHAM,
21 Chairman, Bergen County Citizens for
22 Humphrey

23 ALPHONSO VISCIONE, ESQ.,
24 Surburban Citizens for Humphrey

25 FRANCIS BRENNAN,
Vice President, P. Ballantine & Sons

MRS. LARRY STARK,
Greater Newark Citizens for Humphrey

REESE PALEY,
Citizens for Humphrey

JOSEPH SANTONE,
Citizens for Humphrey

FRANK BASILE,
Cumberland County Citizens for Humphrey

RICHARD HERZBERG,
Morris County Citizens for Humphrey

1 DR. GERALD FELDMAN,
2 Susses County Citizens for Humphrey

3 EDWARD HULSE, ESQ.,
4 Bergen County Citizens for Humphrey

5 JOHN PROTA,
6 New Jersey Industrial Union, AFL-CIO

7 MRS. MARGARET SIGEN,
8 Citizens for Humphrey

9 MRS. BARBARA CONSTABLE,
10 Greater Newark Citizens for Humphrey,

11 SAMUEL KLEIN,
12 Greater Newark Citizens for Humphrey

13 GEORGE J. CATURO,
14 Greater Newark Citizens for Humphrey

15 RUSSELL BINGHAM,
16 Greater Newark Citizens for Humphrey

17 HARRY PAPPAS,
18 Greater Newark Citizens for Humphrey.

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1 MR. HELLRING: May I have your attention, please,
2 for the Star Spangled Banner. Mrs. Carmella Ciseer
3 (phonetic) and her accompanist, Mr. Frank Tedesci, who
4 are volunteering and donating their services to our
5 cause, will favor us with leading us in the Star
6 Spangled Banner.

7 (Whereupon the Star Spangle Banner was sung.)

8 MR. HELLRING: We will have the Invocation by
9 Father Aloupis, Pastor of the St. Nicholas Orthodox
10 Church of Newark, New Jersey.

11 (Whereupon the Invocation was given.)

12 MR. HELLRING: We have a special treat while we
13 are having our lunch, we have a special treat from the
14 Vice President's favorite youth group, his favorite
15 musical youth group. They are from the Lehigh Valley.
16 They call themselves the Tijuana Brats. They have
17 played for the Vice President in Washington, in Maryland,
18 in New York, and at many other places and they have
19 been especially invited to go with the Vice President
20 to the convention. They are donating their services
21 throughout the campaign for this cause and they will
22 favor us with music during the luncheon period, the
23 Tijuana Brats (applause).

24 (Whereupon the luncheon was served.)

25 MR. HELLRING: May I please have your attention.

1 May I ask you to please be seated. Please be seated
2 so that the other people may be able to see the Vice
3 President and the other guests and to enjoy the program.

4 Are all of you wonderful, intelligent, clear-
5 thinking, discriminating, wonderful citizens, for
6 Hubert Humphrey for President of the United States of
7 America (applause)?

8 I give you greeting, I give you welcome in this
9 cause among us, and I present you as our toastmaster
10 for this occasion, as the Master of Ceremonies,
11 one of our brothers, one of the chairmen of the
12 Greater Newark Citizens for Humphrey, a distinguished
13 son of this City, a highly respected man in the
14 business community, honored for his leadership in the
15 Conference of Christians and Jews, named as the
16 Irishman of the Year of New Jersey, the Vice President
17 of Auchincloss, Parker and Redpath, members of the
18 New York Stock Exchange, Mr. George J. Haney of
19 Newark (applause).

20 MR. HANEY: Distinguished members seated on the
21 dais, ladies and gentlemen: With your cooperation
22 we are going to make this fast. I'm going to start
23 right off by asking you to give a nice hand, round of
24 applause to one of the leading lawyers in the State
25 of New Jersey who is the founding member of our

1 Citizens for Humphrey Committee. Let's have a nice
2 hand for Bernard Hellring (applause).

3 I'm going to introduce the distinguished guests,
4 other than those who are taking part in the program,
5 to you now. I ask that you withhold your applause
6 until I've introduced them all, in the interest of time,
7 and then we'll have one great big round of applause
8 in the spirit of this gathering for all these dis-
9 tinguished people who have taken time out from their
10 duties to come here today.

11 First of all, the Honorable Carmen Armenti,
12 the Mayor of the great City of Trenton, New Jersey,
13 and a great backer of the Vice President (applause).

14 One of the most distinguished members in the
15 Congress of the United States, one of the great vote-
16 getters of this area, a man who has devoted so much of
17 his time to helping the veterans overseas and in every
18 social act that's being done in the Congress, let's
19 have a big round of applause for the Honorable Joseph
20 J. Minish, Congressman (applause).

21 Seated on the dais, a man who has amazed every-
22 one but those who have always known him, by taking the
23 reins of the Democratic Party in Essex County, proving
24 himself to be one of the greatest county leaders in
25 the history of the party in Essex County. Let's have

1 a great big hand for Denny Carey's successor, Harry
2 Lerner (applause).

3 There always has to be beauty on the dais,
4 and we have plenty of it up here from the feminine
5 contingent. Right to my left, one of the finest women
6 I've ever been associated with. I've worked with her
7 in many, many projects. She is always thinking of the
8 underdog, she is always thinking of people, she is a
9 great supporter of the Vice President, she is a very
10 big person in the International Ladies Garment Union
11 as Regional Representative of Community Relations.
12 Let's have a nice hand for Mrs. Constance Woodruff
13 (applause).

14 We have a mayor up here who is certainly the
15 prettiest mayor in the State of New Jersey and also
16 one of the most capable. She has won nationwide
17 attention in her ability to handle situations, with
18 her intelligence, and with her ability to deal with
19 men on a man to man basis despite the fact that she
20 certainly is, in my opinion, one of the prettiest mayors
21 I've ever seen, the Honorable Mayor of New Brunswick,
22 New Jersey, Patricia Sheehan (applause).

23 The bulwark of the Democratic Party in the State
24 of New Jersey consists of many leaders and none is
25 more prominent than the gentleman I introduce to you

1 now, who has distinguished himself as a former mayor
2 of Jersey City, and through the years he only knows
3 one thing: The Democratic Party. The great former
4 mayor of Jersey City, let's have a big hand for Mayor
5 John V. Kenney (applause).

6 From Atlantic City a man who ~~was~~ very active in
7 the Robert Kennedy campaign with myself before his
8 assassination, a wonderful worker, who like myself,
9 is now working hard for our Vice President. Let's
10 have a hand for Reese Paley (applause).

