



news release

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For Further Information:
Ev Munsey, Ext. 201
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VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY CHALLENGES NIXON TO DEBATE; HITS "FENCE STRADDLING"

Springfield, Ill., September 20--Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey today challenged Richard Nixon to debate "in Peoria or Springfield or on national television."

Citing Nixon's evasions and statements on both sides of key issues, the Vice President declared that debates should be held "so the American people could decide on the basis of facts--not empty promises, slogans, and that special brand of fence-straddling which Mr. Nixon perfected long ago."

Vice President Humphrey said that Nixon's charge that "there is some collusion between my supporters and the supporters of Governor Wallace...is patently ridiculous and Mr. Nixon knows it. But I issue this challenge. Let Richard Nixon, George Wallace, and me debate the issues on national television. That way we'll soon find out who is in collusion with whom. And it won't be Humphrey and Wallace," he said.

The Democratic nominee said this election poses grave questions. "Do the American people believe that the fears and frustrations of life in the twentieth century can somehow be made to vanish, by papering over our problems and ignoring our shortcomings?

"Are we strong enough to bear the responsibilities of power?," he asked.

"As for myself, I must speak out on this issue. I trust the American people." Accordingly, Vice President Humphrey said, "as that good and wise man Adlai Stevenson did--I shall talk sense to the American people." He said he would speak "not to their fears, but to their hopes, to call forth not the bitterness and resentment of life, but the vision of a New Day for all mankind..."

The text of the speech is attached.

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
SEPTEMBER 20, 1968

I see by the morning papers that Illinois had a distinguished visitor yesterday.

But I also see that Mr. Nixon made sure to leave before the Humphrey Campaign Express pulled in last night.

Frankly, I'm beginning to think he's avoiding me.

Had I not been campaigning yesterday with Senator Ted Kennedy in Massachusetts--had I not been visiting yesterday in Sioux Falls, South Dakota--I would have joined Mr. Nixon in Peoria.

For I have some questions to ask Mr. Nixon.

I'd like some answers--and I believe the American people would also like some answers.

I think it's time we stopped passing like ships in the night--I think it's time we discussed our differences--openly, forthrightly, face-to-face--in Peoria--in Springfield...or on network television.

Mr. Nixon says he favors the treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, but then he says he opposes Senate ratification this year.

Mr. Nixon says he favors law and order, but he refuses to make any statement on the issue of controlling firearms--even when he knows that 96% of the police officers killed since 1960 were killed with guns.

Mr. Nixon says he admires Justice Fortas--he says he is an able and distinguished judge--he says the Senate should vote on his nomination--but Mr. Nixon refuses to say whether he supports the confirmation of Justice Fortas... and he refuses to repudiate his extremist allies in the Senate led by Senator Strom Thurmond who are blocking a vote on the nomination.

Mr. Nixon goes into North Carolina and says he supports the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision--but opposes implementation of that decision by the federal government.

And then he goes back to the North and says it's "perfectly proper for the Federal government to act" when the action of a local school board is a subterfuge for segregation.

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Mr. Nixon goes into Iowa and says he is going to change the farm program. But he doesn't say how.

Would he change the wheat program? Or would he repeal it?

Would he change the feed grains program? Or would he repeal it?

Would he change the cotton program? Or would he repeal it?

I believe it's time Mr. Nixon came out of his storm cellar and answered some of these questions.

I believe it's time for Mr. Nixon to make good on his promise to debate the opposition on television--a promise he made repeatedly before and after the Republican National Convention.

I've taken firm positions on these issues--and I'm ready to defend each and every one.

Yesterday, for example, I released a comprehensive 10 ~~12~~ ¹³ minute program for bringing the American farmer into the economic mainstream of this nation.

But where does Mr. Nixon stand when it comes to specifics?

He talks alot about a mysterious list of 167 issues on which he supposedly has taken a firm position.

But he always neglects to identify the 167 issues.

I think the American people might be interested in learning what they are.

So why keep it a secret--unless he would prefer that the American people didn't find out.

I thought that we might begin these discussions in Peoria or Springfield--in the tradition of the Lincoln-Douglas debates--so the American people could decide on the basis of facts--not empty promises, slogans, and that special brand of fence-straddling which Mr. Nixon perfected long ago.

But Mr. Nixon scurried away...and when last seen was headed East--to New York-- and the sanctuary of his Fifth Avenue apartments.

No one said it better than Adlai Stevenson. "Mr. Nixon," Governor Stevenson once remarked, "is the kind of politician who will cut down a redwood tree and then get on a stump and give a speech about conservation.

You see, it's not a question of the "old" Nixon, or the "new" Nixon...it's just the real Nixon...and he's as hard to find as ever.

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Mr. Nixon has charged there is some collusion between my supporters and the supporters of Governor Wallace. Well, that charge is patently ridiculous and Mr. Nixon knows it.

But I issue this challenge: let Richard Nixon, George Wallace and me debate the issues on national television. That way we'll soon find out who is in collusion with whom. And it won't be Humphrey and Wallace.

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We stand today, as Lincoln stood, at the moment of maximum peril for our nation. And in November the American people must make a fateful choice--just as they had to choose in 1860 and 1864.

The choice is this: Shall we--as a nation--move forward toward one society of opportunity and justice...or shall we abandon this commitment out of fear, and move instead toward a fractured and divided society--black against white; rich against poor; young against old.

And the decision we make this year will decide it for us, for our children, and for all those who have believed and sacrificed in the building of this nation.

Do the American people believe that the fears and frustrations of life in the twentieth century can somehow be made to vanish, by papering over our problems and ignoring our shortcomings?

Or are we made of sterner stuff? Are we better than too many of our press and pollsters and politicians give us credit for being?

