



news release

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DEMOCRATS PROVIDE JOBS, TRAINING TO TAKE PEOPLE OFF WELFARE, AND HELP THEM HELP THEMSELVES, VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY SAYS

Portland, Ore., September 27 -- Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey said tonight that the Democratic Administrations have provided the economic conditions, the job training, and the initiatives with private industry that have meant decent jobs for millions of Americans.

These policies, he said in a speech at the Portland Civic Center, have taken Americans off welfare rolls and made them productive citizens supporting the community, rather than burdening it.

In contrast, the Republican record during Nixon's years as Vice President, is that "not one single new federal program was begun to train or retrain Americans to hold a job." And with three recessions and an unemployment rate of nearly 7 percent, even skilled workers could not always find work.

Under the Democratic Administrations, Vice President Humphrey said:

- * Job training programs were begun which this year are training and re-training more than 1 million Americans "to find jobs, keep those jobs, earn living wages for themselves and their families, and pay taxes, many of them for the first time in their lives."

- * 12 million people escaped from poverty.

- * Unemployment was cut almost in half to the lowest level in 15 years.

- * A partnership of government and industry -- the National Alliance of Businessmen -- found 190,000 jobs for the hard-core unemployed in less than 9 months.

"The Democratic Party has worked for three decades to ensure every man a decent job, at a decent wage, so that he can contribute to the welfare of his family, to the welfare of his country, to have pride as a taxpayer, pride that comes when he pays his own way and helps others, too," the Vice President said.

His text is attached.

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUMBERT H. HUMPHREY
PORTLAND CIVIC CENTER RALLY
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1968

I have seen a lot of political campaigns in my time--I have fought and won...a few elections, myself. And with your help, you and I are going to win this year.

But this is the strangest campaign I have ever seen: for the first time that I can remember, the Republicans have failed to put up a candidate for president.

Yes, the name of Richard Nixon will appear on the ballot this November...But where is he? Has anyone heard him speak out on a single major issue before the American people this year? Has anyone seen him take a stand...on Viet Nam...on human rights...on education...on Medicare?

Mr. Nixon is an intelligent man...He has hired the best brains that Madison Avenue can provide to put a package around him that can be sold to the American people.

Now I am a man who appreciates advertising as much as anyone. We Americans have sold a lot of dog food...and detergents through advertising. Yet when it comes to politics...I want a man who will face up to the issues, speak out on the problems facing the people of this country...and tell us where he stands. The American people have a right to know.

Mr. Nixon is running in this campaign as the shadow: He thinks that it is good politics not to tell any of us what he is going to do with our economy...with our Supreme Court...with our jobs and hard-earned wages.

But you and I know that it is bad politics. And on election day the American people are just not going to let him get away with it.

Mr. Nixon is clever. He has told us that he wants to join me in free and frank debates on television. But where is he? Where is the shadow? And how does he explain that he has not appeared on a single television interview program--with unrehearsed questions...without canned applause.

For how long? For two years.

Mr. Nixon, when will you face the issues...and give us your answers?

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When will you face the nation?

When will you meet the press?

And when will you meet with me somewhere that the American people can look at both of us?

I look forward to standing up with Mr. Nixon in front of the television cameras...to join in hot debate...I don't think the American people will buy brand X.

As a taxpayer...as a voter...I am worried about where Mr. Nixon stands on issues that affect me...my family...my country.

The other night, when I couldn't sleep, I picked up the most boring reading matter I could find: the Republican Platform. And do you know what...It doesn't even mention Medicare. What does this mean? Does it mean that the Republicans don't know that it exists...or do they hope the program will go away?

And what about Social Security? I want its benefits increased by 50%, so that our older citizens...your parents and mine...will begin to get a fair return on their years of hard work. And, yes, I want these benefits "inflation-proofed." Our people have worked to earn those benefits...and I am not about to see that investment disappear.

Mr. Nixon, where do you stand on Social Security?

Where do you stand on the Supreme Court?

Mr. Nixon, where do you stand on keeping the nuclear bomb from spreading around the world?

Where do you stand on reducing crime in the country? Are you just going to talk about doing something? Or are you going to follow me and put your money down for policemen's salaries and training?

And Mr. Nixon...Where do you stand on the great issues of human rights? Will you repudiate the men who put your name on the ballot in Miami...the most reactionary men in America...who have opposed every piece of progressive legislation in this country for 40 years? Mr. Nixon, whose shadow are you?

But there is one issue, above all, that separates Mr. Nixon and myself. Let us face it: It is the question of whether we Democrats spend more time on providing welfare for people in need...or whether we are helping people help themselves.

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Mr. Nixon tells us that he will take people off the welfare rolls and put them on payrolls.

Now you and I know that the Democratic Party has worked for three decades to ensure every man a decent job...at a decent wage...so that he can contribute to the welfare of his family...to the welfare of his country...to have pride as a taxpayer...pride that comes when he pays his own way and helps others, too.

There are two questions before us, today: How do people gain the skills they need to hold a job? And where do they find jobs?

When Mr. Nixon last held public office, in those Republican 1950's, not one single new federal program was begun to train or retrain Americans to hold a job. And yet Mr. Nixon tells us that he wants to take people off the welfare rolls and put them on payrolls. He had his chance, and what did he do?

But today...After 8 years of the Kennedy-Johnson-Humphrey Administrations...New Programs that we started are in one single year training...retraining...over one million Americans...to find jobs...keep those jobs...earn living wages for themselves and their families...and pay taxes, many of them for the first time in their lives.

That is what Democrats have done about the problem, and we are going to do much, much more--Until there is not a man or woman in this country who can't find work because he lacks the skills to do the job.

And there is more. In eight years, we have brought 12 million people up from poverty. What does that mean? It means that there are 12 million more Americans supporting their country, not being supported by it. That is what the end of poverty means: Men and women holding decent jobs at decent wages and no longer being a public charge.

And what did Mr. Nixon do to bring people up from poverty--to lead useful, productive, profitable lives and to support their country? You know: not one single thing.

And let us remember. Under Republican Administrations, it hardly does any good to have programs of job-training, when even people with job skills can't find work.

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You know what I am talking about. At the end of Mr. Nixon's last term of office, in 1961, nearly seven percent of all Americans who wanted to work didn't have jobs. Since then, we Democrats have cut that rate almost in half, to the lowest level of unemployment in 15 years. And we have added 10 million more jobs to the economy.

We are not about to see lines forming in front of employment offices just because Mr. Nixon thinks he'd like to play games with our economy.

Now Mr. Nixon also tells us that private industry should do something about finding jobs for those Americans who are out of work.

This is just another example of that old adage: When Mr. Nixon comes out with a good idea, someone else has already done something about it.

In the last eight months, the National Alliance of Businessmen--a partnership of government and industry...led by the top business leaders of America...and, if I may say so, a pioneering venture I strongly supported from the start--has obtained job pledges from American industry to provide 310,000 new jobs for the hard-core unemployed and disadvantaged youth; nearly 190,000 of these out-of-work Americans have already been placed on the job including more than 60,000 of the hard-core unemployed.

Think of it--190,000 people out put to work in less than nine months...with firms planning to find jobs for 500,000 Americans within three years.

These programs of the National Alliance of Businessmen--programs that we shall expand to cover the entire country--have established a pattern for a great partnership between American business and government; a partnership that sees the problems...tackles them...and solves them.

I say this to Mr. Nixon: Before you speak again on the role businessmen play in finding new jobs, who don't you talk to some of America's leading businessmen to discover what, together, we have already done?

And I say this to the American people: We have only just begun our efforts on behalf of our people...a working people...a people with hopes...with dreams.

Together--you and I --we shall speak to the hopes of Americans...and we shall fulfill their dreams.

PORTLAND RALLY
Civic Auditorium
Portland, Oregon
September 27, 1968
- - -

SENATOR HARRIS: I want to say that since we traveled this past week, especially this weekend, on the coast these last days in California and now in Oregon, I think this fantastic crowd here bears out something. Bears out what we have felt each day -- that is, that the Humphrey campaign is growing. The Democratic cause is growing.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, Congresswoman Edith Green. Thank you for a very beautiful, moving, thoughtful message and a most generous introduction. I have heard many a statement relating to our democracy and the perplexities that face it but I believe tonight that I have heard the most beautiful, the most reasoned, and the most brilliant statement in behalf of the meaning of a democratic society that I have ever heard from the lips of any person. (Applause)

There is a galaxy of talent here on the platform tonight and I should like very much to be able to recognize each one individually, but that is unnecessary. They are known by this great audience. But I am so proud of the fact that a former governor of this state, a gentleman of great distinction, Governor Holmes, has been our chairman tonight and has helped us with this great meeting. That former Congressman Bob Duncan, who has been of such help to me; and a very distinguished congressman, who serves his district brilliantly with great dedication, Congressman Al Ullman, is here tonight. I regret very, very much the fact that one of the two very great spirits, one of the outstanding legal minds, one of the most courageous of our time, could not be with us tonight but was with us this noon. I call upon this audience and the people of this great state to reelect with an overwhelming majority Senator Wayne Morse. (Applause)

Now, you translate that burst of enthusiasm into effective political action at the precinct level. He has a hard fight on his hands. There are many that would like to see him out of the Senate. I am one that says that the Senate would never be the same without him and we need him in the Senate. (Applause)

Our thanks to you, Mayor Schrunk for your hospitality in this beautiful city of roses, for all that you are doing in this city. And may I pay my respects to the Party officers that are leading this Party in a new vigor for a new purpose. Your Chairman, John Allen; your National Committeeman, Blaine Whipple; the National Committeewoman, Alice Corbett, and the others. This party in the State of Oregon represents progress. It represents concern for human beings. It represents the highest dedication of man to the cause of peace. It represents what this nation needs. And I find myself extremely honored tonight to be the guest of this Party, this city, and this state and to be the nominee of the Democratic Party in a year of great decision and in a year in which the decision that we make may well tell what will be the direction of this nation for a generation yet to come.

We are going to decide in this election whether we move backward into the miserable paths of discrimination and segregation and reaction or whether we stand still and tread water as the tides of change move by us, or whether we are going to join with the forces of social change and direct those forces to constructive purposes. I think we will join the forces of change. I think we will do it by a Democratic victory on November 5. (Applause)

I listened to Mrs. Green. I listened to her wonderful peroration in a sense, and yet it was a statement of philosophy. I must say that she has told me and told you why this election is important and why we must join together as never before. No one has ever expected that we would march together in lock step. Each man and woman can march to his or her own music. The important thing is that we travel the same road. The important thing is that we seek the same goal. Our tempo, our step, our beat, that is for us, that is the individualism which is characteristic of a free society. But never forget that just as democracy requires a dedication, it also has as its characteristics those important facets called discussion, debate, dialog, and, yes, the necessity of ferment called dissent.