11 Mr. Louis Reilly, the Vice President of the
12 Port National Bank, former State Banking Commissioner,
13 former State Racing Commissioner, one of the long time
14 Democrats all the way down the line for the Vice
15 President, my good friend, Lou Reilly (applause).

16 A man who is working tirelessly day and night
17 in Camden County, another bulwark of the Democratic
18 Party but he's working with the independant, the
19 Elderly Citizens for Humphrey down there, Mr. Joseph
20 Santone (applause).

21 In Bergen County, which is going to be a very
22 crucial area in this election, the chairman of the
23 Citizens for Humphrey, let's have a nice hand for Martin
24 Seham (applause).

25 Another Humphrey lady who is a member of the

1 cabinet of the Mayor of the City of Newark, a long
2 time fighter for every liberal cause, a fine, dis-
3 tinguished woman who has earned the mark of being the
4 first woman member of the cabinet of the City of Newark,
5 our good friend, a great girl, Mrs. Larry Stark
6 (applause).

7 One of the fine lawyers of New Jersey, a member
8 of the Suburban Citizens Committee for Humphrey, a
9 man who has worked tirelessly, the tremendous affair
10 he set today, Mr. Alphonso Viscione (applause).

11 Down in Lakewood, New Jersey, citizens committee
12 organizer, a tireless worker, wife of a prominent man
13 down there, Dr. Solomon Sigen, let's have a nice
14 reception for Mrs. Margie Sigen (applause).

15 One of our founding members who is the Vice
16 President of P. Ballantine and Company, who has done
17 a great deal of work on this committee, who is down
18 the line all the way for Mr. Humphrey, let's have a
19 nice hand for Francis Brennan (applause).

20 Another lawyer who is working with the Citizens
21 Committee for Humphrey in Cumberland County, came all
22 the way up here today to pay his respects. Let's have
23 a nice reception for Frank Basile (applause).

24 One of the men who has worked day and night in
25 the last month and a half, devoted his entire time to

1 the Greater Newark Citizens for Humphrey Committee,
2 one of our founding members, the "Golden Greek" we
3 call him, let's have a nice hand for Harry Pappas
4 (applause).

5 A very lovely lady who is another founding
6 member of our committee, who served as our secretary,
7 has been a tireless worker, Mrs. Barbara Constable
8 (applause).

9 A distinguished accountant in the State of New
10 Jersey, respected throughout the State for his pro-
11 fessional ability and loved by all, let's have a nice
12 reception for another of our founding members, Mr.
13 Samuel Klein (applause).

14 In the great county of Morris County where
15 we're going to need a lot of help, the organizer of
16 the Citizens for Humphrey, from Mendham, New Jersey,
17 in Morris County, Mr. Richard Herzberg (applause).

18 Another man who comes from a suburban county,
19 a rural area, but has been down here working with us
20 for weeks, taking time out from his practice, a dis-
21 tinguished optometrist and former democratic leader
22 of Sussex County, now the Chairman of the Citizens
23 for Humphrey in Sussex County, Dr. Gerald Feldman
24 (applause).

25 Another founding member of our committee, the

1 former Mayor of Bloomfield, one of the real comers
2 among the young men in the State of New Jersey who
3 has been giving of his time for this campaign on the
4 Citizens Committee, the Honorable Ralph Conte
5 (applause).

6 We have another distinguished attorney who is
7 working hard in Bergen County for the Citizens for
8 Humphrey, who happens to be a nephew of Governor Hughes.
9 Let's have a big hand for Ed Hulse (applause).

10 The next man, who now is the Postmaster of
11 Newark, but before he took this job which prevents him
12 from political activity, one of the greatest Democrats
13 we have ever had, former secretary to Peter Rodino,
14 one of the most knowledgeable political figures in
15 the State of New Jersey, the Postmaster of the City of
16 Newark, my good friend, Joseph J. Benucci (applause).

17 Another one of our founding members of the
18 Greater Newark Citizens Committee, who worked tirelessly
19 along with all the rest, from West Orange, New Jersey,
20 let's have a big hand for George J. Caturro, a businessman
21 up there (applause).

22 I have an announcement. There are seats now
23 available in the rear for anyone who is standing.

24 We have another gentleman up in the front on the
25 dais who is another one of our founding members, who is

1 working for the Vice President in the Central Ward
2 with the Citizens Committee, let's have a nice hand
3 for Russell Bingham (applause).

4 One of the great councilmen of the City of
5 Newark, been here for years, always represented his
6 people with honesty and integrity, the Honorable Irvine
7 Turner (applause).

8 A great new councilman in the City of Newark,
9 a Councilman-at-Large who was elected in the entire
10 city on a city-wide vote, let's hear it for Councilman
11 Calvin West (applause).

12 We have another man, I don't see him up here
13 but I know he is here or in the audience, the great
14 mayor of a great city, the Honorable Thomas Dunn of
15 Elizabeth, New Jersey, the fighting Irishman (applause).

16 You know, in politics, ladies and gentlemen,
17 we have special people who are down all the way when
18 it comes to coming out for a person, and in the State
19 of New Jersey one of the greatest vote-getters that
20 this State has ever known, a man who has won every
21 election for the Senate, who is representing the State
22 of New Jersey in the Congress of the United States of
23 America, who is out all the way for Vice President
24 Humphrey and doesn't care who knows it, let's have a
25 big hand for the United States Senator from New Jersey,

1 Harrison A. Williams (applause).

2 Last but not least, ladies and gentlemen, the
3 man who has been the Executive Director of our Newark
4 Citizens for Humphrey, working night and day, an
5 official of New Jersey Industrial Union, AFL-CIO,
6 affiliated with United Steelworkers, really the man
7 responsible for the success of this affair, let's
8 have a big hand for John Prota (applause).

9 Ladies and gentlemen, we are now going to be
10 entertained by a great recording star who came over
11 here today to aid in the service, along with her
12 trio, because she thinks so well of the Vice President.
13 Let's have a big hand for one of the most famous names
14 in the recording world, Mrs. Donna Lee and her trio
15 (applause).

16 (Whereupon the audience was entertained by
17 Mrs. Lee.)

18 MR. HANEY: I have to request that we be a
19 little quiet because we have a wonderful surprise
20 for you. With your cooperation--and I know when I
21 announce this performer, this artist, you are going
22 to cooperate with me by paying the strictest attention.
23 Ladies and gentlemen, we are honored, truly honored
24 here in Newark today by the presence of one of the
25 greatest baritone voices of all time, a very close

1 friend of the Vice President of the United States,
2 which is why he volunteered to come over here to per-
3 form. This great artist, Vice President Humphrey has
4 requested me to ask you to give him absolute quiet
5 because you are going to hear a once in a lifetime
6 thrill when you hear the greatest baritone voice in the
7 world from the Metropolitan Opera Company, The
8 Metropolitan Opera Star, let's have a rising ovation
9 for Mr. Robert Merrill (applause).