Are we strong enough to bear the responsibilities of power?

...smart enough, and tough enough, to find our way through to the future which can yet be ours?

As for myself, I must speak out on this issue. In Lincoln's words--and this passage was among Adlai Stevenson's favorites--"I must keep some consciousness of being somewhere near right. I must keep some standards of principle fixed within myself."

An America fulfilled--an America of equal justice and equal opportunity--has been the guiding faith and principle of my life. As a candidate for the highest trust of my nation...as a leader of my party--I shall not renounce that principle now.

I trust the American people.

It is because I trust the great, unfrightened majority of Americans, that I choose to speak, not to their fears, but to their hopes...to call forth not the bitterness and resentment of life, but the vision of a New Day for all mankind--for what Lincoln himself called "The Family of Man".

Abraham Lincoln told the people of this city 110 years ago this summer, "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

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I ask our nation not to be of one mind, but to be of one spirit.

And it is because I trust the toughness and resilience of that American spirit that I do not shrink from the hard decisions of the Presidency.

I seek that responsibility.

I accept that burden.

As that good and wise man Adlai Stevenson did--I shall talk sense to the American people.

I shall talk sense to them about the issue of order and justice--as I did earlier this week with my comprehensive and specific 84 point program to stop crime and lawlessness in this country.

I pledged to support our local police--not with slogans and bumper stickers--but with leadership and federal resources, including money--money desperately needed for higher salaries and more personnel and for better training and equipment.

I pledged to stop riots by increasing training of our local police and National Guard in riot control, including the creation of highly mobile units which can act immediately to stop civil disorders in their early stages.

I shall summon my fellow citizens to the most urgent task of our time, as it was the most urgent task of Lincoln's time--

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds..."

I shall go forward with the firm conviction that, as Lincoln wrote in his first inaugural--written here in Springfield, in a room upstairs over a store across the street from the State House--we Americans "are not enemies, but friends...though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory...will yet swell the chorus of Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

And I shall do so with the humility born of the knowledge that, as Lincoln knew,"...we cannot escape history...we shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best hope of earth."

This is the issue.

This is the clear and conscious choice which I shall take to the American people.

And, in the words of Lincoln's successor, "I propose to fight it out

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on this line if it takes all summer."

I ask you to stand with me on that line...

This summer...

This fall...

Next January...

And in the years beyond.

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P. F. Zeidman
Draft - 9/14

REMARKS OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

STEPS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S HOME

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS - SEPT. 20, 1968

We stand today as Lincoln stood, at a moment of maximum peril for our nation. For in November the American people must make a fateful choice.

The choice is simply this: Shall we -- as a nation -- move forward toward one society of opportunity and justice, or shall we abandon this commitment out of fear and prejudice and move instead toward a fractured and separated society -- black against white; rich against poor; comfortable against left-out?

The decision we make this year will, in fact, answer this question for ourselves, for our children, and for all those who have believed and sacrificed in the building of this nation.

And that decision must raise as well a question in the minds of each candidate for the Presidency:

Can the American people be made to believe that the fears and frustrations of life in the twentieth century can somehow be made to vanish, by papering over our problems and ignoring our shortcomings?

Or are the American people made of sterner stuff than that? Are they better than too many of our press and pollsters and politicians give them credit for?

Are they strong enough to bear the responsibilities of power?

...Compassionate enough to recognize that, for many of our fellow citizens, life is not what it was meant to be?

...And smart enough, and tough enough, to find our way through, to a future which can yet be ours?

As for myself, and speaking as the leader of my party, I know the answer to that question.

I have asked my fellow citizens to place their confidence in me.

And I am placing my confidence in them.

--Confidence in their ability to know when they are being sold a bill of goods, promised a future of false comfort and easy living. ...for, as Lincoln knew, no politician, however slick, however evasive, can fool all the people all the time.

--Confidence in their understanding that he who buries his head or sets his face against the winds of inevitable change cannot stop that change, but will be buried by the sandstorm of time as it passes him by.

--And confidence in their good will -- and their good judgment... in their common sense -- and their uncommon decency.

In short, my friends, I believe, with Lincoln, that "the people when rightly and fully trusted will return the trust."

I trust the American people.

It is because I trust the great, unfrightened majority of Americans, that I choose to speak, not to their fears, but to their hopes...to call forth not the bitterness and resentment of life, but the vision of a New Day for all mankind - for what Lincoln himself called "The Family of Man".

It is because I trust this new generation of Americans that I view the occasional excesses and poor judgment of some of our young people, as, in perspective, relatively less significant than the decent, energetic and creative force which they represent -- potentially the most promising generation this great nation has ever produced.

It is because I trust the process of democratic decision-making that I did not fear, but welcomed, the free and frank debate about the issues of our time which characterized the sometimes troublesome but fundamentally healthy developments within the Democratic party during the last several months.

It is because I trust the strength of the ties which bind our destinies together ... and because I have faith, as Lincoln did, in the fundamental decency of our people ... that I refuse to pit one group of Americans against another -- poor against rich, black against white, young against old.

For we know, as Abraham Lincoln told the people of this city 110 years ago this summer, "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

I ask our nation not to be of one mind, but to be of one spirit.

And it is because I trust the toughness and resilience of that American spirit that I do not shrink from the hard decisions of the Presidency.

I seek that responsibility.

I accept that burden.

I am ready to lead our nation toward that New Day which awaits us.

That New Day was described by Lincoln's biographer, Carl Sandburg...

"I see America, not in the setting sun of a black night of despair ahead of us. I see America in the crimson light of a rising sun fresh from the burning, creative hand of God. I see great days ahead, great days possible to men and women of will and vision..."

And that was the day for which Abraham Lincoln lived ... and the idea for which he died.

