



# news release

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VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY SAYS 1968 CAMPAIGN WILL DECIDE WHETHER THE  
EXTREMISTS SUCCEED; ASSAILS NIXON AND WALLACE ON THEIR  
"LAW AND ORDER" APPEALS

Salt Lake City, Utah -- Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey said today the 1968 Presidential campaign "will decide whether the extremists will succeed -- whether the voices of hate, of prejudice and division will drive out the forces of opportunity, progress and justice."

Asserting that "the danger to Democracy today is in the clash of extremes," the Vice President in a speech at the Mormon Tabernacle warned that extremists of the left and right "both seek to destroy the moderate middle and with it democracy."

The Vice President emphasized that Americans "must distinguish dissent from disorder."

"I say America is better than the polls indicate," Mr. Humphrey said.

"If it is not, we must try to make it better.

"And we must do so not by veiled slogans -- such as the mis-use of the term 'law and order' by some people who mean something else entirely."

The Vice President said that "of course, law and order must prevail" -- but he added that "the issue is 'what' and 'how': what kind of law and how to keep the order."

"It is sad and ironic to hear two presidential candidates -- who have for years proclaimed states' rights -- proclaim they would use the Presidential power to police the streets of our cities.

"One of these candidates -- and this is most ironic -- was Governor of the state with the highest murder rate in the nation.

"He could not maintain order in his own state . . . where he had the power. But now he promises to maintain order in every city and state where he will not have the power.

"It is ironic, too, to hear the loud cries for law enforcement come from the spokesman of a party that has consistently fought all efforts to secure federal funds to combat crime.

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"This nation deserves better of its leaders.

"And their appeals, I tell you, if put into action, would only lead this nation to a spiral of repression and a terrible exhaustion of mind and spirit.

The text of Vice President Humphrey's speech follows:

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH  
SEPTEMBER 30, 1968

Today I want to share with you my thoughts on the progress of the campaign: the issues raised . . . the issues avoided -- and the things which we -- the American people -- should consider in the five weeks remaining before election day.

We live today in a time of political crisis that is world-wide.

I think it is well that we remember past times of political crisis in our own country.

History students know that George Washington -- urged to take a third term -- did not do so because of the personal abuse he suffered . . . abuse calling him "a mean, deceitful step-father of his country."

There was the Whiskey Rebellion. Washington raised an army of 13,000 men -- larger than his army during the War of Independence -- to put down the rebellion.

During the War of 1812 violent, protesting groups blocked streets and interrupted state governments. A Congressman who had voted for the war was brutally kicked and beaten by a street mob.

There have been other times of crisis: the anti-draft riots of 1816 . . . the violence and death of the Populist Revolution . . . the conflict that tore this country before and during World War I . . . the worldwide economic, political and social crises of the 1930's.

Many of you lived through the 1930's.

You know the story well -- only too well -- as demagogues sought scapegoats and dictators sought to enslave their own people and imperil the peace of the world.

We had demagogues in America, promising simple solutions.

But in our own fashion, we chose another way: the way of free men.

We turned to the ballot box and we elected Franklin D. Roosevelt.

His way was not the way of repression and violence, but the way of freedom and free institutions.

His answer to the great crisis of our economy was not fear but faith . . . not hate but hope . . . not bullets but ballots and bread.

What is the nature of today's crisis?

In America, it is a crisis of democratic institutions -- a crisis of our faith as a free people . . . a crisis of our faith in each other.

When I started this campaign, I stated that, even if it cost my political life, I would make no compact with extremism.

I repeat that now.

No election -- even winning the Presidency -- is worth it if the price we pay is compromise with our basic beliefs.

The danger to democracy today is in the clash of extremes.

And let us be clear: the extremes -- of left and of right -- meet on common ground:

They both seek to destroy the moderate middle and with it democracy.  
They both seek to embitter the tolerant and generous heart of America.  
They both seek to bring a violent confrontation.

They both seek to settle matters not by reason, but by conflict.

Let's get it straight.

There are people today who make their basic appeal to the baser instincts -- to fear, to racial prejudice, to escapism, to the darker side of the human character

They are dangerous.

And there are others in our society -- and they are not fresh-faced young idealists -- who are preaching the same doctrine of disorder and anarchy, and using the same doctrine of disorder and anarchy, and using the same totalitarian tactics of the street that brought Adolph Hitler to power.

There are those who have preached guerrilla warfare -- and it is nothing less than that which they preach.

There are those who would destroy homes, businesses and lives, in their supposed zeal to correct injustices.

They are of no one race.

They are of no one ideology.

But they all share a basic disdain for the democratic processes.

They propose to "tear this society down and build a new one on the ashes."

They try to shout down Presidential candidates.

They say they will disrupt the polling processes on election day.

They threaten to break up the inaugural ceremonies next January 20. And, in the meantime, they promise "50 to 100 more Chicagos."

No democracy can or should, stand for it.

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This campaign will decide whether the extremists will succeed . . . whether the voices of hate, of prejudice, and division will drive out the forces of opportunity, progress and justice.

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! This, I believe, is the great question before America. Shall we -- in this time of crisis -- move forward toward one society of justice and opportunity?

Or shall we become a fractured society, cleft in two or more parts . . . hostile . . . and embittered?

This is more than traditional campaign rhetoric. The extremists themselves see it this way.

They believe they can succeed.

And in their success they see the end of our democratic society as we have known it.

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When confronted with conflict, different people will react in different ways.

The way of extremists is to react with repression and violence.

The way of people who believe in democracy is to act with peaceful reform.

I say that is the way we must choose.

Our political instincts are good. And the institutions we have created and improved with political representation are decent ones.

We are a pluralistic nation -- a phrase which means we have absorbed millions of immigrants and they have become Americans.

Now we are confronted with the statistical prediction that 32 years from now -- in the year 2,000 -- we shall have a population of 300 million and many more urban problems of housing, poverty, traffic, education and government -- local, state and national.

The shift from a nation of farms to one of cities has been incredibly swift.

It has brought crises in education . . . training . . . planning . . . and, most importantly, in individual human identity.

Was it really true that when Jefferson was inaugurated he got on a horse in front of his boarding house . . . rode to the Capitol . . . took the oath . . . was greeted by a small crowd of admirers . . . and rode his horse back to the boarding house?

Was it really true that when Abraham Lincoln walked the corridors of the White House in an old night shirt and a pair of scuffed carpet slippers, mourning the casualties -- or sat in the White House war room where the new-fangled magnetic telegraph ticked out occasional news of battles -- we were then a nation of a few more than 30 million?

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Can it be that there are enough fearful and doubting people today who have lost their American faith that say a nation of more than 200 million -- confronted with poverty long neglected . . . with protests and demonstrations, cannot do what is right?

Do they really fear to do what is necessary to bring the depressed minorities of black Americans, Spanish-speaking Americans, Indian Americans and those of small minorities into the full and faithful dream of America?

I do not so believe.

We are concerned -- we are gravely concerned.

But we are not afraid.

It is, I say, a time for faith in principles . . . faith in the American purpose . . . faith in the belief, so dramatically sustained by history, that through the ages an increasing purpose runs in our national life and that our minds and faith are widened by the passage of the suns.

My campaign -- and my Presidency, should the people grant it -- shall be based on that faith.

It shall be based on the premise that new means of individual participation and expression can be found in this country.

It shall be based on the faith that man can change what is wrong in his environment through positive, creative action.

And it shall be based on the belief that the leadership of this nation owes it to the people to speak out and to do what is right, regardless of any temporary public opinion polls or national moods.

I have been told, for instance, that I should tread lightly on the issue of human equality . . . and concerning the necessity for the federal government of this nation to undertake broad new initiatives to save our cities . . . to renew the hopes and lives of those left out of our society . . . to bring peace to neighborhoods, to our nation, and to the human family.

I say America is better than the polls indicate.

If it is not, we must try to make it better.

And we must do so not by veiled slogans -- such as the mis-use of the term, "law and order" by some people who mean something else entirely.

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Of course, law and order must prevail.

The issue is "what" and "how": what kind of law and how to keep order?

In our democracy we believe in the kind of law that will allow every human being the fullest opportunity to live and grow and develop his God-given rights and talents.

In our democracy we believe that we must use wisdom and effort to separate the guilty from the innocent. We must never apply the primitive rule of guilt by religion, or age, or color, or by any other form of association.

And in our democracy, the primary jurisdiction for maintaining order rests with state and local authorities -- not with the federal government.

It is sad and ironic to hear two presidential candidates -- who have for years proclaimed states' rights -- proclaim they would use the presidential power to police the streets of our cities.

One of these candidates -- and this most ironic -- was governor of the state with the highest murder rate in the nation.

He could not maintain order in his own state ... where he had the power. But now he promises to maintain order in every city and state where he will not have the power.

It is ironic, too, to hear the loud cries for law enforcement come from the spokesman of a party that has consistently fought all efforts to secure federal funds for these purposes -- and even voted this year to reduce funds to combat crime.

This nation deserves better of its leaders.

And their appeals, I tell you, if put into action, would only lead this nation to a spiral of repression and a terrible exhaustion of mind and spirit.

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The reform we need so much will be impossible unless we are able to distinguish dissent from disorder.

My ears echo with the voices of dissent.

Yet, I stand before you to affirm this above all:

I believe in the right of dissent -- not for some but for everyone.

America is built on dissent -- as the descendants of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young surely know.

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Dissent is the dynamo of democracy -- in Utah as in all America.

When the people of a nation can move their heads in one direction -- only up and down -- they must soon bow them down forever.

The working of our political democracy rests on three great rights: freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom to vote.

And from the exercise of these three great rights flows the power of reform.

When a group of hecklers -- no matter how righteous they believe their cause to be -- when they shout down a speaker, they are denying the right to freedom of speech.

If they break up a meeting, they are denying others the freedom of Assembly.

And when they threaten to sit-in at the voting booths on Election Day, they are denying the freedom to vote.

The tyranny of a majority -- in the form of government -- is oppressive.

But the tyranny of a minority -- in the form of mob action -- is equally oppressive.

I condemn both. Tyranny is without qualification and without fear.

Disorder is not dissent. Indeed, disorder, especially organized disorder, is the enemy of dissent.

Destruction is not debate. Indeed, the violence of destruction can only silence the vitality of a debate.

A free society can tolerate neither a police state nor mob rule. And, if it makes the wrong decisions, this society can be dangerously close to getting both.

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The founders of our two great parties -- Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln -- were men who governed in troubled times.

But they brought creation out of chaos because of their fundamental faith in the goodness and greatness of the American people.

In the challenge of problems they saw the chance for progress.

And today, no less than then, we must find our chance for progress.

Can we stand for less than they fought and struggled to achieve.

The spirit of a free people must be continually reborn.

That is our challenge -- that is our opportunity -- in 1968

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Either we begin slipping backward -- into a great division of our people and a widening spiral of fear -- or we continue moving forward into a new day of justice and order.

Once we take this choice, I don't see how we can change it.

Which way: separation ... or community?

Apartheid ... or democracy?

A society of ordered liberty .. or a society of fear and repression?

I appeal to the silent majority of Americans to speak their belief in the decency of our democracy ... to go to the polls this November in the spirit of faith, not of fear ... in the hope in the spirit of hope, not of hate ... in the spirit of our fathers who crossed oceans, mountains and deserts ... who overcame all obstacles to build a land of liberty and justice for all.

We have faced grave crises before. And we have transformed chaos into creation.

I believe that the American people can do so again -- and I mean to call them to this task.

So I say, let us have a campaign of faith -- of faith in our own characters, faith in our country's increasing purpose and faith in our principles.

And America shall prevail.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH  
MORMON TABERNACLE  
September 30, 1968

Vice President Humphrey. Thank you, Senator Moss. Thank you once again for your generous, kind, and flattering introduction. But most of all, thank you for your service to this nation and to this State, to the people of this troubled world.

Mrs. Moss, my good friend, Governor and Mrs. Rampton, President Brown, President Tanner, and might I say at this place that as we left the church offices, Mrs. Humphrey and I, in just folksy fashion waved when we went by the apartment of President David O. McKay and he was there to give us a kind wave back. Our prayers and thoughts go to the President and Mrs. McKay, very gracious and wonderful people, truly great leaders in this country.

I am somewhat overwhelmed today, not only because of this great assemblage and this historic, beautiful tabernacle, but because all my life, I have been wanting to be close to the Tabernacle Choir and am I ever close to it today. And isn't it beautiful? Isn't their music the voice of America, the voice of this country?

(Applause)

I have had heard the Star Spangled Banner many times, but I have never heard it like I heard it today. And I don't believe I have ever heard anybody else sing the second verse. But it is simply beautiful. So I come to you today with a heart full of emotion and appreciation. I know that I am in an honored place and on hallowed ground, and I hope that I can speak to you about matters that pertain to our country and our world in a thoughtful and sober and I trust helpful manner. Today I want to share with you my thoughts on the progress of a great campaign, and every campaign in America is important. I want to share with you my thoughts on the issues raised and even the issues avoided, and the things which we, the American people, must consider in the five weeks remaining before election date. We live today as we know in a time of political crisis that is literally world wide. It is not only our experience. There is ferment and change throughout this planet. But I think it is well for us to have this in perspective and to remember past times and political crises in this country. History students know that George Washington, when urged to take a third term, did not do so because of the personal abuse that he had suffered, abuse calling him a "mean, deceitful stepfather of his country."

Then there was the whiskey rebellion, and Washington raised an army of 13,000 men, larger than his army during the War of Independence, to put down that rebellion.

During the war of 1812, violent, protesting groups blocked the streets and interrupted state governments. A congressman who voted for that war was brutally kicked and beaten by a street mob.



There have been other times of crisis. The anti-draft riots of 1861, the violence and death that came with the populist revolution; the conflict that tore this country before and during World War I. Then the worldwide economic, political and social crisis of the 1930's.

Many of you lived through that crisis. You know the story well and possibly only too well as demagogues sought scapegoats in our country and dictators sought to enslave their own people and imperil the peace of the world. We had demagogues in America promising simple solutions. But in our own fashion, in our own quiet way, we chose another way, the way of free men. We turned to the ballot box and we elected a great President, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

His way was not the way of repression and violence as some had advocated, but the way of freedom and orderly change. His is the way of making the Constitution a living instrument for the living people and for generations yet unborn. His answer to the great crisis of our economy was not fear -- you remember -- but faith. Not hate, but hope. And not bullets but ballots. And not empty promises, but jobs and bread.

Now, what is the nature of today's crisis? Because we surely have one. In America, it is a crisis of democratic institutions, it is a crisis of our faith as a free people, a crisis of our faith in each other.

When I started this campaign, I stated that even if it cost me my political life, I would make no compact with extremism, and I repeat that pledge to you now.

(Applause)

When I hear this choir singing "This is My Country," there is no room in this country for the men of violence and extremism that would tear it to shreds. Rather, there is room for millions and millions yet unborn, for those who can stand up and say I love America and all that it means.

(Applause)

No election, even winning the Presidency, is worth the price of compromising away our basic beliefs and principles. The danger to democracy today is not merely in apathy, but more so in the clash of the extremes, the handful -- bitter and violent, disciplined, extremes. And let us be clear, the extremes of the left and the right, while they would have you believe they stand on different ground, they meet on common ground.

(Applause)

They both seek to destroy that vast majority. As I refer to them sometimes, that great silent majority of Americans, the moderate middle that is the very life line and the very backbone of this Republic. And they seek to destroy it with it our democracy. They both seek to embitter the tolerant and the generous heart of America. They both seek to bring violent

confrontation. They both seek to settle matters not by reason but by conflict, not by mind but by muscle.

So let's get it straight here and all in this great assemblage, there are people today who make their basic appeal to the more evil and baser instincts of man -- to fear, to racial prejudice, to escapism, to the darker side of the human character. And they are dangerous. And there are others in our society and they are not these fresh-faced young idealists that we love so much. But there are those who are preaching the same doctrine of disorder and anarchy and they are using totalitarian tactics of the street, the very tactics that brought dictatorship to Europe, that brought Hitler to power.

And there are those who preach even guerrilla warfare, black and white. And you and I know that that cannot be condoned and it must be stopped.

And there are those who would destroy homes and businesses and lives in their supposed zeal to correct injustices. And you and I know that they must be stopped also.

They are no one race, they are of no one ideology, but they all share a basic disdain, yes, a hatred for the democratic processes of democracy itself. They say they propose to "tear this society down and build a new one on its ashes." And I quote them.

They try to shout down presidential candidates and they say they will disrupt the polling places on election day. They even threaten to break up the inaugural ceremonies next January 20th.

In the meantime, they promise in their language, 50, 100, 200 more Chicagos.

Ladies and gentlemen, my fellow Americans, no democracy can, nor should any democracy stand for it. We have no reason to.

(Applause)

Now, this campaign will decide whether the extremists will succeed, whether the voices of hate and prejudice and division will drive out the voices and the forces of opportunity, progress, order and justice. This I believe is the great question before America, and it goes far beyond party -- shall we in this time of crisis -- and there is a crisis -- move forward toward one society? This is my America, of justice and opportunity. Or shall we become a fractured society, cleft into two or more parts, hostile, filled with antagonists and embittered?

This is much more than traditional campaign oratory, because the extremists say they believe they can succeed. They think we are afraid. They think they can terrify us into doing nothing or standing aside while they work their evil will. And in their success, they see the end of our democratic society as we have known it and they proudly proclaim it so.

Now, when confronted with conflict, different people will react in different ways. The way of the extremists is



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to react with repression and with violence. The way of people who believe in democracy is to act with peaceful reform and firmness.

(Applause)

Now, I repeat, reform is not just enough. There must be a will, a sense of strength, a firmness. We can be resolute without being belligerent. We can be firm without being bellicose. We can be strong without being arrogant and we can be right without being tyrannical.

(Applause)

I will say that this is the way we must choose. Our political instincts are good. And the institutions that we fashioned throughout the years have created and improved with political representation and they are decent ones. Our democracy grows like a child. We are a pluralistic nation, many people with a common purpose, a phrase which means we have absorbed millions of immigrants and they have become Americans. Now, we are confronted with a statistical prediction that 32 years from now, there will be 300 million Americans in the year 2000. And with that almost many more urban problems of housing and poverty and traffic, education and government. The shift from the nation of farms to one of cities has come quickly and it brings a tidal wave of problems and difficulties. And it has brought crises in education and training and planning, and most importantly, in individual human identity. People want to be individuals, not a statistic. They want to be known for their personality, not for their code number. They cry out for some way for identification.

Things have changed? Listen. Was it really true that when Jefferson was inaugurated, he got on a horse in front of his boarding house and rode to the capitol, took the oath, was greeted by a small crowd of admirers and got on his horse again and rode back to his boarding house? That is what history says. It is a far cry from the inaugurals of today.

Was it really true that when Abraham Lincoln walked the corridors of the White House in an old night shirt and a pair of scuffed carpet slippers, mourning the casualties, or sat in the White House war room where the new fangled magnetic telegraph ticked out occasional news of battle -- was it really true that we were a nation of a few more than just 30 million?

