

Reading Text

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REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

LUNCHEON, BUFFALO, NEW YORK

SEPTEMBER 17, 1968

I have not come to talk about my campaign to become your President in 1969.

I have come to talk about the three great realities which today confront this nation ... this people ... and this country's engine of progress, the Democratic Party.

It is the special genius of the Democratic Party that it
welcomes change -- not as an enemy but as an ally -- not as
a force to be suppressed but as an instrument of progress to
be encouraged.

Change

↳ It was in this spirit -- one of confidence and faith in our ability to master the future -- that Franklin Roosevelt told America we had nothing to fear but fear itself.

↳ In this spirit the one and only Harry Truman let 'em have it, and told it like it was.

↳ In this spirit that beloved man, Adlai Stevenson, talked sense to the American people -- and how we miss this great, good and gentle man of peace.

↳ In this spirit John F. Kennedy told us: "Ask not what your country can do for you ... but what can you do for your country."

↳ In this spirit Lyndon Johnson rallied a grief-stricken nation and said: "Let us continue." And then he went on to accomplish more of the unfinished business of America than any of his modern predecessors.

And it is in this spirit -- the proud spirit of Democrats who love their country ... who have faith in their fellow citizens ... and who believe there is nothing this great nation and its people cannot accomplish -- that we face the three realities of our time.

① The first reality is the necessity for peace in Vietnam and in the world. *Amiga*

② The second reality is the necessity for peace and justice in our cities and in our nation.

③ And the third reality is the necessity for unity in our country.

Let those who believe that our cause in Vietnam has been right -- or those who believe that it has been wrong -- agree here and now: neither vindication nor repudiation will bring peace or be worthy of this country.

↳ The question is not the yesterdays, but the question is:
What do we do now?!

↳ No one knows what the situation in Vietnam will be
when the next President of the United States takes that oath
of office on January 20, 1969.

↳ Every American prays that by then we shall have reached
a cease-fire in all Vietnam and be in serious negotiation toward
a durable peace.

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

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

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

There is today pending in the United States Senate a
treaty to stop the further spread of nuclear weapons. Eighty
nations have already signed this treaty -- U. S. ratification is
crucial if the world is to take another step backward from the
brink of nuclear holocaust.

Ratification and implementation of this treaty mean
that those nations not now possessing nuclear weapons will
never acquire them.

I don't want General Nasser to have nuclear weapons.

I don't want India and Pakistan threatening each other with atomic bombs.

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.

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

Mr. Nixon says he favors the treaty, but he also 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.

↳ I don't think we can afford to play political games with anything as serious as nuclear war -- and I don't think we can 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. And in so doing, Mr. Nixon is taking responsibility for denying to the American people the security from nuclear disaster which this treaty offers.

#2h The second reality is the necessity for peace and justice in our cities and in our nation.

There is trouble in America.

↳ But it does not come from a lack of faith, but from a kindling of hope.

↳ In 1960 and again in 1964 the American people gave us a mandate to awaken America.

~~Then~~ You asked us to get America moving again -- and we have.

∟ We have awakened expectations. We have aroused new voices that must and will be heard.

∟ We have inspired new hope in millions of men and women who previously had no hope. Now they are impatient to see their hopes fulfilled.

∟ 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 are the advance
guard of anarchy.

↳ They must and they will be stopped.

↳ But they will not be stopped through words, slogans,
fear-mongering, or empty promises.

↳ The answer lies in reasoned, effective action by state,
local and Federal authority. Yesterday I released in Washington
a comprehensive and specific program to stop crime and violence
in America. This is an 84-point program to support our 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.

The record of the Democratic Party these past eight years
is one of unprecedented progress on all these fronts. More
Americans today are living in greater comfort and security
than one ever dreamed possible just eight years ago.

But we also know there is much more to do.

And so I have proposed a Marshall Plan for the Cities ...
an Urban Development Bank ... education for every child
from his fourth year through college or vocational training ...
expanded health care for every child.

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And these are goals a Democratic President working with a Democratic Congress can achieve.

And they are goals which will mean a more satisfying and rewarding life for every family in America.

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.

Now he clears his programs with Strom Thurmond -- leading spokesman of the Nixiecrats.

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.

I am not concerned about the "new Nixon" or the
"old Nixon." What worries me is the real Nixon -- and his
Nixiecrat allies.

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.

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.

Winning the Presidency is not worth the price of
silence or evasion on the issue of human rights and equal
opportunity.

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

And winning the Presidency is not worth the price of
entering into a compact with extremism.

And I call upon my opponent to repudiate his
extremist allies who today are attempting to block the
confirmation of the Chief Justice of the United States ... and
tomorrow may attack other bulwarks of our constitutional
structure of liberty and freedom.

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.

* * *

1 DEMOCRATIC LUNCHEON

x 2 Tuesday, September 17, 1968
3 Statler-Hilton Hotel
4 Buffalo, New York

5 Vice President Humphrey. Thank you very much, Chairman
6 Joe Crangle, thank you Mayor Sedita, our thanks to the
7 Rev. Joseph Moore, my fellow Democrats. You have been here
8 a long time. You have been waiting a long time and I am
9 going to get right down to business.

10 I want to serve notice on the Republicans that our
11 victory march started in Buffalo today. We are on the way,
12 friends.

13 (Applause)

14 Vice President Humphrey. I knew it would. I knew you
15 could do it. Let me tell you, there is enough enthusiasm
16 and spirit from the people that I have met here in Buffalo,
17 so that we can export it. Yes, we can bottle it. We can
18 put it in jars that we can send all across America to pump
19 any tired Democrat that we might meet.