But it is not the day to which we are summoned by those politicians who, a century after Lincoln's death, are making a hollow joke of his tragedy.

Is it not the ultimate irony that today Lincoln lies under a wreath cynically laid by a man who once stood in the schoolhouse door to defy and deny the final meaning of Lincoln's life?

Is it not the ultimate irony that Lincoln's party is today led by men who would turn back the clock ... turn back the tides of time and change ... put the brakes on our progress toward full opportunity ...calculatingly ignore the demands of the left-out Americans within their own party and in the nation .. join forces with the most reactionary elements in American society ... and make a nightmare of the vision for which Lincoln lived and died?

And so I call upon all Americans to ask themselves this question...

What would happen in America if a President were elected on a campaign and a strategy essentially designed to exploit the fears and

tensions that grip significant portions of our people?

Look at the open tension in our cities.

Listen to the talk of white vigilantes and of black revolutionaries.

Watch the sale of guns and the making of firebombs.

Look at the flight of white people and mounting anger of black people.

Is that the way America ends? - After all the years of faithful work and the high hopes of the voyagers who came here .. all the dreams that mankind had for this nation in a "new world."

Does the land of the free and the home of the brave turn into an armed camp?

Which way shall we go?

I think it is a fateful choice.

I don't see how the momentum of such a choice can be altered, once taken.

Either we turn backward into a continually increasing polarizing of the nation and a widening spiral of fear -- or we continue to go forward into a new day of justice and order.

Which way: Apartheid or democracy? Separation or community? A society of ordered liberty or a society of fear and repression?

I seek the Presidency of the United States.

But I have asked myself, in Lincoln's words:

"What is the Presidency worth to me if I have no country?"

And I know my answer.

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

Winning the Presidency is not worth a compact with extremism.

And so I shall make this election a referendum on human rights and opportunity in America.

I shall, as that good and wise man Adlai Stevenson did, talk sense to the American people.

I shall lay before the American people the things we must do together in terms of jobs and education, housing and income maintenance and health care.

I shall summon my fellow citizens to the most urgent task of our time, as it was the most urgent task of Lincoln's time -

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in ; to bind up the nation's wounds..."

I shall go forward with the firm conviction that, as Lincoln wrote in his first inaugural -- written here in Springfield, in a room upstairs over a store across the street from the State House -- we Americans "are not enemies, but friends...Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords

of memory ... will yet swell the chorus of Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

And I shall do so with the humility born of the knowledge that, as Lincoln knew, "...we cannot escape history ... We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best hope of earth."

This is the issue.

This is the clear and conscious choice which I shall take to the American people.

And, in the words of Lincoln's successor, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."

I ask you to stand with me on that line...

This summer...

This fall....

Next January....

And in all the years beyond.

Adlai Stevenson
Gov Shapiro
Bill Clark

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

SEPTEMBER 20, 1968

I see by the morning papers that Illinois had a distinguished visitor yesterday.

↳ But I also see that Mr. Nixon made sure to leave before the Humphrey Campaign Express pulled in last night.

↳ Frankly, I'm beginning to think he's avoiding me.

↳ Had I not been campaigning yesterday with Senator Ted Kennedy in Massachusetts -- had I not been visiting yesterday in Sioux Falls, South Dakota -- I would have joined Mr. Nixon in Peoria.

↳ For I have some questions to ask Mr. Nixon.

↳ I'd like some answers -- and I believe the American people would also like some answers.

↳ I think it's time we stopped passing like ships in the night -- I think it's time we discussed our differences -- openly, forthrightly, face-to-face -- in Peoria -- in Springfield ... or on network television.

↳ Mr. Nixon says he favors the treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, but then he says he opposes Senate ratification this year.

↳ Mr. Nixon says he favors law and order, but he refuses to make any statement on the issue of controlling firearms -- ~~even when he knows that 96% of the police officers killed since 1960 were killed with guns~~

He's for Law + order - but other than attacking the Supreme Court & Attorney General He says nothing
↳ Mr. Nixon says he admires Justice Fortas -- he says he is an able and distinguished judge -- he says the Senate should vote on his nomination -- but Mr. Nixon refuses to say whether he supports the confirmation of Justice Fortas ... and he refuses to repudiate his extremist allies in the Senate led by Senator Strom Thurmond who are blocking a vote on the nomination.

my 84 Points

Mr. Nixon goes into North Carolina and says he supports the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision -- but opposes implementation of that decision by the federal government.

And then he goes back to the North and says it's "perfectly proper for the Federal government to act" when the action of a local school board is a subterfuge for segregation.

Mr. Nixon goes into Iowa and says he is going to change the farm program. But he doesn't say how.

Would he change the wheat program? Or would he repeal it?

Would he change the feed grains program? Or would he repeal it?

Would he change the Soybean Program?
Would he change the Food Stamp Program?

Would he change the cotton program? Or would he repeal it?

I believe it's time Mr. Nixon came out of his storm cellar and answered some of these questions.

I believe it's time for Mr. Nixon to make good on his promise to debate the opposition on television -- a promise he made repeatedly before and after the Republican National Convention.

Q Or does he plan to take both sides of this issue too?

A I've taken firm positions on these issues -- and I'm ready to defend each and every one.

Q Yesterday, for example, I released a comprehensive 10 point program for bringing the American farmer into the economic mainstream of this nation.

Q But where does Mr. Nixon stand when it comes to specifics?

A He talks a lot about a mysterious list of 167 issues on which he supposedly has taken a firm position.

Q But he always neglects to identify the 167 issues.

A I think the American people might be interested in learning what they are.

Q So why keep it a secret -- unless he would prefer that the American people didn't find out.