But after it is all over with -- the discussion, the dialog, the debate and the dissent -- the time comes for decision and that time of decision is now upon us in these next few weeks, to decide that America will fulfill its dream, that America will continue to move down the road of social progress, that America will take the lead in this world -- not follow, but take the lead in trying to find a way to reduce the tensions, to save humanity from the unbelievable disaster of an arms race, and to help promote the cause of peace and social justice, not only abroad, but right here at home in our own midst. (Applause)

(Uproar)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Ladies and gentlemen, you have Humphrey, and you have free speech. (Applause)

And now if my friend with the television camera will come down here where the real action is, we will get on with the show. (Applause)

You know, ladies and gentlemen, the first time somebody walked out on me was when that Dixiecrat, Strom Thurmond, walked out. I hope this is not (inaudible)

But everyone is entitled to their own point of view. My only concern tonight is that those that walked out didn't even quite know what I was going to say. (Applause) Had they stayed, they might have had good reason -- or less.

Might I appeal to my fellow Democrats and fellow Americans, just keep in mind that we must expect this this year. We have been told that it would happen. We have been as forewarned that it would happen as Hitler's Mein Kampf told us what would happen. We have been told of it.

I am sure that you have read that there are some, and thank goodness, there are only a few, who are determined, as Congresswoman Green put it, not to really abide by the democratic process,

the process of free speech, freedom of assembly, freedom for the right to vote. But there are those who feel that this process can be destroyed.

Censorship is not by government alone. Sometimes, censorship is when people close their minds. Sometimes, it is when people decide that others should not have the right to be heard. Sometimes it is when people decide that they will so conduct themselves as to cause disarray in public gathering. Censorship is evil in any of its forms. Those who would first destroy the meaning of democracy are those who first seek to destroy the functioning of the democratic process. I want this audience to know that I shall campaign the length and breadth of this land in the full knowledge that what you have seen tonight happens in meeting after meeting. But I shall not be intimidated.
(Applause)

Nor shall I condone in any way the same kind of display for any other person. I care not what the views of another man may be. Those views are entitled to be heard -- not necessarily taken seriously, but entitled to be heard. And in this election year of 1968, as in none other, the views of the candidates for the highest office in this land should be heard. In fact, what I wanted to talk to this audience about tonight, which I am now privileged to do, is how can we hear the views of the candidates that seek this office?

You know, this is a strange campaign, and I have been in a lot of them. Some I have won, some I have lost. I would like to go on record as telling you that I like it better when we win than when we lose, and I think that we can and we will win this year if we keep our cool, as they say.

This is the strangest campaign that I have ever seen. For the first time that I can remember, the Republicans have failed to put up a candidate for President. (Applause)

I know that the name of Richard Nixon will appear on the ballot this election. The question is where is Richard? Has anyone heard him speak out clearly on a single major issue before the American people this year? Has anyone heard him take a clear stand on human rights, on education, on Medicare, on Viet Nam?

Oh, he has said that he has taken a stand on 167 issues. And I checked it out. And I want to tell you that that stand, that firm stand that he has taken on 167 issues makes a bowl of Jello look like concrete.

Now, Mr. Nixon is an experienced hand at politics. He has perfected his campaign techniques beautifully. He has hired the best brains that Madison Avenue can provide. Those public relations brains have put a package around him that he thinks can be sold to the American people. All we have got to do is to get the string off the package and we will see not the new Nixon, not the old Nixon, but the real Nixon. And then we can go to battle.

Now, I like advertising. I grew up in a family that operated a small business. I appreciate the importance of advertising, and Americans have seen a lot of it. You have seen advertising sell

a lot of dog food, a lot of detergents, some aspirin occasionally for some Republican pains, and some deodorant for whatever you may want to use it for. Yet when it comes to politics, it isn't Madison Avenue that is important, it is Pennsylvania Avenue, Constitution Avenue. We want a man in our office of President, in any office, surely in the office of President, who is willing during the campaign, which should be a period of education of the electorate, to face up to the issues, to speak out on the problems facing the people of this country -- problems of race relations, fiscal policy, agriculture, problems of our cities, problems of the poor, of the minorities, of human relations, problems of peace and war. Problems in Viet Nam and Europe and the Middle East. We need candid, frank debate. The American people have a right to know what is in the package, not what is in the wrappings. And Mr. Nixon is running a shadow campaign.

He thinks that it is good politics not to tell what he is going to do with the economy, not to tell what he has in mind for the Supreme Court, not to say anything about jobs and hard earned wages. And every mother and father and every working man and every businessman and every person of any minority group and every child in school and every person concerned with education has not only the right to know from the candidates where they stand, but must demand of the candidates to know where they stand.

I have heard that Mr. Nixon is cool and confident, that he has a smooth-running campaign. It was something like their convention -- smooth but boring. But it ran well. Ours was neither smooth nor boring, but it will last well. (Applause)

Mr. Nixon may feel that what he is doing is good politics. He constantly replies when I suggest to him that we stand before the television cameras that his managers have advised him otherwise, that they don't think this is what he ought to do. His managers say this and his managers say that. Ladies and gentlemen and my fellow Americans, you do not need a President that has managers, you need a President that knows how to manage. That is what you need. (Applause)

Now, Mr. Nixon said some months ago that he wanted to debate on television, particularly with his Republican friends. That wasn't a debate; that was a social afternoon or evening that he was talking about. Then he went so far as to say he wanted to join me in frank debates on television. My question tonight is, where are you, Mr. Nixon? How do you explain -- and how does he explain, for example, that this man who seeks the highest office in the gift of the American people has not appeared on a single network television interview, with unrehearsed questions, without canned applause. For how long? For two years -- for two years.

Mr. Nixon, you have not appeared on Meet the Press, Face the Nation, Issues and Answers -- the programs that every American knows about. Why? I will leave it up to you to answer, Mr. Nixon. But it seems to me that rather than having a rehearsed political drum, what the American people need to have from any candidate is the fresh and free probing of his mind by the objective and at times the critical reporters of this nation's press and media. I think it's time that Mr. Nixon walked out of

the shadows of his self-imposed isolationism and came into the clean sunlight of network television, either in debate with me or with the reporters themselves. (Applause)

I don't want to be unfair about this. I look forward to standing up with Mr. Nixon on any platform, on any network at any time. He can do it in the office of the NAM if that would make him happy, or in his Fifth Avenue apartment, or we could do it here in Portland, or we could do it out home in Waverly, or we can do it in Washington -- it makes no difference.

In all seriousness, you deserve in this critical year to have the candidates for President stand on this platform with equal time on subjects that are agreed upon to state their case, to answer your questions, to cross-examine each other. And then you will find out what they are thinking and what they intend to do and what their policies are. Until then, what you will find out is what they want you to know and nothing more. I challenge tonight the Republican nominee to come clean. He can say that my challenge is kid stuff and I say his is outright political evasion. I ask him to stand up and be counted as a man, as a candidate seeking the highest office in this land. (Applause)

Failing this, and I gather so far we have failed, I propose that Governor Agnew agree to debate Senator Muskie. He can take any friendly environment that he wants -- in the State Capitol at Annapolis, in the Baltimore County Sheriff's office or on the Mason-Dixon line, where he may feel very comfortable. Let him take his choice. We of the Democratic Party ask for our chance not to talk just to Democratic audiences but to the national audience -- 200 million people. Not in circus atmosphere, but in the atmosphere of sobriety and seminar, where we deal with the most complex problems of our age and where we see the measure of the man, where we see the intent of the platform, where we see the working of the mind, and where we reveal the spirit and the soul. That is what this nation needs.

The balloon business is mighty good, as I said today. But it isn't floating balloons that will save America; it's floating some good ideas that stand the test of trial and error. That is what's going to help us.

Now, I want to talk to you a little bit about the Republican platform, because the other night -- I didn't tell Muriel this -- I didn't sleep too well. I got up and I picked up a pamphlet and lo and behold, it was the Republican Platform. And I didn't sleep any better.

And I started reading about it. Then I thought, well, maybe there is a new day. Because that platform read so beautifully and it said so many nice things that I thought there had been a mass conversion of the Republican Party. It said, for example, that it seeks a life of dignity and fulfillment for our elderly. And then I read and read and read and there wasn't one single reference to Medicare -- not one.

It said it sought security for our elderly and I read and read and read and there wasn't a single commitment about Social Security.

And then I read again and it said it sought excellence in education for our youth -- but not a single commitment on Federal aid to education.

I read and read and it said it wanted to help the consumer, but not a single commitment on consumer protection. It is the most amazing document. You can read the nicest things and be positively sure that nothing will happen -- absolutely nothing.

Now what about, for example, something as important to millions of people in this country as Social Security. Well, Mr. Nixon has a rather good record there. He has some friends that are for it, he has some friends that are against it, and he said both by his votes. I spoke out on Social Security here the other day in Los Angeles, and outlined what your Senator and your Congresslady and Congressman and others here have talked about and worked for, the improved benefits under this tried and tested social insurance system, demonstrated how in the next four years, we could increase the benefits by 50 percent so that your parents, our senior citizens, will begin to get a fair return in the twilight of their life.

And I outlined how we can make those benefits inflation proof so that we build in the cost of living escalator. Our people have worked to earn these benefits and I am not about ready to see their investment disappear through a rise in the consumer price index.

I think it is fair for me to say, then, from this platform, since 22 million people are involved, 22 million people who have worked hard, 22 million people who paid into that social insurance fund, I think I have a right to ask and I shall ask -- Mr. Nixon, what is your stand? Where do you stand on Social Security benefits for the disabled, for the elderly? Where do you stand on Medicare that you once said wouldn't work, that it would only be a boondoggle for bureaucrats? I think we need to know, do you intend to change it, do you intend to repeal it, do you intend to extend it, or do you intend to avoid it?

Where do you stand on the Supreme Court? Where do you stand, since the next President will be appointing three or four members of that court.

Might I say to every civil libertarian, to every person of progressive persuasion, the Supreme Court of this land has been a bulwark of protection for civil liberties. (Applause) It has represented the true meaning of equal rights, equal protection under the laws. I want to know from the Republican candidate what, if any, arrangement was made with the arch enemy of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Senator from South Carolina, who for 15 years has led the fight in the United States Senate to curb the powers of that court, to reverse their decisions by legislative fiat and legislative action. I want to know whether or not the man that saw the exit sign in 1948, when I gave my speech on civil rights for a decent platform in our party on the subject of civil rights, whether that man that walked out of our party and walked into Miami on the arm of Mr. Nixon, whether or not that signifies anything about what's going to happen to the appointments to the Supreme Court if Mr. Nixon is the President. (Applause)

Every labor organization man, every school teacher, every professor, every minority, every businessman in this country has a stake in that court being in tune with the times, seeing to it that the Constitution is a living institution for today and for tomorrow, rather than a historical document for the dead past. I submit that this is an issue because the next President of the United States is going to have the opportunity to reshape that court one way or another.

My fellow Americans, it is about time we found out what the men are thinking. And when I hear the leader of the Republican Party condemn Earl Warren, one of the most able jurists that ever occupied the high post of Chief Justice of the United States -- when I hear that man condemn the court and its decisions and when I hear him condemn the Attorney General, who is the chief law enforcement officer of this land, I have a right to be suspicious. And I might add, that is no way to breed respect for the law, no way to talk law and order, by condemning the Attorney General and the Court. (Applause)

Mr. Nixon, where do you stand on keeping the nuclear bomb from spreading around this world? When I hear people raise their voices for peace, as I have and will have and will continue to do all my life, I remind this audience that the greatest single threat to world peace is the arms race itself and the spread of the powerful super weapons known as nuclear weapons and their delivery systems. For three years, your government has sought to negotiate a treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons technology. Finally we came to an agreement with the Soviet Union. We came to an agreement with 80 other nations that have signed that treaty. That treaty was our initiative. It was the followup on the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty which we signed in 1963. It represents what some people were talking about for years, banning the bomb. It rests there in the United States Senate today, reported out of the Foreign Relations Committee. But the voice of the Republican nominee says he is for it, but -- not now.