20 You know, I know that you read all the bad news. So
21 do I. I know you have heard all the dire predictions. So
22 have I. I have heard them ~~analyzed~~ analyzed, reanalyzed, inside
23 out, upside down. I have read these political orations that
24 some have written and some have said. But I want you to
25 know something, I was elected to the Senate in the same year
that Harry Truman became President and we can do it all over
again.

26 (Applause)

27 Vice President Humphrey. Oh, I know that some people
28 are saying, it is different now, Mr. Vice President; there is
29 a new Nixon. Some people say there is an old Nixon. The
one you want to watch out for is the real Nixon.

30 Now, my dear friends, look here. This Democratic
31 Party has never asked disciplined obedience from all of its
32 members. We are Democrats because we are thinkers, because
33 we are activists. We are Democrats on occasion, we like
34 to kick up our heels and have our way. We are not a bunch of
35 old fogies. We are not the grand old pessimists. We are
optimists. We are young of heart and young of spirit.

36 I know that there are people in this Party that have
37 fought hard for what they wanted in a platform and fought
38 hard for a candidate that they wanted. Some of us won some
39 place and some of lost another. But my fellow Democrats,
40 the question now is not the battle in the Democratic Party;
41 the question now is which party do you want to run the
42 affairs of this country? The question now is do you want

1 Mr. Humphrey in the White House or do you want Mr. Nixon in
2 the White House; do you want Agnew or do you want Muskie?
Now, that is the question.

3 The main thing about this party of ours is that it
4 welcomes change. We are not the enemy of change and we do
5 not look upon it as an enemy, we look upon it as an ally.
And every generation, we see as a new birth of life, a new
6 birth of freedom. Every generation we look upon as an asset
7 to this country.

8 Every time this nation has been in trouble, it has
9 called upon Democrats to help it out. Every time it has been
10 in any serious difficulty -- you check the history of this
11 century -- it has looked to the Democratic Party for its
12 leadership.

13 This country is in KKK trouble. You know it and I know
14 it. This country has conflict, it has division today. There
15 are perpetrators of hate. There are those who would set
16 people against people. There are those who spread suspicion
17 and doubt and fear. And I think the American people are ~~now~~
18 once again going to look to our Party for leadership.

19 You know, I remember, and you do, too, that it was in
20 this spirit, this spirit of being willing to welcome change
21 as an ally, this spirit of being forward looking and
22 grasping the future as if it belonged to us -- it was
23 that spirit, one of confidence and faith in our ability to master
24 the future, that Franklin Roosevelt told his America in our
25 time that we had nothing to fear but fear itself. And how
right he was.

And it was in the same spirit of confidence, it was
in this same spirit of accepting change for what it was
and of belief in the future, it was in this spirit that the
one and only Harry Truman let 'em have it and told them where
to go, and told it like it was, too.

(Applause)

Vice President Humphrey. And in this spirit of faith
in the tomorrows, that beloved man, Adlai Stevenson, talked
sense to the American people when so few others were. And
how we miss this great, good, and gentle man of sense and
peace.

And it was in the spirit of confidence in this country,
in this spirit of service to this nation, that John Kennedy
told us what every man and woman in this America must
remember to his dying day, those immortal words that are the
rallying cry for every person that loves his nation: Ask
not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do
for your country."

(Applause)

1 Vice President Humphrey. And in this spirit, Lyndon
2 Johnson rallied a grief stricken nation and said, after our
3 beloved President Kennedy had been taken from us, he said,
4 "Let us continue." Then he went on in his own right, whatever
5 may be the criticism, whatever they may say, to accomplish
6 more of the unfinished business of American democracy
7 than any of his predecessors. The record has been nothing
8 short of remarkable these last five years.

9 (Applause)

10 Vice President Humphrey. But I don't come here to
11 sympathize with you, nor do I come to apologize to our critics.
12 I come here to take our message to you and I ask you to take
13 it to the people. We will not win elections nor will we deserve
14 to unless we believe in our cause. We will not win elections
15 nor do we deserve to unless we believe we have unity in this
16 country. I know that we have. I know the Democratic Party
17 has built a solid foundation of social progress that has
18 given more and more Americans a chance for a better life
19 than any administration. I know that there are millions of
20 people today who only a few years ago were the victims of
21 poverty that can stand tall and straight, with dignity and self-
22 respect, because their party ~~sincerely~~ cared, because their
23 government acted, because leadership was there.

24 I know that there are cities that are better today
25 because the government cared and a Party worked.

I know that there are millions of youngsters in school
today who never would have had a chance, who would have been
deprived of a decent education were it not for the fact that a
Democratic Party and a Democratic Congress and a Democratic
President worked together and cared and helped this nation of
ours to do better.

I know there are millions of our senior citizens today
that would still be the victims of relief and welfareism, who
would still be pleading for hospital and medical care, who
can today go to the hospital of their choice, go to the doctor
of their choice and have the finest hospital and medical
care under the terms of Social Security and Medicare that any
nation can provide.

21 (Applause)

22 Vice President Humphrey. Let me lay it on the line,
23 ladies and gentlemen. These things did not happen because
24 of Nixon Republicans, did they? They did not. It was
25 not Mr. Nixon and his cohorts that fought for aid to education
to a child, whether that child goes to public or parochial
school. It was not the Nixon Republicans that gave you
Medicare. It was not the Nixon Republicans that gave you
civil rights.