I thought that we might begin these discussions in Peoria or Springfield -- in the tradition of the Lincoln-Douglas debates -- so the American people could decide on the basis of facts -- not empty promises, slogans, and that special brand of fence-straddling which Mr. Nixon perfected long ago. —

But Mr. Nixon scurried away... and when last seen was headed back East -- to New York -- and the sanctuary of his Fifth Avenue apartment. *It's hard to hit a moving target.*

No one said it better than Adlai Stevenson. "Mr. Nixon," ~~Governor Stevenson once remarked,~~ "is the kind of politician who will cut down a redwood tree and then get on a stump and give a speech about conservation." ~~~~~

You see, it's not a question of the "old" Nixon, or the "new" Nixon ... it's just the real Nixon ... and he's as hard to find as ever. ~~Hard to hit a moving target.~~

Mr. Nixon has charged there is some collusion between my supporters and the supporters of Governor Wallace. Well, that charge is patently ridiculous and Mr. Nixon knows it.

But I issue this challenge: let Richard Nixon, George Wallace and me debate the issues on national television. That way we'll soon find out who is in collusion with whom. And it won't be Humphrey and Wallace.

∟ We stand today, as Lincoln stood, at the moment of maximum peril for our nation. And in November the American people must make a fateful choice -- just as they had to choose in 1860 and 1864.

∟ The choice is this: Shall we -- as a nation -- move forward toward one society of opportunity and justice ... or shall we abandon this commitment out of fear, and move instead toward a fractured and divided society -- black against white; rich against poor; young against old.

∟ And the decision we make this year will decide it for us, for our children, and for all those who have believed and sacrificed in the building of this nation.

Do the American people believe that the fears and frustrations of life in the twentieth century can somehow be made to vanish, by papering over our problems and ignoring our shortcomings?

Or are we made of sterner stuff? Are we better than so many of our press and pollsters and politicians give us credit for being?

Are we strong enough to bear the responsibilities of power?

... smart enough, and tough enough, to find our way through to the future which can yet be ours?

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"I must keep some standards of principle fixed within myself."

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I trust the American people.

It is because I trust the great, unfrightened majority of Americans, that I choose to speak, not to their fears, but to their hopes ... to call forth not the bitterness and resentment of life, but the vision of a New Day for all mankind -- for what Lincoln himself called "The Family of Man".

Abraham Lincoln told the people of this city 110 years ago this summer, "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

I ask our nation not to be of one mind, but to be of one spirit.

And it is because I trust the ~~firmness~~ ^{firmness} and resilience of that American spirit that I do not shrink from the hard decisions of the Presidency.

I seek that responsibility.

I accept that burden.

As that good and wise man Adlai Stevenson did -- I shall talk sense to the American people.

I shall talk sense to them about the issue of order and justice -- as I did earlier this week with my comprehensive and specific program to stop crime and lawlessness in this country.

↳ I pledged to support our local police -- not with slogans and bumper stickers -- but with leadership and federal resources, including money -- money desperately needed for higher salaries and more personnel and for better training and equipment.

↳ I pledged to stop riots by increasing training of our local police and National Guard in riot control, including the creation of highly mobile units which can act immediately to stop civil disorders in their early stages.

Lincoln & Pearson children in respect of
Law

I shall summon my fellow citizens to the most urgent task of our time, as it was the most urgent task of Lincoln's time --

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds...."

Right to life
Abortion
Free Sp

I shall go forward with the firm conviction that, as Lincoln wrote in his first inaugural -- written here in Springfield, in a room upstairs over a store across the street from the State House -- we Americans "are not enemies, but friends ... though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory ... will yet swell the chorus of Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

And I shall do so with the humility born of the knowledge that, as Lincoln knew, "... we cannot escape history ... we shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best hope of earth."

This is the issue.

This is the clear and conscious choice which I shall take to the American people.

And, in the words of ~~Lincoln's successor~~ *Abraham Lincoln*, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."

I ask you to stand with me on that line ...

This summer ...

This fall ...

Next January ...

And in the years beyond.

#

Sept. 20, 1968
Lincoln House - Springfield, Illinois

Vice President Humphrey. Thank you very much.

Thank you very much, Governor Shapiro. As I see these affectionate signs around the country, saying Governor Sam -- and that is the way we feel, a warm, generous, compassionate human being with a great sensitivity to the needs of our people -- Governor, I have not the slightest doubt, my dear friend, that the people of this state, who are known for their political intelligence, are going to elect you -- yes, in a very real sense, re-elect, because you are in a great tradition -- elect you the governor of the great state of Illinois.

Now, permit me if I may to say a word about our candidate for the U.S. Senate, Bill Clark, distinguished lawyer, able, honorable, public servant, characterized by a sense of integrity, a deep sense of compassion, a man of peace, that speaks his heart and speaks his mind. I am very proud to be one of his friends and to be the leader of the party of which he is a member, and I want him to know that my hope is that he will be successful, and I ask you people to help elect him your next U.S. Senator.

How can one really feel totally at ease in a historic setting like this? First of all, we have all been presented here today by a very fine American, a young American, a servant of the people of this state, a man who in his own right has earned his own place in the hearts of our countrymen, the distinguished son of a very great and distinguished father -- my friend and

1 and his father my friend. I must say that my cup runneth
2 over today in terms of gratitude and appreciation, and I want
3 Adlai Stevenson to know that this is one of the finest moments
4 of my public life, to be here on these steps of the Lincoln
5 House with you -- with you in this Capital City, the City from
6 whence Lincoln left, gave his farewell remarks to go off to
7 become the President of a divided nation, a troubled Republic.