Ladies and gentlemen, once before in the history of this land there was another voice like that. At the time of the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations, when senators said and the leaders of the Republican Party then said they were for it, but not then -- not now. And we failed to sign the Versailles Treaty. We failed to take that one chance that we had to build an international organization for peace called the League of Nations. We failed to join in, even though other nations did and the League died and the hope of peace died and World War II came upon us.

I submit to you that this treaty that has been called by statesmen throughout this world as the most significant step toward peace since the end of World War II, that that treaty is a matter of life and death for us. It in no way weakens our defenses. All that it does is to lower the level of danger in this world to see to it that nations today that do not have these dangerous weapons do not receive them.

Imagine the kind of a world it would be if Nasser had the nuclear bomb, if Castro had the nuclear bomb, if in Korea and Viet Nam, North or South, they had the nuclear weapon. We would raise the

level of danger to a point where there is no place to hide and no safety. And yet Mr. Nixon, thinking that once again because of Czechoslovakia, you can play cold war politics and you can gain political advantage out of the fear of Communism and Communist aggression, has once again put partisan preference and partisan politics above the national interest. I call upon him to be a statesman and to help us ratify that treaty before it is too late.

Mr. Nixon, where do you stand on the great issues of human rights? Will you repudiate the men who helped put your name on the ballot, the most reactionary men in America? Some who have taken a dislike to me have already shifted their allegiance to another party.

Mr. Nixon, do you repudiate those who opposed every piece of progressive legislation in this country for 40 years?

You know, when Mr. Nixon and Governor Agnew talk about help for our cities, and the words of their platform said remove the blight from our cities -- when they talk about aid to education and their platform talked about quality and education of excellence -- when they talk about health, their platform has no reference to Medicare. When they talk about homes and jobs and other things, I have to ask some questions.

Just remember, my dear friends, how the Nixon-Agnew Republicans voted on these issues -- the real issues; not the general listed pronouncements of a platform but the real legislative issues in the Congress of the United States. Because every one of these issues has been there.

They voted 70 percent against aid to higher education as the lady here, your Congresswoman, can tell you. Your two Representatives here, Congresswoman Green and Senator Morse, are responsible for more effective work in the field of Federal aid to education than all the Congressmen and Senators put together for a generation. They know what the score is.

73 were against it, not only higher education, but elementary and secondary education. 80 percent, 90 percent.

Not long ago, Mr. Nixon said in his plea for law and order, he said he wanted to double the rate of convictions, and all that Humphrey wanted to do was to double the poverty program. Well, Mr. Nixon, let me tell you from this platform tonight, I yield to no man on the subject of respect for the law or law and order. But Mr. Nixon, for every penitentiary that you build, I want to build a new neighborhood that is decent and wholesome, in which good people can live. (Applause)

I want to build another university, some new schools. Law and order -- it is not just repression. Yet when the spokesmen of the Third Party and the Republican Party talk of law and order, they never tell you that like peace and freedom, it is not cheap. They talk about it with bumperstickers -- support your police. But I will tell you how to support your police -- pay them and pay them well, recruit them and recruit them well. Train them, train them well. Elevate their standards, give them education and instruction not only in the use of the gun and the

club but in the knowledge of the law, the law that is for their rights and for citizens' rights.

And give them the modern equipment that they need to properly protect the citizen. The sloganizing politics of the opposition are deceptive and demeaning. It is time, as Adlai Stevenson said, to talk sense. And sometimes, it even means money. There is no way that we can fight organized crime in this land or crime on the streets or violence by simply advocating slogans and bumper stickers and addressing an audience. Law enforcement, like national security, requires training, investment, modern equipment, high calibre leadership, trained men. And I have been the only candidate that has presented to the American people a complete and comprehensive program of how we can modernize and humanize and improve the law enforcement instruments and agencies, federal, state, and local.

There is another side to law and order -- civil order, civil justice. If Mr. Nixon and his cohorts don't know it, and let me speak from this platform tonight so that they shall know it, the largest incidences of crime are in the areas of poverty. The greatest number of crimes are committed against the poor themselves and by the poor themselves against the poor. The areas of America that have the least protection of the law are the areas of poverty. The poor are entitled to law protection just like the rich. And just as you enforce a traffic law and law around you and the law against any crime, it is the solemn duty of an elected official to enforce the building code, to enforce the health code and to see that people have decent living conditions.

For while we are building more jails and while Mr. Nixon fills them as an attorney from private life, I would suggest that we understand the coin of civil justice and civil order and justice has to be the same, that the coin that has only law and order on one side is counterfeit; it must have social justice on the other.

I have been told that this is not proper. I have been told that I must speak differently. I have been told that the polls tell me that you must be clear and unequivocal on the subject of law and order, period; say nothing about justice.

Well, I am not here to please the public opinion polls. I happen to believe it is the responsibility of the man who seeks the highest office of this land to think in broader terms than being sheriff. He must think in terms of being the President of these United States with the full commitment to the Constitution of the United States.

So, my Republican colleagues, where do you stand on aid to schools? I know where you stand in the Congress where your voters are. Where do you stand on aid to cities, as you tried to kill the model cities bill and destroy and try to stop its appropriation? Where do you stand on slowing down the arms race?

Why, my dear fellow Americans, they even voted 97 percent against the control and the extermination of rats on the rat extermination bill. If it wasn't so pathetic, it would be a joke. But for those that live in the tenements of the filthy slums of our

great cities, the rat is a common guest in a filthy slum and brings diseases and injury to thousands and thousands of people. Yet they could laugh it out of the House of Representatives until an irate American public demanded at least that the Congress of the United States follow the leadership of people like you have in your own state here in this Democratic Party to do something to try to protect the health and the safety of little children who were the innocent victims of rodents with disease and filth.

Now, that is part of the record. Let me say now to the laboring man in this audience. You are going to make decisions on things peculiarly of interest to you. Do you want a President who took pride in shaping the Taft-Hartley Law, who voted against the extension of minimum wage, who voted against the extension and the modernization of unemployment compensation?

You say, well, this is of the yesterdays. To be sure. But how better can you tell how a man will act tomorrow than to have some judgment as to what his actions were yesterday? I have never known of any business firm to hire a manager that they didn't check his references. I have never known of any board of directors to hire a chairman or a president that they didn't check his record.

What was his performance? Ladies and gentlemen, the performance of the Republican candidate is not unknown. It may be covered over now by confetti and ticker tape and pizzazz and gimmicks and parades. But it is there to be found and I am here to tell you about it and I want you to take it to the people and tell them about it. (Applause)

For the farmers of this state, let me say that a Republican nominee that can stand before a great agricultural audience in the Midwest and talk about plowing a straight furrow with a corn picker isn't very knowledgeable in agriculture.

And for those of the young that sense the idealism and go into the Peace Corps, let me remind them that this Republican nominee once called the Peace Corps but a contrived answer for draft dodgers. He couldn't see what it meant. He couldn't see that it gave no special exemptions at all. What it did was to reach in to test the idealism of the youth and to put that idealism to work.

And for those that love peace, let them remember that it is this same man, the Republican nominee, who called the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty a cruel hoax.

And for those that are worried about this economy, let it be remembered that it was this same Republican nominee who said that until unemployment reached 4-1/2 million or more, it was not serious.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is the record. I am prepared to put my record on the line for public examination. I ask that he put his on the line and if he won't do it, I shall do it for him, as I am now.

Now, the ultimate issue in this campaign is peace at home and
peace

peace abroad. The works of peace are not for the fearful, the angry, or the timid. Peace, like a mighty cathedral, is built block by block, stone by stone. As someone once said, it must have the master plan of an architect and the labors of many. And we seek to build a peace. But we don't build it overnight. We must have a deep commitment to it. I hope and pray with all the sincerity of my soul and mind that between now and January 20, that President Lyndon Johnson would be able to find the road to peace.

I hope and pray that the negotiators in Paris, men of deep conviction and men of peace -- Ambassador Harriman and Ambassador Vance -- shall be successful in their diplomacy as they seek to gain a political negotiated settlement of this tragic struggle. And let it be clear that we do not seek a military solution as some had advocated. We seek a political solution. This is an ugly and costly war that has gone on far longer than anyone anticipated.

Who is at fault? History will judge. Were we right? History will judge. But the fact is that we are there and we must find some way with decency and honor to bring this costly, bloody conflict to an end. (Applause)

It is, of course, the hope, I would trust that every candidate that seeks to be President, this war will be at an end or well on its way to an end by January 20. In the meantime, may I say there is but one Commander in Chief, but one President. We can have our views, we can have our ideas. But the decisions are to be made between now and that time, January 20, 1969, by the man who is the President of these United States. But I want this audience to know that if I am elected your President, and that can be with your help, the highest priority of the Humphrey-Muskie Administration will be to use all of the influence, the authority, the power and the prestige of the office of President and Vice President to find, through negotiation, every conceivable and peaceful means that we can create, to find a prompt and honorable end to the conflict in Viet Nam. I have pledged myself to that. As I have said in this city before today, the next president will not feel bound by the policies of yesterday to the deeds of tomorrow unless those policies are relevant, unless they pertain to the situation. No one can predict what that situation will be. But when I become your President, like a manager that takes over a new business, I shall take inventory.

And I have said both in jest and in truth that a man that doesn't take inventory even when he takes over the management from his best friend, is not a very prudent man. I intend to be prudent and daring both, cautious and courageous both, in seeking a peace that you and I want in Southeast Asia. (Applause)

The ultimate issue in this campaign, however, is how we treat each other in this country. Because by our precept and our example, we do more to influence the world than by our money or our power. The question is can we promote a sense of unity and understanding here, ~~we the people of these~~ United States? Can we relieve the tensions here in this federal republic? Can we bring about reconciliation and peace amongst ourselves? If we can't do it here, then there is little hope that we can do it anywhere. (Applause)

There are forces in this world today and here at home that would divide us irrevocably. There are forces and voices that call for segregation, discrimination, second class citizenship for millions of our fellow Americans. We have to ask the question tonight and everyday from here on out are we to be one nation or are we to be a nation divided? Are we to be what Senator Harris and the Kerner Commission told us was the trend in this land, two nations, separate and unequal, or are we going to be what our Constitution promises us to be?

Are we to be divided between black and white, between rich and poor, between North and South, between young and old? If we are, then the situation is hopeless, because, as Lincoln himself once said, you cannot be half slave and half free, and a house divided against itself can't stand. If this nation of ours is the last best hope of earth, and I think it is, then it must be a united nation in understanding and forbearance and tolerance. We must start to treat each other -- (Applause) -- not as foreigners and enemies and antagonists, but rather as neighbors and friends and fellow citizens. The day must come and it must be now when we think no longer in terms of division. But we think in terms of one citizenship for one people.