It was the old coalition, the modern Nixon-southern
coalition, the modern Nixon-southern strategy, the modern Nixon

1 that fought every measure of human equality, that fought
2 every measure that today makes the bulwark of our great
programs in civil rights.

3 Ladies and gentlemen, it was not the Nixon Republicans
4 that gave this country prosperity. It was the Nixon Republi-
cans that had three ~~recessions~~ recessions in eight years,
5 that cost Buffalo and cost Erie County and cost this section
of New York vast unemployment, lost income, people losing
6 their homes, seeking unemployment compensation. Do you want
more of it?

7 (Applause)

8 Vice President Nixon. I have often said in this great
country for Democrats that every election is a great testi-
9 monial to our faith in the future and every election is a
memorial to our great leaders of the past. My fellow Demo-
crats, do you want the memorial to Franklin Roosevelt, do
10 you want the tribute to Harry Truman, do you want the memorial
to John Kennedy, do you want the memorial to Adlai Stevenson,
11 do you want the tribute to Lyndon Johnson to be the election
of Mr. Nixon? I think not.

12 (Applause)

13 Vice President Nixon. This is the man who accused our
Party of 20 years of treason. This is the man who fought
14 against Mr. Truman. This is the man that tried to belittle
Adlai Stevenson. This is the Party, if you please, that
15 fought Adlai Stevenson, called his nuclear test ban a cruel
hoax; this is the man that fought at every opportunity against
16 progress and this is the man I intend to whip in this next
election.

17 We must join the issue and we must carry the fight.
This election cannot be one by me alone, and you know it.
18 This election will be one when we stand united. I say to my any
Democrat who has any doubt, I say to any Democrat who is
19 dragging his feet, I say to any Democrat who wonders whether
he should back us, I say examine your conscience. I say to
20 you to take a look at the record. I ask you to ask whether
or not you feel you are serving your election or your party,
I ask you too, to -- if you will rethink whether or not you
21 honor the memory of President Kennedy or of Adlai Stevenson,
if you honor the memory of Harry Truman, if you permit by
22 your lack of enthusiasm in this election to be lost, You
had better hesitate and think it over. Together, we can
23 win, separated, we will lose.

24 Together, we can build a better America. Separated,
America will stand still.

25 There are three vital issues before us and you know
them as well as I do. The first is the necessity and the

1 absolute necessity, as soon as it is humanly possible, in
2 honor and in dignity, for a just and enduring peace in
3 Vietnam and the world. And the Democratic Platform, if
4 you will study it carefully, says to the next President of the
5 United States that he must search for that peace and find it,
6 that he must be willing to take calculated risks for that
7 peace and that outline a program if we follow it and if we do not
8 veer from it, that you can bring us that day when once again, we
9 can tie down the dogs of war and once again, go on to peace.

10 But my friends, we are not going to have the kind of
11 peace we want when you have a candidate for the highest
12 office within the gift of this land which says, stop, don't
13 negotiate a treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons.
14 Every mother and father in this room should shudder to think
15 of what would happen if these powerful, destructive weapons
16 should get into the hands of mad men, should get into the hands
17 of people who are erratic. We have tried for three years to
18 negotiate a new treaty, to prevent the spread of the un-
19 believable destructive power of nuclear weaponry. Eighty
20 nations have sustained it. It was our idea. And it stands
21 there in the U.S. Senate ready for our ratification as a
22 testimonial to the part of this nation in the building blocks
23 of peace as we seek to build a temple to that peace. The man
24 who seeks to be President under the Republican ticket gives
25 you one of those yes, but answers. He says he is for it, but.
He says he believes in it, but. He says we ought to have it,
but not now. I want to say to the American people that delay
could be disastrous. I want to say to the American people
that if we miss this opportunity, we may have missed the
opportunity to save this world from nuclear confrontation, and
Mr. Nixon, I ask you to be a statesman and quit playing
politics with the lives of humanity.

(Applause)

17 Vice President Humphrey. The second reality is the
18 necessity for peace and justice in our cities and our
19 nation. I have not heard a more succinct and clear statement
20 than that from Joe Crangle: Justice is the proper role.
21 It is a role like a mighty river -- justive for every American.
22 That is what we believe in. We also believe in order.

23 The Constitution of this country requires, it obligates
24 us, to assure domestic tranquility, to assure justice, and
25 if Mr. Nixon has not read it, then I will send him a copy.
The preamble to the Constitution does not just say double
the rate of convictions, it does not just say law and order.
It says to insure domestic tranquility and to assure justice.
They go hand in hand as a constitutional republic, they go
hand in hand.

(Applause)

1 Vice President Humphrey. Yes, the Republican nominee is bold
2 with words. He says double the convictions and all that Mr. Humphrey
3 wants to do is double the poverty program. Ladies and gentlemen,
4 let Mr. Nixon build his penitentiaries. I want to build neighborhoods
5 and homes for America.

6 (Applause)

7 Vice President Humphrey. While he is talking of law and order,
8 let me say that as a mayor of a great city, I know what it means
9 to get law and order. I headed a police department. I saw that it
10 was trained. I saw that it was paid and better paid. I have yet
11 to hear a Republican candidate say, let's honor our police, let's
12 honor them with decent salaries, let's honor them with greater
13 respect. Oh, no, he says law and order. But I am not running for
14 sheriff, I am running for President.