8 My mind has had literally flashing thoughts as I have
9 stood here: First as I listened to the invocation by the Rev.
10 Graebel, -s I listened to the inspiring words that came from
11 Lincoln and also from Prophets amount and also from the Old
12 Testament, as I listened to him speak of justice flowing like
13 a stream, I was reminded of my readings of the Prophet Amos,
14 whom I always called the original liberal for all political
15 and spiritual people, who feared not to speak the truth as he
16 saw it and heard it. But as I stand here, I can't help but keep
17 thinking how Lincoln said that we must meet new situations with
18 new solutions. What is more needed now than that knowledge,
19 because we are in an end of an era and the beginning of a new
20 day, and new solutions are needed for new situations.

21 What we had yesterday cannot be enough and what works,
22 we will use and that which will not, we'll cast aside, because
23 no man that seeks the presidency of the United States can
24 afford to be bound by the past. He must be tied to the
25 tomorrows and the future; otherwise, he would be unworthy of the
high office that he seeks.

1 I want this audience to know before I speak another minute
2 that just as I said in my acceptance speech, I repeat now, that
3 the solutions and the programs and the policies of yesterday
4 may not apply to the needs and the critical situations of
5 tomorrow, and I shall not feel bound by them, but I shall seek
6 with Gods to help to find new ways and indeed, if possible,
7 better ways to find solutions and answers to the problems of
8 this generation and yet generations unborn, because every
9 president is not only the president of his time but he also
10 by his acts and his words and his deeds conditions the life of
11 a nation for years to come, and indeed, his policies affect
12 the lives of children yet unborn.

13 So we come here today and speak from the steps of the
14 home of the Emancipator. And we must be emancipated -- emanci-
15 pated from the yesterdays where there were wrongs; emancipated
16 from the fears and the doubts that paralyzed a nation; emanci-
17 pated from suspicion and despair which cripple a people. And
18 if I can but do just a little of what is in my heart, we shall
19 have a better nation, a freer nation, and a more just society.

20 My friends, I know you have had many distinguished visitors.
21 I even saw by the morning papers that Illinois had a distinguished
22 visitor yesterday.

23 Oh, no, I don't want ever a Humphrey supporter to boo
24 anybody.

25 Let me tell you, my friends, I say that in good humor

1 and in sincerity, because there is one thing that I hope to
2 address myself to a little in this meeting. That is our
3 conduct as citizens.

4 I want this America to be America the beautiful, and
5 I will tell you something, you are never very beautiful if
6 you are angry and you are never very beautiful if you are
7 disrespectful.

8 But let me get back. We had a visitor here, and my
9 friend Adlai Stevenson made a suggestion. He suggested that
10 Mr. Nixon and Mr. Wallace will be through the state, as long
11 as some of our Republican friends had come here, and Senator
12 Dirksen has been here, that might not be a good idea if we
13 gathered together on these steps as good citizens and ~~atna~~
14 that we would have a few words with each other and a few
15 words to the crowd.

16 But I see that our invitation was not accepted, even
17 though it was one delivered in full hospitality and generosity
18 of spirit.

19 I see that Mr. NMxon made sure to leave before the
20 Humphrey campaign exp~~ress~~ pulled in last night.

21 And I don't ~~be~~ blame him.

22 I am beginning to think that he is avoiding me.

23 And I have looked at all those T.V. ads and that is not
24 the trouble. I have been taking my showers regularly.

25 Now, had I not been campaigning yesterday in Massachusetts

1 with Senator Ted Kennedy, and had I not been visiting --
2 and had I not been visiting and campaigning in Sioux Falls,
3 South Dakota, yesterday, with George McGovern -- I would have
4 joined Mr. Nixon in Peoria. For I have some questions to ask
5 him and I think now that I will just sort of spread them on the
6 record.

7 I would like some answers to M these questions, too.
8 I believe the American people would also like some answers.
9 I think it is time that we stopped passing like ships in the
10 night and I think it is time that we discussed our differences
11 openly, forthrightly, face to face, in Peoria, in Springfield,
12 or on a network television. I think it is time for that.

13 Now, Mr. Nixon is fully aware of the politics of our
14 time. He is an old hand at it. He said he favors the treaty
15 to stop the spread of nuclear weapons -- in other words, to
16 ban the bomb in countries that do not have it. But then
17 he says that he opposes Senate ratification this year.

18 He is sort of the fellow that says, I love my wife, but
19 I am not going to give her any money.

20 Yes, he is for the treaty, but --

21 He says he favors law and order, but he refuses to make
22 any statement at all on the issue of controlling firearms.

23 He says he is for law and order, and then he proceeds
24 to attack the highest tribunal of this land, the Supreme
25 Court, to which people look for justice. And he attacks

1 the Attorney General, who is the chief law enforcement
2 officer of the land.

3 I would remind him that Abraham Lincoln once reminded
4 all of us as he spoke of the need for law and order that we
5 have respect for the law and that we have respect for those
6 who are responsible for the enforcement of the law.

7 Mr. Nixon says that he admires Justice Fortas. My, he
8 is so kind these days. It is hardly becoming.

9 He says he is able, he says that Justice Fortas was an
10 able and distinguished judge. He says the Senate should vote on
11 his nomination. But Mr. Nixon refuses to say whether he supports
12 or whether he opposes the confirmation of Justice Fortas.

13 And more importantly, he refuses to repudiate his extremist
14 allies in the Senate, led by none other than ^{that} Dixiecrat of old,
15 Senator Strom Thurmond, who is blocking that vote on the
16 nomination right now.

17 It is a sad day in this country, my friends, when a man
18 who talks about a new America as does the Republican nominee
19 joins up with the remnants of the oldest and the verds worst
20 part of the American heritage.

21 Mr. Nixon goes into North Carolina and he says bravely and
22 boldly that he supports the 1954 desegregation decision. That
23 is 14 years old. You can get pretty brave on that.