10 (Whereupon the audience was entertained by
11 Mr. Merrill.)

12 MR. HANEY: Ladies and gentlemen, a wonderful
13 Mayor of a great city, which is going to grow greater,
14 a friend of long standing of the Vice President of the
15 United States, I am honored to introduce to you in this
16 host city, the Honorable Hugh J. Addonizio, Mayor of
17 the City of Newark (applause).

18 MAYOR ADDONIZIO: Thank you very much.

19 Father Aloupis, George Haney, our Toastmaster,
20 Vice President Humphrey, Governor Hughes, Senator
21 Williams, all of our distinguished guests and fellow
22 citizens: First of all let me say this is indeed a
23 great honor as Mayor of Newark to welcome the Vice
24 President--yes, and all of you, to our city. Of course
25 it is a special pleasure to welcome the Vice President,

1 not only because he is an old friend from our days in
2 the Congress but he--yes, Hubert Humphrey--more
3 than any other official I know has an understanding of
4 what our urban crisis is really all about. The Vice
5 President is known among mayors as a mayors' man, a
6 title he has earned through his untiring and inspired
7 efforts on our behalf.

8 I would also like to remind you that the Vice
9 President, who was once a mayor himself, fought the
10 fight for civil rights and urban progress before it
11 was fashionable to do so. And when other men and other
12 voices were calling for spending cuts in the Congress,
13 he came forth with a bold new plan, a Marshall plan
14 for the cities that would help save Newark and other
15 cities like it.

16 And I would like to make a personal note at this
17 time and thank the Vice President publicly for the
18 personal concern he showed for our city during its
19 darkest and most tragic hours last summer (applause).

20 The Vice President alone, among major government
21 officials, twice placed personal calls in an effort to
22 reach me to express his concern and his support. We
23 could not make connections when those calls were placed
24 because of the pressures of the moment but it was those
25 calls and the hundreds and thousands of calls and advice

1 and help like that, his personal assistance over the
2 years to countless mayors, governors, other officials--
3 yes, and the average citizens of our great nation--
4 it is these efforts which make Hubert Humphrey some-
5 thing very special in American politics (applause).

6 And, my friends, at a time of deep crisis for
7 our nation and its people, I say to you that we must
8 support and follow only special men. So it is for
9 these reasons that I am privileged and honored to
10 welcome him here today and of course to wish him well
11 in the days ahead.

12 Thank you very kindly (applause).

13 MR. HANEY: I talked about Senator Williams be-
14 fore, being a great vote-getter in the State of New
15 Jersey, but we have a man up here in Essex County who,
16 though short in stature, is a giant among men. He is
17 the Dean of the New Jersey Congressional Delegation,
18 one of the most able congressmen in the entire Congress
19 of the United States, a fact that I'm sure the Vice
20 President will attest to, a vote-getter of such great
21 strength that the greatest problem that the Republicans
22 have every two years is finding somebody that has the
23 guts or the courage to run against him. Ladies and
24 gentlemen, the fighting congressman from this district,
25 let's have a big hand for the Honorable Peter Rodino,

1 Jr. (applause).

2 MR. RODINO: Reverend Clergy, Mr. Toastmaster,
3 Mr. Vice President, Governor Hughes, Mayor Addonizio
4 and Mayor Kenney, distinguished government officials
5 and my distinguished colleague, Congressman Minish,
6 my distinguished county chairman, distinguished members
7 of the Citizens Committee for Vice President Humphrey:
8 What a wonderful outpouring this is of citizen and
9 party support for Hubert Humphrey. We all know that
10 our New Jersey delegates to the Democratic National
11 Convention are still uncommitted, and while I am not
12 a delegate I am a citizen, a citizen who cares, a
13 citizen who is concerned, and a committed citizen for
14 Hubert Humphrey (applause).

15 For a new organization still developing, the
16 New Jersey Citizens for Humphrey Committees can be
17 proud indeed of their efforts to beat the bandwagon,
18 if you please, for Hubert Humphrey for President.
19 And I congratulate all of you for the wisdom and
20 judgment you have shown in choosing to give your
21 allegiance to Hubert Humphrey and to work for his
22 nomination and election as the next President of the
23 United States (applause).

24 Hubert Humphrey had the makings of a great
25 president for twenty years. I've seen him in action

1 as a senator and as our Vice President. I've admired
2 his brilliance, his grasp of issues, his uncanny
3 ability to get done what has to be done, and it has
4 been my privilege to announce my wholehearted and
5 unequivocal endorsement of Hubert Humphrey in his
6 quest for the Presidency (applause).

7 By virtue of experience and temperment,
8 Hubert Humphrey more than any other person is the
9 best man to lead our nation to peace at home and
10 abroad (applause).

11 I know that this will be his top priority and
12 I'm confident that he will succeed as no one else can
13 in bringing peace to Viet Nam or justice to our cities
14 and agreement among the major international powers
15 for establishing security in the world. This is a
16 large order but Hubert Humphrey is accustomed to
17 filling top prescriptions (applause).

18 He knows the right formula for the future,
19 and I have every confidence that he will measure up
20 to this task, as he has so often done in the past,
21 to do what is necessary to get the job done and done
22 right.

23 Allow me to take note for a moment of the
24 second spot on the ticket. Regardless of recent
25 newspaper articles, our great and able Governor, Dick

1 Hughes, has long been a favorite of mine (applause).

2 We have campaigned together and for each other
3 on many past occasions and for issues and principles
4 that we share deeply. I always "lose my cool" when
5 it comes to Dick Hughes (applause).

6 And the warmth between us flows as brightly as
7 ever. He knows that as his former campaign manager he
8 can always count on my support as I know that I could
9 always count on his (applause).

10 I'm delighted to be with Hugh here today. I
11 know the Vice President is most impressed by what he
12 has seen and that he will be even more impressed when,
13 with the help of every New Jersey citizen who cares
14 about our future and the future needs of America,
15 and the Citizens for Humphrey, he carries the State
16 of New Jersey by an overwhelming margin of victory in
17 November. (applause).

18 MR. HANEY: And speaking of prescriptions, ladies
19 and gentlemen, we are honored by the presence here
20 today of a large contingent of the Pharmacists of New
21 Jersey, and I'm going to ask them all to stand up now
22 (applause).

23 I have also been asked by the committee to
24 extend our profound apologies to those who have not
25 been able to receive seating at this luncheon today.