15 (Applause)

16 Vice President Humphrey. Let there not be the slightest doubt that
17 if I am President of these United States, I will do everything within
18 my power to mobilize the resources of this country to see to it that
19 our streets are safe, that violence is put down, that rioting is
20 stopped, that respect for the law will be the pattern of the day.
21 You can be assured of it. But you can all be assured of something
22 else, that just as I will see that those who break the law and those
23 who are the criminals and those who are guilty of violence and looting
24 and burning, just as they shall be punished and suppressed, so shall
25 I wage relentless war on the inequities and the deprivation that make far
too many of our citizens, white or black, wherever they may be.

(Applause)

16 The final issue of this campaign and the third reality before
17 our country is the necessity for unity in America. We will get no
18 place divided. As I said to that great group of people out here in
19 front of this hotel, in that very brief moment, there is not a
20 single problem that affects this nation today that is going to be
21 settled in the streets. None of our problems is subject to the
22 solution of violence. None of our problems can be settled by
23 shouting. None of them will be settled by demagogary. We will settle
24 our problems by sitting around the table, like we are sitting here
25 talking to one another.

21 Come, ~~XXXXX~~ Isaiah, let us reason together. And a great free
22 society should long ago have put aside violence, should long ago put
23 aside cheap demagogary, bigotry, discrimination. A great free
24 people and a great free nation like this should exemplify the best in rea-
25 son and rationality. We should exemplify confidence and faith, respon-
sibility and restraint. And we should demonstrate to the world that we know
how to work together.

25 We cannot have a nation torn apart. Yet we have candidates
today, one who builds his whole case on separatism; we have another
who is not a ~~XXXXX~~ racist, but nevertheless, has entered into a strange

compact with some of the most reactionary elements of this country, and who calls upon America to slow down the rate of progress, whose words confuse and whose statements are evasive; who on the one hand says he supports a Supreme Court decision, on the other hand says he does not like the way it is being implemented; who on the one hand downgrades the Attorney General and on the other hand asks children to believe in law and order and the law enforcement officers. Yet the main law enforcement officer of this land is the Attorney General.

He on the one hand says to you respect the law, and on the other hand, condemns the Supreme Court, which is the supreme tribunal of this nation under law.

Ladies and gentlemen, if this is not confusion, then attach another name to it. At best, I call it confusion. It has many other elements which I will leave to you to interpret.

But this America of ours is not going to solve its problems through separatism. We are not going to solve our problems by pretending that they are not here and we are not going to face up to the issues of our time by saying that all we need is repression. We are going to have to sit down and think them out and work them out and we are going to have to recognize not only by law but by practice human dignity, self respect, equal opportunity in every major and every aspect of our life. This nation cannot be divided between rich and poor, black and white, urban and rural, nor can it survive that way. We cannot be separate but equal, a nation divided, a people divided. There is only one way and you know it and I know it, so let's face up to it.

It is not an easy way. It is not painless. It is not going to come without struggle. But there is only one way and that is for all of us to exemplify by our words and our deeds for persons, tolerance, to literally cleanse ourselves of every form of bigotry and discrimination, religious or racial, to make ourselves whole and clean once again. And let me tell you, it has never been said more directly and beautifully as to what we need and what this Party works for and stands for and what I stand for and what Senator Muskie stands for. We know what we are for. We are for what you believe in, one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. That is what we are for.

(Applause)

Vice President Humphrey. We are not going to get any of this. All the lofty goals that we have, all the lofty ideals we espouse, all the beautiful things we say will come to naught unless we unite this Party. You can't unite a nation if you can't unite the vehicle that wants to help the nation. And we must put away our differences.

We all want peace with honor. We want a better America. We want to do away with deprivation wherever possible. We want Americans, one and all, to be participants in the processes of this democracy and in the benefits of this economy. We want that. This is why I helped the Democratic Convention select the vice presidential nominee and I want to conclude on what I think is the best part of my

1 message: I had to make no deal. There was no one twisting my arm.
2 I did not have somebody from the south or from the north, from black
3 or white, telling me, Mr. Vice President, we want you to take this man for
4 vice president or else. I had no one say to me if you don't take
5 one or two of these men, you will not get our support. Not a single
6 person came and told me that I had to do this or do that.

7 I have had the privilege in my public life to know many people.
8 I served as President of the Senate for four years. I served as
9 Majority Whip for the Senate for four years. I have seen Senators,
10 all kinds of them, and I have seen men in public life. I have
11 told the Democratic Party and I have told this nation that I would
12 recommend to that Convention as my selection, my choice, a man
13 for Vice President that possessed the qualities of maturity, responsi-
14 bility, and experience; a man that was educated and trained in govern-
15 ment, a man with total integrity, a man who understood the problems
16 of our time and had the vision of tomorrow; a man that could serve
17 as President any day and serve bravely. And ladies and gentlemen,
18 I have kept my promise and I have given to you on this ticket not some-
19 one who is just anybody; not someone who came as a result of compromise;
20 but someone who came as a result of searching for the best. I submit
21 to you that in the candidacy of Ed Muskie, I have presented to the
22 American people one of the great men of our time. If you will join
23 with me, we can elect this ticket and we can turn the polls around
24 and we can turn this political process into a great victory march.
25 I say you can elect Humphrey and Muskie if you want to and I say you
want to.

REMARKS OF
HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE
TO BE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

- - -

Statler Hilton Hotel

Tuesday, September 17, 1968

Buffalo, New York

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HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE
TO BE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

- - -

Statler Hilton Hotel,
Buffalo, New York,
September 17, 1968.