24 But he opposes the implementation of that decision ~~by~~
25 by the federal government. He is for it, but --

7.
1 Then he goes up north to rather safe country on a matter
2 like this, up in Iowa, and says it is perfectly proper
3 for the federal government to act when the action of a local
4 school board is a subterfuge for segregation.

5 Mr. Nixon is having his own debate.

6 I have a feeling, my friends, that the new Nixon and the
7 old Nixon are going to go at it for sometime and you are going
8 to find out who is the real Nixon, and you are not going to like
9 it.

10 Now, my friend, Mr. Nixon, goes into Iowa. I was out at
11 Jim Craven's farm this morning, a beautiful farm, lovely farm
12 family. I could not help but reflect as I did last night in
13 Sioux Falls that Mr. Nixon has a great knowledge of agriculture.
14 He is the only man in the history of the world who has ever
15 tried to plow a straight furrow with a corn picker.

16 That is a honey. That is a beaut. You know, as Mayor
17 ø LaGuardia used to say, when he made a blooper, it was a
18 beaut. Well, I will tell you, I have seen many a corn picker,
19 but they have never been used up in my country for plowing straight
20 furrows.

21 Then he says he is going to change the farm program.
22 Well, they did it the last time they were in. They changed
23 it to the cost of \$3 billion to the American farmer. But he
24 does not say how he is going to change it now.

25 I think it would be nice for the people of Illinois to

1 know what is he going to change about the soybean program?

2 What would he change about the federal grains program?

3 Would he repeal it? Would he modify it?

4 Would he change the wheat program? Would he repeal it?

5 Would he change the food stamp program? They did not
6 give us much help in getting it in the first place.

7 I think we have the right to know and I want him to answer.

8 Mr. Nixon, where do you stand on the feed grain program, where do y
9 you stand on the food stamp program, Mr. Nixon, where do you
10 stand on federal aid to education?

11 Mr. Nixon, where do you stand on expanded Medicare?

12 Mr. Nixon, where do you stand on higher education?

13 Mr. Nixon, where do you stand on the wheat program?

14 Where do you stand on Justice Fortas?

15 Where do you stand? Where do you stand? I must say he is
16 elusive.

17 He is the fastest moving target I have seen since a bevy of
18 doves and quail went out of the field. But I think I ought to
19 let him know, I am a good shot.

20 You know, many times, people have asked me about the
21 Vice Presidential seal. It is hard for some of you unless you
22 have 20-20 vision to see it from there, but let me explain it
23 to you. I looked at it a long time and I got a little worried
24 about that eagle, because he does not look too healthy.

25 The Presidential eagle has his wings up here like that, strong
clear-eyed, beautifully feathered bird. And in the clause, in one

9.

1 set of claws are the olive branches which represent the desire
2 of this nation for peace; in the other set of claws, es-a---
3 is a group or a bunch of arrows, representing America's constant
4 preparation for national defense and national security, our
5 strength. And they are balanced off. That is the Presidential
6 seal.

7 I have got to looking at it so much, I am beginning to
8 like it.
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1 Then I otook a look at mine and somepeople think
2 that it's upside down. It only reminds you that a VP
3 has a lot of responsibility, but not much authority.

4 And I looked at it and lo and behod, I found that ~~ppp~~
5 poor little, emaciated eagle had only one little sprig of
6 olive branch.

7 How can you expect me to be the number one peace
8 man with just one little sprig of olive branch? (Applause)

9 Let me have a handful, and believe me, you'll have peace.
10 I want that made quite clear. (Applause)

11 But now, you take a look over on that other side and
12 you'll see there is that poor little Vice Presidential eagle
13 with just one little arrow. Somebody said, what in the world is
14 that all about? Why just one? What are you going to do with
15 it?

16 I said, "Nixon's the one."

17 Well, my friends, if Abraham Lincoln could have a story
18 to tell in the height of the tragedy of our nation in his
19 time, I think maybe just a little levity once in a while in
20 good taste is all right in this campaign.

21 So I believe, Mr. Nixon, it is time for you to come out of
22 the storm cellar so I can get a aim on you.

23 I believe it's time for Mr. Nixon to make good on
24 his promise.

25 (From crowd: "Get (or lay) it on him").

I'm about to do so. And I intend to tell it on him just
like it is.

I believe it's time for Mr. Nixon to make good on at
least one promise. You remember what he said? H said he wanted
to debate the opposition on television.--Of course, t~~h~~at was
his Republican opposition; they're rather soft touches--
a promise that he made before and after the Republican National
Convention.

Now, Mr. Nixon, we both need a little time. Maybe I need it mo
re than you do. My finances aren't so godd. The networks
are ready.

Or does Mr. Nixon plan to take both sides of this issue,
too? He's sort of for it, but--

Now, I have taken firm positions on the issues that I've
mentioned here today, and I'm ready to defend each and
every one. Yesterday, for example, I released a compre-
hensive ten-point program for bringing the American farmer into

//
comprehensive ten-point program for bringing the American farmer into the economic mainstream of this nation, and
1 I know the difference between a plow and a corn-packer, too.
I want that clear.

2
3 And where does Mr. Nixon stand? Where does he stand
when it comes to these specifics?

4 He talks a lot about a mysterious list of 167 issues on which he supposedly has taken a firm position. Ø/Ø
5 I want to tell you, Mr. Nixon's firm positions would
6 make an ad for jello look like concrete.

Ø I think the American people would be interested
7 Ø in learning what these firm positions are, so why keep it
a secret? Unless he would prefer not to have the
8 American people find out.