1 We received a tremendous overflow crowd at the last
2 moment and unfortunately many have been made uncom-
3 fortable, but I am sure that in the spirit of this
4 occasion you are going to accept our apology and enjoy
5 the rest of the festivities (applause).

6 Ladies and gentlemen, our next speaker is so
7 well known to all of you that I'm going to say, with
8 your permission, that I'm going to address my intro-
9 duction of him to our Guest of Honor.

10 Mr. Vice President: You once stated that in
11 the political struggle, in the highly charged world
12 of American politics, there are great triumphs, a
13 magnificent sense of work being done, of problems being
14 solved, and of accomplishments. It is hard work but
15 it is good work, where your survival depends not only
16 upon your ability but more importantly upon your
17 political courage. We have a man in New Jersey who
18 is a perfect example of that definition of political
19 courage. He is a man who possess the practical
20 political instinct which is so essential to great
21 leadership. People must be stirred if they are to
22 act and he has stirred the people of this State and
23 indeed the people of this entire nation with the
24 decisiveness of his action during the civil disorders
25 last year in New Jersey, and more importantly with the

1 immediate action which he took once peace was restored
2 to place into motion action programs which struck at
3 the very root of the evils which ignited the sparks
4 of these disturbances. He is a liberal in the highest
5 sense of the word, not a liberal of the phony Nixon
6 type, but a man who lays his political career on the
7 line for a principle.

8 During the last gubernatorial election and the
9 Professor Genovese affair, the people of this great
10 State showed their high regard for the magnificent
11 display that he made of moral and political courage
12 by re-electing him with a resounding majority.

13 You know, the test of great leadership is when
14 you take the harder road which is easier on your
15 conscience as opposed to taking the easier road which
16 is much harder on your conscience, and he personifies
17 that. All of us were nauseated with the disgusting
18 manner in which the Nixon-Thurmond ticket was maneuvered
19 through the Republican Convention. Every discriminating
20 person has nothing but contempt for the demagogue
21 who promises all but intends to give nothing, for a
22 man who treats a political platform as a railroad
23 platform: Something to get in on but not to stand on,
24 and a man who will sacrifice his honor for mere votes.

25 All of us know that the spectacle of the "true

1 Nixon"--not the "new Nixon"--attempting to defend
2 Senator Thurmond's choice of a vice president, could
3 only bring to mind the stirring words of Carlyle when
4 he said, "What is more horrible than an eloquent man
5 who does not dare to speak the truth."

6 You will never have to defend this man. And I'm
7 about to introduce, because he possesses every fine
8 attribute that any candidate could ever have, he is a
9 man of integrity, loyalty, decisiveness, and he has
10 that rare combination of energy and a generous heart.
11 He always tips his hat to his yesterdays but he always
12 takes off his coat for his tomorrows.

13 Mr. Vice President, I present to you, a man
14 whom millions of people in the State of New Jersey and
15 indeed in the entire United States of America would be
16 honored to see you select as your running mate in the
17 November election, the distinguished Governor of the
18 State of New Jersey, Richard J. Hughes (applause).

19 GOVERNOR HUGHES: Thank you all very much.

20 George, Father Aloupis, Mr. Vice President,
21 Mayor Addonizio, Senator Williams, Members of the
22 Congress--I can't begin to enumerate all the distinguished
23 guests because all of us here today are distinguished
24 by that which brings us here for this really wonderfully
25 happy occasion, the happiest I've ever experienced in

1 this room or I guess at any other place.

2 I want the Vice President to know that I file
3 a general release and disclaimer from the boom or the
4 boomlet, or whatever one calls these things, but I
5 nevertheless appreciate very much the kind remarks
6 of my friend, George Haney, and in response I want
7 to congratulate him and his colleagues for this won-
8 derful party here today.

9 I am not going to take more than thirty seconds
10 of the Vice President's time because, after all, you're
11 here to hear him, this wonderful, wonderful man.
12 But I want to tell you that in all the years, as I
13 search my memory for what I think and admire about
14 Hubert Humphrey, those years go back very far to even
15 before 1948, when from afar, without even knowing
16 him, I saw what he did, what he stood for, the
17 courage he showed, and so forth. But it was not until
18 a night in 1960 that I came to have for him the
19 affectionate respect, almost approaching a kind of
20 love that exists between a man and someone whom he
21 admires and respects very greatly. It was a rainy
22 night, I was looking at him on television, he had
23 just sustained a bitter defeat in the West Virginia
24 primary, there were tears lurking in back of his voice,
25 but he called it a day and put on his hat and went out

1 to engage in a great campaign for the election of
2 President John F. Kennedy and Vice President Lyndon
3 Johnson (applause).

4 You're going to see, I hope, when we come back
5 from Chicago or when Chicago is over, a great new
6 posture and image for the Democratic Party. All of
7 this business about our party being old and the same,
8 and so forth, poverty, trouble in our cities, the
9 great, great problems that I won't enumerate here,
10 the quest for peace in the world; nothing is old about
11 these things, and the man on my right whom I'm about
12 to introduce is dedicated as few Americans in our
13 recollection have been dedicated to the solution of
14 these problems.

15 So we are going to have, I think, a great
16 campaign. I think that the Democratic House in New
17 Jersey and all over the country is going to be to-
18 gether for an affirmative reason: We must win, for
19 the world and for the country, and we can't stand
20 what we see on the other side of the political line
21 (applause).

22 So without further ado, although I know you
23 want to hear me for hours--(laughter)--let me present
24 to you a man who has shown, especially as to the events
25 after that night in West Virginia to which I referred,

1 that he is a great Democrat all the way, a great
2 American all the way, and a great winner all the way,
3 the Vice President of the United States, Hubert
4 Humphrey (standing ovation).

5 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Governor Hughes,
6 Senator Williams, Congressman Rodino, Congressman
7 Minish, my good friend the Mayor, Hugh J. Addonizio,
8 and other mayors, distinguished officials that are
9 gathered here: When I look at John Kenney I just
10 address all the mayors, John. It's wonderful to have
11 you here.

12 Harry Lerner, our new distinguished chairman.

13 How good it is to be praised so generously and
14 so fully by such very gifted and talented men. I can
15 see, as was said here at the head table when Senator
16 Williams was introduced, this is a Williams' crowd.
17 (applause).

18 And when the Governor was introduced it was the
19 Governor's crowd (applause).

20 And when Pete Rodino was introduced it was a
21 Rodino crowd (applause).

22 And when Hugh Addonizio spoke, it was the Mayor's
23 crowd (applause).

24 I'm glad you let me in on it (applause).

25 We have had a wonderful program here today.

1 You know, I've often been kidded a good deal about what
2 I call the politics of happiness. I think you have
3 had quite a happy time here today, haven't you
4 (applause)?