I took my stand on this issue a quarter of a century ago and I have never veered from it. It has not always been popular. In fact, at times, it has been very unpopular. I am even told now that it is not popular. But it is important for a President to stand on principle rather than to cater to popularity. And it is equally important for a presidential candidate to stand on principle rather than to cater to popularity. I took my stand and I believe that that was right. And I believe that if we stand together now as we have stood before, those of us that believe in the oneness of our people, those of us that believe in human dignity, those of us that believe in equal opportunity, we can be decisive at a critical point in our history.

Yes, I do believe that the American dream of one nation under God, with liberty and justice for all, is not just a child's utterance, but it is the prayer and the wish and the hope and the commitment of the entire American nation if we wish to make it so. (Applause)

Winning the presidency is, of course, a great honor. But it is not worth the price of entering into a compact with extremism, nor is it worth the price of yielding to extremism of the loud and raucous few who would intimidate us or ~~of the men in the~~ white shirts or the black shirts that would arouse our fears and our passions. The politics of fear and despair has no place in a nation that should be confident and filled with hope. To millions of people around this world, America is another name for hope and the American flag is more than the stars and stripes, it is the symbol of humanity. And winning the presidency is to me not worth the price of catering to or yielding to or entering into a compact with extremism. And if America is to make a crucial judgment of leadership in this election, then let that selection be made without any candidate hedging or equivocating on the greatest issue of our time, human dignity and equal treatment and equal rights for every citizen of this great land of ours. (Applause)

So I ask my Republican opponent to come out of the shadows. It is not enough, Mr. Republican, that you say in North Carolina that you are for the Brown decision, the Supreme Court decision that called for desegregation of the schools and then say in the next state you speak in that you say the federal government is implementing it the wrong way and too fast. That is the question, but, answer.

And equivocation or evasion on the issue of human rights is unworthy of a man who seeks to be President of these, the people of the United States.

So I say to America from this platform tonight, in a spirit of reverence and in a spirit of affection, put aside recrimination and dissension. Put aside hatred and violence. Bind up our wounds. Look to your neighbor as a fellow citizen -- not as black, not as white, not as Catholic, protestant, or Jew. But look to him as a fellow human being and believe with me that there is more goodness in this country than evil, that there is more greatness than pettiness.

And help me tonight, my fellow Americans, appeal to that goodness so that it can save us from disaster. And help me tonight to inspire the American people to their greatness so they can do what some people said was impossible, to create a united people out of the many peoples of the earth.

The American dream can turn into a nightmare if we let it. Or it can be the vision of a new day in which opportunity is no longer the special province of just some, but is the possession of everybody. I call upon young and old in this great state, Republican and Democrat, I call upon you to give a new testimonial, a referendum to the cause of freedom.

I ask you to take your stand tonight for peace, to take your stand for social progress under law, and above all, to take your stand for human rights within the Constitution of this Republic and within the spiritual understanding of your life. If we do, we shall not only win this election, but we shall have in America a new day for a great people at a time when the world needs us and at a time when we need each other.

Now, let's go forth from this hall tonight, then, and carry the message that is in your heart and that I hope is in mind, and that I have been able to transmit to you. Go forward knowing not only that we can win but we must. Go forward knowing that the battle will be difficult and to some it will seem impossible, but go forward knowing that you are the men of the new day when the young shall have their chance, when the old shall live in dignity and when this America shall be able to help not only itself to live a better life, but should be able to help people all over this world to realize a world of peace and a world order.

A big assignment, yes, but for a big people. A great task? Yes, but in the greatness of it is the challenge. The time is now. The task is urgent. I ask you to go to work. I ask for your help. Let's move this country. Let's win this election, and let's get at it now. Thank you. (Applause)

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

PORTLAND CIVIC CENTER RALLY

September 27, 1968

Portland, Oregon

Chr. F. Allen

Mayor Shunk

Not Cong Blaine Whipple
✓ Alice Corbett

✓ Gov Holmes

✓ Sen Morse

✓ Cong Edith Green

✓ Cong Al Ullman

✓ Sen Fred Harris

✓ I have seen a lot of political campaigns in my time -- and

✓ Bob Duncan

I have fought ... and won ... a few elections, myself. And with

your help, you and I are going to win this year.

✓ But this is the strangest campaign I have ever seen, *its the*

~~the~~ first time that I can remember, the Republicans have failed

to put up a candidate for President.

Oh yes, I know

Yes, the name of Richard Nixon will appear on the ballot

this November ... but where is he?

✓ Has anyone heard him speak out clearly on a single major

issue before the American people this year?

✓ Has anyone seen him take a clear stand ... on Vietnam ... on

human rights ... on education ... on Medicare?

167 Issues!

✓ Mr. Nixon is an ~~intelligent man~~ *experienced* Politician.

✓ He has hired the best brains that Madison Avenue can provide

to put a package around him that can be sold to the American people.

*That's the New Nixon! - But inside
its the same old Nixon*

and I² appreciate Advertising

Now I am a man who appreciates advertising as much as anyone.

go for the
We Americans have sold a lot of dog food ... and detergents ~~through advertising~~ *deodorant* through advertising.

Yet, when it comes to politics, ^{we} we want a man who will face up to the issues, speak out on the problems facing the people of this country ... and tell us where he stands.

The American people have a right to know.

Mr. Nixon is running a shadow campaign. He thinks that ~~it is~~ ^{its} good politics not to tell ~~any of us the specifics of~~ what he is going to do with ^{the} ~~our~~ economy ... with ^{the} ~~our~~ Supreme Court ... with ~~our~~ jobs and hard-earned wages.

But you and I know that it is bad politics.

And on election day, the American people are just not going to let him get away with it. ||

bad for America

T.V. Debates

Mr. Nixon has told us that he wants to join me in
free and frank debates on television.

But where is he?

And how does he explain that he has not appeared on
a single network television interview program -- with
unrehearsed questions ... without canned applause?

For how long? For two years.

Mr. Nixon, when will you face the issues ... and give
us your answers?

When will you face the nation?

appear on
Issues & Answers

When will you meet the press?

And when will you meet with me somewhere that the
American people can look at both of us?

I look forward to standing up with Mr. Nixon on network television ... in the office of the NAM ... or in his Fifth Avenue apartment.

Failing that, I propose that Governor Agnew agree to debate Senator Muskie -- in the State Capitol in Annapolis ... in the Baltimore County Sheriff's office ... or on the Mason-Dixon line.

* * Record + Platform

The other night, ~~when I couldn't sleep~~, I picked up the ~~most boring reading matter I could find~~ The Republican Platform.

Medicare And do you know what? It doesn't even mention Medicare. What ~~it seeks a life of dignity for our elderly~~ does this mean? Does it mean that the Republicans don't know ~~But Silent on Medicare~~ that it exists ... or do they hope the program will go away?

Soc Security And what about Social Security? I want its benefits increased by 50 per cent, so that our older citizens ... your parents and mine ... will begin to get a fair return on their years of hard work.

Rep Platform

L And, yes, I want these benefits "inflation-proofed."

Our people have worked to earn those benefits ... and I am not about to see that investment disappear.

L Mr. Nixon, where do you stand on Social Security?

Soc Sec

L Where do you stand on the Supreme Court? The next President ~~will~~ ^{may} appoint several members of that Court.

Court

L Mr. Nixon, where do you stand on keeping the nuclear bomb from spreading around the world?

Nuclear Bomb

L Where do you stand on reducing crime in the country?

Crime

Are you just going to talk about doing something? Or are you going to follow me and put your money down for policemen's salaries and training?

L And, Mr. Nixon ... where do you stand on the great issues of human rights? Will you repudiate the men who put your name on the ballot in Miami ... the most reactionary men in America ... who have opposed every piece of progressive legislation in this country for 40 years.

Human

RTS

Storm
Thunder

Minimum wage - voted to limit its ^{extension}

- Labor - Taft Hartley

- Economy - 3 recessions

✓ Agric -

" Plow a straight
furrow with
a corn picker

Peace corps - "Draft Dodgers"

Nuclear Test - "Cruel Hoax"

~~With~~
Unemployment - "until you
are over 4 1/2 million
not serious"

Rep Platform - "Remain bright from
our cities"
- 6 -
"Provide good Educ"

Record

When Mr. Nixon and Governor 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 per cent ... 80 per cent ... 90 per cent ... against Federal aid
to schools ... against cities ... Medicare ... Social Security ...
slowing the arms race.

Why, they even voted 97 per cent against the control and
extermination of rats.

Rats

Record - * # *

Under

The ultimate issue 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.

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

Extremism

And 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 to come out of the shadows and meet me in open debate, on this and every other issue.

Debate

Mr. Nixon, let the people judge.

* * * *

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 we shall win this election.

And America shall have a New Day.

#

Statement for Portland, Oregon

ACorrigan

OK
JMS

MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF PORTLAND

The people of Portland show a keen concern for America's future.

Here, and throughout the state, you have enthusiastically protected and developed Oregon's great natural resources.

But even more importantly, you have sought to develop Oregon's human resources by ~~making~~ making your educational system one of the finest in the country.

As a former educator, and a city mayor deeply involved in building better metropolitan schools, I have long felt that education holds the real key to our national progress. As US Senator, I was privileged to help formulate the educational legislation which became law----and made history--- in the past few years.

I have followed with real interest Oregon's educational innovations.... your sound minimum schooling requirement of high school completion or attainment of 18 years of age...the extension of your community college system....your modern vocational education...and, most recently, the sea grant which will help build an oceanographic institute at Oregon State College, and your program to develop talent in underprivileged and underachieving students,

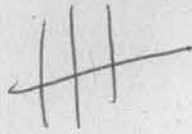
Many of such programs would not be possible without Federal funds. As President, I would recommend continued use of Federal funds to support local educational needs. And I would recommend to educators in all states my additional proposals....including year-round use of school facilities, new educational bridges from school to work, and more individualized curricula. While Washington may help define the larger issues, however, ~~At the same time,~~ I feel strongly that local communities are best able to plan programs to fit their needs---and best able to administer them---without excessive Federal control.

You have successfully pioneered in the field of education. I commend your progress. And I seek your support, now, in the even larger task ahead---making

more

As Chairman of the Marine Science Council, I know the great importance of expanding our knowledge of the oceans oceans-- another frontier of human exploration.

a good education not just a right, but a reality for ALL Americans.



Portland, Oregon

BENSON HOTEL

DEM FOR HHH DC
ATTN: VICE PRESIDENT'S MEDIA ADVANCE

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF PORTLAND - FOR RELEASE SATURDAY PMS
AFTER V.P.'S DEPARTURE

THE PEOPLE OF PORTLAND SHOW A KEEN CONCERN FOR AMERICA'S
FUTURE.

HERE, AND THROUGHOUT THE STATE, YOU HAVE ENTUXXX ENTHUSIASTICALLY
PROTECTED AND DEVELOPED OREGON'S GREAT NATURAL RESOURCES.

BUT EVEN MORE IMPORTANTLY, YOU HAVE SOUGHT TO DEVELOP OREGON'S
HUMAN RESOURCES BY MAKING YOUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM ONE OF THE FINEST
IN THE COUNTRY.