Can it be that there are enough fearful and doubting people today who have lost their American faith, that say that a nation of more than 200 million, with fabulous wealth and technology, beyond the dreams of man, confronted with poverty long neglected, with protests and demonstrations, cannot do what is right?

Do they really fear to do what is necessary to bring the depressed minorities of black American, Spanish-speaking Americans, and those of small minorities, black or white, into the full and faithful dream of America?

I don't believe so. I think Americans know better.

(Applause)

We are concerned, of course, troubled. But we are not afraid, and that is the important thing. And it is, I say, therefore a time for faith, faith in the heritage of this nation, faith in its basic goodness and its strength, faith in principles, faith in American purpose, faith -- what a beautiful word. Faith in the belief so dramatically sustained by history that through the ages an increasing purpose runs in our national life and that our minds and faith are opened and widened by the passage of the suns. My campaign and my presidency, my fellow Americans, should the people grant it, shall be based on that faith in the essential character of the American people.

(Applause)

And it shall be based on the premise that new means for new times of individual participation and expression can be found in this country so that every one can be a participant in the processes of democracy as well as its benefits. It shall be based on the faith that man can change whatever is wrong in his environment to positive, creative orderly action. And it shall be based on the belief that the leadership of this nation owes it to the people to speak out and to do what is right regardless of any temporary public opinion polls or national moods.

I refuse to try to outguess what is the prevailing wind of public opinion. I have been told that I should tread lightly on the issue of equal opportunity and human rights. I have been told to tread lightly on the issue concerning the necessity of our federal government to undertake broad new initiatives to try to rescue our cities before they rot from within, to renew the hopes and the lives of those left out of our society, to bring peace to our neighborhoods, to our nation, and to the human family. I have been told all of this is too far out, that America's mood is more conservative, that it wants to be left alone.

Well, I say that America is better than the polls indicate or the commentators tell us.

(Applause)

I say this nation is not sick. It is going through growing pains. It has not lost its way, it is searching for a better way. And if America is not better than the polls indicate, then I say to you that it is our duty to try to make it better, to lead this nation.

(Applause)

And we can't do it by banner slogans such as the misuse of the term even so important as law and order by some few people who mean something else entirely. Of course law and order must prevail. Senator Moss said from this platform it was my duty to provide law and order to a city of over half a

million people and I did it. The issue is what and how. What kind of law shall prevail and how to keep order? In our democracy, we believe in the kind of law that will allow every human being the fullest opportunity to live and grow and develop his God-given rights, and talents.

In our democracy, we believe we must use wisdom and effort to separate the guilty from the innocent. We must never apply the primitive rule of guilt by association, guilt by religion, age, color, or any other form of association. We have to be more meticulously careful because of our dedication to human rights and human dignity. And in our democracy, the primary jurisdiction for maintaining order rests with state and local authorities to protect the rights of people and not with the Federal Government. The President can and must by word, deed, and conduct, inspire our nation to respect for the law, to obey the law.

But let me say from this platform, in our frenzy for law and order, we do not want to have a powerful Federal Government end up with a powerful national police force that can threaten all of the rights of our people.

(Applause)

It is sad and it is ironic to hear two presidential candidates who have for many years proclaimed states rights claim that they will use presidential power to police the streets of our cities. One of these candidates, and this is most ironic, was the Governor of a state with the highest murder rate in the nation. He could not maintain order in his own state where he had all the power. Now, he promises to maintain order in every city and every state where he will not have the power.

(Applause)

And it is ironic, too, to hear the loud cries for law enforcement come from the spokesman of a party that has consistently fought every effort to secure the needed federal funds for cities that are prostrate, that are hopelessly trying to find funds. And even this year, that party voted to reduce funds to combat crime.

I know that a city mayor has a very limited tax base. And law and order, like freedom and peace, are not cheap. They have to be paid for. And if they have to be paid for by a constant increase of the property tax, then home ownership becomes undesirable and the tax becomes confiscatory. Therefore, these funds that I speak of are needed from your federal treasury to strengthen the law enforcement agencies, to improve police training, to provide for modern equipment, to recruit more personnel, and to pay them for the job that they are doing.

Ladies and gentlemen, law and order can be yours and mine if we are willing to back the police, pay them, train them, recruit them, and give them the opportunity to preserve the order of our communities.

Yes, I think this nation deserves better of its leaders

and their appeals, I tell you, if put into action would only lead this nation to a spiral of repression and ultimately to the terrible exhaustion of mind and spirit. But the reform we need so much will be impossible unless we are able to distinguish democratic dissent from dangerous disorder.

Now, my ears echo with the voices of dissent. Yet I stand before you for firmness above all. I believe in the right to be different, the right to dissent, not for some but for everyone. America in a sense is built on dissent, as the settlers of this Valley surely know. Dissent is the dynamo of democracy, in Utah as in all America. When the people of the nation can move their heads in one direction only, up and down, they must soon bow them down forever.

The working of our political democracy rests upon four great rights -- freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom to vote, freedom of conscience. And from the exercise of these great rights flows the power of reform and firmness. When a group of hecklers, no matter how righteous they believe their cause to be, when they shout down a speaker, whoever that speaker may be, they are denying the right to freedom of speech and they injure democracy.

(Applause)

If they break up a meeting they are denying others the freedom of assembly and they weaken democracy. And when they threaten to sit in the voting booths on election day, taunting the police to take them out, they are denying that great freedom to vote. And when violent, bigoted men desecrate cemeteries, burn churches, temples or synagogues, freedom of conscience is not only threatened, but it is destroyed. The tyranny of the majority in the form of government is oppressive. But the tyranny of a minority in the form of mob action and violence is equally oppressive. And I say that it is time for Americans to speak up and say a plague on both your houses, we condemn both.

(Applause)

The formula is rather simple and yet profound: dissent, yes; disorder, no. Disorder is not dissent; indeed, disorder, especially organized disorder, is the enemy of dissent. Destruction is not debate; indeed, the violence of destruction can only silence the vitality of a debate. A free society can tolerate either a police state nor mob rule. And if it makes the wrong decisions, this society can be dangerously close to getting both.

Founders of our two great parties, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, were men who governed the troubled times, but they brought creation out of their chaos because they governed in the fundamental faith of the goodness and the greatness of the American people. In the challenge of the problems of their day, they saw the chance for progress. And today no less than then, out of our problems, we must find a chance for progress.



Can we stand for less than they fought and struggled to achieve? The spirit of a free people must be continually reborn. It must be like a fresh spring giving forth new water. This is our challenge and this is our opportunity in 1968. Either we begin slipping backward into a great division of our people and a widening spiral of fear or we continue moving forward into a new day of justice and order. And once we take this choice, I don't see how we can change it.

Which way? Separation or community? Apartheid or democracy? A society of order and liberty or a society of fear and oppression? I appeal therefore to the silent majority of Americans to speak their belief in the decency of our democracy, to go to the polls this November in the spirit of faith in this Republic, not of fear, in the spirit of hope, not of hate; in the spirit of our fathers who crossed oceans, mountains, and deserts, who overcame all the obstacles to build a land of liberty and justice for all that we sang today, this is my country.

We have faced grave crises before, as I have noted in my remarks. And we have transformed the chaos of yesterday into a new creation. I believe that the American people can do so again and I am in this campaign to call them to this task.

So I say let us have a campaign of faith, not a campaign of fear and despair, but a campaign of hope and promise. Let us have a campaign of faith in our own character and faith in our country's increasing purpose, faith in our principles. That beautiful hymn that you heard here today, Come, Come, Ye Saints, All Is Well; come, come, ye Americans, there is a great reservoir of goodness and strength in this land that waits to be called.

(Applause)

So let us have faith here and reassert it. Let us once again pledge that that American dream and promise can be a reality. Faith in America, one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. This is my country.

Thank you.

(Applause)

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Salt Lake City, Utah

September 30, 1968

<sup>4 Mrs</sup>  
Gov Rampton  
<sup>4 Mrs</sup>  
Sen Moss

President Brown  
President Tanner  
President David A  
<sup>4 Mrs</sup>  
Mackay

Tabernacle  
Choir  
Light our spirits  
Cleanse our  
Gone! Gone!  
yes! yes!  
hallelujah!

~~my~~ St. George's Banner

Today I want to share with you my thoughts on the progress of the campaign: The issues raised ... the issues avoided -- and the things which we -- the American people -- should consider in the five weeks remaining before election day.

↳ We live today in a time of political crisis that is world-wide.

↳ I think it is well that we remember past times of political crisis in our own country.

↳ History students know t hat George Washington -- urged to take a third term -- did not do so because of the personal abuse he suffered ... abuse calling him "a mean, deceitful stepfather of his country."

↳ There was the Whiskey Rebellion. Washington raised an army of 13,000 men -- larger than his army during the War of Independence -- to put down the rebellion.

↳ During the war of 1812 violent, protesting groups blocked streets and interrupted state governments. A Congressman who had voted for the war was brutally kicked and beaten by a street mob.

↳ There have been other times of crisis: The anti-draft riots of 1861 ... the violence and death of the Populist Revolution ... the conflict that tore this country before and during World War I ... the worldwide economic, political and social crises of the 1930's.

↳ Many of you lived through the 1930's.

∟ You know the story well -- only too well -- as demagogues sought scapegoats and dictators sought to enslave their own people and imperil the peace of the world.

∟ ~~There~~ We had demagogues in America, promising simple solutions.

∟ But in our own fashion, we chose another way:

The way of free men.

∟ We turned to the ballot box and we elected Franklin D. Roosevelt.

∟ His way was not the way of repression and violence, but the way of freedom and free institutions *orderly change*.

∟ His answer to the great crisis of our economy was not fear but faith ... not hate but hope ... not bullets but ballots and bread.



What is the nature of today's crisis?

In America, it is a crisis of democratic institutions --  
a crisis of our faith as a free people ... a crisis of our faith  
in each other.

When I started this campaign, I stated that, even if  
it cost my political life, I would make no compact with  
extremism.

I repeat that now!

No election -- even winning the Presidency -- is  
worth ~~it~~ the price ~~of~~ compromise with our basic  
beliefs.

The danger to democracy today is in the clash of  
extremes.

And let us be clear: The extremes -- of Left and of  
Right -- meet on common ground:

~~The extreme of Black~~

↳ They both seek to destroy the moderate middle,  
and with it democracy.

↳ They both seek to embitter the tolerant and generous  
heart of America.

↳ They both seek to bring a violent confrontation.

↳ They both seek to settle matters not by reason, but  
by conflict.

So Let's get it straight!

↳ There are people today who make their basic appeal  
to the baser instincts -- to fear, to racial prejudice, to  
escapism, to the darker side of the human character.

and They are dangerous!

↳ And there are others in our society -- and they are  
not fresh-faced young idealists -- who are preaching the same  
doctrine of disorder and anarchy, and using the same  
totalitarian tactics of the street that brought Adolph Hitler  
to power.

There are those who ~~have~~ preach guerrilla warfare -- and they must be stopped. ~~and it is nothing less than that which they~~

~~preach~~

There are those who would destroy homes, businesses and lives, in their supposed zeal to correct injustices. ~~They cannot be~~ This must be stopped.

They are of no one race.

They are of no one ideology.

But they all share a basic disdain for the democratic processes. and Democracy itself

They propose to "tear this society down and build a new one on the ashes."

They try to shout down Presidential candidates.

They say they will disrupt the polling processes on election day.

∠ They threaten to break up the Inaugural ceremonies  
next January 20. And, in the meantime, they promise  
"50 to 100 more Chicagos."

∠ No democracy can, or should, stand for it. ~~Democracy~~

\* \* \*

∠ This campaign will decide whether the extremists  
will succeed ... whether the voices of hate, of prejudice,  
and division will drive out the forces of opportunity, progress  
and justice.

∠ This, I believe, is the great question before  
America. Shall we -- in this time of crisis -- move forward  
toward one society of justice and opportunity?

∠ Or shall we become a fractured society, cleft in  
two or more parts ... hostile ... and embittered?

∠ This is more than traditional campaign rhetoric.

The extremists ~~themselves see it this way.~~

∠ ~~They~~ believe they can succeed. !

∠ And in their success they see the end of our  
democratic society as we have known it.

\* ~~41~~ \*

∠ When confronted with conflict, different people  
will react in different ways.

∠ The way of extremists is to react with repression  
and violence.

∠ The way of people who believe in democracy is to  
act with peaceful reform *and firmness* ~~in support of~~  
~~democracy~~

∠ I say that is the way we must choose.

Our political instincts are good. And the institutions we have created and improved with political representation are decent ones.

We are a pluralistic nation -- a phrase which means we have absorbed millions of immigrants and they have become Americans.

Now we are confronted with the statistical prediction that 32 years from now -- in the year 2,000 -- we shall have a population of 300 million and many more urban problems of housing, poverty, traffic, education and government -- local, state and national.

The shift from a nation of farms to one of cities has been incredibly swift. *and it brings a tidal wave of problems and difficulties.*

↳ It has brought crises in education ... training ...  
planning ... and, most importantly, in individual human  
identity. *Oh, how our America has changed*

*Listen -* ↳ Was it really true that when Jefferson was  
inaugurated he got on a horse in front of his boarding  
house ... rode to the Capitol ... took the oath ... was  
greeted by a small crowd of admirers ... and rode his horse  
back to the boarding house?

↳ Was it really true that when Abraham Lincoln  
walked the corridors of the White House in an old night  
shirt and a pair of scuffed carpet slippers, mourning the  
casualties -- or sat in the White House war room where the  
new-fangled magnetic telegraph ticked out occasional news  
of battles -- we were then a nation of a few more than 30  
million?

Can it be that there are enough fearful and doubting people today who have lost their American faith that say a nation of more than 200 million -- confronted with poverty long neglected ... with protests and demonstrations, cannot do what is right?

Do they really fear to do what is necessary to bring the depressed minorities of black Americans, Spanish-speaking Americans, Indian Americans and those of small minorities into the full and faithful dream of America?

I do not so believe.

We are concerned <sup>yes</sup> ~~we~~ we are gravely concerned. !

But we are not afraid. !



∠ It is, I say, a time for faith in principles...  
faith in the American purpose... faith in the belief, so  
dramatically sustained by history, that through the ages  
an increasing purpose runs in our national life and  
that our minds and faith are widened by the passage of  
the suns.

∠ My campaign -- and my Presidency, should the  
people grant it -- shall be based on that faith.

∠ It shall be based on the premise that new means  
of individual participation and expression can be found in this  
country.

∠ It shall be based on the faith that man can change  
what is wrong in his environment through positive, creative, *orderly*  
action.

↳ And it shall be based on the belief that the leadership of this nation owes it to the people to speak out and to do what is right, regardless of any temporary public opinion polls or national moods.

↳ I have been told, ~~for~~ that I should tread lightly on the issue of <sup>Equal opportunity</sup> human equality ... and concerning the necessity for <sup>our</sup> ~~the~~ Federal government ~~to~~ to undertake broad new initiatives to save our cities .. to renew the hopes and lives of those left out of our society ... to bring peace to neighborhoods, to our nation, and to the human family.

↳ I say America is better than the polls indicate. !

↳ If it is not, <sup>then</sup> we must try to make it better. !

↳ And we must do so not by veiled slogans -- such as the mis-use of the term, "Law and Order" by some people who mean something else entirely.

Of course, law and order must prevail.

The issue is "what" and "how": What kind of law and how to keep order?

∠ In our democracy we believe in the kind of law that will allow every human being the fullest opportunity to live and grow and develop his God-given rights and talents.

∠ In our democracy we believe that we must use wisdom and effort to separate the guilty from the innocent.

∠ We must never apply the primitive rule of guilt by religion, or age, or color, or by any other form of association.

∠ And in our democracy, the primary jurisdiction for maintaining order rests with state and local authorities --

not with the federal Government. *The President can*

*and must by word, deed, and conduct inspire our nation to respect for the law - to obey the law - But we do not want a National Police force.*

It is sad and ironic to hear two Presidential candidates -- who have for years proclaimed states' rights -- proclaim they would use the Presidential power to police the streets of our cities.

↳ One of these candidates -- and this is most ironic -- was Governor of the state with the highest murder rate in the nation.

↳ He could not maintain order in his own state ... where he had the power. But now he promises to maintain order in every city and state where he will not have the power.

↳ It is ironic, too, to hear the loud cries for law enforcement come from the spokesman of a party that has consistently fought all efforts to secure federal funds for these purposes -- and even voted this year to reduce funds

to combat crime. *These funds are needed to strengthen law enforcement agencies, to improve Police Training, to provide modern equipment & to pay Police & recruit Police.*

∟ This nation deserves better of its leaders.

And their appeals, I tell you, if put into action,  
would only lead this nation to a spiral of repression and a  
terrible exhaustion of mind and spirit.

\* \* \* \*

~~But~~ The reform we need so much will be impossible  
unless we are able to distinguish dissent from disorder.

∟ My ears echo with the voices of dissent.

Yet, I stand before you to affirm this above all:  
I believe in the right of dissent -- not for some but for  
everyone.

∟ America is built on dissent -- as the ~~descendants~~ **SETTLERS OF**  
**THIS VALLEY SURELY KNOW.**  
~~of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young surely know~~

∟ Dissent is the dynamo of democracy -- in Utah as in  
all America.

↳ When the people of a nation can move their heads in one direction -- only up and down -- they must soon bow them down forever.

↳ The working of our political democracy rests on ~~four~~ <sup>four</sup> great rights: Freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom to vote, Freedom of Conscience

And from the exercise of these ~~three~~ great rights flows the power of reform.

↳ When a group of hecklers -- no matter how righteous they believe their cause to be -- when they shout down a speaker, they are denying the right to freedom of speech.

↳ If they break up a meeting, they are denying others the freedom of assembly.

↳ And when they threaten to sit-in at the voting booths on election day, they are denying the freedom to vote.

↳ and when ~~they~~ <sup>vagrants</sup> ~~loiter~~ <sup>loiter</sup> ~~men~~ <sup>men</sup> desecrate cemeteries, burn churches, ~~or temples or synagogues~~, <sup>or temples or synagogues</sup>, freedom of conscience is threatened

↳ The tyranny of a majority -- in the form of government -- is oppressive.

↳ But the tyranny of a minority -- in the form of mob action -- is equally oppressive.

↳ I condemn both. ~~Tyranny is without qualification~~  
~~and without fear.~~ *Don't say, Don't do!*

↳ Disorder is not dissent. Indeed, disorder,  
especially organized disorder, is the enemy of dissent.

↳ 'Destruction is not debate.' Indeed, the violence  
of destruction can only silence the vitality of a debate.

↳ A free society can tolerate neither a police state  
nor mob rule. And, if it makes the wrong decisions, this  
society can be dangerously close to getting both.

∟ The founders of our two great parties -- Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln -- were men who governed in troubled times.

∟ But they brought creation out of chaos because of their fundamental faith in the goodness and greatness of the American people.