5 Starting out with our gifted artist that sang
6 for us our great National Anthem, and of course with
7 our chairmen here today, George Haney, Bernard Hellring,
8 all the way through it was that marvelous prayer, and
9 may I say the message of the day was in the last two
10 or three sentences of a most beautiful prayer when the
11 Reverend Father Aloupis--and I want to thank him very
12 much. I asked him if he would mind if I would
13 plagiarize the last two or three lines. If I'm pri-
14 vileged to give an acceptance speech, if you should
15 hear what you said in our prayer and what I say in my
16 prayer to the people, don't tell anybody, will you,
17 just let it be original (applause).

18 We have had all kinds of music, from the trio
19 to the Tijuana Brats, and then I finally got my
20 student that I've been training, Robert Merrill, for
21 some time and put him through his paces (applause).

22 Can you name me any political gathering where
23 you can have such an array of talent, such a wonderful
24 bit of entertainment and have the top of the enter-
25 tainment media, the world's great Metropolitan Opera

1 Star, Robert Merrill, and his wife (applause)?

2 And I'll tell you, no matter how poorly you
3 may sing, if you sing alongside Robert Merrill you
4 sound good (applause).

5 Well, this is the way we want to have this
6 country of ours operate, the way that it should be:
7 Working together; some of us that can do a little
8 better than somebody else; helping somebody that can't
9 do quite so well; a variety of people that brings on
10 the beauty of the whole country; a diversity of people
11 and diversity of ethnic groups, cultural groups,
12 religious groups that brings a common purpose. That's
13 the kind of country I love and it's the kind of country
14 we have and it's the kind of country we want to keep.
15 That's why we are here. That's what I want to talk
16 to you about (applause).

17 I said as I came to this hotel today to a wonder-
18 ful group that met us outside that I think New Jersey
19 has the greatest Governor of the 50 states of the
20 United States of America (applause).

21 If I am scolded for that, I'm sure Dick won't
22 mind if I say he is a tie, at least no one is ahead
23 of him (applause).

24 He is a wonderful man with a wonderful wife and
25 a wonderful family, and I'm highly honored, may I say,

1 to be a compatriot in political life with him, signally
2 honored by his friendship. And I want you to know,
3 Mr. Governor, while we haven't gone around and talked
4 about offices, you put some kind of a disclaimer out
5 here; I didn't hear it and I don't think anybody else
6 heard it either (applause).

7 Now, my friends, we have some business to do.
8 Our Republican fellow citizens met down in Miami not
9 long ago and somebody said that in four days they decided
10 to set the country back eight years, and I remember
11 eight years ago and I want to tell you that what
12 happened eight years ago in that election is what is
13 going to happen this November (applause).

14 We are going to have a convention out in Chicago.
15 We will be there about four days, and in the four days
16 that we are there we are going to try to set this
17 country ahead for at least four years, and I want your
18 help in getting that job done (applause).

19 To seek the office of the Presidency is both a
20 thrilling and a challenging undertaking. One should
21 never seek this high office in levity and yet he should
22 possess a good sense of humor about it. He should
23 never seek this office lightly and yet he should never
24 do it with a heavy hand. This is the greatest office
25 within the gift of the American people, and the man or

1 the person that seeks it must say to himself constantly,
2 both prayerfully and in question, "Am I worthy of it?
3 Can I live up to it? Can I fulfill it's responsibilities?"
4 I'm not sure that any man can honestly answer that
5 he is worthy of it but he must be able to answer to
6 himself and to his fellow Americans that he is up to
7 it, that he feels that at least that the challenge
8 that is there is one that he is willing to accept, and
9 that the duties and the responsibilities are those for
10 which he has prepared himself. And I remember the
11 words of Adlai Stevenson who said of liberalism that
12 it is not the emotional, frenzied outburst of the
13 moment but the dedication of a lifetime (applause).

14 And I have tried to live by that rule or by
15 that axiom of politics. I am a liberal in American
16 politics. I believe in the dream of this nation, and
17 I have had, if I may say, a lifetime of dedication to
18 what this country means to you and to me, and by
19 experience, and hopefully by maturity which comes
20 through experience, I've tried to prepare myself for
21 the undertaking that is mine now. But I am one that
22 recognizes that this is never possible alone; that
23 great things are seldom accomplished alone; that great
24 victories are seldom achieved alone; that's why I come
25 to you. I come to you now not pleading; I come to you

1 asking you to join me in this great work; I come to
2 you to ask for your help; I come to you to ask, in
3 the words of John Kennedy, "Ask not what your country
4 can do for you, ask what you can do for your country."
5 That's what I'm asking myself (applause).

6 And every American must ask himself that.
7 That's what the public officials gathered here at this
8 table ask themselves each in our own way: What can
9 we do? What service can we perform? Because the
10 greatest privilege of American Citizenship is to serve,
11 to serve others; those that are a little more pri-
12 vileged to help those that are a little less privileged;
13 those that have a little more of the good things of
14 life to help those who have just a little less. I
15 believe that this is really the formula that makes for
16 good Citizenship in this country.

17 Now, 1968, this is a year of decision, just as
18 surely as 1948 was a great year of decision. When at
19 that time our party stood with many differences within
20 it and when it appeared that there were many critics
21 and when some people were of little faith, but that
22 decisive year of 1948 marked a new era of progress for
23 the American people and for the free world. I think
24 1960 was also a year of great decision, when a
25 brilliant, attractive, young leader called upon the

1 American people to get this country moving again, and,
2 ladies and gentlemen, this country has been moving and
3 has been moving forward ever since January 20, 1961
4 (applause).

5 I'm proud to say that I've had a little part in
6 that forward movement. As Pete Williams could tell you,
7 Pete Rodino, Congressman Minish and others, those that
8 are gathered here, my friend Hugh, the Governor, I
9 served for four years as Mr. Kennedy's majority whip
10 in the United State Senate, to move the program of the
11 New Frontier, to move it forward. And may I say that
12 with a great president and with a good congress we
13 did move America forward and we moved it in the right
14 direction toward social progress(applause).

15 And then we come to the time when we met in New
16 Jersey, it was in Atlantic City in 1964, and I was
17 asked then to be the running mate for the now President
18 and the then President of the United States. That
19 was one of the great moments of my public life, when I
20 could stand before that convention and be honored to
21 accept the nomination of my party for Vice President,
22 and in the four years since I have tried to fulfill
23 what I considered to be one of the main principles of
24 responsible government and of partnership, loyalty to
25 my President and my Country (applause).