- - -

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I think you have to ask yourself a question: Do we want to work together, talk together, reason together, or do you want a kind of America where we shout together and hate together? There isn't a single problem in this Nation that we are going to solve by violence, by ill manners, or by shouting. All of our problems can be settled by the American people working together as a family and as a community, and I want to appeal to my fellow Americans to repudiate those persons that try to get us down the road of violence, down the road of disorder.

Dissent, yes; disorder, no. You can't settle anything that way.

In this campaign, you have an opportunity to make your selection between three candidates -- one that has advocated separatism in this country, another that says hold on and go slow, and a third one, myself, that says this country can do whatever it wants to do.

We have made great progress; we can make more. We ought to look to the future and not be constantly guided by the past. We can build the kind of America that you want for your children. We can build the kind of cities that you want your family to live in. We can do it if we will talk to each other, if we will work together, and if we will repudiate the voices of violence and if we will repudiate those of the extreme left or the extreme right.

America doesn't need to be led by the raucous voices of the left or the right, or by the haters or the dissenters. America needs to be led by the people that have faith in this country, that have faith in the people of this country, that have faith in the democratic processes of this country. I ask you to support the ticket on the Democratic ballot. I ask you to support the ticket of Humphrey and Muskie. We can win this election if you do.

- - -

WED. P.M. Release after VP departs Buffalo

I BELIEVE THIS INFORMATION WILL BE SUFFICIENT IF NOT WE WILL CALL

H H H BUF

H H H BUF

DEM FOR HHH DC

FOLLOWING IS A RELEASE FOR WEDNESDAY P.M. AFTER THE VICE PRESIDENT'S DEPARTURE FROM BUFFALO.

AGAIN, WE STRESS THAT THIS IS A RELEASE FOR WEDNESDAY, P.M., AFTER, AND ONLY AFTER, THE V.P. AND PARTY HAVE DEPARTED FROM BUFFALO.

DO YOU READ JKA ME?

H H H BUF

YES

H H H BUF

OK, HERE WE GO.

STATEMENT TO THE CITIZENS OF BUFFALO

FROM VICE PRESIDENT ROBERT H. HUMPHREY

FOR RELEASE: WEDNESDAY P.M.

I KNOW THAT THE PEOPLE OF BUFFALO ARE SEEKING NEW WAYS TO INSURE ORDER AND JUSTICE IN THIS CITY.

I AM FAMILIAR WITH THIS PROBLEM. I BEGAN MY PUBLIC CAREER AS MAYOR OF A GREAT CITY. WHEN I CAME INTO OFFICE, MINNEAPOLIS WAS RACKET-RIDDEN. WHEN I LEFT FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE FOUR YEARS LATER, WE HAD DRIVEN THE RACKETS OUT.

XXXXX

MY PRESCRIPTION WAS THIS: BE FAIR. BE TOUGH. SPEND ENOUGH, AND ABOVE ALL, KNOW YOUR ENEMY.

I KNOW THAT AS RESPONSIBLE AMERICANS, THE PEOPLE OF BUFFALO UNDERSTAND THAT THE ANSWER TO CRIME DOES NOT LIE IN ATTACKS ON OUR COURTS, OR ON OUR LAWS.

IT LIES IN REASONED EFFECTIVE ACTION BY STATE, LOCAL, AND FEDERAL AUTHORITY, EACH BEARING ITS SHARE OF THE BURDEN.

OUR FRONT-LINE FORCES -- THE POLICE WHO CARRY THE BURDEN OF OUR BATTLE AGAINST CRIME -- NEED BETTER TRAINING AND EQUIPMENT. THEY ALSO NEED ADEQUATE SALARIES -- SO THAT QUALIFIED MEN WILL BE ATTRACTED TO CAREERS AS POLICEMEN. SO THAT THEY CAN SUPPORT THEIR FAMILIES IN AT LEAST MODERATE CIRCUMSTANCES.

I INTEND TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THIS.

ON MONDAY I RELEASED MY TASK FORCE REPORT ON ORDER AND JUSTICE -- CONTAINING SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ON HOW I WOULD GET THIS JOB DONE.

I AM GOING TO PUT THE RESOURCES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT -- FOR THE FIRST TIME ON A MAJOR SCALE -- BEHIND LOCAL POLICE FORCES.

I AM GOING TO PUT FEDERAL FUNDS BEHIND THE BUFFALO POLICE FORCE -- TO HELP SUPPORT THEIR TRAINING AND EQUIPMENT, AND SALARIES.

I AM GOING TO GIVE YOU ACTION -- NOT WORDS, SLOGANS, AND RESPONSIBLE ATTACKS ON OUR COURTS OR LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS.

I ASK THE PEOPLE OF BUFFALO TO JOIN ME -- WITH FAITH IN THE ESSENTIAL ABILITY OF THIS COUNTRY TO COPE WITH ALL ITS PROBLEMS -- IN BUILDING AMERICA SO STRONG AND FREE THAT NO ONE WILL EVER BE ABLE TO TEAR IT DOWN.

①

Remarks

VP # H H

Luncheon, Buffalo N.Y.

September 17, 1968

~~I have come to talk about~~

I have not come to talk about my campaign to become your President in 1969.

I have come to talk about the three great realities which today confront this nation . . . this people . . . and this ~~country's~~ ^{engine} ~~vehicle~~ of progress, the Democratic Party.