∟ In the challenge of problems they saw the chance for progress.

∟ And today, no less than then, we must find our chance for progress.

∟ Can we stand for less than they fought and struggled to achieve?

∟ The spirit of a free people must be continually reborn.  
That is our challenge -- that is our opportunity --  
in 1968.



Either we begin slipping backward -- into a great division of our people and a widening spiral of fear -- or we continue moving forward into a New Day of justice and order.

Once we take this choice, I don't see how we can change it.

Which way: Separation ... or community?

Apartheid ... or democracy?

A society of ordered liberty ... or a society of fear and repression?

I appeal to the silent majority of Americans to speak their belief in the decency of our democracy ... to go to the polls this November in the spirit of faith, not of fear ... in the spirit of hope, not of hate ... in the spirit of our fathers who crossed oceans, mountains and deserts ... who overcame all obstacles to build a land of liberty and justice for all.

*1- This is my country*

We have faced grave crises before. And we have transformed chaos into creation.!

I believe that the American people can do so again -- and I mean to call them to this task.

So I say, let us have a campaign of faith -- of faith in our own character, faith in our country's increasing purpose and faith in our principles.

~~And America shall prevail.~~

Come! Come!  
Ye Saints - all is well -

Let us have  
1 Faith in America - One Nation  
# # # #  
under God, Indivisible,  
with liberty & justice  
for all!

FOR ED ALFRIEND HUMPHREY ADVANCE

FOLLOWING STATEMENT TO BE RELEASED TUESDAY PM'S, AFTER RPT AFTER  
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MST SLC UTAH

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FRM JOHN STEWART, ISSUES

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STATEMENT TO THE PEOPLE OF SALT LAKE CITY  
VICE PRESIENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

IGNORANCE IS AN ALIEN FORCE IN AMERICA :-- THE ENEMY OF EVERYTHING  
WE SEEK, EVERYTHING WE STAND FOR. POVERTY, THE DISADVATAGES FACED  
BY MINORITY GROUPS, HUNGER, DISEASE, CRIME, VIOLENCE ARE ALL  
TRACEABLE IN SOME MEASURE TO EDUCATIONAL DEFICIENCIES IN GROUUPS  
AND IN INDIVIDUALS. WE CANNOT EXPECT A MAN TO BUILD HIS OWN LIFE  
IF WE REFUSE HIM THE MOST ESSENTIAL TOOLS WITH WHICH TO DO IT.

BUT I THINK I AM TELLING YOU SOMETHING YOU ALREADY KNOW. THE PEOPLE  
OG F OF UTAH HAVE SHOWN A COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION THAT WEALTHIER,  
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IS ONE OF THE GH HIGHEST IN THE NATION. YOUR PER FAMILY EXPENDITURES  
FOR HIGHER EDUCATION LEAD THE COUNTRY.

YOU KNOW THAT A COMPLETE EDUCATION OPPORTUNITY MEANS MUCH MORE THAN  
THE CHANCE TO SIT IN A CLASSROOM FOR TWELVE YEARS.

--IT MEANS AN EDUCTION WHICH INCREASES A STUDENT'S CAPACITY NOT ONLY  
TO KNOW FACTS, BUT TO UNDERSTAND THEM. IT MEANS REMEDIAL EDUCTION  
FOR THE DISADVANTAGED AND THE HANDICAPPED. IT MEANS SPECIAL  
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--IT MEANS AN EDUCATION RELEVANT TO EACH STUDENT -- ONE WHICH NOURISHES THE INDIVIDUALITY OF EVERY CHILD, WHITE OR BLACK, RICH OR POOR, URBAN OR RURAL.

--IT MEANS EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY THAT STRETCHES FROM PRE-SCHOOLS THROUGH SCOLLEGE AND IS ABASED ON THE INDIVIDUAL'S ABILITY TO LEARN RATHER THAN HIS PARENTS' ABILITY TO PAY.

--IT MEANS TEACHERS, WELL-TRAINED AND WELL-EDUCATIONED. IT MEANS SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES THAT ARE WELL-EQUIPPED AND UNCROWDED.

BUT YOU ALSO KNOW THAT THE COST OF EDUCATION IS HIGH AND THAT THE BURDEN IS HEAVY. LOCAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS CAN AND SHOULD CONTRIBUTE A GOOD DEAL -- AS YOURS DO -- TOWARD EDUCATION, BUT THEY CANNOT DO IT ALL. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MUST ALSO MAKE A STRONG COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION.

BUT LET'S ASLSO REMEMBER THAT THE NIXON-REPUBLICAN FOUGHT THESE MEASURES -- LET'S REMEMBER THAT IN 1960 AS VICE PRESIDENT MR. NIXON REFUSED TOB BREAK A TIE ON A BILL THAT WOULD HAVE AUTHORIZED OVER \$1 BILLION FOR LOCAL SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION AND TEACHER SALARY SUPPORT.

UNDER THE DEMOCRATS THAT IS WHAT WE HAVE DONE. THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT, THE HIGHER DEDUCATION ACT, THE VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACT AND THE AID TO EDERALLY IMPACTED (ULINE) HAVE MADE A DIFFERENCE IN URTAH. A BIG DIFFERENCE.

THE COST FOF A FULL EDUCATION FOR EVERY AMERICAN MUST BE RECOGNIZED AS AN INVESTMENT THAT WIL L BE FULLY REPAID. IT IS A COST FAR LESS THAN WE ONOW PAY FOR IGNORANCE, INCOMPETENCE, FRUSTRATION AND ALIENATION. IT IS A PRICE WE CANNOT AFFORD (ULINE) NOT TO PAY.

# # #

NEND OF TEXT.

PLS ACK. TAEFOR ED

MST SLC UTAH

IS THIS HUMPHREY ADVANCE?

DEM FOR HHH DC

FOR TED VAN DYK VP TRAVELING PARTY  
FROM JOHN STEWART/BOB NATHAN

9/28/68

ALSO FOR ED ALFRIEND AND THE ADVANCE IN SALT LAKE

ECONOMIC COMPARISONS - UTAH

IN NOVEMBER THE CHOICE THE AMERICAN VOTERS FACE IS BETWEEN CONTINUED PROSPERITY UNDER HUMPHREY-MUSKIE OR STAGNATION AND INSECURITY UNDER NIXON-AGNEW. IN THE DEMOCRATIC YEARS SINCE 1961, THE ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN UNPRECEDENTED. THE NIXON-REPUBLICANS PROVED FROM 1953 TO 1960 THAT THEY HAVE NOT REALLY LEARNED MUCH SINCE THE HOOVER DAYS.

DURING THE EIGHT NIXON-REPUBLICAN YEARS TOTAL NATIONAL PRODUCTION INCREASED AT THE DISGRACEFUL RATE OF BARELY TWO PER-CENT PER YEAR. IN THE LAST 7-1/2 DEMOCRATIC YEARS THE INCREASE HAS EXCEEDED FIVE PER CENT ANNUALLY. IF A REPUBLICAN GROWTH RATE HAD CONTINUED UP TO TODAY, WE WOULD BE PRODUCING \$175 BILLION LESS IN GOODS AND SERVICES THAN WE ARE ACTUALLY TURNING OUT.

THE SAME PICTURE APPEARS WHEN WE LOOK AT JOBS. GOOD JOBS FOR EVERYONE HAS BEEN A DEMOCRATIC OBJECTIVE UNDER ROOSEVELT, TRUMAN, KENNEDY AND JOHNSON.

2

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO JOBS IN THE LAST 16 YEARS? WHEN NIXON WAS VICE PRESIDENT EMPLOYMENT WENT UP 4-1/2 MILLION AND UNEMPLOYMENT INCREASED BY OVER TWO MILLION. SINCE EARLY 1961 TOTAL JOBS IN AMERICAN INCREASED 10-1/2 MILLION AND UNEMPLOYMENT DECREASED TWO MILLION. THAT IS QUITE A DIFFERENCE.

WHEN THE UNITED STATES PROSPERS THE STATE OF UTAH PROSPERS. DURING THE EIGHT REPUBLICAN YEARS NON-AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT IN UTAH ROSE BY 46,300. DURING THE SEVEN DEMOCRATIC YEARS, JOBS INCREASED BY 63,000

DURING THE NIXON REPUBLICAN YEARS THE FARMERS OF UTAH REALLY BORE THE BRUNT OF REPUBLICAN POLICIES. NET FARM INCOME DECLINED BY 58 PERCENT FROM 70 TO 40 MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR BETWEEN 1953 AND 1960. BETWEEN 1960 AND 1967 THAT NET FARM INCOME ROSE ALMOST 50 PERCENT. NET INCOME PER FARM ADJUSTED FOR PRICE CHANGES TELLS THE SAME STORY. REALL INCOME PER FARM UNDER THE REPUBLICANS DECLINED FROM \$2,900 TO \$2,160 PER YEAR, OR 22%. UNDER THE DEMOCRATS IT ROSE TO \$3610, OR 91 % IN JUST SEVEN YEARS.

DEMOCRATIC POLICIES HAVE DONE MORE THAN PROVIDE GREATER ECONOMIC PROSPERITY, THEY HAVE PROVIDED SOME OF THE OTHER INGREDIENTS OF A BETTER LIFE FOR THE PEOPLE OF UTAH. LET US TAKE JUST THE EXAMPLE OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION. ENROLLMENT IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACTUALLY DECLINED BY 9,000 PEOPLE BETWEEN SCHOOL YEARS 1953-54 AND 1960-61 UNDER THE REPUBLICANS. UNDER THE DEMOCRATS ENROLLMENT INCREASED 36,000 -- MUCH MORE THAN DOUELING.

COLLEGE ENROLLMENT TELLS THE SAME STORY ... A 60 PERCENT RISE UNDER THE REPUBLICANS AND A 120 PER CENT RISE UNDER THE DEMOCRATS.



3  
THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS PROUD OF HAVING TAMED THE OLD BOOM  
AND BUST CYCLES, OF HAVING INTRODUCED SOCIAL SECURITY AND MEDICARE,  
OF GETTING INSURANCE FOR BANK DEPOSITS AND MORTGAGES, AND  
ADOPTING POLICIES THAT HAVE GIVEN US THE GREATEST PROSPERITY AND  
FASTEST GROWTH IN OUR HISTORY.

THE REPUBLICAN RECORD THROUGHOUT THIS CENTRY IS ONE OF  
BOOM AND BUST AND STAGNATION.

I BELIEVE THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA AND THE PEOPLE OF UTAH WANT  
PROSPERITY AND THEY WILL STICK WITH A WINNER -- THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

# # #

END OF TEXT.

PLS ACK. TAE

REC. ECONOMIC COMPARISONS OK THANKS END

WE HAVE SOME MORE MATERIAL WE'D LIKE TO SEND.

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" " "



7/

Our economic system was shaken to its foundations. But it survived. . . and today it is the marvel of the world.

<sup>now</sup>

We ~~KNOW~~/face a similar ~~XXXXXXXX~~ crisis of our democratic institutions-- a crisis of our faith as a free people--a crisis of our faith in each other. *That's what this campaign and the election are really about.*

But we have faced crisis before--we have turned chaos into creation--and with your help--with your faith--this campaign can become the moment when our democracy is reborn.

Win or lose, this is, for me, the challenge of the next five weeks.

That, then, is the great question before America: Shall we -- in this time of challenge -- move forward toward our destiny of justice and opportunity? This is more than traditional campaign rhetoric. It is a question of survival as a people and free nation. Or will we become a fractured society, cleft in two parts... hostile... embittered?

and it must be answered now!

"TOP of the mountains" Christ

The Presidential Campaign is now three weeks old. Five weeks remain until election day on November 5.

*Today, I want*  
I felt it appropriate at this point in the campaign to ~~share~~ share with you my thoughts on the progress of the campaign--the ~~issues~~ issues raised--the issues avoided--and the things which the American people should consider in the <sup>5 weeks</sup> time remaining before <sup>we</sup> they ~~can~~ vote. *This is*  
~~It is, in short,~~ a time for stock-taking... *and through history*

*Senator Muskie and*  
RECENTLY, I VISITED INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI, ~~TOGETHER WITH MY~~ RUNNING MATE, SENATOR MUSKIE, TO SPEND A FEW MINUTES WITH THAT GRAND OLD MAN OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, PRESIDENT HARRY S. TRUMAN.

*And*  
~~AT ONE MOMENT,~~ AS I LOOKED AT THE LINCOLNESQUE FIGURE OF SENATOR MUSKIE *and* THE JACKSONIAN RUGGEDNESS OF *Harry Truman, I imagined myself in the* PRESENCE OF HONEST ABE AND OLD HICKORY.

*man*  
BOTH OF THESE - LINCOLN AND JACKSON, THE FOUNDING FATHERS OF OUR TWO GREAT PARTIES - WERE MEN OF THE PEOPLE, WHO GOVERNED IN TROUBLED TIMES. THEY ~~WERE~~ ABLE TO BRING CREATION OUT OF CHAOS BECAUSE THEY HAD A FUNDAMENTAL FAITH IN THE GOODNESS AND THE GREATNESS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

THEY SAW IN THE CHALLENGE OF PROBLEMS THE ~~THE~~ CHANCE FOR PROGRESS. *And today*  
IN THESE TROUBLED TIMES I ASK EACH OF YOU TO JOIN WITH ME IN A REAFFIRMATION OF ~~THAT~~ FAITH: NOT TO CURSE THE DARKNESS BUT TO LIGHT A CANDLE. *re Lincoln Jackson*  
I APPEAL TO THE SILENT MAJORITY OF AMERICA TO VOICE ITS BELIEF IN THE DECENCY OF OUR DEMOCRACY, TO GO TO THE POLLS THIS NOVEMBER IN THE SPIRIT OF FAITH, NOT FEAR, IN THE SPIRIT OF HOPE NOT HATE, IN THE SPIRIT OF JACKSON, LINCOLN AND ROOSEVELT, IN THE SPIRIT OF THE PIONEERS WHO CROSSED OCEANS, MOUNTAINS AND DESERTS TO OVERCOME ALL OBSTACLES TO BUILD A LAND WITH LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL. *Can we stand for less than they fought and struggled to achieve?*

IT WAS IN THAT SPIRIT TOO, THAT I VISITED PRESIDENT TRUMAN WHO OVERCAME ALL ODDS TO WIN AN ELECTION, WHO OPENED THE HAND OF AMERICA TO REBUILD THE ECONOMY OF A BROKEN EUROPE, WHO OPENED THE HEART OF AMERICA TO BIND THE WOUNDS OF A WAR-TORN WORLD.

I TURNED TO HIM FOR INSPIRATION AND FOR ADVICE. HE GAVE BOTH.

And today, no less than then, we must find our chance for progress. This is an issue of immense importance...

STATE, ~~IN WHICH I NOW SPEAK~~, WAS FOUNDED AND BUILT BY MEN AND WOMEN WHO  
DISSENTED FROM OTHER RELIGIONS AND OTHER LAWS. DISSENT IS THE DYNAMO OF  
A DEMOCRACY. *in Utah -- in all America.*

WHEN THE PEOPLE OF A NATION CAN MOVE THEIR HEAD IN ONE DIRECTION  
ONLY - IN THE AFFIRMATIVE UP AND DOWN - THEN THE PEOPLE HAVE LOST THEIR  
FREEDOM. WE WANT A NATION WHERE THE PEOPLE CAN SAY NO AND WHERE THEY  
SAY NO INSTINCTIVELY TO THOSE WHO SEEK TO TURN ORDERLY POLICE POWER  
INTO A DISORDERLY POLICE STATE.

OUR POLITICAL DEMOCRACY RESTS ON THREE GREAT RIGHTS: FREEDOM OF  
SPEECH, FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLAGE, AND FREEDOM TO VOTE. ~~A GOVERNMENT THAT  
DENIES THESE BASIC FREEDOMS IS ALSO A FORM OF TYRANNY OF A NOISY AND  
NOISOME MINORITY.~~

When a group of hecklers, no matter how righteous they may believe  
their cause to be, shout down a speaker, they are denying them the  
freedom of speech. If they break up a meeting or convention, they are  
denying the freedom of assemblage, and when they threaten to sit-in  
the voting booths election day unless forcibly removed, they are  
denying the freedom to vote.

If the tyranny of a majority, in the form of government, is  
oppressive, then the tyranny of a minority, in the form of mob action,  
is equally oppressive.

Disorder is not dissent. *I* Indeed, disorder - especially organized  
disorder - is the enemy of dissent. *D* Destruction is not debate. *I* Indeed,  
the violence of destruction can only silence the vitality of a *debate*.

*I* It is possible, no doubt, to explain the impatience, even intolerance,  
of some rebel youth in the many lands where they have turned dissent into  
disorder. But to explain is not to excuse, especially in a land where  
the avenues of protest are open. We may explain their explosive feelings  
but we cannot excuse their excessive actions.

*(I can discuss Helen both -- without qualification and without fear.)*

THE OLD ORDER CHANGES TO MAKE WAY FOR THE NEW. THE NEW WORLD IS CONFRONTED WITH A <sup>large</sup> NUMEROUS NEW GENERATION, NEW NATIONS, NEW TECHNIQUES, NEW MEDIA, NEW IDEAS, AND <sup>fresh</sup> EVEN NEW IDEALS. THE WORLD IS PASSING THROUGH THE GROWING PAINS OF A NEW YOUTH, GROPING TO FIND ITSELF, STRUGGLING TO ESTABLISH ITS IDENTITY. OUT OF THIS GROPING AND GRASPING AND GROWING ON THE PART OF THE NEW GENERATIONS AND NEW PEOPLES HAS ARISEN CONFLICT - BETWEEN NATIONS AND WITHIN NATIONS, WHEREVER THEY MAY BE.

IN FACING THIS FACT OF WIDESPREAD CONFLICT, WE MUST STAKE <sup>out</sup> OUR FIRST PRIORITY: IT IS PEACE.

THE ANSWER TO CONFLICT IS NOT TO ESCALATE THE WAR, EITHER HERE OR ABROAD, ~~WHETHER IN OUR CITY STREETS NOR IN VIETNAM.~~ WE MUST FIND THE <sup>ways</sup> PATHS TO PEACE. IN A SOCIETY AS COMPLEX AS OURS, INTERNAL STRIFE CAN PARALYZE AND DESTROY US, WHITE OR BLACK, RICH OR POOR. IN A WORLD ARMED WITH NUCLEAR POWER, INTERNATIONAL STRIFE CAN EXTERMINATE <sup>all</sup> MANKIND.

WE MUST BEGIN OUR SEARCH FOR PEACE WITH A DECLARATION OF INTERDEPENDENCE: WE ARE DEPENDENT UPON ONE ANOTHER AS PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN THIS NATION, WE ARE DEPENDENT ON EACH OTHER AS A NATION THAT LIVES IN THIS WORLD.

THERE CAN BE NO LASTING PEACE FOR ANY OF US UNLESS THERE IS LASTING PEACE FOR ALL OF US.