1 Here we are now at this moment and a very great
2 decision is going to be made in a very few days and
3 the American people are going to have to make their
4 choice once again in a very few weeks, and we will all
5 be helping to make that choice by what we say, what we
6 do, and how we act. I think the election of 1968
7 comes down to this: It is a contest between the
8 people who believe, who believe in the American Dream
9 and believe that it can be fulfilled, and the doubters
10 and the cynics who think that we have lost our way and
11 who have no longer any faith in themselves or in their
12 country.

13 I think that's what the contest is about, between
14 those who have the sense of prudent optimism in this
15 country and ~~the~~ those who have a sense of cynical
16 pessimism about this country.

17 Ladies and gentlemen, I'm on the side of those
18 who believe in this country, believe in the American
19 Dream. I am not a doubter and I am not a cynic and I
20 am not a pessimist (applause).

21 I've seen this country at work, I've witnessed
22 this country in every trial and tribulation that it has
23 had for many a year. I know that this country has the
24 people, the resources, and the tools to do whatever
25 needs to be done. I know that our problems are complex

1 and difficult. The mayor of this city knows it, the
2 governor of this state, every mayor, every official,
3 every person knows that we are faced with critical
4 problems and challenges and difficulties far greater
5 than we have ever known before; but, ladies and
6 gentlemen, we are stronger than we ever were before,
7 we are richer than we ever were before, we have a
8 greater spirit than we ever had before, and I think
9 we can meet any problem that this country has
10 (applause).

11 There was something else. I know that people
12 are concerned. I hear people say that they are con-
13 cerned Democrats. Well, I'm just a concerned American,
14 Democrat or not (applause).

15 But I do not think the people of this land are
16 going to vote for campaigners. I don't think they
17 are going to vote for those that downgrade the per-
18 formance of this country and its people. I think
19 the people of thisland want leadership that points to
20 higher ground, not down in the valleys, not down into
21 the depths and into the gutters. I think the people
22 of America do not want someone that is to the left or
23 to the right or even the center. I think they want
24 someone that holds his head high and says, "Let's move
25 America not only forward but up and up and up to higher

1 ground" (applause).

2 Now, we can't do these things by lackadaisical
3 effort. We have to understand that we are at a point
4 in the life of this country and our personal lives,
5 similar to the Founding Fathers of this Republic, and
6 we can always, always draw some inspiration from them.
7 When they were fighting for their new day, when they
8 were fighting for their God-given rights, which are
9 ours too, of life and liberty and the pursuit of
10 happiness, which is exactly what our people want today,
11 which is exactly what the people in the ghetto and the
12 inner city want today, which is exactly what every
13 child, every young man and woman wants today; when
14 they were fighting back in those early days of this
15 Republic for that life and that liberty and that pur-
16 suit of happiness, they didn't fight it, they didn't
17 take on the battle with a lackadaisical attitude--no,
18 ladies and gentlemen, they said, "We pledge our lives,
19 we pledge our fortunes, and we pledge our sacred honor
20 to those high and lofty objectives."

21 Ladies and gentlemen, we can do no less in 1968.
22 We must pledge our lives, if need be our fortunes, but
23 above all we must pledge our sacred honor to the American
24 Dream (applause).

25 I happen to think that the American people want

1 a safer world. I think they want a better America
2 too. This doesn't mean that America is not good;
3 it means that in America we are a restless people.
4 We always have been. We always seek higher ground.
5 We raise new standards to test our achievement. So
6 that when we see our weaknesses, it is not to say that
7 we failed, it is only to say that we have new standards.

8 Democracy is never complete, it is always new;
9 it is never really fulfilled, it is always searching
10 and extending. This is why we talk today about more
11 and more people being brought into the democratic
12 process of decision-making, such as happened here in
13 Newark, in the model cities election, where thousands
14 of people actually participated in setting up their
15 own kind of decision-making process on model programs
16 for the city.

17 Democracy requires also that the benefits of
18 this society shall be more fully shared and more
19 equitably shared. So you see, what we are talking
20 about is growth, we are talking about change, we are
21 talking about progress, and those of us who are the
22 custodians of this Democracy must think positively
23 about our growth, about how we direct these forces of
24 change into constructive channels and paths and how
25 we can constantly forward the purpose of this nation

1 into social progress.

2 Now, one of the things that we must come to
3 grips with at once is our responsibility as a nation
4 in the world. The highest aspiration of civilized
5 man is peace. The greatest achievement of a man in
6 public life is peace. The highest calling of persons
7 in any walk of life is both inner peace, peace amongst
8 our neighbors, and peace in the world. If I'm privileged
9 to serve as the President of this land, I will do my
10 level best, I will do the best that's in me with God's
11 help to see to it that my administration will be an
12 administration not only dedicated to peace but to the
13 achievement of peace and all that it means (applause).

14 I don't mean a peace which wastes away our
15 security or just the negative peace of doing nothing,
16 but I mean the peace that preserves our security.
17 Peace, you know, requires more courage than war, and
18 the search for peace requires the same kind of relent-
19 less perseverance and energy and vitality and commit-
20 ment as to win a battle in war. And we are ~~the~~ nation
21 of peace-makers, not of destroyers. We are a nation
22 of nation builders, not of nation destroyers.

23 You know, you can always get something that they
24 call peace by ignoring the realities, only to pay a
25 higher price later on. Sometimes you get it by tempor-

1 arily withdrawing from the world. We saw that once
2 before, and we paid a horrible price in World War II.
3 You could do it by ignoring our international commit-
4 ments in Berlin or in Europe or in Korea or in Japan,
5 Southeast Asia, but really that's not peace.

6 Every President from Franklin Roosevelt to
7 Lyndon Johnson has rejected this kind of peace. And
8 as a result, because we have had men of vision, men
9 of courage in both political parties, freedom--yes,
10 freedom and emancipation, which we have witnessed only
11 within the last few weeks, freedom and liberation is
12 on the march in the world today (applause).

13 Then you can have what I call the true peace
14 that is based on reconciliation of differences, on
15 peaceful engagement, competition, on the kind of hard
16 bargaining at the diplomatic table that produced a
17 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and recently a Nuclear Non-
18 proliferation Treaty, the kind that will, I am confident,
19 if we but stick with it and if we but give our faith
20 and our confidence to the process which is underway
21 now in Paris, the kind of bargaining and negotiation
22 that can bring a lasting peace to Viet Nam (applause).