(2)

It is the ~~spirit~~ special genius of the Democratic Party that it welcomes change--not as an enemy but as an ally--not as a force to be suppressed but as an instrument of progress to be encouraged.

~~In this spirit we have faith in our ability to master the future.~~

~~In this spirit Franklin Roosevelt told us that America had nothing to fear but fear itself.~~

It was in this spirit--one of confidence and faith in our ability to master the future--that Franklin Roosevelt told America ~~that~~ we had nothing to fear but fear itself.

~~In~~ In this spirit the one and only Harry Truman let 'em have ^{it} and told it like it was.

In this spirit that beloved man, Adlai Stevenson, ~~who~~ talked sense to the American people--and how we miss this great, ~~for~~ good and gentle man of peace.

In this spirit John F. Kennedy told us: "Ask not what your country can do for you. . . but what can you do for your country."

In this spirit Lyndon Johnson rallied a grief-stricken ~~nation~~ nation and said: "Let us continue." And then he went on to accomplish more of the unfinished business of America than any of his modern predecessors.

And it is in this spirit--the proud spirit ^{love} of Democrats who ~~love~~ their country. . . who have faith in their fellow and citizens . . . who ~~believe in the future~~ believe ~~in the future~~

there is nothing ~~any~~ this great nation and its people cannot accomplish--
that we face the three realities of our time.

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

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

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

Let those who believe that our cause in Vietnam has been
right--or those who believe that it has been wrong--agree here and
now: neither vindication nor repudiation will bring peace or be
worthy of this country.

No one knows what the situation in Vietnam will be when the
next President of the United States takes that oath of office
on January 20, 1969.

Every American prays that be then we shall have reached a
cease-fire in all Vietnam and be in serious negotiation toward a
durable peace.

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

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

Today we face another grave challenge. . . and another priceless
opportunity to ~~advance~~ ^{advance} the ~~work~~ ^{cause} of peace.

The question is not the yesterday, but the question
is: What do we do now?

(4)

There is today pending in the U.S. Senate a treaty to stop the further spread of nuclear weapons. Eighty nations have already signed this treaty--U.S. ratification is crucial ~~the~~ if the world is to take another step backward from the brink of nuclear ~~holocaust~~ ~~holocaust~~ ~~holocaust~~ holocaust.

Ratification and ^{implementation} ~~enforcement~~ of this treaty means that those nations not now possessing nuclear ~~weapons~~ ~~weapons~~ ~~weapons~~ weapons will never acquire them.

I don't want General Nasser to have nuclear ^{weapons} ~~bombs~~.

I don't want India and Pakistan ~~threatening~~ ~~threatening~~ ~~threatening~~ threatening each other with atomic ^{bombs} ~~weapons~~.

I don't think the cause of world peace is served by ~~the~~ dozens of ~~nations~~ ~~nations~~ ~~nations~~ nations having ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~ the ~~ability~~ ~~ability~~ ~~ability~~ weapons which could ~~plunge~~ ~~plunge~~ ~~plunge~~ plunge this world into World War III.

I favor Senate ratification of this treaty this year--I say the ~~world cannot afford to~~ ~~world cannot afford to~~ ~~world cannot afford to~~ long-term security interests of the United States will be served by ^{prompt} ~~its~~ approval.

Mr. Nixon says he favors the treaty, but he ^{also says} ~~opposes~~ ratification now.

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

I don't think we can ~~afford to~~ ~~afford to~~ ~~afford to~~ afford to play political games with anything as serious as nuclear war--and I don't think we can afford to run the grave risks of inaction on ~~this~~ ~~this~~ ~~this~~ this treaty.

~~I call upon the American people to reject the position of inaction~~

5

~~But~~ Let the record be absolutely clear, ~~on this point~~ Mr. Nixon ~~has~~ is opposing ratification of the treaty this year. And in so doing, Mr. Nixon is taking responsibility ~~that~~ for denying to ~~the American people the 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.

~~But~~ It does not come from a lack of faith, but from a kindling of hope.

In 1960 and again in 1964 the American people gave us a mandate to awaken America.

~~They~~ You asked us to get America moving again--and we have.

We have awakened expectations. We have ~~aroused~~ aroused new voices that must and will be heard.

We have ~~inspired~~ inspired new hope in millions of men and women who previously had no hope. Now they are impatient to see their hopes fulfilled.

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~~ very bluntly--rioting, burning, sniping, mugging, traffic in narcotics and disregard for the law are the advance guard of anarchy.

fear-mongering,
slogans,

847-10000
This is ~~an~~ ^{an} action program to ~~help state and local~~ ^{help} ~~state and local~~ ^{state and local} ~~agencies~~ ^{agencies} ~~and Federal~~ ^{and Federal} ~~agencies~~ ^{agencies} ~~including~~ ^{including} ~~separately~~ ^{separately} ~~needed~~ ^{needed} ~~money~~ ^{money} ~~for~~ ^{for} ~~higher salaries, better training and equipment~~ ^{higher salaries, better training and equipment}

~~I pledge to use every resource that is available to the~~
~~President to end once and for all this fearful crime and violence,~~
~~every responsible citizen rejects in this country.~~

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.

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

The record of the Democratic Party these past eight years is one of unprecedented progress on all these fronts. But we also know there is much more to do.

More Americans Today are living in greater ^{comfort and} security than ~~any~~ one ever dreamed possible just eight years ago.