MY PLATFORM FOR 1968 CAN BE PUT IN ONE WORD. <sup>And</sup> THAT WORD IS PEACE.

I DO NOT MEAN PEACE IN VIETNAM ALONE, <sup>And</sup> ALTHOUGH THAT MUST BE AND SHALL BE MY FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS. I DO NOT SIMPLY MEAN THE BUILDING OF BRIDGES OF UNDERSTANDING TO ALL THE NATIONS OF THE EARTH.

I MEAN PEACE IN OUR OWN NATION AS WELL. I MEAN CIVIL PEACE IN THE COMMUNITIES OF AMERICA. I MEAN PEACE ON EARTH BUILT ON GOOD WILL, AMONG MEN. <sup>I mean the peace which can ~~exist~~ only arise when all men are truly free.</sup>

~~I ALSO SAY TO YOU THAT WHERE THERE IS NO GOOD WILL THERE CAN BE NO PEACE. BUILD JAILS AND RAISE ARMIES, SWING CLUBS AND DROP BOMBS - BUT IF THERE IS NO GOOD WILL. THERE CAN BE NO PEACE.~~

To turn from the pathway of peace... even for a briefest of times... is to court the gravest of disasters.

And this society is on the verge of getting both.

*LA* A free society can tolerate neither a police state nor mob rule. *A*

*step* ~~I speak these harsh truths - about our troubled -~~  
~~flight of the fearful rule of repression, and the politics of provocation -~~ *step*

~~I speak these harsh truths, not because they are popular, but because they~~  
must be spoken. *L* They must be spoken before it is too late.

*L* When I started this campaign I stated that even if it cost my  
political life, I ~~will~~ *would* make no compact with extremism. I repeat it now,  
because no election is worth winning if the price we pay is our freedom.

*LI* In the clash between extremism lies the danger of democracy. The  
extremes meet on a common ground: They ~~both like to wipe out~~ *seek to destroy* the middle.

*L* They ~~would~~ *seek* both ~~like~~ to embitter the tolerant and generous heart of

America. *LI* They ~~would~~ *seek* both ~~like~~ to hasten the violent confrontation;

*LI* They ~~would~~ *seek* both ~~like~~ to settle matters by riot rather than by reason.

~~I call upon you today to turn back this tide of unreason.~~ *I call upon America*  
*you* ~~I call upon you~~ to reaffirm your faith in the ways of free men. *L* I call upon you  
to use your votes to exterminate ~~the~~ extremists *in*.

*L* The nation has done it before - and in our lifetime. Before this  
present political crisis, we were faced a generation ago with an economic  
crisis. The economy collapsed and so did old idols and ideas. Men felt  
futile and they walked in fear. The crisis was world-wide and, in  
many lands, the day of the demagogue had ~~formed~~ *come*.

Those of you who lived through the 1930's know the story well, *only*  
too well, *as* demagogues sought scapegoats to become dictators, enslaving  
their own people and imperiling the ~~peace~~ *peace* of the world.

We had our own demagogues, *too*, ~~promising~~ *promising* simple solutions. But in  
our own fashion we chose another way: the way of free men. We elected  
Franklin D. Roosevelt.

His was not the way of repression but ~~the~~ *the* way of ~~reform~~ *reform*. ~~He~~  
~~understood that it was a new day, he enacted a new deal.~~ His answer to  
the economic crisis was not fear but faith, not hate but hope, not  
bullets but bread.

~~We faced crisis before~~

~~IF THERE IS NO GOOD WILL, THERE CAN BE NO PEACE.~~

CONFRONTED WITH CONFLICT, ON A WORLD-WIDE SCALE, DIFFERENT PEOPLE WILL REACT IN DIFFERENT WAYS.

*way of dictator*  
THE ~~TYPICAL DICTATORIAL~~ WAY IS TO REACT WITH REPRESSION.

*way of democracy*  
THE ~~TYPICALLY DEMOCRATIC~~ WAY IS TO ACT WITH REFORM.

ALL ARE AGREED, OF COURSE, THAT THERE MUST BE LAW AND ORDER.

NO SOCIETY IN THE WORLD CAN TOLERATE THE OUT LAW AND DIS - ORDER.

THE ISSUE IS "WHAT" AND "HOW": WHAT KIND OF LAW AND HOW TO KEEP ~~THE~~ ORDER.

WE BELIEVE IN OUR DEMOCRACY IN THE KIND OF LAW THAT WILL ALLOW EVERY HUMAN BEING THE FULLEST OPPORTUNITY TO LIVE AND GROW AND DEVELOP HIS GOD-GIVEN RIGHTS AND TALENTS. LAWS THAT DENY SUCH OPPORTUNITY ARE LAWS THAT PROMOTE DISORDER. WE ALSO BELIEVE, IN OUR DEMOCRACY, THAT WE MUST SEPARATE THE TRULY GUILTY FROM THE TRULY INNOCENT AND NOT APPLY THE PRIMITIVE RULE OF GUILT BY COLOR, OR BY RELIGION, OR BY AGE, OR BY ANY OTHER FORM OF ASSOCIATION. WE BELIEVE IN INDIVIDUAL - NOT COLLECTIVE GUILT. THE INDISCRIMINATE USE OF PUNITIVE POWER CAN ONLY PROMOTE DISORDER.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES ACCURATELY DEFINED THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT AGENCIES IN COUNTERING VIOLENCE WHEN HE SAID RECENTLY:

~~"AN EXPRESS MANDATE TO THE ENTIRE POLICE COMPLEMENT TO USE THE MINIMUM FORCE NECESSARY TO EXECUTE LAWFUL ORDER, TO REFRAIN FROM USE OF EXCESSIVE FORCE, MUST BE UNDERSTOOD BY EVERY OFFICER."~~

"IT IS THE DUTY OF LEADERSHIP AND LAW ENFORCEMENT TO CONTROL VIOLENCE, NOT TO CAUSE IT. TO SEEK WAYS OF RELIEVING TENSION, NOT TO LOOK FOR A FIGHT."

IN OUR DEMOCRACY TOO, THE PRIMARY JURISDICTION FOR MAINTAINING ORDER RESTS WITH LOCAL - NOT WITH FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. IT IS IRONIC, TO SAY THE LEAST, TO HEAR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES WHO HAVE, FOR YEARS, BEEN MAKING A FETISH OUT OF STATE'S RIGHTS, PROCLAIM THAT THEY WOULD

1A

The settlers of this wonderful land--the courageous followers  
of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young--~~should know better than most what~~  
it means to surmount obstacles--to face difficulties squarely--<sup>believe</sup> to hold  
a faith which says the ~~impossible~~ <sup>impossible</sup> can be done--and <sup>to sacrifice</sup> ~~to sacrifice~~ That  
~~everything one possesses for~~ <sup>all to secure</sup> liberty, justice and ~~equal~~ <sup>is worth</sup> opportunity, . .  
secure in the belief that <sup>these</sup> ~~values secured~~ for one's posterity <sup>are of</sup>  
~~greater value than a~~ <sup>sacrificing</sup> ~~life of slavery and oppression.~~ <sup>present</sup>

In this spirit I visited with President Truman--a man who  
overcame all odds to win an election--who opened the hand of America  
to rebuild a shattered Europe--who opened the heart of America to help  
bind the wounds of a war-torn world--who began the process of  
achieving racial justice in America.

I turned to President Truman for inspiration and advice. He gave both.  
"TELL 'EM THE TRUTH", HE SAID, "EVEN IF IT HURTS". I INTEND TO DO  
JUST THAT - TO TELL IT LIKE IT IS -YES, EVEN IF IT HURTS. THE HARSH  
TRUTH IS THAT WE LIVE IN A TIME OF POLITICAL CRISIS THAT IS WORLD WIDE.  
~~THE OLD ORDER CHANCES TO MAKE WAY FOR THE NEW THE WORLD IS I~~



USE THE PRESIDENTIAL POWER TO POLICE THE STREETS OF OUR TOWNS. <sup>Candidates,</sup> ONE OF THESE, MOST IRONICALLY, IS A MAN WHO WAS GOVERNOR OF A STATE WITH THE HIGHEST MURDER RATE OF ANY STATE IN THE UNION. HE COULD NOT MAINTAIN ORDER IN HIS OWN STATE WHERE HE HAD THE POWER BUT NOW <sup>he</sup> PROMISES TO MAINTAIN ORDER IN EVERY CITY AND STATE WHERE HE WILL NOT HAVE THE POWER.

YES, THERE IS SOMETHING THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN DO ABOUT LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT. IT CAN PROVIDE FUNDS AND IDEAS FOR MODERNIZING POLICE METHODS, FOR UPGRADING PERSONNEL, FOR GIVING THE POLICE A POSITIVE <sup>a positive role</sup> ROLE IN THE COMMUNITY. AT PRESENT, WE CALL ON OUR POLICE TO PERFORM DANGEROUS AND DELICATE WORK AND WE ASK THEM TO DO IT WITH OUTWORN METHODS ON OUTWORN SCALES OF PAY. A POLICEMAN'S LOT IS, INDEED, NOT A HAPPY ONE.

BUT TO EQUIP THE POLICE TO DEAL WITH ITS PROBLEMS WE, IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, MUST BE PREPARED TO PAY THE BILL. AND ONCE MORE IT IS MOST IRONIC TO HEAR THE CALL FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT COME FROM THE SPOKESMAN OF A PARTY THAT HAS SO CONSISTENTLY RESISTED THE EFFORTS OF THIS ADMINISTRATION TO GET NECESSARY FUNDS FOR NEEDED SOCIAL SERVICES, INCLUDING LAW ENFORCEMENT.

I SAY THAT THE MISUSE OF THE LAW AND ORDER CATCH-WORD IN THIS CAMPAIGN IS A PERIL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE: IT IS AN APPEAL TO FEAR, UNDERSTANDABLE FEAR, TO SUBSTITUTE THE REPRESSION FOR REFORM.

I SAY: BEWARE OF THOSE WHO EXPLOIT DISORDER TO SEIZE THE POWER TO EXTINGUISH DISSENT.-

AS A MEMBER OF THIS ADMINISTRATION, MY EARS ECHO WITH THE VOICES OF DISSENT. YET I STAND BEFORE YOU TO ASSERT THAT I BELIEVE IN THE RIGHT OF DISSENT - NOT FOR SOME BUT FOR ALL.

AMERICA IS BUILT ON DISSENT. IT WAS BUILT BY THOSE WHO DISSENTED WITH THE WAYS OF OTHER LANDS TO COME HERE. IT WAS BUILT BY THE SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE WHO DISSENTED FROM THEIR MOTHER LAND. IT WAS BUILT BY MEN AND WOMEN WHO EVERY <sup>year,</sup> FOUR, WENT TO THE POLLS TO EXPRESS THEIR DISSENT FROM ONE ANOTHER. THIS GREAT

*as the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints  
-- as the Mormons surely know.*

Mormon Tabernacle  
Draft #2  
Earl Dudley



America today faces a Crisis of Confidence unparalleled in our national life since 1932.

In that year the Great Depression produced a Crisis of Confidence in our economic institutions.

In 1968 our democratic political institutions are suffering a kind of Great Depression of their own.

Disaffection with "the system"--"the Establishment"--is broadly based, and has produced a Crisis of the American Spirit.

Our response to this crisis--a response which the next President of the United States must help to shape and to lead--will determine the fate of history's greatest experiment in human liberty.

In one respect our present crisis is identical to that of 1932.

"The only thing we have to fear," Franklin Roosevelt told a frightened America, "is fear itself."

Fear is abroad in the land once more--the "nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror," which once again threatens to "paralyze needed

efforts to convert retreat into advance."

There are those who seek to inflame that fear and to play upon it for personal political gain.

We must reject such base appeals, which can only divide us from each other and from any hope of resolving the crisis successfully.

For fear distorts perception, and only a calm, unafraid, resolute America can undertake the realistic assessment of <sup>its</sup> ~~our~~ strengths and weaknesses which is the necessary first step toward renewal.

It is imperative that the next President accurately gauge the dimensions and identify the sources of our current discontent, and as a candidate for that office I shall lay before you tonight my assessment of the Crisis of our Democratic Political Institutions.

The disaffection we see and experience today knows no <sup>bounds of</sup> ~~ideology~~ ideology, or geography, ~~regional boundaries~~ or age, or race.

It infects the Left, the Right and the Middle of the political spectrum . . . the old as well as the young and the middle aged . . . the white as well as the black.

On <sup>lament</sup> ~~From~~ the Right we hear a thundering <sup>simpler</sup> ~~Jeremiad~~ for the virtues

*condemnation of*

of an older ~~and simpler~~ day . . . a bitter ~~lament against~~ the change

Thomas Jefferson's Arcadia *to the*  
which has transformed America from ~~an idyllic pastoral scene~~ to James  
*technocratic, urbanized mass society in which we live.*  
~~Baldwin's Harlem . . . and Lyndon Johnson's Washington.~~

The peculiar Devil for this element of American society is Big Government . . . which imposes its will upon disaffected minorities and dissenting localities . . . and which smothers <sup>the pioneer</sup> ~~person's~~ spirit by substituting its largesse for personal initiative.

Sometimes this segment of the political spectrum displays blatant racist sentiment; usually it opposes government action to protect the civil rights and economic well-being of less fortunate and less potent minorities; but always it seeks to eliminate, root and branch, federal involvement in such programs, which have led, in its view, to the evil of Big Government.

*Critics on the Left generally accept this*  
~~Criticism from the Left is markedly different in content.~~

~~The substance of the~~ goals toward which we have been <sup>striving</sup> ~~striving~~ in recent years--civil rights, equal <sup>opportunity,</sup> ~~opportunity,~~ decent food, housing, medical care and education within reach of even the poorest members . . . *and they agree* of society ~~are accepted~~ . . . along with the proposition that govern-

ment is an appropriate instrument for achieving these goals.

*Left has complained principally about the slow*

Until lately the ~~plaint of the Left has been that we have pro-~~  
~~ceeded with toward these goals much too slowly.~~  
*pace of reform.*

*(however, it has begun to urge*

Recently, ~~they have urged~~ that our political institutions do not

provide outlets for the energies of a new generation . . . ~~that our~~  
~~there is no way for new voices to be heard . . .~~  
~~that our politics~~  
~~has~~ become crusted over with the rhetoric and the concerns of

another day . . . that government in its present form is ill-suited

to the achievement of necessary social goals.

*the Left and the Right*

Between ~~these poles~~ are millions of silent Americans, who

*(polarization of public debate and the*  
 adhere to no political dogma, but who watch the unfolding of  
 but growing  
~~political~~ political events with an inarticulate unease.

Despite these ~~radical~~ differences, ~~in specific content,~~ there  
 is a common ~~band~~ thread running through all the disaffection.

Lying at the root of ~~all~~ our political discontent is a crisis  
 over the role of the individual in all our institutions.

Each generation in a democracy such as ours must ask--and answer--  
 for itself the question of man's relationship to the society in which

he lives.

Our generation of Americans has reached that critical point in its existence.

People feel they are no longer in control of institutions created by their fathers and grandfathers . . . and shaped to resolve the conflicts of yesterday.

Government is too big.

Business is too big.

Universities are too big.

Numbers . . . computers . . . standardized forms and tests . . . mindless machines . . . impersonal institutions . . . unresponsive ~~political~~ political machinery . . . overgrown cities . . . unsettling mobility--all serve to isolate and undermine the individual.

The individual is alienated from ~~his~~ his community.

He does not know his neighbors . . . because he is one of the    per cent of Americans who moved last year . . . or because he lives in the antiseptic anonymity of a huge apartment complex, and intends to move soon . . . or because he lives in a teeming ghetto

where the territory of the next block holds the terror of the unknown

. . . or because he works long hours in a city 25 miles away and has economic or personal <sup>ties</sup> to ~~his~~ his neighborhood.

The individual is alienated from his local government . . . because his mobility disfranchises ~~him~~ him . . . or because archaic institutions, or local machines, or corrupt practices concentrate power in the hands of a few, and perpetuate control by vested interests.

The individual is alienated from his <sup>national government . . .</sup> ~~political party~~ because its bureaucracy is too big to respond sensitively to his problems or to deal with matters of essentially local concern . . . or because he feels that his views can make no impact on the political decision-makers.

The individual is alienated from his political party . . . because it is controlled at the local and state level by a few men . . . because it is shot through with mechanisms to perpetuate ~~the~~ the status quo, to muffle dissent, to ~~reward~~ reward plodding loyalty and smother innovation . . . because it does not respond quickly and



eagerly to the ferment of new ideas.

The student is alienated ~~from~~ from his university . . . because its curriculum does not teach him what he needs to know . . . because its classes are too large and its faculty too ~~too~~ aloof and too involved in the scholarly ~~in~~ pursuit of status . . . because as he learns the ineffable quality of wisdom he is increasingly expected to display his own on multiple choice examinations, which can be graded by machines.

The individual too often has no sense of participation in the ~~This crisis of individual identity demands a restructuring of~~  
larger community life of his city,  
~~our political institutions.~~ his state or his nation.

This crisis of individual identity in a mass society demands a restructuring of our political institutions.

Traditionally  
~~For~~ in America our political parties have been the instru-  
ments for accomplishing ~~this~~ periodic renewal <sup>the which such crises demand.</sup>

It has been their task to accomodate the terms of the political dialogue to the needs, the concerns and the aspirations of each new generation . . . and then to translate these new terms into legislative and executive programs for political action.

They have done this within the context of a relatively stable two-party system, which has avoided the fragmentation of our politics into extreme splinter groups and provided at any given moment something approaching a viable national ~~consensus or~~ coalition <sup>*to perform the tasks of government*</sup> ^

In 1800, in 1832, in 1860, in 1904, in 1932, in 1960--one party responded to new stresses or the other ~~has responded to new stresses~~ in the political process ^ and moved to accomodate the demand for change.

The personal loss which flowed from the assassination of President John Kennedy in 1963 is deepened by the fact that his death interrupted the changing of the generational guard in the Democratic Party and the federal government.

That interruption in the orderly process of political change has helped to precipitate the crisis which our institutions face today.

We must ~~today~~ remodel our political parties to perform their historic function of consolidating and leading the demand for change in a manner generally acceptable to the broad spectrum of public opinion.

For there are no viable alternatives ~~on~~ on the horizon.

The prospects of anarchy and repression stare us bleakly in the face ~~if~~ if the general framework of our political system proves too ~~inflexible~~ inflexible in this time of crisis.

This is why the reforms which the Democratic Party undertook at ~~its~~ its convention this year are so important to the future of our <sup>^</sup> country.