AS A FORMER EDUCATOR, AND A CITY MAYOR DEEPLY INVOLVED IN BUILDING
BETTER METROPOLITAN SCHOOLS, I HAVE LONG FELT THAT EDUCATION HOLDS
THE REAL KEY TO OUR NATIONAL PROGRESS. AS U.S. SENATOR, I WAS
PRIVILEGED TO HELP FORMULATE THE EDUCATIONAL LEGISLATION WHICH BECAME
LAW -- AND MADE HISTORY -- IN THE PAST FEW YEARS.

DEM FOR HHH DC

I HAVE FOLLOWED WITH REAL INTEREST OREGON'S EDUCATIONAL INNOVATIONS ... YOUR SOUND MINIMUM SCHOOLING REQUIREMENT OF HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETION OR ATTAINMENT OF 18 YEARS OF AGE ... THE EXTENSION OF YOUR COMMUNITY COLLEGE SYSTEM ... YOUR MODERN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ... YOUR PROGRAM TO DEVELOP TALENT IN UNDERPRIVILEGED AND UNDER-ACHIEVING STUDENTS ... AND, MOST RECENTLY, THE SEA GRANT WHICH WILL HELP BUILD AN OCEANOGRAPHIC INSTITUTE AT OREGON STATE COLLEGE.

AS CHAIRMAN OF THE MARINE SCIENCE'S COUNCIL, I KNOW THE GREAT IMPORTANCE OF EXPANDING OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE OCEANS -- ANOTHER FRONTIER OF HUMAN EXPLORATION.

MANY OF SUCH PROGRAMS WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE WITHOUT FEDERAL FUNDS. AS PRESIDENT, I WOULD RECOMMEND CONTINUED USE OF FEDERAL FUNDS TO SUPPORT LOCAL EDUCATIONAL NEEDS. AND I WOULD RECOMMEND TO EDUCATORS IN ALL STATES MY ADDITIONAL PROPOSALS ... INCLUDING YEAR-ROUND USE OF SCHOOL FACILITIES, NEW EDUCATIONAL BRIDGES FROM SCHOOL TO WORK, AND MORE INDIVIDUALIZED CURRICULA.

WHILE WASHINGTON MAY HELP DEFINE THE LARGER ISSUES, HOWEVER, I FEEL STRONGLY THAT LOCAL COMMUNITIES ARE BEST ABLE TO PLAN PROGRAMS TO FIT THEIR SPECIAL NEEDS -- AND BEST ABLE TO ADMINISTER THEM -- WITHOUT EXCESSIVE FEDERAL CONTROL.

YOU HAVE SUCCESSFULLY PIONEERED IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION. I COMMEND YOUR PROGRESS. AND I SEEK YOUR SUPPORT NOW IN THE EVEN LARGER TASK AHEAD -- MAKING A GOOD EDUCATION NOT JUST A RIGHT, BUT A REALITY FOR ALL AMERICANS.

END OF MESSAGE

PLEASE DELIVER ASAP - THE IDENTIFYING BREAK IN THE MIDDLE SOXXX SHOULD BE IGNORED. IT WAS AN ACCIDENT.

DEM FOR HHH DC

REMARKS
VICE PRESIDENT ROBERT M. HUMPHREY
PORTLAND CIVIC CENTER RALLY

PORTLAND CIVIC CENTER

VP introduced by Edith Green

DEM FOR HHH DC
FOR TED VAN DYK
DRAFT TEXT PORTLAND CIVIC

FORGET THAT BIT: THE TEXT HAS BEEN APPROVED AND IS READY FOR YOU
TO REPRODUCE AND RELEASE ON FRIDAY PM'S

CENTER RALLY, FRIDAY, SEPT. 27

I HAVE SEEN A LOT OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS IN MY TIME -- I
HAVE FOUGHT ... AND WON ... A FEW ELECTIONS, MYSELF. AND WITH
YOUR (ULINE) HELP, YOU AND I WERE GOING TO WIN THIS YEAR.

BUT THIS IS THE STRANGEST CAMPAIGN I HAVE EVER SEEN: FOR
THE FIRST TIME THAT I CAN REMEMBER, THE REPUBLICANS HAVE FAILED
TO PUT UP A CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT.

YES, THE NAME OF RICHARD NIXON WILL APPEAR ON THE BALLOT
THIS NOVEMBER ... BUT WHERE IS HE? HAS ANYONE HEARD HIM SPEAK
OUT ON A SINGLE MAJOR ISSUE BEFORE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THIS YEAR?
HAS ANYONE SEEN HIM TAKE A STAND ... ON VIETNAM ... ON HUMAN
RIGHTS ... ON EDUCATION ... ON MEDICARE?

MR. NIXON IS AN INTELLIGENT MAN ... HE HASHINED THE BEST
BRANDS THAT MADISON AVENUE CAN PROVIDE TO PUT A PACKAGE AROUND
HIM THAT CAN BE SOLD TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

NOW I AM A MAN WHO APPRECIATES ADVERTISING AS MUCH AS ANYONE.
WE AMERICANS HAVE SOLD A LOT OF LOG FOOD ... AND DETERGENTS THROUGH
ADVERTISING. YET WHEN IT COMES TO POLITICS ... I WANT A MAN WHO
WILL FACE UP TO THE ISSUES, SPEAK OUT ON THE PROBLEMS FACING THE
PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY ... AND TELL US WHERE HE STANDS. THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE A RIGHT TO KNOW.

MR. NIXON IS RUNNING IN THIS CAMPAIGN AS (ULINE) THE SHADOW:
HE THINKS THAT IT IS GOOD POLITICS NOT TO TELL ANY OF US WHAT
HE IS GOING TO DO WITH OUR ECONOMY ... WITH OUR SUPREME COURT ...
WITH OUR JOBS AND HARD-EARNED WAGES.

2
BUT YOU AND I KNOW THAT IT IS BAD POLITICS. AND ON ELECTION DAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE JUST NOT GOING TO LET HIM GET AWAY WITH IT.

MR. NIXON IS CLEAVER. HE HAS TOLD US THAT HE WANTS TO JOIN ME IN FREE AND FRANK DEBATES ON TELEVISION. BUT WHERE IS HE? WHERE IS THE SHADOW? AND HOW DOES HE EXPLAIN THAT HE HAS NOT APPEARED ON A SINGLE TELEVISION INTERVIEW PROGRAM -- WITH UNREHEARSED QUESTIONS ... WITHOUT CANNED APPLAUSE.

FOR HOW LONG? FOR (GULING) TWO YEARS.

MR. NIXON, WHEN WILL YOU FACE THE ISSUES... AND GIVE US YOUR ANSWERS?

WHEN WILL YOU FACE THE NATION?

WHEN WILL YOU MEET THE PRESS?

AND WHEN WILL YOU MEET WITH ME SOMEWHERE THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN LOOK AT BOTH OF US?

I LOOK FORWARD TO STANDING UP WITH MR. NIXON IN FRONT OF THE TELEVISION CAMERAS ... TO JOIN IN HOT DEBATE ... I DON'T THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL BUY BRAND X.

AS A TAXPAYER ... AS A VOTER ... I AM WORRIED ABOUT WHERE JR. NIXON STANDS ON ISSUES THAT AFFECT ME... MY FAMILY ... MY COUNTRY.

THE OTHER NIGHT, WHEN I COULDN'T SLEEP, I PICKED UP THE MOST BORING READING MATTER I COULD FIND: THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM. AND DO YOU KNOW WHAT ... IT DOESN'T EVEN MENTION MEDICARE. WHAT DOES THIS MEAN? DOES IT MEAN THAT THE REPUBLICANS DON'T KNOW THAT IT EXISTS ... OR DO THEY HOPE THE PROGRAM WILL GO AWAY.XX?

AND WHAT ABOUT SOCIAL SECURITY? I WANT ITS BENEFITS INCREASED BY 50%, SO THAT OUR OLDER CITIZENS ... YOUR PARENTS AND MINE ... WILL BEGIN TO GET A FAIR RETURN ON THEIR YEARS OF HARD WORK. AND, YES, I WANT THESE BENEFITS "INFLATION-PROOFED" "INFLATION-PROOFED." OUR PEOPLE HAVE WORKED TO EARN THOSE BENEFITS...

AND I AM NOT ABOUT TO SEE THAT INVESTMENT DISAPPEAR.

3
MR. NIXON, WHERE DO YOU STAND ON SOCIAL SECURITY?

WHERE DO YOU STAND ON THE SUPREME COURT?

MR. NIXON, WHERE DO YOU STAND ON KEEPING THE NUCLEAR BOMB FROM SPREADING AROUND THE WORLD, XX?

WHERE DO YOU STAND ON REDUCING CRIME IN THE COUNTRY? ARE YOU JUST GOING TO TALK ABOUT DOING SOMETHING? OR ARE YOU GOING TO FOLLOW ME AND PUT YOUR MONEY DOWN FOR POLICEMENS SALARIES AND TRAINING?

AND MR. NIXON ... WHERE DO YOU STAND ON THE GREAT ISSUES OF HUMAN RIGHTS? WILL YOU REPUDIATE THE LAXMAN XX MEN WHO PUT YOUR NAME ON THE BALLOT IN MIAMI ... THE MOST REACTIONARY MEN IN AMERICA ... WHO HAVE OPPOSED EVERY PIECE OF PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATION IN THIS COUNTRY FOR 40 YEARS? MR. NIXON, WHOSE SHADOW ARE YOU?

* * *

BUT THERE IS ONE ISSUE, ABOVE ALL, THAT SEPARATES MR. NIXON AND MYSELF. LET US FACE IT: IT IS THE QUESTION OF WHETHER WE DEMOCRATS SPEND MORE TIME ON PROVIDING WELFARE FOR PEOPLE IN NEED ... OR WHETHER WE ARE HELPING PEOPLE HELP THEMSELVES.

MR. NIXON TELLS US THAT HE WILL TAKE PEOPLE OFF THE WELFARE ROLLS AND PUT THEM ON PAYROLLS.

NOW YOU AND I KNOW THAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS WORKED FOR THREE DECADES TO ENSURE EVERYMAN A DECENT JOB ... AT A DECENT WAGE ... SO THAT HE CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THE WELFARE OF HIS FAMILY ... TO THE WELFARE OF HIS COUNTRY ... TO HAVE PRIDE AS A TAXPAYER... PRIDE THAT COMES WHEN HE PAYS HIS OWN WAY AND HELPS OTHERS, TOO

THERE ARE TWO QUESTIONS BEFORE US, TODAY: HOW DO PEOPLE GAIN THE SKILLS THEY NEED TO HOLD A JOB? AND WHERE DO THEY FIND JOBS?

4
WHEN MR. NIXON LAST HELD PUBLIC OFFICE, IN THOSE REPUBLICAN
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HE WANTS TO TAKE PEOPLE OFF WELFARE ROLLS AND PUT THEM ON PAYROLLS.
HE HAD HIS CHANCE, AND WHAT DID HE DO?

BUT TODAY ... AFTER 8 YEARS OF THE KENNEDY-JOHNSON-HUMPHREY
ADMINISTRATIONS ... NEW PROGRAMS THAT WE STARTED ARE IN ONE
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... TO FIND JOBS ... KEEP THOSE JOBS ... EARN LIVING WAGES FOR
THEMSELVES AND THEIR FAMILIES ... AND PAY TAXES, MANY OF THEM
THEM FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THEIR LIVES.