23 That's the peace that I seek and it is the
24 peace that I will work for. It is the peace that I
25 work for even now in my present capacity, and if that

1 peace is not obtained by the time that the next
2 President is privileged to take that oath of office--
3 and I would hope that I might have the high honor of
4 being the one to take that oath--if that peace is not
5 attained by that day of January 20, 1969, then I
6 shall dedicate whatever talent and skill, whatever
7 ability I have, whatever is in my soul, mind, and
8 heart to the achievement of an honorable and an en-
9 during and a lasting peace in Southeast Asia (ap-
10 plause).

11 Time doesn't permit us to explore these sub-
12 jects in more detail. Let me just say a few words
13 about the problems here at home, because they are
14 inter-related. You know, I've always thought, ladies
15 and gentlemen, that if we were incapable of preserving
16 the peace in our country, if we were incapable of
17 dealing with the violence that plagues us here at
18 home, what makes us think that we have anything to
19 offer to those who are far away? I happen to believe
20 that the best foreign policy is a successful domestic
21 policy; practice it right here at home, then we have
22 something to export (applause).

23 Our problems here at home are many and diffi-
24 cult, but I remind you so are our assets. I'm going
25 to call upon the American people in this year of

1 decision to take an inventory of their nation, to
2 take an inventory not only of our liabilities, our
3 duties, our iniquities and inequities and our depriva-
4 tion, but to take an inventory of our assets, our
5 achievements, our resources, our will; and when we
6 do, I think that we can marshall these resources to-
7 gether, together as one nation, and as one nation,
8 as has been said so many times, under God, that we
9 will be able to provide liberty and justice for all.
10 That's what it is all about.

11 Somebody said to me, "Well, what is your
12 philosophy, Mr. Vice President, about dealing with
13 these problems of the inner city, the ghetto, the
14 poor in rural America, the deprived, the needy, the
15 jobless, the sick; what is your philosophy?" I said,
16 "My philosophy is let me put myself in that man's
17 place for a little while. Let me see how he has to
18 live and then maybe I can say with truth and convic-
19 tion 'Due unto others as you would have them do unto
20 you,'" and it's that simple and that profound. And
21 those of you who are more fortunate have a high and
22 moral obligation to do unto others as we would have
23 them do unto us, and not to let anything stand in the
24 way of getting that job done, of bringing justice to
25 others (applause).

1 And what is it that Americans really want?

2 Well, I think they want one thing above all: Op-
3 portunity--not an opportunity to be taken care of as
4 wards of the state but an opportunity to stand up and
5 to stand on their own feet.

6 There was a great President that came from this
7 State, Woodrow Wilson, and he put it this way: "If
8 any part of our people want to be wards, to be taken
9 care of, if they want to be children patronized by
10 the government, I am sorry, because it will sap the
11 manhood of America. But I don't believe they do. I
12 believe they want to stand on the firm foundations of
13 law and right and take care of themselves."

14 My father brought me up on the philosophy of
15 Woodrow Wilson. That's what I believe. I believe that
16 the American people, all American people, want to
17 stand on the firm foundations of law and right and to
18 be able to take care of themselves (applause).

19 And the foundation of law and right has specific
20 meaning. It means a job to the jobless and it means
21 a job at a living wage and it means a job that is
22 meaningful for every person ready and willing to work.

23 And, ladies and gentlemen, this great land of
24 free enterprise and free government has a moral obliga-
25 tion which I will see is fulfilled if I'm permitted to

1 do so: That every man and every able bodied man and
2 woman that wants to work shall have the opportunity
3 to work in order to be able to stand on his or her
4 own feet (applause).

5 Most of that work will be where it rightfully
6 belongs, in private enterprise. But where that cannot
7 fulfill all of the requirements, then states, local
8 governments have great need for Americans who today
9 are idle. All of the needs of our hospitals and
10 our schools and our parks, the great needs in our
11 cities. What it would mean, for example, to this
12 great City of Newark, if the idle, the jobless, could
13 tomorrow morning be given the opportunity of a job,
14 and not just make work, but work that is meaningful,
15 work that needs to be done, work that means cleaning
16 up the city, rebuilding the city, doing what needs to
17 be done.

18 My fellow Americans, we talk about self-deter-
19 mination. We talk about it for other people in other
20 parts of the world and we fight for it and we die
21 for it. May I suggest that it might be just as well
22 that we at least work for it here at home? That
23 people can have self-determination to determine to
24 make something out of their lives with our help right
25 here in America (applause)?

1 And that foundation of law and right needs
2 something else, not just a job. I believe in private
3 property and I think if it's good for me it's good
4 for the other fellow. That means an opportunity to
5 own your own business. If you are a black man or a
6 white man, private property is not the private poss-
7 session of the white. If it is good, then it is good
8 for everybody. And I believe that we ought to have
9 that as our standard. That right and that law means
10 a full education and a good education, a quality
11 education for every child, from pre-school to
12 elementary to secondary school, and if he wishes to
13 go on to college and has the capacity, through college
14 and through advanced education in vocational schools
15 (applause).

16 That education should not be judged on the
17 ability to pay but on the ability to learn (applause).

18 Ladies and gentlemen, there are great resources
19 in this country untapped. I remind this audience
20 that champions that bring glory to our country today
21 in international competition, many of them are the
22 children of the poor, the children of the ghetto.
23 Now, if there are champions to be found for our
24 Olympic teams in the inner city, if there are great
25 artists which we find coming from the inner city, from

1 the ghetto, I submit to you that there may be great
2 industrialists and great doctors and great lawyers
3 and great engineers, great people there (applause).

4 That law and that right means having enough
5 to eat. It is inexcusable in a land of surpluses
6 that any child, any child ever has to go to bed hungry.
7 And it means a decent house in an open neighborhood
8 where the garbage is collected and the streets are
9 repaired, where building codes are enforced and where
10 there is safety--yes, safety for every man, woman and
11 child. And I promise you that America will be a
12 better, it will be a richer, and it will be a freer
13 country where not just most of us but all of us enjoy
14 these rights that I have spoken of (applause).

15 Now, I want to say a word about this issue
16 called law and order. You are going to hear a lot
17 about it in this campaign and you are going to hear
18 a lot about it from me. But I call it order and
19 justice. Law enforcement and law observance. And
20 you are going to hear, as I said, a lot about it from
21 the others who will try to use it to divide America,
22 to frighten America and to excuse their own failure
23 to deal constructively with the other urgent social
24 needs of America. So in the moments that are mine,
25 let's get some facts straight.

1 FACT ONE: Crime has increased in America and
2 in some places at an appalling rate. People are
3 rightfully worried about it, concerned about it, and
4 we must take new, unequivocal and decisive action at
5 every level of government to fight it, to control it,
6 to mobilize the resources of law and order to see that
7 crime is stopped and rolled back, and it can be done.
8 Why? Because it must be done.