Concrete steps were taken to eliminate any vestiges of racial <sup>(selection of delegates)</sup> <sup>ensure</sup> (and to ~~require~~ <sup>ensure</sup> broad representation in the ~~the~~ <sup>^</sup> discrimination in the machinery of the party) . . . to eliminate <sup>an important</sup> ~~one of the principal~~ devices <sup>^</sup> for stifling innovation and change, that delegates be selected the unit rule . . . to require ~~basic representation~~ <sup>^</sup> close enough accurately to the time of the convention to reflect <sup>^</sup> the mood of the party . . . and to seek changes in local and state laws to permit greater involvement and participation in party affairs by ordinary citizens. ~~and lasting~~ ~~These are the most hopeful developments of this disturbing~~ ~~political year.~~

Much ~~still~~ remains to be done to rehabilitate our two-party system, but the Democrats have made a hopeful and lasting beginning.

The most important instrument for completing this bloodless revolution . . . for giving new shape and content to our political parties and our political dialogue . . . is the Presidency itself.

The Presidency can be a forum for meaningful interchange between the people and their elected officials . . . a constant ~~■~~ means of renewing the quality of political thought and debate . . . depending on how it is used.

I have  
~~I have~~ <sup>^</sup> pledged that mine will be an Open Presidency, and I have  
 outlined what I believe to be <sup>ways to open it to</sup> ~~fruitful~~ <sup>^</sup> ~~for~~ all the people.

I shall only say tonight that I intend to use the Presidency to involve the people of this country in the political decision-making ~~■~~ process . . . to gather information and ideas from all our people . . . and to encourage new and imaginative combinations of governments, groups and individuals--far beyond the traditional political structure of American life--and to enlist these combinations in the solution of our critical domestic problems.

We must also undertake structural reforms to revitalize our governmental institutions.

We must cut the incredible cobweb of relationships between overlapping federal agencies, and state, local and private institutions which all too often impedes, rather than advances, the achievement of domestic goals.

Many federal executive departments and administrative agencies are simply incapable because of their size, their workload, their bureaucratic inertia, to ~~be~~ carry out the congressional mandates which created them . . . mandates which frequently require detailed assessments of local needs and local concerns.

~~State~~ State and local governments are ~~plagued~~ plagued by lack of funds, lack of talent, lack of citizen interest . . . and lack of real power.

We must seek bold, imaginative new ways to return ~~to~~ truly local functions of planning and implementation to local bodies, while preserving the basic goals and the essential thrust of truly national policies.

In the future, we should look to the federal government more and more for the broad formulations of domestic policies and reforms

and the mobilization and coordination of resources and energies to carry out those policies and reforms . . . and less and less for the detailed planning and implementation of ~~the~~ specific ~~the~~ programs.

The federal government must become . . . through such devices as partial revenue sharing . . . a source of funds to carry out local initiatives and local responses to broad federal policies arrived at in open public debate at the national level.

We must provide grants to states and cities for the upgrading of their administrative capabilities and personnel . . . so that they may assume their  
 ^ new responsibilities with vigor and intelligence.

We must ~~the~~ give our attention to reform of our federal and state judicial systems . . . to eliminate the wasteful and expensive dilute the backlogs which ~~hindered~~ quality of the justice they ~~the~~ delay.

*Insert A*  
~~Our courts have sparked vital democratic and humanitarian reforms in recent years.~~

~~To name but one, they have saved our legislatures from obsolescence by forcing them to reapportion themselves~~  
*and the research input*

We must now give them the resources ^ to achieve desperately

needed improvements in the quality of ~~the~~ justice in our criminal courts . . . our juvenile courts . . . our family courts . . . our civil courts.

Move up  
as  
Insert  
A

For many citizens the courts provide their only direct contact with the institutions of government.

It is little wonder that they become disillusioned with "the system" when they see the unnecessary delays, the hurried and inadequate treatment of individual cases, and the confusing procedures which plague so many of our court systems.

The objectives of the broad institutional reforms I have outlined to you would be threefold:

First, to permit more efficient achievement of the humanitarian, social and economic goals to which we have committed ourselves as a nation.

Second, to enlish the energies and the commitment of all our people, to create for every citizen the opportunity to participate in a meaningful and personal way in the formulation and implementation of vital policies and programs.



The true Crisis of the American Spirit is that too many of our citizens have asked in all good will what they can do for their country . . . and have received no answer.

Third, to return the just powers of government on a day-to-day basis to the only source from which they derive in a free society--the consent of the governed.

These reforms can and must be achieved . . . if we are not to falter in our great purpose . . . if our great experiment in human liberty is not to founder on the rock of modern technology.

But I would emphasize to you that this increased emphasis on local initiative and control . . . this vision of a new scope for the individual . . . do not mean abandonment of our total national commitment to social justice, to equal opportunity for all, to the eradication of ~~poverty~~ poverty, hunger, illiteracy and disease.

these reforms  
Nor do ~~they~~ signify delay in the achievement of these goals.  
^

To the contrary, they signify a determination to move ahead more rapidly by mobilizing the wisdom and talent of the countless Americans who today are frustrated by their inability to contribute

to the healing of their country's ills.

We cannot meet the pivotal crisis of liberty in a new day with the pallid nostrums of retreat.

We cannot turn back.

If we try, we shall bottle up the frustrations of our disaffected citizens for a day of inevitable explosion.

We are ~~at~~ at a great turning point in our national life.

We can choose the path of anarchy.

We can choose the path of repression.

Or we can choose the forward path . . . the Humane Way toward renewal and reconciliation.

This will not be a tranquil path . . . but it will serve us well in this time of turbulence to remember that true repose is exclusively the gift of the grave.

If now we ~~hesitate~~ hesitate or retreat in the face of difficulty and discontent . . . we can only take the paths of repression or anarchy.

If we abandon our ideals of equality and justice . . . we can

look forward only to bloodshed and explosion.

I propose to lead you on the forward path . . . the Humane Way . . . to return to the people the opportunity to participate and to work toward the achievement of our national ideals . . . with strict guarantees that ~~■~~ those ideals will in fact be served.

There is no other choice for America today.

I ask your ~~■■■~~ help in this great work.

I am confident you will give it . . . and with it a ringing affirmation of faith in the American Spirit.



2 PEACE OF THE WORLD.

WE HAD DEMAGOGUES IN AMERICA, PROMISING SIMPLE SOLUTIONS.

BUT IN OUR OWN FASHION, WE CHOSE ANOTHER WAY: THE WAY OF (ULINED) FREE MEN. WE TURNED TO THE BALLOT BOX -- WE ELECTED FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

HIS WAY WAS NOT THE WAY OF REPRESSION AND VIOLENCE ... BUT THE WAY OF FREEDOM. HIS ANSWER TO THE GREAT CRISIS OF OUR ECONOMY WAS NOT (ULINE REST SENTENCE) FEAR BUT FAITH -- NOT HATE BUT HOPE -- BUT BULLETS XXXXX NOT BULLETS BUT BREAD.

TODAY THE UNITED STATES -- AND MANY OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD -- FACE AN EQUALLY GREAT CRISIS OF THEIR POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS -- AXXX. IN AMERICA IT IS A CRISIS OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS -- A CRISIS OF OUR FAITH AS A FREE PEOPLE -- A CRISIS OF OUR FAITH IN EACH OTHER.

WHEN I STARTED THIS CAMPAIGN I STATED THAT EVEN IF IT COST MY POLITICAL LIFE, I WOULD MAKE NO COMPACT WITH EXTREMISM. I REPEAT THAT NOW -- BECAUSE NO ELECTION -- EVEN WINNING THE PRESIDENCY -- IS WORTH IT IF THE PRICE WE PAY IS OUR FREEDOM.

THE DANGER TO DEMOCRACY TODAY IS IN THE CLASH OF EXTREMES. AND LET US BE CLEAR: THE EXTREMES -- OF LEFT AND OF RIGHT -- MEET ON (ULINED) COMMON GROUND: THEY BOTH SEEK TO (ULINED) DESTROY THE MIDDLE, AND WITH IT (ULINED) DEMOCRACY.

THEY BOTH SEEK TO SMOTHER THE TOLERANT AND GENEROUS HEART OF AMERICA.

THEY BOTH SEEK TO BRING ABOUT A VIOLENT CONFRONTATION.

THEY BOTH SEEK TO SETTLE MATTERS BY RISK ... INSTEAD OF REASON.

THIS CAMPAIGN WILL DECIDE WHETHER THE EXTREMISTS WILL SUCCEED -- WHETHER THE VOICES OF HATE ... OF PREJUDICE ... AND DIVISION WILL

5  
DRIVE OUT THE FORCES OF OPPORTUNITY, PROGRESS AND JUSTICE.

THIS, I BELIEVE IS THE GREAT QUESTION BEFORE AMERICA: SHALL  
WE -- IN THIS TIME OF CRISIS -- MOVE FORWARD TOWARD (U) ONE  
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THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE BEING ASKED ... NO: REQUIRED ... TO  
DECIDE THE ANSWER IN THE NEXT FIVE WEEKS.

I SPEAK THIS HARSH TRUTH -- NOT BECAUSE THEY ARE POPULAR --  
BUT BECAUSE THE PRICE OF SILENCE MAY BE THE END OF OUR SYSTEM OF  
GOVERNMENT ... OUR IDEALS OF A FREE SOCIETY ... AND OF LIBERTY  
ITSELF.

\* \* \*

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

THE ANSWER TO CONFLICT IS NOT BLIND ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE --  
EITHER HERE OR ABROAD. WE MUST, INSTEAD, SEEK PATHWAYS TO PEACE.

WE MUST BEGIN OUR SEARCH FOR PEACE WITH A DECLARATION OF  
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THIS NATION -- AND IN OUR DEALINGS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, WE DEPEND  
UPON EACH OTHER AS NATIONS THAT LIVE IN THIS WORLD.

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ANY PART OF US UNLESS THERE IS LASTING PEACE FOR ALL OF US.

I DO NOT MEAN IN VIETNAM ALONE -- ALTHOUGH THAT (U)  
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ON GOOD WILL AMONG MEN. I MEAN THE PEACE WHICH CAN ARISE ONLY  
WHEN MEN ARE TRULY FREE.

WHEN CONFRONTED WITH CONFLICT, DIFFERENT PEOPLE WILL REACT  
IN DIFFERENT WAYS.

THE WAY OF EXTREMISTS IS TO REACT WITH REPRESSION.

THE WAY OF PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY IS TO ACT WITH REFORM.

AT THE ROOT OF OUR POLITICAL DISCONTENT THERE IS A CRISIS  
OVER THE ROLE THE INDIVIDUAL PLAYS IN ALL OUR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL  
INSTITUTIONS.

GOVERNMENT IS TOO BIG.

BUSINESS IS TOO BIG.

UNIVERSITIES ARE TOO BIG.

THE INDIVIDUAL REMAINS ANONYMOUS IN HIS NEIGHBORHOOD AND  
COMMUNITY.

NUMBERS ... COMPUTERS ... MINDLESS MACHINES ... UNRESPONSIVE  
POLITICAL MACHINERY ... OVERGROWN CITIES ... UNSETTLING MOBILITY --  
ALL SERVICE TO ISOLATEXXXXXXXXX ALL SERVE TO ISOLATE AND UNDERMINE  
THE INDIVIDUAL.

WHAT IS THE ANSWER? TO DESTROY ALL OF THAT? NO.

MY PRESIDENCY WILL BE DEVOTED TO FINDING NEW CHANNELS FOR  
INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPATION AND EXPRESSION THROUGHOUT THE NATIONAL  
GOVERNMENT -- AND USING THE RESOURCES OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT  
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MY ADMINISTRATION WILL INCLUDE THE FINE

not the end

①

SALT LAKE

MORMON TAB

DEM FOR HHH DC  
FOR TED AVAN DYK W/VP PARTY  
FROM JOHN STEWART  
FOLLOWING DRAFT TEXT FOR SALT LAKE CITY

TODAY I WANT TO SHARE WITH YOU MY THOUGHTS ON THE PROGRESS  
OF THE CAMAPGIN -- THE ISSUES RAISED -- THE ISSUES AVOIDED --  
ANT AND THE THINGS WHICH WE -- THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- SHOULD  
CONSIDER IN THE FIVE WEEKS REMAINING BEFORE ELECTION DAY.

THIS IS A TIME FOR STOCK-TAKING... AND FOR THOUGHTFULNESS.

TRECENTLY SENATOR MUSKIE AND I VISITED INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI,  
TO VISIT THAT GRAND OLD MAN OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, PRESIDENT  
HARRY S. TRUMAN.

WE TURNED TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN FOR INSPIRATION AND ADVICE.  
AND AS ALWAYS -- HE GAVE US BOTH.

"TELL 'EM THE TRUTH," HE SAID, "EVEN IF IT HURTS."

IN THIS CAMPAIGN IF HAVE BEEN TRYING TO DO JUST THAT -- TO  
TELL IT LIKE IT IS -- YES, EVEN IF IT HURTS.

THE HARSH TRUTH IS THAT WE LIVE IN A TIME OF (ULINE) POLITICAL  
CRITSIS THAT IS WORLD-WIDE -- JUST AS THE 1930'S WERE A TIME OF  
(ULINE) ECONOMIC CRISIS WHICH AFFECTED EVERY NATION.

OUR ECONOMY COLLAPSED AND SO DID OLD IDOLS AND IDEAS. MEN  
FELT FUTILE ... USELESS .. AND THEY WALKED IN FEAR.

MANY OF YOU WHO LIVE THROUGH THE 1930'S: YOU KNOW THE STORY  
WELL -- ONLY TOO WELL -- AS DEMAGOGUES SOUGHT SCAPEGOATS AND

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more

DEM FOR HHH DC  
OTHER MACHINE BROKE - SO HERE GOES AGAIN

TO TED VAN DYK  
FROM DOUG BENNET  
RE SPIVACK ISSUED THE FOLLOWING REJOINDER TO NIXON'S RADIO SPEECH  
ON CRIME.

MR. NIXON'S STATEMENT ON CRIME IS A SHOCKING -- AND DANGEROUS --  
PIECE OF DOUBLE TALK ON A SENSITIVE NATIONAL ISSUE.

IF CRIME IS TO BECOME A PARTISAN ISSUE -- AND WE REGRET VERY  
MUCH MR. NIXON'S DECISION TO MAKE IT ONE -- THE AMERICAN PEOPLE  
SHOULD KNOW THE FOLLOWING FACTS:

FIRST, MR. NIXON KNOWS VERY WELL THAT LAW ENFORCEMENT IS  
PRIMARILY THE RESPONSIBILITY OF STATE AND LOCAL OFFICIALS.

ACCORDING TO THE FBI THE TOP SEVEN CRIME STATES IN THE COUNTRY  
HAVE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS.

THIRTEEN OF THE TOP FIFTEEN CRIME STATES HAVE REPUBLICAN  
GOVERNORS.

TWENTY THREE OUT OF TWENTY FIVE STATES WITH DEMOCRATIC GOVERNORS  
ARE BELOW THE NATIONAL AVERAGE IN CRIME.

GOVERNOR SPIRO T. AGNEW'S MARYLAND IS NUMBER ONE IN VIOLENT CRIME  
AND NUMBER TWO IN AGGRAVATED ASSAULT AND ROBBERY.

SECOND VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY HAS ALREADY E DETAILED  
A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM TO STRENGTHEN STATE AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCE-  
MENT AGENCIES.

HE HAS BACKED THIS UP WITH A SOLID COMMITMENT FOR MORE FEDERAL  
FUNDS TO BE USED LOCALLY TO HIRE MORE POLICE, PAY THEM BETTER  
SALARIES AND TRAIN THEM MORE EFFECTIVELY.

MR. HUMPHREY HAS BEEN MAN ENOUGH TO BACK UP HIS ANTI-  
CRIME PROGRAM WITH A CALL FOR MORE MONEY TO DO THE JOB. MR. NIXON  
SAYS NOTHING ABOUT MONEY TO STRENGTHEN LOCAL POLICE. THIS KEY  
QUESTION OF PAYING THE BILLS FOR EFFECTIVE LAW ENFORCEMENT IS  
SEPARATING THE MEN FROM THE BOYS AND THE LEADERS FROM THE PARTISAN  
POLITICIANS.

END OF FINAL TEXT

NOTE: TED, HERE IS SOME ADDITIONAL

MATERIAL ON ORGANIZED CRIME IN CASE YOU WANT TO PUT OUT  
AN ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OR DO AN INSERT FOR THE SALT LAKE  
CITY SPEECH:

\*LXXX \*1,116 INDICTMENTS WERE OBTAINED BY THE ORGANIZED  
CRIME AND RACKETEERING SECTION OF THE CRIMINAL DIVISION AT JUSTICE  
DEPARTMENT IN FISCAL 1968, AS OPPOSED TO 16 IN 1960.

\*DRUG ADDICTION TO OPIUM-REXX DERIVED DRUGS -- AND THE  
INTENSITY OF THE CASES OF ADDICTION -- IS DOWN FROM WHAT IT WAS IN  
1960, BECAUSE LARGER AND LARGER QUANTITIES OF INCOMING DRUGS ARE  
SEIZED. SORRY, NO EXACT FIGURES.

END OF MESSAGE TO TED VAN DYK

DID YOU RECEIVE OK?  
DEM FOR HHH DC

DEM FOR HHH DC



an additional figure  
Ted, here is some additional material  
on organized crime in case you want to put <sup>out</sup>  
an additional statement ~~together~~ or do an insert  
for the Salt Lake City speech :

~~Indictments~~

\*1,166 indictments were obtained by  
the Organized Crime and Racketeering Section of  
the Criminal Division at Justice Department in fiscal  
1968, as opposed to 16 in 1960.

to ~~herum~~ opium-derived drugs  
\* Drug addition--and the intensity <sup>of</sup> for the  
cases of addiction <sup>is</sup> down from what it was in 1960,  
because larger and larger quantities of incoming drugs  
are seized. Sorry, no exact figures.

End of memo

Text to Van DYK

From Bennett

comment to Spivak 5 p.m. 9/29

bennet/griffith/stewart

Spivak issued the following remarks  
to Nixon's  
radio speech on  
crime.

Mr. Nixon's statement on crime is a shocking---and dangerous---  
piece of doubletalk on a sensitive national issue.

If crime is to become a partisan issue---and we regret very  
much Mr. Nixon's decision to make it one---the American people  
should know the following facts:

First, Mr. Nixon knows very well that law enforcement is  
primarily the responsibility of state and local officials.

According to the FBI, the top seven crime states in the  
country have Republican governors.

Thirteen of the top fifteen crime states have Republican  
governors.

Twenty three out of twenty five states with Democratic gov-  
ernors are below the national average in crime.

Gov. Spiro T. Agnew's Maryland is number one in violent crime  
and number two in aggravated assault and robbery.

(more)

Second, Vice President Humphrey has already detailed a comprehensive program to strengthen state and local law enforcement agencies.

He has backed ~~up~~ this up with a solid commitment for more federal funds to be used locally to hire more police, pay them better salaries and train them more effectively.

Mr. Humphrey has been man enough to back up his anti-crime program with a call for more money to do the job. Mr. Nixon says nothing about money to strengthen local police. This key question of paying the bills for effective law/enforcement is separating the men from the boys and the leaders from the partisan politicians.

End tel.