THAT IS WHAT DEMOCRATS HAVE DONE ABOUT THE PROBLEM, AND
WE ARE GOING TO DO MUCH, MUCH MORE -- UNTIL THERE IS NOT A MAN
OR WOMAN IN THIS COUNTRY WHO CAN'T FIND WORK BECAUSE HE LACKS THE
SKILLS TO DO THE JOB.

AND THERE IS MORE. IN EIGHT YEARS, WE HAVE BROUGHT 12 MILLION
PEOPLE UP FROM POVERTY. WHAT DOES THAT MEAN? IT MEANS THAT THERE
ARE 12 MILLION MORE AMERICANS SUPPORTING THEIR COUNTRY, NOT BEING
SUPPORTED BY IT. THAT IS WHAT THE END OF POVERTY MEANS: MEN
AND WOMEN HOLDING DECENT JOBS AT DECENT WAGES AND NO LONGER BEING
A PUBLIC CHARGE.

AND WHAT DID MR. NIXON DO TO BRING PEOPLE UP FROM POVERTY --
TO LEAD USEFUL, PRODUCTIVE, PROFITABLE LIVES AND TO SUPPORT THEIR
COUNTRY? YOU KNOW: NOT ONE SINGLE THING.

AND LET US REMEMBER. UNDER REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATIONS, IT
HARDLY DOES ANY GOOD TO HAVE PROGRAMS OF JOB-TRAINING, WHEN EVEN
PEOPLE WITH JOB SKILLS CAN'T FIND WORK.

YOU KNOW WHAT I AM TALKING ABOUT. AT THE END OF MR. NIXON'S
LAST TERM OF OFFICE, IN 1961, NEARLY SEVEN PERCENT OF ALL AMERICANS
WHO WANTED TO WORK DIDN'T HAVE JOBS. SINCE THEN, WE DEMOCRATS HAVE

5.
CUT THAT RATE ALMOST IN HALF, TO THE LOWEST LEVEL OF UNEMPLOYMENT
IN 15 YEARS. AND WE HAVE ADDED 10 MILLION MORE JOBS TO THE ECONOMY.

WE ARE NOT ABOUT TO SEE LINES FORMING IN FRONT OF EMPLOYMENT
OFFICES JUST BECAUSE MR. NIXON THINKS HE'D LIKE TO PLAY GAMES
WITH OUR ECONOMY.

NOW MR. NIXON ALSO TELLS US THAT PRIVATE INDUSTRY SHOULD
DO SOMETHING ABOUT FINDING JOBS FOR THOSE AMERICANS WHO ARE OUT
OF WORK.

THIS IS JUST ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THAT OLD ADAGE: WHEN MR.
NIXON COMES OUT WITH A GOOD IDEA, SOMEONE ELSE HAS ALREADY
DONE SOMETHING ABOUT IT.

IN THE LAST EIGHT MONTHS, THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF BUSINESSMEN
-- A PARTNERSHIP OF GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY ... LED BY THE TOP
BUSINESS LEADERS OF AMERICA ... AND, IF I MAY SAY SO, A PIONEERING
VENTURE I STRONGLY SUPPORTED FROM THE START -- HAS OBTAINED
PLEDGES FROM AMERICAN INDUSTRY TO PROVIDE 310,000 NEW JOBS FOR
THE HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED AND DISADVANTAGED YOUTH; NEARLY 190,000
OF THESE OUT-OF-WORK AMERICANS HAVE ALREADY BEEN PLACED ON THE
JOB INCLUDING MORE THAN 60,000 OF THE HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED.

THINK OF IT -- 190,000 PEOPLE PUT TO WORK IN LESS THAN
NINE MONTHS ... WITH FIRM PLANS TO FIND JOBS FOR 500,000
AMERICANS WITHIN THREE YEARS.

THESE PROGRAMS OF THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF BUSINESSMEN
-- PROGRAMS THAT WE SHALL EXPAND TO COVER THE ENTIRE COUNTRY --
HAVE ESTABLISHED A PATTERN FOR A GREAT PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN AMERICAN
BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT: A PARTNERSHIP THAT SEES THE PROBLEMS ...
TACKLES THEM ... AND SOLVES THEM.

I SAY THIS TO MR. NIXON: BEFORE YOU SPEAK AGAIN ON THE ROLE
BUSINESS CAN PLAY IN FINDING NEW JOBS, WHY DON'T YOU TALK TO SOME
OF AMERICA'S LEADING BUSINESSMEN TO DISCOVER WHAT, TOGETHER, WE
HAVE ALREADY DONE?

6
AND I SAY THIS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE: WE HAVE ONLY JUST
BEGIN OUR EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF OUR PEOPLE ... A WORKING PEOPLE ...
A PEOPLE WITH HOPES ... WITH DREAMS.

TOGETHER -- YOU AND I -- WE SHALL SPEAK TO THE HOPES OF
AMERICANS ... AND WE SHALL FULFILL THEIR DREAMS.

#

END OF PORTLAND CIVIC CENTER RALLY TEXT

YOU NOW HAVE: 1. PORTLAND CITY CLUB SPEECH (ECONOMICS)

2. PORTLAND CIVIC CENTER RALLY SPEECH

3. ECONOMIC DATA - PORTLAND

4. SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF PORTLAND
TO BE RELEASED TO THE LOCAL PRESS AFTER THE VP LEAVES -- NOT BEFORE.

5. JOHN DAY DAM DEDICATION SPEECH (CONSERVATION)

RIGHT??? WE HAVE EVERYTHING U HAVE SENT TO US AND THE LADY
IS HERE WAITING TO TAKE IT WITH HER GA FLS
SHE'LL TAKE IT ALL TO BRUCE SHINE? YES SHE IS TO TAKING IT ALL
UP TO HIM AT THE HEADQUARTERS GA FLS
GREAT, AND THANK YOU VREY MUCH.

DEM FOR HHH DC
FORTED VAN DYK
PORTLAND CIVIC CENTER RALLY
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1968

I HSB

DEM FOR HHH DC
FOR TED VAN DYK
DRAFT TEXT PORTLAND CIVIC
DEM FOR HHH DC

DEM FOR HHH DC
FOR TED VAN DYK
DRAFT TEXT PORTLAND CIVIC CENTER RALLY, FRIDAY, SEPT. 27

I HAVE SEEN A LOT OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS IN MY TIME -- I
HAVE FOUGHT ... AND WON ... A FEW ELECTIONS, MYSELF. AND WITH
YOUR ~~HELP~~ HELP, YOU AND I ~~ARE~~ ARE GOING TO WIN THIS YEAR.

BUT THIS IS THE ^{Strangest} ~~Strangest~~ CAMPAIGN I HAVE EVER SEEN: FOR
THE FIRST TIME THAT I CAN REMEMBER, THE REPUBLICANS HAVE FAILED
TO PUT UP A CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT.

YES, THE NAME OF RICHARD NIXON WILL APPEAR ON THE BALLOT
THIS NOVEMBER ... BUT WHERE IS HE? HAS ANYONE HEARD HIM SPEAK
OUT ON A SINGLE MAJOR ISSUE BEFORE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THIS YEAR?
HAS ANYONE SEEN HIM TAKE A STAND ... ON VIETNAM ... ON HUMAN
RIGHTS ... ON EDUCATION ... ON MEDICARE?

MR. NIXON IS AN INTELLIGENT MAN ... HE HAS ~~HAS~~ HIRED THE BEST
BRAINS THAT MADISON AVENUE CAN PROVIDE TO PUT A PACKAGE AROUND
HIM THAT CAN BE SOLD TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

NOW I AM A MAN WHO APPRECIATES ADVERTISING AS MUCH AS ANYONE.
WE AMERICANS HAVE SOLD A LOT OF DOG FOOD ... AND DETERGENTS THROUGH
ADVERTISING. YET WHEN IT COMES TO POLITICS ... I WANT A MAN WHO
WILL FACE UP TO THE ISSUES, SPEAK OUT ON THE PROBLEMS FACING THE
PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY ... AND TELL US WHERE HE STANDS. THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE A RIGHT TO KNOW.

2 MR. NIXON IS RUNNING IN THIS CAMPAIGN AS ~~THE~~ THE SHADOW: HE THINKS THAT IT IS GOOD POLITICS NOT TO TELL ANY OF US WHAT HE IS GOING TO DO WITH OUR ECONOMY ... WITH OUR SUPREME COURT ... WITH OUR JOBS AND HARD-EARNED WAGES.

BUT YOU AND I KNOW THAT IT IS BAD POLITICS. AND ON ELECTION DAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE JUST NOT GOING TO LET HIM GET AWAY WITH IT.

MR. NIXON IS CLEVER. HE HAS TOLD US THAT HE WANTS TO JOIN ME IN FREE AND FRANK DEBATES ON TELEVISION. BUT WHERE IS HE? WHERE IS THE SHADOW? AND HOW DOES HE EXPLAIN THAT HE HAS NOT APPEARED ON A SINGLE TELEVISION INTERVIEW PROGRAM -- WITH UNREHEARSED QUESTIONS ... WITHOUT CANNED APPLAUSE.

FOR HOW LONG? FOR (ULINE) TWO YEARS.

MR. NIXON, WHEN WILL YOU FACE THE ISSUES... AND GIVE US YOUR ANSWERS?

WHEN WILL YOU FACE THE NATION?

WHEN WILL YOU MEET THE PRESS?

AND WHEN WILL YOU MEET WITH ME SOMEWHERE THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN LOOK AT BOTH OF US?

I LOOK FORWARD TO STANDING UP WITH MR. NIXON IN FRONT OF THE TELEVISION CAMERAS ... TO JOIN IN HOT DEBATE ... I DON'T THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL BUY BRAND X.

AS A TAXPAYER ... AS A VOTER ... I AM WORRIED ABOUT WHERE MR. NIXON STANDS ON ISSUES THAT AFFECT ME... MY FAMILY ... MY COUNTRY.

THE OTHER NIGHT, WHEN I COULDN'T SLEEP, I PICKED UP THE MOST BORING READING MATTER I COULD FIND*: THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM. AND DO YOU KNOW WHAT ... IT DOESN'T EVEN MENTION MEDICARE. WHAT DOES THIS MEAN? DOES IT MEAN THAT THE REPUBLICANS DON'T KNOW THAT IT EXISTS ... OR DO THEY HOPE THE PROGRAM WILL GO AWAY.XX?

AND WHAT ABOUT SOCIAL SECURITY? I WANT ITS BENEFITS INCREASED BY 50%, SO THAT OUR OLDER CITIZENS ... YOUR PARENTS AND MINE ... WILL BEGIN TO GET A FAIR RETURN ON THEIR YEARS OF HARD WORK.

AND, YES, I WANT THESE BENEFITS "~~INFLATION PROOFED~~"

3 "INFLATION-PROOFED." OUR PEOPLE HAVE WORKED TO EARN THOSE BENEFITS...
AND I AM NOT ABOUT TO SEE THAT INVESTMENT DISAPPEAR.