9 FACT TWO: Our state and local governments, who
10 really bear the direct responsibility for law enforce-
11 ment--I don't think you want a national police force.
12 With a powerful central government a national police
13 force may be more than a democracy can bear. So the
14 police power is in the states and in the localities.
15 The responsibility is theirs in a sense for law en-
16 forcement. But regrettably many of our local institu-
17 tions of government have not had the money or the
18 resources, have not had the trained manpower or even
19 the modern technology or equipment to deal with this
20 feature of a growing society. They simply haven't been
21 able to keep pace. Why the same thing can be said of
22 pollution and education or urban planning. We know
23 that we have made progress but we know we have not
24 made enough. And it means, therefore, that there must
25 be a new partnership between every level of government

1 as never before, to pool our resources, not to make
2 government just better but to make the life of the
3 people better.

4 FACT THREE: The kind of person-to-person crime
5 that most concerns the average middle-class American
6 afflicts the poor and the black even more. The most
7 serious crimes--murder, rape, robbery, aggravated
8 assault and burglary--happen most often to the people
9 who live in the poorest, most run-down areas of our
10 cities. These words are synonymous with slums, depriva-
11 tion, and poverty. The residents of these poor areas
12 are as anxious as anyone else for the protection of
13 the law and for better law enforcement, perhaps even
14 more since the rate of crime in their neighborhood
15 is higher. Negroes are five times more likely to be
16 murdered than whites and four times more likely to be
17 robbed. They want to live, too. They are entitled
18 to life and they are entitled to protection. Crime
19 and inadequate law enforcement, the constant fear of
20 bodily injury to yourself and to your children, is one
21 of the facts of poverty and blighted living that
22 generates tension in our cities.

23 FACT FOUR: Statistics show that crimes committed
24 by a member of one race against a member of another
25 comprise only a small percentage of the total.

1 For all law-abiding negroes and poor, law en-
2 forcement should not mean repression, but liberation;
3 not a further cause for resentment, but a new freedom
4 from fear and the constant threat of violence.

5 And so when I speak out as I shall on law en-
6 forcement, I shall speak out in the conviction that
7 Americans have a right to personal safety, and that
8 right is for all Americans. Americans are entitled
9 to the protection of life and property, and that is
10 for all Americans. I think they can and must have
11 personal safety quickly, for all Americans. We do
12 not have to live with the rising crime rate, any of
13 us. But the law and order that we seek cannot be
14 built on rhetoric that arouses the passions of re-
15 pression, or an emotional outburst of reaction.
16 Violence, lawlessness are our social ills and they
17 are urgent ones, and they must be met. And let's
18 make it crystal clear from this platform: This sub-
19 doing of violence and lawlessness has nothing to do
20 with whether you are a liberal and a conservative.
21 It is a duty and responsibility of elected officials,
22 the first duty and responsibility of an elected official
23 (applause).

24 But the social ills can be met only by sober,
25 responsible, and massive action, and that means more

1 action from local governments and citizens themselves
2 in every community. It also means a major supporting
3 role of the Federal Government, which I shall detail
4 as I go through my campaign.

5 Let me just conclude with a little observation
6 of my experience. I speak of this matter of law and
7 order or order and social justice not as a theoretician.
8 Like many a person at this meeting today I have been
9 there. I served as mayor of the 14th largest city of
10 this nation. I served for two terms. I was responsible
11 as the mayor for the police department, for the law
12 enforcement instrumentalities. We used a simple--and
13 I found it to be effective--formula for combating
14 crime and violence. I called first upon the law-
15 abiding public for strict law observance and I used
16 every technique and every power at my command to provide
17 fair, impartial, speedy, and effective law enforcement--
18 for every community. Not just to protect the nice
19 neighborhoods, not just to take care of the middle
20 income and upper income neighborhoods, but to see to
21 it that law enforcement officials of the highest
22 quality were in the neighborhoods that needed it the
23 most, the lowly neighborhoods (applause).

24 Let's just get it straight today. We may not
25 have a chance again. In the worst of times you must

1 do the best of things. To do less is to fail. In
2 the places in your state and communities wherever
3 they are, in my own city where there is the greatest
4 poverty, we must have the best of social services;
5 where there are the poorest families we must have the
6 best of schools; where there is the highest density of
7 population we must have more parks. Ladies and gentle-
8 men, too much of America is upside down, upside down.
9 In the lowliest communities, in the areas of poverty
10 are the oldest schools, are the least adequate parks--
11 (applause)--are the least adequate social services,
12 through no fault of anyone except neglect. And I say
13 that there is a new day.

14 What is the purpose of government? The purpose
15 of government, as Franklin Roosevelt once put it, is
16 not to see that those who already have too much get
17 more, but rather that those who have too little have
18 a chance to get enough. That's the purpose (applause).

19 I submit to you that by helping those who momen-
20 tarily have too little, all of us have more. I seek
21 not to tear down that which has been built that is good,
22 I seek to root out that which is bad and to rebuild and
23 to reconstruct, not because it takes from me but it
24 helps someone else.

25 This issue, the issue this year, is not between

1 the races, not at all, and is not between rich and
2 poor. The issue this year, and the one that we are
3 going to decide--and I think it's a fateful issue--
4 is between those who think and believe that America
5 can realize its destiny as a free nation with
6 purpose and vitality and those who are ready to settle
7 for less.

8 Well, let me lay it on the line: I'm not
9 ready to settle for less, nor do I think the vast
10 majority of Americans are either. The issue is
11 between those who preach the politics of fear and
12 despair--and you have been hearing some of it--and
13 those who practice the politics of hope and progress.
14 I am a man of hope and a man of progress (applause).

15 And more importantly, my fellow Americans,
16 I am a man of unbounded and unlimited faith and
17 confidence in the capacity of this country. I think
18 there is a great goodness in the American people.
19 I intend to call upon that goodness. I think there
20 are Americans by the millions who hate no one, who
21 have no bitterness, who want to do what is right.
22 I think that's the great, as we call it, silent majority
23 of America and I intend to awaken it and to arouse it
24 in the American people. (There is a rising ovation.)

25 MR. HANEY: Thank you for being a wonderful

1 audience. We thank the Vice President for his
2 wonderful address and we will have the benediction
3 by Father Aloupis.

4 (Whereupon the benediction was said by Father
5 Aloupis.)

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9 I, RAYMOND DE SIMONE, a Certified Shorthand
10 Reporter of the State of New Jersey, certify that
11 the foregoing is a true and accurate transcript of
12 my stenographic notes.
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16 A Certified Shorthand Reporter
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