#####

Tel, here is some additional

REMARKS  
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH  
SEPTEMBER 30, 1968

FINAL

MON P.M.  
9-30-68

BEGIN TEXT:

TODAY I WQNTXXX WANT TO SHARE WIHXXX WITH YOU MY THOUGHTS ON THE PROGRESS OF THE CAMPAIGN: THE ISSUES RAISED...THE ISSUES AVOIDED-- AND THE THINGS WHICH WE--THE AMERICAN PEOPLE--SHOULD CONSIDER IN THE FIVE WEEKS REMAINING BEFORE ELECTION DAY.

WE LIVE TODAY IN A TIME OF POLITICAL CRISIS THAT IS WORLD-WIDE.

I THINK IT IS WELL THAT WE REMEMBER PAST TIMES OF POLITICAL CRISIS IN OUR OWN COUNTRY.

HISTORY STUDENTS KNOW THAT GEORGE WASHINGTON -- URGED TO TAKE A THIRD TERM--DID NOT DO SO BECAUSE OF THE PERSONAL ABUSE HE SUFFERED... ABUSE CALLING HIM "A MEAN, DECEITFUL STEPFATHER OF HIS COUNTRY."

THERE WAS THE WHISKEY REBELLION. WASHINGTON RAISED AN ARMY OF 13,000 MEN -- LARGER THAN HIS ARMY DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE-- TP PUT DOWN THE REBELLION.

(TP SHD. BE TO)

DURING THE WAR OF 1812 VIOLENT, PROTESTING GROUPS BLOCKED STREETS AND INTERRUPTED STATE GOVERNMENTS. A CONGRESSMAN WHO HAD VOTED FOR THE WAR WAS BRUTALLY KICKED AND BEATEN BY A STREET MOB.

THERE HAVE BEEN OTHER TIMES OF CRISIS: THE ANTI-DRAFT RIOTS OF 1816...THE VILXXX VIOLENCE AND DEATH OF THE POPULIST REVOLUTION... THE CONFLICT THAT TORE THIS COUNTRY BEFORE AND DURING WORLD WAR 1... THE WORLDWIDE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CRISES OF THE 1930'S.

MAN OF YOU LIVED THROUGH THE 1920SXXXXX 1930'S.

YOU KNOW THE STORY WELL--ONLY TOO WELL--AS DEMAGOGUSXXX DEMAGOGUES SOUGHT SCAPEGOATS AND DICTATORS SOUGHT TO ENSLAVE THEIR OWN PEOPLE AND IMPERIL THE PEACE OF THE WORLD.

WE HAD DEMGXXX DEMAGOGUES IN AMERIC,XXX AMERICA, PROMISING SIMPLE SOLUTIONS.

BUT IN OUR OWN FASHION, WE CHOSE ANOTHER WAY: THE WAY OF FREE MEN.

WE TURNED TO THE BALLOT BOX AND WE ELECTED FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

IXXX HIS WAY WAWXXX WAS NOT THE WAY OF REPRESSION AND VIOLENCE, BUT THE WAY OF FREEDOM AND FREE INSTITUTIONS.

HIS ANSWER TO THE GREAT CRISIS OF OUR ECONOMY WAS NOT FEAR BUT FAITH... NOT HATE BUT HOPE...NOT BULLETS BUT BALLOTS AND BREAD.

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF TODAY'S CRISIS?

IN AMERICA, IT IS A CRISIS OF EMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS--A CIRXXX CRISIS OF OUR FAITH AS A FRXXX FREE PEOPLE... A CRISIS OF OUR FAITH IN EACH OTHER.

WHEN I STARTED THIS CAMPAIGN, I STATED THAT, EVEN IF IT COST MY LIFEXXX POLITICAL LIFE, I WOULD MAKE NO COMPACT WITH EXTREMISM.

I REPEAT THAT NOW.

NO ELECTION -- EVEN WINNING THE PRESIDENCY -- IS WORTH IF IF THE  
XXXXXX (DISREGARD THE LAS T LINE)

NO ELECTION -- EVEN WINNING THE PRESIDENCY -- IS WORTH IT IF  
THE PRICE WEPXXX WE PAY IS COMPROMISE WITH OUTXXX OUR BASIC  
BELIEFS.

THE DANGER TO DEMOCRACY TODAY IS IN THE CLASH OF EXTREMES.

AND LET US BE CLEAR: THE EXTREMES -- OF LEFT AND OF RIGHT --  
MEET ON COMMON GROUND:

THEY BOTH SEEK TO DESTROY THE MODERATE MIDDLE AND WITH IT DEMOCRACY.

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THEY BOTH SEEK OT BRING A VIOENT CONFRONTATION.

(LIOENT XXX VIOENT SHD. BE VIOLENT)

THEY BOTH SEEK TO SETTLE MATTERS NOT BY REASON, BUT BY CONFLICT.

LET'S GET IS STRAIGHT.

THERE ARE PEOPLE TODAY WHO MAKE THEIR BASIC APPEAL TO THE BASER  
INSTINCTS -- T XXX TO FEAR, TO RACIAL PREJUDICE, TO ESCAPISM, TIXXX  
TO THE DARKER SIDE OF THE HUMAN CHARCXXX CHARACTER.

THEY ARE DANGEROUS.

AND THERE ARE OTHERS IN OUR SOCIAXXX SOCIETY -- AND THEY ARE NOT  
(NOT SHD. BE UNDERLINED) FRESH-FACED YOUNG IDEALISTS -- WHO ARE  
PREACHING THE SAME DOCTRINE OF DISORDER AND ANARCHY, AND USING THE  
SAME DOCTRINE OF DISORDER AND ANARCHY, AND USING THE SAME TOTALITARIAN  
TACTICS OF THE STREET THAT BROUGHT ADOLPH HITLER TO POWER.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO HAVE PREACHED GUERRILLA WARFARE -- AND IT IS NOTHING  
LESS THAN THAT WHICH THEY PREACH.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO WOULD DESTROY HOMES, BUSNXXX BUSINESSES AND  
LIVES, IN THEIR SUPPOSESXXX SUPPOSED ZEAL TO CRXXX CORRECT INJUSTICES.

THEY ARE OF NO ONE RACE.

THEY ARE OF NO ONE IDEOLOGY.

BUT THEY ALL SHARE A BASIC DISDAIN FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES.

THEY PROPOSE TO "TEAR THIS SOCIETY DOWN AND BUILD A NEW ONE ON THE  
ASHES."

THEY TRY TO SHOUT DOWN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES.

THEY SAY THEY WILL DISRUPT THE POLLING PROCESSES ON ELECTION DAY.

THEY THRAXXX THREATEN TO BREAK UP THE INAUGURAL CEREMONIES NEXT  
JANUARY 20. AND, IN THE MEANTIME, THEY PROMISE "50 TO 100 MORE  
CHICAGOS."

NO DEMOCRACY CAN OR SHOULD, STAND FOR IT.

\* \* \*

THIS CAMPAIGN WILL DECIDE WHETHER THE EXTREMISTS WILL SUCCEED...  
WHETHER THE VOICES OF HATE, OF PREJUDICE, AND DIVISION WILL DIRXXX  
DRIVE OUT THE FORCES OF OPPORTUNITY, PROGRESS AND JUSTICE.



THIS, I BELIEVE , IS THE GREAT QUESTION BEFORE AMERICA. SHALL WE -- IN THIS TIME OF CRISIS -- MOVE FORWARD TOWARD ONE SOCIETY OF JUSTICE AND OPPORTUNITY?

OR SHALL WE BECOME A FRACTURED SOCIETY, CLEFT IN TWO OR MORE PARTS...HOSTILE...AND EMBITTERED?

THIS IS MORE THAN TRADITIONAL CAMPAIGN RHETORIC. THE EXTREMISTS THEMSELVES SEE IT THIS WAY.

THEY BELIEVE THEY CAN SUCCEED.

AND IN THEIR SUCCESS THEY SEE THE END OF OUR DEMOCRATXXX  
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY AS WE HAVE KNOWN IT.

\* \* \* \*

WHEN CONFRONTED WITH CONFLICT, DIFFERENT PEOPLE WILL REACT IN DIFFERENT WAYS.

THE WAY OF EXTREMISTS IS TO REACT WITH PXXX REPRESSION AND VIOLENCE.

THE WAY OF PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE IN DEMOCRATXXX DEMOCRACY IS TO ACT WITH PEACEFUL REFORM.

I SAY THAT IS THE WAY WE MUST CHOOSE.

OUR POLITICAL INSTINCTS ARE GOOD. AND THE INSTITUTIONS WE HAVE CREATED AND IMPROVED WITH POLITICAL REPRESENTATION ARE DECENT ONES.

WE ARE A PLURALISTIC NATION -- A PHRASE WHICH MEANS WE HAVE ABSORBED MIX XXX MILLIONS OF IMMIGRANTS AND THEY HAVE BECOME AMERICANS.

NOW WE ARE CONFRONTED WITH THE STATISTICAL PREDICTION THAT 32 YEARS FROM NOW -- IN THE YEAR 2,000 -- WE SHALL HAVE A POPULATION OF 300 MILLION AND MANY MORE URBAN PROBLEMS OF HOUSING, POVERTY, TRAFFIC, EDUCATION AND GOVERNMENT -- ;XXX LOCAL, STATE AND NATIONAL.

THE SHIFT FROM A NATION OF FARMS TO ONE OF COTIXXX CITIES HAS BEEN INCREDIBLY SWIFT.

IT HAS BROUGHT CRISES IN EDUCATION...TRAINING...PLANNING...AND, MOST IMPORTANTLY, IN INDIVIDUAL HUMAN IDENTITY.

WAS IT REALLY TRUE THAT WHEN JEFFERSON WAS INAUGURATExxx INAUGURATED HE GOT ON A HORSE IN FRONT OF HIS BOARDING HOSxxx HOUSE...RODE TO THE CAPITOL...TOOK THE OATH...WAS GREETED BY A SAXxx SMALL CROWD OF ADMIRERS...AND RODE HIS HORSE BACK TO THE BOARDING HOUSE?

WAS IT REALLY TRUE THAT WHEN ABRAHAM LINCOLN WALKED THE CORRIDORS OF THE WHITE HOUSE IN AN OLD NIGHT SHIRExxx SHIRT AND A PAIR OF Cxxx SCUFFED CARPET SLIPPERS, MOURNING THE SCCC Cxxx CASUALTIES -- OR SAT IN THE WHITE HOUSE WAR ROOM WHERE THE NEW-FANGLED MAXXXXXXXXXX NEW -FANGLED MAHxxx MAGNETIC TELEGRAPH TICKED OUT OCCASIONAL NEWS OF BATTLES -- WE WERE THEN A NATION OF A FEW MORE THAN 30 MILLION?

;

CAN IT BE THAT THERE ARE ENOGxxx ENOUGH VExxx FEARFUL AND DOUBTING PEOPLE TODAY WHO HAVE LOST THEIR Mxxx AMERICNxxx AMERICAN FAITH THAT SAY A NATIO N OF MORE THAN 200 MILLION -- CONFRONTED WTxxx WITH POVERGYxxx POVERTY LONG NEGLECTED...WITH PROTESTS AND EXxx DEMONSTRATIONS , CANNOT DO WAHT IS RIGHT?

DO THEY REALLY FEAR TO DOWxxx DO WHAT IS NECESSARY TO BRING THE DEPRESSED MINORITIES OF BLACK AMERICANS, SPANISH-SPEKxxx SPEAKING AMERICAN, INDIAN AMERICAN S AND THOSE OF SMALL MINORITIES INTO THE FULL AND FAITHFULL DREAM OF AMERICA?

I DO NOT BEXXX SO BELIEVE.

WE ARE CONCERNED -- WE ARE GRAVELY CONCERNED.

BUT WE ARE NOT AFRAID.

IT IS, I SAY, A TMXXX TIME FOR FAITH IN PRINCIPLES...FAITH IN THE AMERICAN PURPOSE...FAITH IN THE BELIEF, SO DRMXXX FXXX DRAMATICALLY SUSTAINED BY HISTORY, THAT THROUGH THE AGES AN INCREASING PURPOSE RUNS IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE AND THAT OUR MINDS AND FAITH ARE WIDENED BY THE PASSAGE OF THE SUNS.

MY CAMPAIGN -- AND MY PRESIDENCY, SHOUDL THE PEOPLSXXXPEOPLE GRNXXX GRANT IT -- SHALL BE BASED ON THAT FAITH.

IT SHALL BE BASED ON THE PREMISE THAT NEW MEANS OF INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPATION AND EXPRESSION CAN BE (CAN BE SHD. BE UNDERLINED) FOUND IN THIS DXXX COUNTRY.

IT SHALL BE BASED ON THE FAITH THAT MAN CAN (CAN SHD. BE UNDERLINED) CHANGE WHAT IS WRONG IN HIS ENVIRONMENT THROUGH POSITIVE, CREATIVE CAXXX ACTION.

(HOLD LINE MIN. PLS.)

AND IT SHALL BE BASED ON THE BELIEF THAT THE LEADERSHIP OF TISXXX THIS NATION OWES IT TO THE PEOPLE TO SPEAK OUT AND TO DOW AHXXX WHAT IS RIGHT, REGARDLESS OF ANY TEMPORARY PUBLIC OPINION POLLS OR NATIONAL MOODS.

I HAVE BEEN TOLD, FOR INSTANCE, THAT I SHOULD TREAD LIGHTLY ON THE ISSUE OF HUMAN EQUALITY . . .AND CONCERNING THE NECESSITY FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF THIS NATION TONXXX TO UNDERTAKE BROAD NEW INITIATIVES TO SAVE OUR CITIES . . .TO RENEW THE HOPES AND LIVES OF THOSE LEFT OUT OF OUR SOCIETY . . .TO BRING PEACE TO NEITHEORHOODS, TO OUR NATION, AND TO THE HUMAN FAMILY.

I SAY AMERICA IS BETTER THAN TXXX THAN THE POLLS INDICATE.

IF IT IS NOT, WE MUST TRY TO MAKE IT BETTER.

AND WE MUST DO SO NOT BY VEILED SLOGANS -- SUHXXX SUCH AS THE MIS-USE OF THE TERM, "LAW AND ORDER" BY SOME PEOPLE WHOMXXX WHO MEAN SOMETHING ELSE ENTIRELY.

\* \* \*

OF COURSE, LAW AND ORDER MUST PREVAIL.

THE ISSUE IS "WHAT" AND "HOW" : WHAT KIND OF LAW AND HOW TO KEEP ORDER?

IN OUR DEMOCRACY WE BELIEVE IN THE KIND O F LAW THAT WILL ALLOW EVERY HUMAN BEING THE FULLEST OPPORTUNITY TO LIVE AND GROW AND DEVELOP HIS GOD-GIVEN RIGHTS AND TALENTS.

IN OUR DEMOCRACY WE BELIEVE THAT WE MUST USE WISDOM AND EFFORT TO SEPARATE THE GUILTY FROM THE INNOCENT. WE MUST NEVER APPLY THE PRIMITIVE RULE OF GUILT BY RELIGION, OR AGE, OR COLOR, OR BY ANY OTHER FORM OF ASSOCIATION.

AND IN OUR DEMOCRACY, THE PRIMARY JURISDICTION FOR MAINTAINING ORDER RESTS WITH STATE AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES -- NOT WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.



IT IS SAD AND IRONIC TO HEAR TWO PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES -- WHO HAVE FOR YEARS PROCLAIMED STATES' RIGHTS -- PROCLAIM THEY WOULD USE THE PRESIDENTIAL POWER TO POLICE THE STREETS OF OUR CITIES.

ONE OF THESE CANDIDATES -- AND THIS IS MOST IRONIC-- WAS GOVERNOR OF THE STATE WITH THE HIGHEST MURDER RATE IN THE NATION.

HE COULD NOT MAINTAIN ORDER IN HIS OWN STATE . . . WHERE HE HAD THE POWER. BUT NOW HE PROMISES TO MAINTAIN ORDER IN EVERY CITY AND STATE WHERE HE WILL NOT HAVE THE POWER.

IT IS IRONIC, TOO, TO HEAR THE LOUD CRIES FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT COME FROM THE SPOKESMAN OF A PARTY THAT HAS CONSISTENTLY FOUGHT ALL EFFORTS TO SECURE FEDERAL FUNDS FOR THESE PURPOSES -- AND EVEN VOTED THIS YEAR TO REDUCE FUNDS TO COMBAT CRIME.

THIS NATION DESERVES BETTER OF ITS LEADERS.

AND THEIR APPEALS, I TELL YOU, IF PUT INTO ACTION, WOULD ONLY LEAD THIS NATION TO A SPIRAL OF REPRESSION AND A TERRIBLE EXHAUSTION OF MIND AND SPIRIT.

\* \* \*

THE REFORM WE NEED SO MUCH WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE UNLESS WE ARE ABLE TO DISTINGUISH DISSENT FROM DISORDER.

MY EARS ECHO WITH THE VOICES OF DISSENT.

YET, I STAND BEFORE YOU TO AFFIRM THIS ABOVE ALL:

I BELIEVE IN THE RIGHT OF DISSENT -- NOT FOR SOME BUT FOR EVERYONE.

AMERICA IS BUILT ON DISSENT -- AS THE DESCENDANTS OF JOSEPH SMITH AND BRIGHAM YOUNG SURELY KNOW.

DISSENT IS THE DYNAMO OF DEMOCRACY -- IN UTAH AS IN ALL AMERICA.

WHEN THE PEOPLE OF A NATION CAN MOVE THEIR HEADS IN ONE DIRECTION -- ONLY UP AND DOWN -- THEY MUST SOON BOW THEM DOWN FOREVER.

THE WORKING OF OUR POLITICAL DEMOCRACY RESTS ON THREE GREAT RIGHTS: FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY AND FREEDOM TO VOTE.

AND FROM THE EXERCISE OF THESE THREE GREAT RIGHTS FLOWS THE POWER OF REFORM.

WHEN A GROUP OF HECKLERS -- NO MATTER HOW RIGHTEOUS THEY BELIEVE THEIR CAUSE TO BE -- WHEN THEY SHOUT DOWN A SPEAKER, THEY ARE DENYING THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF SPEECH.

IF THEY BREAK UP A MEETING, THEY ARE DENYING OTHERS THE FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY.

AND WHEN THEY THREATEN TO SIT-IN AT THE VOTING BOOTHS ON ELECTION DAY, THEY ARE DENYING THE FREEDOM TO VOTE.

THEY TYRANNY OF A MAJORITY -- IN THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT -- IS OPPRESSIVE.

BUT THE TYRANNY OF A MINORITY -- IN THE FORM OF MOB ACTION -- IS EQUALLY OPPRESSIVE.

I CONDEMN BOTH. TYRANNY IS WITHOUT QUALIFICATION AND WITHOUT FEAR.

DISORDER IS NOT DISENT. XXX DISSENT. INDEED, DISORDER,  
ESPECIALLY ORGANIZED DISORDER, IS THE ENEMY OF DISSENT.