MR. NIXON, WHERE DO YOU STAND ON SOCIAL SECURITY?

WHERE DO YOU STAND ON THE SUPREME COURT?

MR. NIXON, WHERE DO YOU STAND ON KEEPING THE NUCLEAR BOMB
FROM SPREADING AROUND THE WORLD.XX?

WHERE DO YOU STAND ON REDUCING CRIME IN THE COUNTRY? ARE
YOU JUST GOING TO TALK ABOUT DOING SOMETHING? OR ARE YOU GOING TO
FOLLOW ME AND PUT YOUR MONEY DOWN FOR POLICEMENS SALARIES AND
TRAINING?

AND MR. NIXON ... WHERE DO YOU STAND ON THE GREAT ISSUES OF
HUMAN RIGHTS? WILL YOU REPUDIATE THE ~~REAGAN~~ MEN WHO PUT YOUR
NAME ON THE BALLOT IN MIAMI ... THE MOST REACTIONARY MEN IN
AMERICA ... WHO HAVE OPPOSED EVERY PIECE OF PROGRESSIVE
LEGISLATION IN THIS COUNTRY FOR 40 YEARS? MR. NIXON, WHOSE
SHADOW ARE ~~YOU~~ YOU?

* * *

BUT THERE IS ONE ISSUE, ABOVE ALL, THAT SEPARATES MR. NIXON
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VENTURE I STRONGLY SUPPORTED FROM THE START -- HAS OBTAINED JOB
PLEDGES FROM AMERICAN INDUSTRY TO PROVIDE 310,000 NEW JOBS FOR
THE HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED AND DISADVANTAGED YOUTH; NEARLY 190,000
OF THESE OUT-OF-WORK AMERICANS HAVE ALREADY BEEN PLACED ON THE
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#

END OF PORTLAND CIVIC CENTER RALLY TEXT

DRAFT
Portland : Civic Center
9/26/68
27

I have seen a lot of political campaigns in my time
-- I have fought. . .and won. . .a few elections, myself. And
with ~~your~~ your help, you and I ~~we~~ are going to win one this
year.

But this is the strangest campaign I have ever seen:
for the first time that I can remember, the Republicans
have failed to put up a candidate for President .

Yes, the ~~name~~ name of Richard Nixon will appear on the
ballot this November. . .but where is he? Has anyone heard ~~him~~
him speak out on a single major issue before the American
people this year? Has anyone seen him take a stand . . .on
Vietnam. . .on human rights. . .on education. . .on Medicare?

Mr. Nixon is an intelligent man. . .he has hired the best
brains that Madison Avenue can provide to put a package around
him that can be sold to the American people.

Now I am a man who appreciates advertising as much
as anyone. We Americans have sold a lot of ~~tooth paste~~ dog food . .
and detergents ~~automobiles~~ . .and deodorants ~~razor blades~~ through advertising.
Yet when it comes to politics. . .I want a man who ~~will~~ will
face up to the issues, speak out on the problems facing the
people of this country. . .and tell us where he stands. The
American people have a right to know.

Mr. Nixon is running in this campaign as The Shadow:
it is good politics not
he thinks that ~~he~~ to tell any of us what he is going
to do with our economy. . .with our Supreme Court. . .with our
jobs and hard-earned wages.

But you ~~and~~ I know that it is bad politics. And on election day the American people are just not going to let ~~him~~ ^{him} get away with it.

~~But~~ ^{Mr. Nixon} is cleaver. He has told us that he wants to join me in a free and frank debates on television. But where is he? Where is The Shadow? And how does he explain that he has not appeared on a single television interview program -- ^{without} with unrehearsed questions. . .without canned applause. . .for ^{without} ~~how long?~~ ^{for} For two years.

Mr. Nixon, when will you face the Issues. . .and give us your Answers?

When will you Face the Nation?

When will you Meet the Press?

And when will you meet with me somewhere that the American people can look at both of us?

I ~~don't think~~ ^{look forward to} standing up with Mr. Nixon in front of the television cameras ^{to} to join in hot debate. . .I don't think the American people will buy Brand X.

As a taxpayer. . .as a voter. . .I am worried about where Mr. Nixon stands on issues that affect me. . .my family. . .my country.

The other night, when I couldn't sleep, I picked up the most boring reading matter I could find: the Republican Platform. And do you know what. . .it doesn't ~~it~~ even mention Medicare. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Medicare What does ~~it~~ this mean? Does it mean that the Republicans don't know that it exists. . .~~or~~ or do they hope it ~~will~~ will go away?

Then I went to sleep, and ~~had a good old Republican~~ ^{dreamt of a New Day}
~~a Democratic new Day - for America.~~
~~entire all night long~~

And what about Social Security? I want its benefits ~~to~~
~~be~~ increased by 50%, so that our older citizens. . . your
 parents and mine. . . will begin to get a fair return on their
 years of hard work. And, yes, I want these benefits "inflation-
 proofed." Our people have worked to earn those benefits. . .
 and I am not about to see that investment disappear.

Mr. Nixon, where do you stand on Social Security?

Where do you stand on the Supreme Court?

Mr. Nixon, where do you stand on keeping the nuclear
 bomb from spreading around the world?

Where do you stand on keeping 69-ton triple trailer-
 trucks off our highways and out of our cities and towns?

Where do you stand on reducing crime in this country?
 Are you just going to talk about doing something? ~~Why don't~~ *Or are you*
~~you~~ *going to* follow me and put your money down for policemen's
 salaries and training?

And Mr. Nixon. . . where do you stand on the great
 issues of human rights? Will you repudiate the men who put
 your name on the ballot in Miami. . . the most reactionary men
 in America. . . who have opposed every piece of progressive
 legislation in this country for 40 years? Mr. Nixon, whose
shadow are you?

* * * * *

But there is one issue, above all, that separates
 Mr. Nixon and myself. Let us face it: it is the question of
 whether we Democrats ~~have~~ spend more time on providing welfare
 for people in need. . . or whether we ~~have been~~ *are* helping
people help themselves.

Mr. Nixon tells us that he will take people off the
 welfare rolls and put them on payrolls.

Now you and I know that the Democratic Party has worked for three decades to ensure every man a decent job. . .at a decent wage. . .so that he can contribute to the welfare of his family. . .to the welfare of his country. . .to have pride as a taxpayer. . .pride that comes when he pays his own way and helps others, too.

There are two questions before us, today: How do people gain the skills they need to hold a job? And where do they find the jobs?

When Mr. Nixon last held ~~public~~ public office, in those Republican 1950s, not one single new federal program was begun to ~~retrain~~ train or retrain Americans to hold a job. And yet Mr. Nixon tells us that he wants to take people off welfare rolls and put them ~~on~~ on payrolls. He had his chance, and what did he do?

But today. . .after 8 years of the Kennedy-Johnson-Humphrey Administrations. . .new programs that we started are in single one year training. . .retraining. . .^{over} 1 million Americans . . .to find jobs. . .keep those jobs. . .earn living wages for themselves and their families. . .and pay taxes, many of them for the first time in their lives.

That is what Democrats have done about the problem, and we are going to do much, much more -- until there is not a man or woman in this country who can't find work because he lack the skills to do the ~~job~~ job.

And there is more. In 8 years, we have brought ¹² ~~10~~ million people up from poverty. What does that mean? It means that there are ¹² ~~10~~ million more Americans supporting their country, not being supported by it. That is what the end of poverty means: men and women holding decent jobs at

decent wages and no longer being a public charge.

And what did Mr. Nixon do to bring people up from poverty --to lead useful, productive, profitable lives and to support their country? You know: not a single thing.

And let us remember. Under Republican Administrations, ~~if~~ hardly does any good to have programs of job-training, when even people with job skills can't find work.

You know what I am talking about. At the end of Mr. Nixon's last term of office, in 1961, nearly 7% of all Americans who wanted to work didn't have jobs. Since then, we Democrats have cut that ~~figure~~ ^{rate almost} in half, ~~for~~ ^{to} the lowest levels of unemployment in 15 years. ~~m~~ And we have added 10 million more jobs to the economy.

We are not about to see lines forming in front of employment offices just because Mr. Nixon thinks he'd like to play games with our economy for awhile.

Now Mr. Nixon also tells us that private industry should do something about finding jobs for those Americans who are out of work. [This is just another example of that old adage: when Mr. Nixon comes out with a good idea, someone else has already done something about it.

In ~~xxx~~ the last eight months, the National Alliance of Businessmen -- a partnership of Government and industry. . .led by the top business leaders of America. . .and, if I may say so, a pioneering venture strongly supported from the start by Hubert Humphrey -- has obtained ~~xxx~~ ^{the} pledges from American industry to provide 310,000 new jobs for/hard-core unemployed and disadvantaged youth; nearly 190,000 ~~Americans~~ ^{been} of these out-of-work Americans have already/placed on the job, including more than 60,000 of the hard-core unemployed.

Think of it -- 190,000 people put to work in less than nine months. . .with firm plans to find jobs for 500,000 Americans within three years.

~~These programs of the National Alliance of Businessmen~~
 --programs that we shall expand to cover the entire country --
 have established a pattern for a great partnership between
 American business and government: ^{a partnership that} ~~I~~ ^{we} sees the ~~problem~~ problems...
~~we~~ tackles them...and ~~we~~ solves them.

I say this to Mr. Nixon: before you speak again on the role business can play in finding new jobs, why don't you talk to some of America's leading business/^{men}to discover what, together, we have already done.?

And I say this to the American people: we have only just begun our efforts ~~on~~ ~~people~~ on behalf of our people . . .a working people. . .a people with hopes. . .with dreams.

~~And~~ Together ~~I~~ you and I ~~I~~ we shall speak to the hopes of Americans. . .and we shall fulfill ^{their} these dreams.

End

①

OK

reading copy +
release

KXTV SAC CAL
• IS THIS HHH ADVANCE?
KXTV SAC CAL

THE FOLLOWING IS FOR KINGSLEY MURPHY TO PASS TO TED VAN DYK WITH
HHH PARTY SOONEST.

~~DEM FOR HHH DC~~
~~FOR TED VAN DYK~~

DRAFT TEXT PORTLAND CIVIC CENTER RALLY, FRIDAY, SEPT. 27

I HAVE SEEN A LOT OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS IN MY TIME -- I
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DAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE JUST NOT GOING TO LET HIM GET AWAY WITH IT.

* 29.10
MR. NIXON IS CLEVER. HE HAS TOLD US THAT HE WANTS TO JOIN ME IN FREE AND FRANK DEBATES ON TELEVISION. / BUT WHERE IS HE? WHERE IS THE CHADON? AND HOW DOES HE EXPLAIN THAT HE HAS NOT APPEARED ON A SINGLE TELEVISION INTERVIEW PROGRAM -- WITH UNREHEARSED QUESTIONS ... WITHOUT CANNED APPLAUSE.

FOR HOW LONG? FOR (ULINE) TWO YEARS.

network
MR. NIXON, WHEN WILL YOU FACE THE ISSUES... AND GIVE US YOUR ANSWERS?

WHEN WILL YOU FACE THE NATION?

WHEN WILL YOU MEET THE PRESS?

AND WHEN WILL YOU MEET WITH ME SOMEWHERE THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN LOOK AT BOTH OF US?