7

And so I have proposed a Marshall Plan for the Cities. . . an Urban Development Bank . . . education for every child from his fourth year through college or vocational training . . . expanded health care for every child.

And these are goals a Democratic President working with a Democratic President can achieve.

And they are goals which will mean a more satisfying and rewarding life for every family in America,

Mr. Agnew
Now what of Mr. Nixon and *his* *friends?* ~~his~~ Republicans?

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.

his programs
Now he clears ~~A~~ with Strom ~~A~~ *Thurmond* -- leading spokesman of the Nixiecrats.

~~This year we wonder about his position on Vietnam . . . on the Non-Proliferation Treaty . . . on the confirmation of Justice Fortas . . . on programs to build our cities . . . on the crucial issues of human rights.~~

and Mr. Agnew
When Mr. Nixon talks about help for the cities . . . aid to education . . . homes . . . and jobs . . . just remember how Nixon *Agnew* Republicans vote 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 nuclear control and extermination of rats.

I am not concerned about the "new Nixon" or the "old Nixon". What worries me the real Nixon -- and his Nixiecrat allies.

8

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 ~~na~~ nation divided, divided between black and white, between rich and poor, between north and south, between young and old?

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

Winning the Presidency is not worth the price of silence or evasion on the issue of human rights and equal opportunity.

I call upon my opponent--Mr. Nixon--to make that same statement, And ~~Winning~~ Winning the Presidency is not worth the price of entering into a compact with extremism.

And I call upon my opponent--~~Mr. Nixon~~ Mr. Nixon--to ~~repudiate~~ repudiate his extremist allies who ~~are~~ today are attempting to block the ~~nomination~~ confirmation of the Chief Justice of the United States . . . and tomorrow may attack other bulwarks of our constitutional structure of liberty and freedom.

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

9

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 ~~xxx~~ goodness in the American people.

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

And so I say to America:

Put aside recrimination and dissension.

Turn away from vile violence and hatred.

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

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

John —

Let's discuss
the re-draft
of Buffalo

before we go
very far.

D

Draft: Buffalo: Not to be released.

Hunter 9/14

^{some}
We have ~~an~~ important choices to make in America this year. We must choose ~~the leadership~~ leadership that will set the course of our nation for the next generation.

^{people}
We must choose men with ~~the~~ courage to face the problems and issues of today -- and find the answers for tomorrow.

^{people}
We must choose men who will tell it like it is, ^{and} then do something about it.

~~And we~~ must choose men with ~~the~~ wisdom to lead a troubled nation. . . a nation in search of unity. . . to a New Day in which the promise of this great country can be fulfilled for all Americans.

^{and that means Democrats.}
We Democrats have ~~shown~~ shown that leadership. . . that courage. . . and that wisdom. And we have an abundance of ~~these~~ ^{these} qualities now to carry this nation on into the 1980s.

For 25 years, we Democrats -- you and I -- have stood together and fought for progress. . . for peace. . . for the people. It is a tradition that goes back a long way -- to Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal. . . to Harry Truman who brought this nation the truth when it was needed.

^{It is important to}
~~And we shall~~ carry this tradition forward into the New Day that will enrich . . . strengthen. . . and ennoble our nation and our people.

^{no}
A Think what we've achieve in just the last eight years under the Kennedy-Johnson-Humphrey Administrations.

Will anyone in our Democratic Party. . . in Buffalo or in any other city. . . sacrifice a quarter century of progressive accomplishments in a moment of displeasure or fatigue?

When the chips are down -- and they are down now -- I do not think any Democrat. . . any man who cares for his country and his party. . . will fail to answer this call. Our leadership of the nation. . . our clear vision of the future needs of America. . . must not be lost.

We shall fight together. . . and we shall win.

... First, because we are the party of prosperity. Since 1960, we have raised family income -- I'm talking about take-home pay, after federal taxes and after adjustments for inflation -- we raised family income by nearly \$3000 a year for an average family of four. . . enough for a new car. . . or a year in college. That's some difference -- especially when you compare it with the mere \$800 you got in 8 years of Republican rule.

And we are the party of opportunity -- a ten and a half million new jobs in only 8 years. Unemployment during the recession-ridden Republican 1950s rose by 2 million; but under the Democrats, unemployment fell by 2 million. And we have the ideas, the concern, and the experience to take this prosperity to new heights:

we have that choice. ^{And} we are going to rework our federal tax structure to reduce the burden on people who work for a living and ensure that working Americans make a fair tax contribution.

Yes, we Democrats are the party of prosperity. And I don't think the American people -- workers, businessmen, ~~housewives~~ and our nation's best economists, the housewives of America -- are ~~about~~ ^{going} to let anyone take it away.

It's not at all clear what ~~the Republicans would do with the economy.~~

^{would} What ~~will~~ would Mr. Nixon do about the economy we have built up over the last 8 years? Has he learned any economics since he was Vice-President? He is certainly being served by ~~these~~ the same economic advisers he had when the Nixon-Republicans gave us three recessions in eight years. Does he know what ~~they~~ that Administration did wrong? Can he do better this time?

Or will it be more on-the-job training?

I say we can't take the chance. . . with your salary. . . with your children's education. . . with your mortgage. . . with your parent's medical insurance. . . with the resources we need for our cities, our schools, and our police forces.

We can't take the chance of another decade of recession. . . low pay. . . slow promotions. . . and stagnation throughout industry. Remember what it was like? We can't afford it, and we're not about to let it happen.