DESTRUCTION IS NOT DEBATE. INDEED, THE VIOLENCE OF DESTRUCTION CAN  
ONLY SILENCE THE VITALITY OF A DEBATE.

A FREE SOCIETY CAN XXXX TOLERATE NRIHXXX NEITHER A POLICE STATE NOR  
MOB RULE. AND, IF IT MAKES THE WRONG DECISIONS, THIS SOCIETY CAN BE  
DANGEROUSLY CLOSE TO GETTING BOTH.

\* \* \*

THE FOUNDERS OF OUR TWO GREAT PARTIES -- THOMAS JEFFERSON, ANDREW  
JACKSON AND ABRAHAM LINCOLN -- WERE MEN WHO GOVERNED IN TROUBLED TIMES.

BUT THEY BROUGHT CEXXX CREATION OUT OF CHAOS BECUXXX BECAUSE OF THEIR  
FUNDAMENTAL FAITH IN THE OXXX GOODNESS AND GREATNESS OF THE AMERICAN  
PEOPLE.

IN THE CHALLENGE OF PROBLEMS THEY SAW THE CHANCE FOR PROGRESS.

AND TODAY, NO LESS THAN THEN, WE MUST FIND OUR CHANCE FOR PROGRESS.

CAN WE STAND FOR LESS THAN THEY FOUGHT AND STRUGGLED TO ACHIEVE.

THE SPIRIT OF A FREE PEOPLE MUST BE CONTINUALLY REBORN.

THAT IS OUR CHALLENGE -- THAT IS OUR OPPORTUNITY -- IN 1968.

EITHER WE BEGIN SLIPPING BACKWARD -- INTO A GREAT DIVISION OF OUR  
PEOPLE AND A WIDENING SPIRAL OF FEAR -- OR WE CONTINUE MOVING  
FORWARD INTO A NEW DAY OF JUSTICE AND ORDER.

ONCE WE TAKE THIS CHOICE, I DON'T SEE HOW WE CAN CHANGE IT.

WHICH WAY: SEPARATION . . .OR COMMUNITY?

APARTHEID . . .OR DEMOCRACY?

A SOCIETY OF ORDERED LIBERTY . . .OR A SOCIETY OF FEAR AND REPRESSION?

I APPEAL TO THE SILENT MAOXXX MAJORITY OF AMERICANS TO SPEAK THEIR  
BELIEF IN THE DECENCY OF OUR DEMOCRACY . . .TO GO TO THE POLLS THIS  
NOVEMBER IN THE PSIRIT OXXX SPIRIT OF FAITH, NOT OF FEAR . . .IN THE  
HOPEXXX IN THE SPIRIT OF HOPE, NOT OF HATE . . .IN THE SPIRIT OF  
OUR FATISXXX FATHERS WHO CROSSED OCEANS, MAOXXX MOUNTAINS AND  
DESERTS . . .WHO OVERCAME ALL OBSTACLES TO BUILD A LAND OF LIBERTY  
AND JUSTICE FOR ALL.

WE HAVE FACED GRAVE CRISES BEFORE. AND WE HAVE TRANSFORMED CHAOS  
INTO CREATION.

I BELIEVE THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN DO SO AGAIN -- AND I MEAN  
TO CALL THEM TO THIS TASK.

SO I SAY, LET US HAVE A CAMPAIGN OF FAITH -- OF FAITH IN OUR OWN  
CHARACTERS, FAITH IN OUR COUNTRY'S INCREASING PURPOSE AND FAITH  
IN OUR PRINCIPLES.

AND AMERICA SHALL PREVAIL.

END OF TEXT.

YEAH, WOW  
DID U RECEIVE? GA PLS

UTAH?@MW

SALT LAKE

①

HUMPHREY S F

DEM FOR HHH DC  
FOR SAM KEITH HHH ADVANCE  
TO PASS TED VAN DYKE, VP TRAVELING PARTY

FOLLOWING SALT LAKE CITY DRAFT TEXT.

(NOTE TO RECEIVER, WILL BE SLIGHT DELYS DURING TRANSMISSION  
BECAUSE OF SEVERAL TAPES BEING USED. BE PATIENT. THANKS)

BEGIN TEXT

DEM FOR HHH DC  
FOR TED VAN DYK W/VP PARTY  
FROM JOHN STEWART  
FOLLOWING DRAFT TEXT FOR SALT LAKE CITY

TODAY I WANT TO SHARE WITH YOU MY THOUGHTS ON THE PROGRESS  
OF THE CAMPAIGN -- THE ISSUES RAISED -- THE ISSUES AVOIDED --  
AND THE THINGS WHICH WE -- THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- SHOULD  
CONSIDER IN THE FIVE WEEKS REMAINING BEFORE ELECTION DAY.

THIS IS A TIME FOR STOCK-TAKING... AND FOR THOUGHTFULNESS.

RECENTLY SENATOR MUSKIE AND I VISITED INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI,  
TO VISIT THAT GRAND OLD MAN OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, PRESIDENT  
HARRY S. TRUMAN.

WE TURNED TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN FOR INSPIRATION AND ADVICE.  
AND AS ALWAYS -- HE GAVE US BOTH.

"TELL 'EM THE TRUTH," HE SAID, "EVEN IF IT HURTS."

IN THIS CAMPAIGN I HAVE BEEN TRYING TO DO JUST THAT -- TO  
TELL IT LIKE IT IS -- YES, EVEN IF IT HURTS.

THE HARSH TRUTH IS THAT WE LIVE IN A TIME OF (ULINE) POLITICAL  
CRISIS THAT IS WORLD-WIDE -- JUST AS THE 1930'S WERE A TIME OF  
(ULINE) ECONOMIC CRISIS WHICH AFFECTED EVERY NATION.



OUR ECONOMY COLLAPSED AND SO DID OLD IDOLS AND IDEAS. MEN  
FELT FUTILE ... USELESS .. AND THEY WALKED IN FEAR.

MANY OF YOU WHO LIVE THROUGH THE 1930'S: YOU KNOW THE STORY  
WELL -- ONLY TOO WELL -- AS DEMAGOGUES SOUGHT SCAPEGOATS AND  
DICTATORS SOUGHT TO ENSLAVE THEIR OWN PEOPLE AND IMPERIL THE  
PEACE OF THE WORLD.

WE HAD DEMAGOGUES IN AMERICA, PROMISING SIMPLE SOLUTIONS.  
BUT IN OUR OWN FASHION, WE CHOSE ANOTHER WAY: THE WAY OF (ULINE)  
FREE MEN. WE TURNED TO THE BALLOT BOX -- WE ELECTED FRANKLIN D.  
ROOSEVELT.

HIS WAY WAS NOT THE WAY OF REPRESSION AND VIOLENCE ... BUT  
THE WAY OF FREEDOM. HIS ANSWER TO THE GREAT CRISIS OF OUR ECONOMY  
WAS NOT (ULINE REST SENTENCE) FEAR BUT FAITH -- NOT HATE BUT HOPE --  
BUT BULLETS XXXXX NOT BULLETS BUT BREAD.

TODAY THE UNITED STATES -- AD MA O  
HUMPHREY S F  
SORRY. WILL RESUME TEXT

MANY OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE  
WORLD -- FACE AN EQUALLY GREAT CRISIS OF THEIR POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS --  
AXXX. IN AMERICA IT IS A CRISIS OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS -- A  
CRISIS OF OUR FAITH AS A FREE PEOPLE -- A CRISIS OF OUR FAITH IN  
EACH OTHER.

WHEN I STARTED THIS CAMPAIGN I STATED THAT EVEN IF IT COST  
MY POLITICAL LIFE, I WOULD MAKE NO COMPACT WITH EXTREMISM. I  
REPEAT THAT NOW -- BECAUSE NO ELECTION -- EVEN WINING THE  
PRESIDENCY -- IS WORTH IT IF THE PRICE WE PAY IS OUR FREEDOM.

THE DANGER TO DEMOCRACY TODAY IS IN THE CLASH OF EXTREMES.  
AND LET US BE CLEAR: THE EXTREMES -- OF LEFT AND OF RIGHT --  
MEET ON (ULINE) COMMON GROUND: THEY BOTH SEEK TO (ULINE) DESTROY  
THE MIDDLE, AND WITH IT (ULINE) DEMOCRACY.

THEY BOTH SEEK TO EMBITTER THE TOLERANT AND GENEROUS HEART  
OF AMERICA.

THEY BOTH SEEK TO BRING ABOUT A VIOLENT CONFRONTATION.

THEY BOTH SEEK TO SETTLE MATTERS BY RIOT ... INSTEAD OF  
REASON.

THIS CAMPAIGN WILL DECIDE WHETHER THE EXTREMISTS WILL SUCCEED --  
WHETHER THE VOICES OF HATE ... OF PREJUDICE ... AND DIVISION WILL  
DRIVE OUT THE FORCES OF OPPORTUNITY, PROGRESS AND JUSTICE.

THIS, I BELIEVE IS THE GREAT QUESTION BEFORE AMERICA: SHALL  
SE -- IN THIS TIME OF CRISIS -- MOVE FORWARD TOWARD (ULINE) ONE  
SOCIETY OF JUSTICE AND OPPORTUNITY -- OR SHALL WE BECOME A (ULINE)  
FRACTURED SOCIETY, CLEFT IN TWO PARTS ... HOSTILE .. AND EMBITTERED?

THIS IS MORE THAN TRADITIONAL CAMPAIGN RHETORIC. THE  
EXTREMISTS OF THE RIGHT AND OF THE LEFT THEMSELVES SEE IT THIS WAY...  
THEY BELIEVE THEY CAN SUCCEED ... AND IN THEIR SUCCESS THEY SEE  
THE END OF OUR SURVIVAL AS A PEACEFUL NATION ... A NATION OF  
DEMOCRACY.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE BEING ASKED ... NO: REQUIRED ... TO  
DECIDE THE ANSWER IN THE NEXT FIVE WEEKS.

I SPEAK THIS HARSH TRUTH -- NOT BECAUSE THEY ARE POPULAR --  
BUT BECAUSE THE PRICE OF SILENCE MAY BE THE END OF OUR SYSTEM OF  
GOVERNMENT ... OUR IDEALS OF A FREE SOCIETY ... AND OF LIBERTY  
ITSELF.

\* \* \*

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

THE ANSWER TO CONFLICT IS NOT BLIND ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE --  
EITHER HERE OR ABROAD. WE MUST, INSTEAD, SEEK PATHWAYS TO PEACE.

WE MUST BEGIN OUR SEARCH FOR PEACE WITH A DECLARATION OF  
INTER-DEPENDENCE. WE DEPEND UPON ONE ANOTHER AS PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN  
THIS NATION -- AND IN OUR DEALINGS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, WE DEPEND  
UPON EACH OTHER AS NATIONS THAT LIVE IN THIS WORLD.

(ULINE ENTIRE SENTENCE) THERE CAN BE NO LASTING PEACE FOR  
ANY OF US UNLESS THERE IS LASTING PEACE FOR ALL OF US.

I DO NOT MEAN IN VIETNAM ALONE -- ALTHOUGH THAT (ULINE)  
MUST BE ... AND (ULINE) SHALL BE MY FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS AS  
PRESIDENT. I MEAN PEACE IN OUR OWN NATION AS WELL. I MEAN CIVIL  
PEACE IN THE COMMUNITIES OF AMERICA. I MEAN PEACE ON EARTH BUILT  
ON GOOD WILL AMONG MEN. I MEAN THE PEACE WHICH CAN ARISE ONLY  
WHEN MEN ARE TRULY FREE.

IN DIFFERENT WAYS.

THE WAY OF EXTREMISTS IS TO REACT WITH REPRESSION.

THE WAY OF PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY IS TO ACT WITH REFORM.

AT THE ROOT OF OUR POLITICAL DISCONTENT THERE IS A CRISIS  
OVER THE ROLE THE INDIVIDUAL PLAYS IN ALL OUR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL  
INSTITUTIONS.

GOVERNMENT IS TOO BIG.

BUSINESS IS TOO BIG.

UNIVERSITIES ARE TOO BIG.

THE INDIVIDUAL REMAINS ANONYMOUS IN HIS NEIGHBORHOOD AND  
COMMUNITY.

NUMBERS ... COMPUTERS ... MINDLESS MACHINERY ... UNRESPONSIVE  
POLITICAL MACHINERY ... OVERGROWN CITIES .. UNSETTLING MOBILITY --  
ALL SERVE TO ISOLATE AND UNDERMINE THE INDIVIDUAL.

WHAT IS THE ANSWER? TO DESTROY ALL OF THAT? NO.

MY PRESIDENCY WILL BE DEVOTED TO FINDING NEW CHANNELS FOR  
INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPATION AND EXPRESSION THROUGHOUT THE NATIONAL  
GOVERNMENT -- AND USING THE RESOURCES OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT  
TO DEVELOP SIMILAR OPPORTUNITIES ON THE STATE AND LOCAL LEVEL.

MY OPPONENTS IN THE ELECTION SPEND MUCH OF THEIR TIME ATTACKING  
THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT -- BUT ALL TOO OFTEN THEIR ATTACKS REVEAL  
A LACK OF CONCERN -- A FAILURE OF UNDERSTANDING -- OF THE ESSENTIAL  
ROLE WHICH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MUST PLAY IN OVERCOMING THE URGENT  
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF OUR TIME.

EDUCATION ... THE CRISIS IN OUR CITIES ... ECONOMIC GROWTH...  
FARM POLICY ... SOCIAL SECURITY ... MEDICARE ... RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT  
... JOB DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING -- THESE, AMONG MANY OTHERS, ARE  
AREAS OF ACTIVITY WHICH DEPEND HEAVILY UPON EXPANDED FEDERAL SUPPORT  
IN THE YEARS AHEAD.

IN THE PAST THREE WEEKS I HAVE SET FORTH A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC  
PROPOSALS THAT WILL CARRIED OUT IN THE HUMPHREY-MUSKIE ADMINISTRATION.



AND SO I DO NOT PROPOSE TO DISMANTLE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.  
BUT I DO PROPOSE TO DEVELOP NEW PROCEDURES AND INSTITUTIONS SO THAT  
STATES ... COMMUNITIES ... AND THE INDIVIDUALS WHO LIVE IN THEM ...  
WILL HAVE A FAR GREATER HAND IN FASHIONING THE PROGRAMS OF GOVERNMENT  
WHICH TOUCH THEIR LIVES.

THESE REFORMS ARE URGENT -- AND IN THE HUMPHREY-MUSKIE  
ADMINISTRATION THEY WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED.

MY ADMINISTRATION WILL INCLUDE THE FINEST TALENT IN AMERICA.

I WILL BRING NEW PEOPLE TO WASHINGTON ... EXPERIENCED PEOPLE ...  
FROM OUR CITIES ... FROM OUR UNIVERSITIES ... FROM BUSINESS ...  
FROM OUR FARMS ... WHEREVER THERE ARE AMERICANS WHO ARE CONCERNED...  
WHO HAVE IDEAS ... AND WHO WANT TO TAKE THIS COUNTRY FORWARD TO  
FUTURE GREATNESS.

THROUGHOUT THIS LAND, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS AN ABUNDANCE OF  
TOP-LEVEL PEOPLE TO FILL THE MANY JOBS OF GOVERNMENT ... TO DO THE  
HARD WORK OF DEMOCRACY. AND THERE ARE ABLE REPUBLICANS ... AND  
INDEPENDENTS ... WHO WILL OCCUPY POSITIONS OF HIGH TRUST AND  
RESPONSIBILITY IN THE HUMPHREY-MUSKIE ADMINISTRATION.

THERE ARE MANY DEVOTED PEOPLE NOW IN WASHINGTON. BUT AS PRESI-  
DENT, I SHALL WANT MY (ULINE) OWN TEAM ... TO PLACE THE (ULINE)  
HUMPHREY STAMPE ON POLICY ... AND TO INVOLVE NEW PEOPLE ... TO  
BRING A FRESH APPROACH TO EVERY PROBLEM.

BUILDING ON THE EXPERIENCE OF THE PAST ... MAKING FULL USE OF  
THE WISDOM OF THE FUTURE ... THE HUMPHREY-MUSKIE ADMINISTRATION  
WILL SERVE OUR PEOPLE ... AND SERVE THEM WELL.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ITSELF HAS ALREADY ACTED TO BROADEN THE  
OPPORTUNITY FOR INDIVIDUAL ACTION. IN CHICAGO -- DESPITE THE FUROR  
AND CONTROVERSY CARRIED ON THE TV SCREENS -- HISTORIC REFORMS WERE  
UNDERWAY. AND IT WAS THE MOST OPEN CONVENTION ... WITH THE MOST  
OPEN DEBATE ... IN OUR HISTORY.

WE TOOK CONCRETE STEPSTO DESTORY THE LAST VESTIGES OF RACIAL  
DISCRIMINATION ... TO INSURE BROAD REPRESENTATION IN THE SELCTION  
OF FUTURE DELEGATES ... TO REQUIRE CHANGES IN STATE AD LOCAL  
LAWS THAT RESTRICTED PARTICIPATION BY ORDINARY CITIZENS.



THE HUMPHRE-MUSKIE TEAM WILL IMPLEMENT THESE REFORMS TO  
THE LETTER -- AND AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE.

BUT NONE OF THESE REFORMS ARE POSSIBLE IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF  
VIOLENCE, FEAR OR INTOLERANCE.

WE ALL AGREE, OF COURSE, THAT LAW AND ORDER MUST PREVAIL.  
THE ISSUE IS "WHAT" AND "HOW": WHAT KIND OF LAW AND HOW TO  
KEEP ORDER.

IN OUR DEMOCRACY WE BELIEVE IN THE KIND OF LAW THAT WILL  
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ORDER RESTS WITH STATE AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES -- NOT WITH THE  
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

IT IS SAD ... AND IRONIC TO HEAR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES --  
WHO HAVE FOR YEARS MADE A FETISH OUT OF STATE'S RIGHTS -- PROCLAIM  
THEY WOULD USE THE PRESIDENTIAL POWER TO POLICE THE STREETS OF  
OUR CITIES.

ONE OF THESE CANDIDATES -- AND THIS IS MOST IRONIC -- WAS  
GOVERNOR OF THE STATE WITH THE (ULINE REST) HIGHEST MURDER RATE IN  
THE NATION. HE COULD NOT MAINTAIN ORDER IN HIS OWN STATE ... WHERE  
HE (ULINE) HAD THE POWER -- BUT NOW HE MROMISES TO MAINTAIN ORDER IN  
EVERY CITY AND STATE WHERE HE WILL NOT HAVE THE POWER.

WHAT CAN THE FEDERAL GOVERMENT DO ABOUT LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT?  
IT CAN -- ABOVE ALL -- PROVIDE DESPARATELY NEEDED FUNDS AND IDEAS  
FOR MODERNIZING POLICE METHODS -- FOR UPGRADING THE TRAINING OF  
PERSONNEL -- FOR INCREASING THE DISGRACEFULLY LOW SALARIES OF POLICE --  
AND FOR GIVNG THE POLICE A MORE AFFIRMATIVE ROLE IN THE COMMUNITY.  
THIS IS WHAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN DO. (ULINE REST) AND I WILL.