* I LOOK FORWARD TO STANDING UP WITH MR. NIXON IN FRONT OF THE TELEVISION CAMERAS... TO JOIN IN DEBATE... I DON'T THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD BE BRAND X. *on network television... in the lobby of the NAM... or in his Fifth Avenue apartment*
Failing that, I propose that Governor Agnew agree to debate *→ (over)*
AS A TAXPAYER... AS A VOTER... I AM WORRIED ABOUT WHERE MR. NIXON STANDS ON ISSUES THAT AFFECT ME... MY FAMILY... MY COUNTRY.

THE OTHER NIGHT, WHEN I COULDN'T SLEEP, I PICKED UP THE MOST BORING READING MATTER I COULD FIND: THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM. AND DO YOU KNOW WHAT ... IT DOESN'T EVEN MENTION MEDICARE. WHAT DOES THIS MEAN? DOES IT MEAN THAT THE REPUBLICANS DON'T KNOW THAT IT EXISTS ... OR DO THEY HOPE THE PROGRAM WILL GO AWAY.XX?

AND WHAT ABOUT SOCIAL SECURITY? I WANT ITS BENEFITS INCREASED BY 50%, SO THAT OUR OLDER CITIZENS ... YOUR PARENTS AND MINE ... WILL BEGIN TO GET A FAIR RETURN ON THEIR YEARS OF HARD WORK. AND, YES, I WANT THESE BENEFITS "INFLATION-PROOFEDXXXXX" "INFLATION-PROOFED." OUR PEOPLE HAVE WORKED TO EARN THOSE BENEFITS... AND I AM NOT ABOUT TO SEE THAT INVESTMENT DISAPPEAR.

MR. NIXON, WHERE DO YOU STAND ON SOCIAL SECURITY?

Senator Mackie — in the state capital in Annapolis ... in the
Baltimore county Sheriff's office ... or on the Mason-Dixon Line.

3

WHERE DO YOU STAND ON THE SUPREME COURT? *The next President will appoint several members of that Court.*

MR. NIXON, WHERE DO YOU STAND ON KEEPING THE NUCLEAR BOMB FROM SPREADING AROUND THE WORLD.XX?

WHERE DO YOU STAND ON REDUCING CRIME IN THE COUNTRY? ARE YOU JUST GOING TO TALK ABOUT DOING SOMETHING? OR ARE YOU GOING TO FOLLOW ME AND PUT YOUR MONEY DOWN FOR POLICEMENS SALARIES AND TRAINING?

AND MR. NIXON ... WHERE DO YOU STAND ON THE GREAT ISPUES OF HUMAN RIGHTS? WILL YOU REPUDIATE THE ~~EXXMAN~~ MEN WHO PUT YOUR NAME ON THE BALLOT IN MIAMI ... THE MOST REACTIONARY MEN IN AMERICA ... WHO HAVE OPPOSED EVERY PIECE OF PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATION IN THIS COUNTRY FOR 40 YEARS? ~~MR. NIXON, WHOSE~~

~~SHADOW ARE THEY?~~

(A)

attached.

* * *

BUT THERE IS ONE ISSUE, ABOVE ALL, THAT SEPARATES MR. NIXON AND MYSELF. LET US FACE IT: IT IS THE QUESTION OF WHETHER WE DEMOCRATS SPEND MORE TIME ON PROVIDING WELFARE FOR PEOPLE IN NEED ... OR WHETHER WE ARE HELPING PEOPLE HELP THEMSELVES.

MR. NIXON TELLS US THAT HE WILL TAKE PEOPLE OFF THE WOLFARE ROLLS AND PUT THEM ON PAYROLLS.

NOW YOU AND I KNOW THAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS WORQED FOR THREE DECADES TO ENSURE EVERYMAN A DECENT JOB ... AT A DECENT WAGE ... SO THAT HE CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THE WELFARE OF HIS FAMILY ... TO THE WELFARE OF HIS COUNTRY ... TO HAVE PRIDE AS A TAXPAYER... PRIDE THAT COMES WHE@ HE PAYS HIS OWN WAY AND HELPS OTHERS, TOO

THERE ARE TWO QUESTIONP BEFORE US, TODAY: HOW DO PEOPLE GAIN THE SKILLS THEY NEED TO HOLD A JOB? AND WHERE DO THEY FIND JPES?

WHEN MR. NIXON LAST HELD PUBLIC OFFICE, IN THOSE REPUBLICAN 1950'S, NOT ONE SINGLE NEW FEDERAL PROGRAM WAS BEGUN TO TRAIN OR RETRAIN AMERICANS TO HOLD A JOB. AND YET MR. NIXON TELLS US THAT HE WANTS TO TAKE PEOPLE OFF WELFARE ROLLS AND PUT THEM ON PAYROLLS.

HE HAD HIS CHANCE, AND WHAT DID HE DO?

9 BUT TODAY ... AFTER 8 YEARS OF THE KENNEDY-JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATIONS ... NEW PROGRAMS THAT WE STARTED ARE IN ONE SINGLE YEAR TRAINING ... RETRAINING ... OVER ONE MILLION AMERICANS ... TO FIND JOBS ... KEEP THOSE JOBS ... EARN LIVING WAGES FOR THEMSELVES AND THEIR FAMILIES ... AND PAY TAXES, MANY OF THEM FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THEIR LIVES.

THAT IS WHAT DEMOCRATS HAVE DONE ABOUT THE PROBLEM, AND WE ARE GOING TO DO MUCH, MUCH MORE -- UNTIL THERE IS NO MAN OR WOMAN IN THIS COUNTRY WHO CAN'T FIND WORK BECAUSE HE LACKS THE SKILLS TO DO THE JOB.

AND THERE IS MORE. IN EIGHT YEARS, WE HAVE BROUGHT 12 MILLION PEOPLE UP FROM POVERTY. WHAT DOES THAT MEAN? IT MEANS THAT THERE ARE 12 MILLION MORE AMERICANS SUPPORTING THEIR COUNTRY, NOT BEING SUPPORTED BY IT. THAT IS WHAT THE END OF POVERTY MEANS: MEN AND WOMEN HOLDING DECENT JOBS AT DECENT WAGES AND NO LONGER BEING A PUBLIC CHARGE.

AND WHAT DID MR. NIXON DO TO BRING PEOPLE UP FROM POVERTY -- TO LEAD USEFUL, PRODUCTIVE, PROFITABLE LIVES AND TO SUPPORT THEIR COUNTRY? YOU KNOW: NOT ONE SINGLE THING.

AND LET US REMEMBER. UNDER REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATIONS, IT HARDLY DOES ANY GOOD TO HAVE PROGRAMS OF JOB-TRAINING, WHEN EVEN PEOPLE WITH JOB SKILLS CAN'T FIND WORK.

YOU KNOW WHAT I AM TALKING ABOUT. AT THE END OF MR. NIXON'S LAST TERM OF OFFICE, IN 1961, NEARLY SEVEN PERCENT OF ALL AMERICANS WHO WANTED TO WORK DIDN'T HAVE JOBS. SINCE THEN, WE DEMOCRATS HAVE CUT THAT RATE ALMOST IN HALF, TO THE LOWEST LEVEL OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN 15 YEARS. AND WE HAVE ADDED 10 MILLION MORE JOBS TO THE ECONOMY.

WE ARE NOT ABOUT TO SEE LINES FORMING IN FRONT OF EMPLOYMENT OFFICES JUST BECAUSE MR. NIXON THINKS HE'D LIKE TO PLAY GAMES WITH OUR ECONOMY.

NOW MR. NIXON ALSO TELLS US THAT PRIVATE INDUSTRY SHOULD DO SOMETHING ABOUT FINDING JOBS FOR THOSE AMERICANS WHO ARE OUT OF WORK.

(5) THIS IS JUST ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THAT OLD ADAGE: WHEN MR. NIXON COMES OUT WITH A GOOD IDEA, SOMEONE ELSE HAS ALREADY DONE SOMETHING ABOUT IT.

IN THE LAST EIGHT MONTHS, THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF BUSINESSMEN -- A PARTNERSHIP OF GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY ... LED BY THE TOP BUSINESS LEADERS OF AMERICA ... AND, IF I MAY SAY SO, A PIONEERING VENTURE I STRONGLY SUPPORTED FROM THE START -- HAS OBTAINED PLEDGES FROM AMERICAN INDUSTRY TO PROVIDE 310,000 NEW JOBS FOR THE HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED AND DISADVANTAGED YOUTH; NEARLY 190,000 OF THESE OUT-OF-WORK AMERICANS HAVE ALREADY BEEN PLACED ON THE JOB INCLUDING MORE THAN 60,000 OF THE HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED.

THINK OF IT -- 190,000 PEOPLE PUT TO WORK IN LESS THAN NINE MONTHS ... WITH FIRM PLANS TO FIND JOBS FOR 500,000 AMERICANS WITHIN THREE YEARS.

~~THESE PROGRAMS OF THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF BUSINESSMEN -- PROGRAMS THAT WE SHALL EXPAND TO COVER THE ENTIRE COUNTRY -- HAVE ESTABLISHED A PATTERN FOR A GREAT PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN AMERICAN BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT: A PARTNERSHIP THAT SEES THE PROBLEMS ... TACKLES THEM ... AND SOLVES THEM.~~

~~I SAY THIS TO MR. NIXON: BEFORE YOU SPEAK AGAIN ON THE ROLE BUSINESS CAN PLAY IN FINDING NEW JOBS, WHY DON'T YOU TALK TO SOME OF AMERICA'S LEADING BUSINESSMEN TO DISCOVER WHAT, TOGETHER, WE HAVE ALREADY DONE?~~

AND I SAY THIS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE: WE HAVE ONLY JUST BEGUN OUR EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF OUR PEOPLE ... A WORKING PEOPLE ... A PEOPLE WITH HOPES ... WITH DREAMS.

TOGETHER -- YOU AND I -- WE SHALL SPEAK TO THE HOPES OF AMERICANS ... AND WE SHALL FULFILL THEIR DREAMS.

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END OF PORTLAND CIVIC CENTER RALLY TEXT

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

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

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

Mr. Nixon and Governor Agnew talk
When ~~they talk~~ about help for the cities . . . aid to education . . . health . . . homes . . . and jobs . . . just remember how Nixon-Agnew-Republicans voted on these issues . . . 70 per cent . . . 80 per cent . . . 90 per cent . . . against Federal aid to schools . . . against cities . . . Medicare . . . Social Security . . . slowing the arms race. Why they even voted 97 per cent 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.

~~Finally, there is the ultimate issue in this campaign~~
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.

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

And 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 can upon my opponent -- Mr. Nixon -- to make that same statement. *And to come out of the shadows and meet me in open debate, on this and every other issue.*

(Mr. Nixon, let the people judge.)

~~And I call upon him to join with me in urging the House of Representatives to pass the resolution needed to permit the candidates for President and Vice President to appear on television debates. Mr. Nixon's Republican friends in the House can make this possible. But do they dare?~~

~~* * *~~

I say to America:

Put aside recrimination and dissension.

Turn away from violence and hatred.

Believe in what American 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.

~~#####~~

*And we shall win the election.
and America shall have a New Day.*

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