9 And I thought we might begin those discussions in Peoria
10 or Springfield in the tradition of the Lincoln-Douglas debates,
so that the American people could decide on the basis of the facts,
11 not empty promises, not Ø slogan, and that special brand f=
of fence-straddling which Mr. Nixon perfected at least a
12 generation ago. I think it's time to have the facts laid on
the line, don't you?

13 But Mr. Nixon scurried away and when last seen, was headed
14 back east, to New York and the sanctuary of the Fifth
Avenue apartment.

15 Well, he can come out from either the apartment or the
16 storm cellar. No one has said what I have said better
than the late and beloved Adlai Stevenson, who said Mr. Nixon is the
17 kind of a politician who will cut down a redwood tree and then
get on the stump and give a speech about conservation.

18 You know, he sort of reminds me of that fellow who was ap-
19 plying for a job Ø teaching school. He wanted to be a
geography teacher, and he came into one of those counties down in
20 Tennessees years ago where they had a difference of opinion
about whether the world was Ø round or flat. This poor
21 fellow just wanted to please everybody, so he met with the
school board.

22 The school board said, now just one question; I just want to
23 ask you, how do you teach geography? Do you teach that the world
is round or do you teach that it is flat?

24 He said, I can teach it either way.

25 That is it; that is it. For something, but--
I'm for it, but not now. I like it a little bit.

12
1 Ladies and Gentlemen, we do not need a guessing game in
the White House. We need leadership in the White House.
2 firm leadership in the White House.

3 Well, dear friends, we stand here today where Lincoln stood.
4 May I say that standing here reminds me of the kinds of positions
that have been taken in this campaign by Mr. Wallace
5 and Mr. Nixon and by others. I have said and I repeat, I'm
prepared to discuss these issues in good humor and good
6 sense with any of these men. We stand at the moment of
maximum peril for our nation. I'm not unaware of that nor are you.

7 We are in trouble. Our people are tormented. There
are passions amongst our people today that can be fanned into
8 fire. There is a meanness in every society, but there is also
a goodness. The question is which shall come to the fore

9 fire. There is a meanness in every society, but there is also
a goodness. The question is which shall come to the
10 forefront?

11 In November, the American people will make a fateful
choice, just as they had to choose in 1860 and in 1864. And
12 that choice is this: shall we as a nation move forward to fulfill
the American dream of one society of opportunity and
13 justice, or shall we abandon this noble commitment out of
fear, out of prejudice, and move instead toward a fractured and
14 divided society --black against white, rich against poor,
young against old?

15
16 My fellow Americans, that is the issue in this campaign.
That is the issue in this campaign. That is the issue
17 not only in this campaign; more importantly, that is the
issue in this country: will we be one nation? Will government
18 of the people, by the people, and for the people be permitted to work?

19 Can we be what Lincoln said we should be, the last
20 best hope of earth?

21 I hope so, and I hope that somehow or other, as we listen to
people, in the debate, in the discussion of a great political
22 campaign, that we'll search deep into our souls
and into our spirits and ask ourselves this question: what
23 kind of an America do I want, not for myself but for my children?

24 Because the decision we make this year will decide it for
ourselves as well as for our children and for all those
25 who have believed and sacrificed in building this, the
greatest Republic on the face of the earth.

You know, I'm a sentimentalist. I'm often accused of it.
I guess it's supposed to be a weakness. If it is, then I'm guilty.
I'm a sentimentalist about this Republic, about this country,

13
1 a man born in the ~~plains~~ plains, of humble parentage. Yet
2 I can stand before you as a candidate for the office of
3 President.

4 The same is true of Mr. Nixon and Mr. Wallace -- none of
5 them privileged, all of them from humble families, humble beginning
6 nings. It is a wonderful thing to live in a country that
7 offers such opportunity.

8 But, my friends, it hasn't offered that same opportunity
9 to everybody. What Lincoln was trying to teach us was that
10 we must open the gates of opportunity; that it wasn't good enough j
11 just to have some of us who have a chance, that every man
12 must have a chance, every man.

13 And he also tried to teach us that we must face up to
14 the facts. There is no easy way out. ~~Slogans~~ Slogans will
15 never do it. There are no panaceas. And I do not come to
16 you to offer you an easy life, I come to you to ask you to
17 live the life of a great people.

18 I do not come to you saying that the Federal Government
19 has a solution for everything; I come to you to tell
20 you that this government will be no bettern ~~than~~ than the
21 people that inspire it. I ~~do~~ come to you to ask you to be
22 great people.

23 I ask you these questions: Do the American people believe
24 that the fears and the frustrations of life in this, the
25 last third of the ~~twentieth~~ twentieth century, can somehow be made
to vanish by just papering over our problems and ignoring
our shortcomings?

Or are we made of sterner stuff? Are we better than
some many of our pollsters and our commentators and our
politicians gave us credit for being?

Are we strong enough, I ask you, to bear ~~the~~ the
responsibilities of power? And power is no privilege or
luxuty, my dear friends; it is a awesome ~~responsibility~~ responsibility and the
~~task~~ task of statesmanship is not merely the exercise of
power, but it is the restraint of the use of power id a
powerful age.

Can we find our way through, in other words, to the future
which can yet be ours?

As for myself, I must speak out on this issue. Im
Lincoln's words, and this was one of Adlai's favorite

14
1 passages: "I must keep some standards of principle
fixed within myself."

2 Principle. Presidents do not need to be populat. But
3 Presidents must stand on principle and ~~every~~ candidates
4 must stand on principle.

5 An America fulfilled, an America of equal justice and
6 equal opportunity, you know as well as I do, has been
the guiding principle of my life. It has been a principle
7 that has caused me pain and suffering on occasion.

8 But in the main, it has made me feel cleaner and
better. And as a candidate for the highest trust of this
9 nation, as a leader of my party, I shall not, under any
circumstances, compromise with the principle of equal
10 justice, equal rights, and equal treatment for every American.