* * * * *

And think what we have done for our older citizens.

We led a whole nation to think of them. . . your parents and mine. . . not as objects of private misery. . . not as objects of public pity. . . but as human beings. . . with rights. . . earned benefits under social security and Medicare. . . and a sense of dignity and worth.

~~And~~ But think what together we can do in the future. . . to give our parents a new fullness of life in their later years. . . to help them be useful and productive for as long as they like.

But what will Richard Nixon do? ~~He~~ Will he ~~take~~ Medicare away? If not, there are a lot of older Americans who would like to hear him say so.

* * * * *

Think what we have done in education. We have enacted more legislation to help school children-- all school children -- than in the entire previous history of the Republic. There are 600,000 low and middle income students going back to college this week with Federal assistance.

But this is just the beginning. We can choose to to give every child a full education, from his fourth year through college or vocational school regardless of his ability to pay. This is a goal that befits our Democratic heritage. . . and our potential as a nation. If I am President, I am going to fight to provide our children with this education -- and it will be excellent education.

But what will Richard Nixon do? ~~He~~ Does he want us to go back to the Republican 1950s when excellence in education was still a privilege of the rich? ~~He~~ I

Can do
put
later

say we need to know, because we aren't going to ~~let anyone~~ tamper with our New Day in education. ~~No one is going to~~
We won't let anyone take it away.

* * * * *

What about crime? I think that it is a growing problem in America. And it calls for a calm, reasoned, but tough approach, not a campaign of ~~of~~ fear.

So I have proposed a detailed program of Federal help for our local law enforcement officers, our courts and our correctional institutions -- to let them do the job we want them to do.

And that program is going to begin with Federal aid for policemen's ~~higher~~ salaries, so that we can put more and better-trained policemen back into our neighborhoods where they can protect our lives and property.

What are the Republicans offering? Talk. . .scare stories. . .but no programs. . .no money. . .no vision of a society rebuilt without the blight of crime and the social ills that cause it.

I tell you this: the Republican party. . .has consistently opposed Federal aid as an act of faith-- and Republican candidates ^{have} ~~who~~ attack ^{ad} our courts. . . and ^{ridiculed} ~~reduced~~ our Attorney General -- that party and those men are not ready. . .by ability or temperament. . .to get results in law enforcement.

Mr. Nixon will not even tell us whether he supports legislation to keep firearms out of the ~~the~~ hands of potential murderers. He knows that 96% of all policemen who are murdered [/]are murdered with guns. He knows that one American dies of gunshot wounds every thirty minutes. My friends, our lives and our safety ~~cannot~~ rest upon the ~~solence~~ silence of Richard Nixon.

* * * * *

And we Democrats know that ~~mush~~ more must be done for our cities, to make them desirable places to live and work. We can rebuild our cities

--by purging them of blight,
 --by recreating neighborhoods with air. . .light. . .
 comfort;

--by ridding them of the dulling pall of noise. . .of
 smoke. . .of crime. . .congestion. . .and decay.

But in too many cities, adequate funds just aren't
 available. *we know what ~~the~~ needs doing!*
 I have, ~~therefore~~, proposed a massive program
 of help ~~xxxxxx~~

--a Marshall Plan for our cities. . .and an Urban
 Development Bank. Both plans will call upon the private
 sector for its contribution, but both also recognize the
 need for federal help. These plans are designed to help
 cities like Buffalo. And together we shall do much, much
 more.

But where does Mr. Nixon stand? All I hear are
 homilies about do-it-yourself urban renewal --and nothing
 about ways and means.

This is a ~~xxx~~ basic issue in the campaign. Where does
 Richard Nixon stand?

He leaves us to wonder about his position on Vietnam
 . . .on the treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear bombs. . .
 on ~~xxx~~ the confirmation of Mr. Justice Fortas. . .on the
 crucial issues of human rights.

He tells us that he has spoken out on 167 issues.
 But when will he get around to the issues that really count
 in people's lives? We want to know.

And when Mr. Nixon does talk about help for the cities
 . . .aid to education. . .health. . .homes. . .and jobs. . .
 just remember how Nixon-Republicans voted on these issues.

. . .70 per cent. . .80 per cent. . .90 per cent
against the people;

78 per cent against federal aid to schools. . .89
 percent against ~~Model~~ cities. . .85% against Medicare. . .81
 per cent against increases in Social Security payments.
 They even voted 97 per cent against the control and
 extermination of rats.

I am not worried about the new Nixon or the old Nixon. What worries me is the real Nixon -- and his Nixicrat allies. We know the real Nixon. . . how well we remember.

~~Mr. Nixon~~¹⁴⁰ may think that silence on the issues is good politics. He seems to believe he can retreat from the issues of this campaign and spend the next seven weeks away from the people. Then he'll come to us on Election Day and expect to be voted in as President. Will we do it?

The American people won't let this happen. We want to face the issues. . . hear the answers. . . and have a say about our future.

You ~~can't~~ can't be afraid of the people and be President of the United States.

I call upon Mr. Nixon to come out of his ~~hideaway~~ . . . to face the issues. . . and to show the American people what he has to offer. . . in fair. . . honest. . . and full debate of the problems of 1968, not of 1952. We want to know.

My friends, for America's sake. . . for the sake of the leadership we have to offer. . . of the great challenges before this country ~~that~~. . . we have to beat him and everything he stands for. We have to beat him in order to ~~carry~~ fulfill the promise of our country for all Americans. And together we can do it.

End.



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