11 And it is because I trust the great unfrightened majority
of Americans that I choose to speak not to their fears but
12 to their hopes, to call forth not the bitterness and the
resentment of life, but the vision of a new day for all of
mankind; for what Lincoln himself called the family of man.

13 Abraham Lincoln told the people of this city one hundred
years ago this summer, a house divided against itself cannot
14 stand. And that I say that this nation divided against itself
cannot stand.

15 I ask our nation not to be of one mind, but of one spirit.
16 It is because I trust in the firmness and the resilience of
the character of the American spirit that I do not ~~shrink~~
17 shrink from the hard decisions of the presidency. I seek that
responsibility and I accept that burden.

18 I have prepared myself for this hour and this day, and I
19 want the chance to lead this nation with you.

20 And in the words of that great statesman of this state,
I am going to talk and do talk sense to the people. I shall
21 talk sense to them about the issue of law and order, order
and justice, just as I did earlier this week with my compre-
22 hensive and specific program to stop crime and lawlessness in
this country. I pledge support of our local police, but not
23 with slogans and bumper stickers, but with leadership and
federal resources, including money, money desperately needed
24 for better salaries and more personnel and better training
and better equipment.

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I pledge to stop riots by increasing the training of our local police so they are disciplined. And the National Guard in riot control, including the creation of highly mobile units which can act immediately to stop civil disorders in their earliest stages. We can do this, but we must teach our children what Lincoln said: "Love of the law, respect of the law; lawlessness ~~as far as~~ in the home and law starts in the home." starts

16
1 And it is at this point that I remonstrate with my
2 followers. I have been the subject, as you know, of many
3 times of harassment, of bitter attacks, of what I call bad
4 manners, of demonstrations, and some of them that are ugly.
5 Ladies and gentlemen, the right of free speech is too precious
6 to have it destroyed by those who believe in nothing. You
7 cannot have free speech destroyed either by government or a
8 mob.

9 Listen to every man. Every man has the right to speak.
10 He does not necessarily have to be taken seriously, but he has
11 the right to be heard.

12 We have the right to assemble, and let no government and
13 let no mob and let no group of militant demonstrators break
14 up that right to assemble. And every American of voting age
15 has the right to vote. And let no government, no group of
16 people, no mob in any way interfere with that precious right of
17 popular sovereignty, the right to vote.

18 Let's establish some standard here. I summon, therefore,
19 my fellow citizens to the most urgent task of our time: with
20 malice toward none, with charity for all; with firmness in the
21 right, as God gives us to see the right. Let us strive
22 on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's
23 wounds.

24 I shall go forward with that firm conviction from these
25 steps of this hallowed place. As Lincoln wrote in his first
inaugural written here in Springfield, in a room upstairs,
over a store across the street from the old State House -- listen

17
1 to how timely these words are today: "We Americans are not
2 enemies but friends. ~~No~~ Though passion may have strained,
3 it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic cords
4 of memory will yet swell the chorus of the union when again
5 touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our
6 nature."

7 Beautiful words, prayerful words, and words so pertinent
8 to today. I shall do this with humility more than of the
9 knowledge, as Lincoln knew that we cannot escape history,
10 that we shall nobly save or men-wil meanly lose the last best
11 hope of earth.

12 This is the issue, then, this is the clear and conscious
13 choice which I shall take to the American people.

14 A great American general that fought with Lincoln said,
15 I shall propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer
16 Ladies and gentlemen, I shall propose to fight out this issue of
17 one nation, a nation of respect and dignity, a nation not
18 divided, a nation united, a nation in which Americans, black
19 or white, rich or poor, can stand up in honor and say and
20 proclaim proudly, and knowingly, that it is a fact, I am proud
21 to be an American.

22 Now, friends, let's take this case to our neighbors and
23 our homes. This election will not be ^{won} ~~one~~ here on these steps.
24 This election will be ^{won} ~~one~~ in the minds of the people. It will
25 be ^{won} ~~one~~ in the hearts of the people. It will be ^{won} ~~one~~ when the

18
American people know that pettiness is a trait of a weak

1 and lost people.

2 won
3 It will be ~~one~~/when Americans know that bitterness and
4 passion are traits of a weak and lost people, and it will be
5 won when Americans realize that goodness can produce great-
6 ness and that greatness can produce the kind of an America
7 that our forefathers dreamed of and that you want to live in.

8 That is my challenge to you and I ask you now on this
9 platform to help me unite this America, help me bind up the
10 wounds, help us make this ~~y~~ a better country.

11 Thank you very much.

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Message to the People
of Springfield Illinois

Saturday AM '2
ACorrigan
9/16/68
17

~~DRAFT STATEMENT FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT~~
~~for Buffalo~~

Springfield, Ill.

Springfield

I know that the people of ~~Buffalo~~ are seeking new ways to insure law and order 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.

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~~ ^{Springfield} understand that the answer to crime does not lie in ^{unresponsible} attacks on our courts, or on our laws, or on our law enforcement officials. ^{The answer} lies in reasoned effective action by state, local, and Federal authority, each bearing its share of the burden.

Our front-lines forces -- the police who carry the burden of our battle against crime -- need better training and equipment. They also need adequate salaries -- so that ^{they can support their families in dignity and security} ~~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.

^{This week} Yesterday 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~~ ^{Springfield} police force -- to help support their training and equipment, and salaries.

I am going to give you action -- not words, slogans, and irresponsible attacks on our courts or law enforcement officials.

I ask the people of ~~Buffalo~~ ^{Springfield} 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.

- HHH -

I am going to help support your local police do an effective ~~work~~ job of protecting lives and property of all citizens.



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