AGAIN, IT IS IRONIC TO HEAR THE LOUDEST CRIES FOR LAW ENFORCE-  
MENT COME FROM THE SPOKESMAN OF A PARTY THAT HAS CONSISTENTLY FOUGHT  
ALL EFFORTS TO SECURE FEDERAL FUNDS FOR THESE PURPOSES -- AND  
EVEN VOTED (ULINE 2) THIS YEAR TO REDUCE FEDERAL FUNDS FOR THESE  
PURPOSES XXXXXX (ULINE THIS YEAR) TO REDUCE FEDERAL FUNDS TO  
COMBAT CRIME.

I HAVE SAID IT IS TIME WE SUPPORTED OUR LOCAL POLICE -- AND I  
HAVE SAID WE MUST BE PREPARED TO PAY THEBILL. BECAUSE ANYONE  
WHO SUPPORTS HIS LOCAL POLICE WITHOUT MONEY, DOES NOT SUPPORT  
THEM AT ALL.

\* \* \*

THE REFORM OF OUR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS WILL ALSO BE  
IMPOSSIBLE UNLESS WE ARE ABLE TO DISTINGUISH DISSENT FROM DISORDER.

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FOREVER.

THE WORKING OF OUR POLICIAL DEMOCRACY RESTS ON THREE  
GREAT RIGHTS -- FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM OF SSEMBLY, AND FREEDOM TO  
VOTE. AND FROM THE EXERCISE OF THESE THREE GREAT RIGHTS FLOWS THE  
POWER OF REFORM.

WHEN A GROUP OF HECKLERS -- NO MATTER HOW RIGHTEOUS THEY BELIEVE  
THEIR CAUSE TO BE -- WHEN THEY SHOUT DOWN A SPEAKER, THEY ARE  
DENYING THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF SPEECH.

IF THEY BREAK UP A MEETING, THEY ARE DENYING OTHERS THE  
FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY

AND WHEN THEY THREATEN TO SIT-IN AT THE VOTING BOOTHS ON  
ELECTION DAY, THEY ARE DENYING THE FREEDOM TO VOTE.

THEY TYRANNY OF A MAJORITY -- IN THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT IS  
OPPRESSIVE. BUT THE TYRANNY OF A MINORITY -- IN THE FORM OF MOB  
ACTION -- IS EQUALLY OPPRESSIVE.

I CONDEMN TO TH -- TYRANNY IS WITOUXX WITHOUT QUALIFICATION AND  
WITHOUT FEAR.

DISORDER IS NOT DISSENT. INDEED, DISORDER, ESPECIALLY ORGANIZED  
DISORDER, IS THE ENEMY OF DISSENT.

DESTRUCTION IS NOT DEBATE. INDEED, THE VIOLENCE OF DESTRUCTION  
CAN ONLY SILENCE THE VITALITY OF A DEBATE.

A FREE SOCIETY CAN TOLERATE NEITHER A POLICE STATE NOR MOB RULE.  
AND THIS SOCIETY IS DANGEROUSLY CLOSE TO GETTING BOTH.

\* \* \*

THE FOUNDERS OF OUR TWO REATXXX GREAT PARTIES -- THOMAS  
JEFFERSON , ANDREW JACKSON AND ABRAHAM LINCOLN -- WERE MEN  
WHO GOVERNED IN TROUBLED TIMES. BUT THEY BROUGHT CREATION OUT  
OF CHAOS BECAUSE OF THEIR FUNDAMENTAL FAITH IN THE GOODNESS AND  
GREATNESS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

IN THE CHALLENGE OF PROBLEMS THEY SAW THE CHANCE FOR PROGRESS.

AND TODAY, NO LESS THAN THEN, WE MUST FIND OUR ~~CHOICE~~ *Chance*  
FOR PROGRESS. CAN WE STAND FOR LESS THAN THEY FOUGHT AND  
STRUGGLED TO ACHIEVE?

THE SPIRIT OF A FREE PEOPLE MUST BE CONTINUALLY REBORN.

THAT IS OUR CHALLENGE -- THAT IS OUR OPPORTUNITY -- IN  
1968.

EITHER WE BEGIN SLIPPING BACKWARD ... INTO A GREAT DIVISION OF  
OUR PEOPLE AND A WIDENING SPIRAL OF FEAR -- OR WE CONTINUE MOVING  
FORWARD INTO A NEW WAY OF JUSTICE AND ORDER.

ONCE WE TAKE THIS CHOICE ... I DON'T SEE HOW WE CAN CHANGE IT.

WHICH WAY: SEPARATION ... OR COMMUNITY? APARTHEID ... OR  
DEMOCRACY? A SOCIETY OF ORDERED LIBERTY ... OR A SOCIETY OF FEAR  
AND REPRESSION?

I APPEAL TO YOU, THE SILENT MAJORITY OF AMERICANS TO VOICE  
YOUR BELIEF IN THE DECENCY OF OUR DEMOCRACY -- TO GO TO THE POLLS  
THIS NOVEMBER IN THE SPIRIT OF FAITH, NOT OF FEAR -- IN THE  
SPIRIT OF HOPE, NOT OF HATE -- IN THE SPIRIT OF OUR FATHERS WHO  
CROSSED OCEANS, MOUNTAINS AND DESERTS ... WHO OVERCAME ALL  
OBSTACLES ... TO BUILD A LAND OF LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL.

WE HAVE FACED GRAVE CRISES BEFORE -- AND WE HAVE TRANSFORMED  
CHAOS INTO CREATION.

I DO BELIEVE ... THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN DO SO AGAIN --  
AND I MEAN TO CALL THEM TO THIS TASK.

WIN OR LOSE, THIS IS -- FOR ME -- THE (SULINE) CHALLENGE OF  
THE NEXT FIVE WEEKS ... AND THE (ULINE) COMMITMENT OF MY WHOLE  
LIFE.

# # #

END OF TEXT.

PLS ACK.



9/26 9:00 AM Monday PM 2

# Salt Lake City speech

Today I want to share with you my thoughts on the progress of the campaign--the issues raised--the issues avoided--and the things which ~~we~~ we--the American people--should consider in the five weeks remaining before election day.

This is a time for stock-taking . . . and for thoughtfulness.

Recently Senator Muskie and I visited Independence, Missouri, to ~~visit that grand old man of the Democratic Party,~~ President Harry S. Truman.

~~As I~~ We turned to President Truman for inspiration and advice. *And as always --- he gave us both.*  
~~He gave both.~~

"Tell 'em the truth," he said, "even if it hurts."

~~In this~~ In this campaign I have been trying to do just that--to tell it like it is--yes, even if it hurts.

The harsh truth is that we live in a time of political crisis that is world wide--just as ~~we~~ the 1930's were a time of economic crisis which affected <sup>every</sup> ~~many~~ nations.

Our economy collapsed and so did old idols and ideas. Men felt

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<sup>... useless...</sup>  
futile and they walked in fear.

<sup>many</sup> Those of you who lived through the 1930's <sup>: you</sup> know the story well--  
only too well--as demagogues sought scapegoats and dictators sought to  
enslave their own people and imperil the peace of the world.

We had <sup>in America,</sup> ~~our~~ demagogues promising simple solutions. But in our  
own fashion, we ~~the~~ chose another way: the way of free men. We turned  
to the ballot box--we elected Franklin D. Roosevelt.

<sup>way</sup> His was not the way of repression and violence. . . but the  
way of freedom. ~~He~~ His answer to the great crisis of our economy  
was not fear but faith--not hate but hope--not bullets but bread.

Today the United States--and many other countries of the world--  
face an equally great crisis of <sup>their</sup> political institutions. In America  
it is a crisis of democratic institutions--a crisis of our faith as  
a ~~gr~~ free people--a crisis of our faith in each other.

This ~~empty~~ campaign is a time of great testing. The American people  
are being asked to decide this question: Shall we--in this moment of  
crisis--move forward toward one society of justice and opportunity for all?



When I started this campaign I stated that even it it cost my political life, I would make no compact with extremism. I repeat ~~it~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~now--because no election is worth winning if the price we pay is our freedom.~~   
~~— even winning the Presidency —~~   
 now--because no election is worth ~~winning~~ <sup>it</sup> if the price we pay is our freedom.

~~In the clash of extremes lies the danger of democracy,~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>today's lies in the clash of extremes.</sup>

And let us be clear: ~~extremes~~ <sup>the extremes -- of left and right --</sup> meet on a common ground: They both seek to destroy the middle, and with it, democracy.   
 They both seek to embitter the tolerant and generous heart of America.

They both seek to <sup>bring about a</sup> ~~hasten the~~ violent confrontation.

They both seek to settle matters by riot <sup>... instead of</sup> ~~rather than~~ by reason.

This campaign will decide whether the extremes <sup>into which</sup> ~~are to~~ succeed-- whether the voices of hate, <sup>... of</sup> ~~prejudice~~ <sup>will</sup> and division ~~are to~~ drive out the forces of progress, opportunity and justice.

<sup>I believe</sup> This, then, is the great question before America: Shall we--in this time of crisis--move forward toward one society of justice and opportunity-- or shall we become a fractured society, cleft in two parts. . .hostile . . .and embittered?

This is more than traditional campaign rhetoric. The extremes <sup>of the right and left</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>Plan -</sup>   
 Solves see it this way: -- ~~and they~~

believe they can succeed. . . and in their success they see the end

of our survival as a peaceful ~~and free~~ nation. . . a nation of democracy.

... no: required ...  
The American people are being asked to decide the answer in

the next five weeks.

I speak <sup>these</sup> these harsh truths--not because they are popular--but  
because they ~~must be spoken~~. And they must be spoken before it is too  
late, society . . . and of itself itself.  
price of silence may be the end of our  
system of government . . . our ideals of a free

\* \* \* \*

What is to be done?

The answer to conflict is not blind escalation of violence--either  
here or abroad. We must, instead, seek pathways to peace.

We must begin our search for peace with a declaration of inter-  
dependence. We ~~are~~ dependent upon one another as people who live in  
this nation--we ~~are~~ dependent upon each other as a nation that lives  
in this world.  
and in our dealings with other countries

There can be no lasting peace for any of us unless there is  
lasting peace for all of us.

I do not mean peace in Vietnam alone--although that must be and  
as President .  
shall be my first order of business. I mean peace in our own nation

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as well. I mean civil peace in the communities of America. I mean peace on earth built on good will among ~~men~~ men. I mean the peace which can arise only when men are truly free.

*when*  
Confronted with conflict, different people will react in different ways.

The way of extremists is to react with repression.

*way* *people who believe in democracy*  
The ~~way~~ of ~~democrats~~ is to act with reform.

*There*  
At the root of our political discontent is a crisis over the role of the individual *plays* in all of our social and political institutions.

Government is too big.

Business is too big.

Universities are too big.

The individual remains anonymous in his neighborhood and community.  
~~xNeighbors have no common~~

Numbers. . . computers. . . mindless machines. . . ~~xxxx~~ unresponsive political machinery . . . ~~overgrown~~ overgrown cities. . . unsettling mobility-- all serve to isolate and undermine the individual.

*What is the answer? To destroy all of that? No.*  
My Presidency will be devoted to finding new channels for

*top 22*  
individual participation and expression throughout the national government--

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and using the resources of the national government to ~~encourage~~ develop similar opportunities on the state and local level.

~~This does not mean dismantling the~~  
opponents

My ~~opposition~~ in this election spend much of their time attacking the federal government--but all too often their attacks reveal a lack of concern--a failure of understanding--of the essential role which the federal government must play in <sup>overcoming</sup> ~~attacking~~ the ~~most~~ urgent social and economic problems of our time.

Education. . . the crisis in our cities. . . economic growth . . . farm policy  
social security . . . Medicare . . . resource development . . . job  
development and training--these, among many others, are areas of activity which depend heavily upon expanded federal support in the years ahead.

In the past three weeks I have set forth a number ~~of~~ specific ~~suggestions~~ proposals that <sup>will be</sup> ~~would~~ carried out in the Humphrey-Muskie Administration

And so I do not propose to dismantle the federal government. <sup>But</sup> I do propose to ~~have~~ <sup>so that</sup> develop new procedures and institutions ~~whereby~~ states... communities... <sup>live in them ... will</sup> and ~~localities~~ and the individuals who ~~reside there~~ have a far greater hand in fashioning the <sup>of government</sup> ~~governmental~~ programs which touch their lives.

type #3 ↓

These reforms are urgent--and in the Humphrey-Muskie Administration they will be accomplished.

*1. INSERT* ~~X~~  
The Democratic Party itself has already acted to broaden the

opportunity for individual action. In Chicago--despite the furor and controversy ~~which~~ carried on the TV screens--historic reforms were

underway. *And it was the most open convention... with the most open debate... in our history.*  
*We took* concrete steps ~~were taken~~ to destroy the last vestiges of

racial discrimination ~~to~~ . . . to insure broad representation in the selection of future delegates . . . to require changes in state and local laws that restricted participation by ordinary citizens.

The Humphrey-Muskie team will implement these reforms to the letter--and as rapidly as possible.

~~Nx~~ But none of these reforms are possible in an atmosphere of violence, fear or intolerance.

*We agree,*  
*2* All ~~are agreed~~, of course, that law and order must prevail.

The issue is "what" and "how": what kind of law and how to keep order.

In our democracy we believe in the kind of law that will allow every human being the fullest opportunity to live and grow and develop his God-given rights and talents.

Many people <sup>want to</sup> ~~would like to~~ know <sup>the</sup> ~~why~~ what <sup>2</sup> Humphrey  
Administration <sup>will</sup> ~~would~~ look like.

My administration will include the finest talent in  
America.

I will bring new people to Washington. . . ~~talented~~  
~~people from~~ <sup>from</sup> our cities. . . <sup>from</sup> our universities. . . from  
business. . . <sup>from our farms</sup> wherever there are Americans who are  
concerned. . . who have ideas. . . and who want ~~this country~~  
to take this country forward to future greatness, ~~to match~~  
~~the greatness of the past.~~ <sup>Throughout this land,</sup>

<sup>Throughout this land,</sup> The Democratic Party has an abundance of top-level  
people to fill the many jobs of government. . . ~~and~~ to do  
the hard work of democracy. And there are <sup>able</sup> Republicans. . .  
and Independents. . . who will occupy positions of high  
trust and responsibility in the Humphrey <sup>- Muskie</sup> Administration.

There are many ~~able~~ devoted people now in  
Washington. But as President, I shall want my own team. . .  
to place the Humphrey stamp <sup>on</sup> policy. . . ~~and~~ to involve  
new people. . . to bring ~~fresh ideas~~ a fresh approach to every  
problem.

Building on the experience of the past. . . making  
full use of the wisdom of the future. . . the Humphrey - <sup>Muskie</sup>  
Administration will serve our people. . . and serve them well.



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*we're w.s. dom... and effort*  
In our democracy we ~~xxx~~ believe that we must separate the truly  
guilty from the ~~truly~~ innocent--we must never apply the primitive  
rule of guilt by religion, or age, or color, or by any other form  
of association.

*And*  
In our democracy ~~too~~, the primary jurisdiction for maintaining  
order rests with ~~xxxxxxx~~ state and local authorities--not with the  
federal government.

*sed... and*  
It is ironic, ~~to say the least~~, to hear Presidential candidates --  
who have for years ~~been making~~ *made* a fetish out of state's rights, ~~proclaim~~  
they would use the Presidential power to police the streets of our  
cities.

*-- and this is --*  
One of these candidates, ~~most ironically~~, ~~is a man who~~ was governor  
of ~~a~~ *the* state with the highest murder rate ~~of any state in the union~~ *in the nation*. He  
could not maintain order in his own state where he had the power--but  
now he promises to maintain order in every city and state where he will  
not have the power.

What can the federal government do about local law enforcement?

It can--above all--provide desperately needed funds and ideas ~~for~~

for modernizing police methods--for upgrading <sup>the training of</sup> personnel--for increasing the disgracefully low salaries of police--and for giving the police a more affirmative role in the community. This is what the Federal Government can do. And I will.

Again, it is ironic to hear the loudest cries for law enforcement come from ~~spokesman~~ the spokesman of a party that has consistently

fought all efforts to secure federal funds for these purposes. And even voted this year to reduce federal funds to combat crime.

I have said it is time we supported our local police--and I have said we must be prepared to pay the bill. <sup>Because anyone who</sup> ~~for this support.~~ supports his local police without money, <sup>does not support</sup> ~~them at all.~~   
~~\*\*\*\*~~   
~~The reform of our democratic institutions will likewise~~   
~~cannot go forward~~

The reform of our democratic institutions will <sup>also</sup> ~~likewise~~ be impossible unless we are able to distinguish dissent from disorder.

My ears echo with the voices of dissent. Yet I stand before you to <sup>affirm this above all:</sup> ~~assert that~~ I believe in the right of dissent--not for some but for ~~all.~~ <sup>everyone.</sup>

America is built on dissent--as the descendants of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young surely know. Dissent is the dynamo of democracy--in Utah--as in all America.

When the people of a nation can move their heads in one direction

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only--up and down--<sup>they must fight soon bow them down forever.</sup> then the people have lost their freedom.

*the working of*  
Our political democracy rests on three great rights--freedom of speech, freedom of assemblage, and freedom to vote. <sup>from the exercise of</sup> And ~~therefore~~ these three great rights flows the power of reform.

When a group of hecklers--no matter how righteous they believe their cause to be--<sup>when they</sup> shout down a speaker, they are denying the right of <sup>to</sup> freedom of speech.

If they break up a meeting, ~~or a convention~~--they are denying ~~if~~ others the freedom of ~~assemblage~~ <sup>at</sup> assemblage.

And when they threaten to sit-in <sup>at</sup> the voting booths on election day, they are denying the freedom to vote.

~~If~~ the tyranny of a majority--in the form of government--is oppressive. <sup>But</sup> ~~then~~ the tyranny of a minority--in the form of mob action--is equally oppressive.

<sup>tyrannies</sup>  
I condemn both--without qualification and without fear.

Disorder is not dissent. Indeed, disorder, especially organized disorder, is the enemy of dissent. <sup>L</sup> Destruction is not debate. Indeed, the ~~is~~ violence of destruction can only silence the vitality of a debate.

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A free society can tolerate neither a police state nor mob rule.

And this society is dangerously close to ~~begin~~ getting both.

\*\*\*

*Thomas Jefferson*

*What is the point?*

The founders of our two great parties--Andrew Jackson and

Abraham Lincoln--were men who governed in ~~the~~ troubled times. But

they brought creation out of ~~the~~ chaos because of their fundamental

faith in the goodness and greatness of the American people.

In the challenge of problems they saw the ~~chance~~ chance for progress.

~~In these troubled times I ask each of you to join with me~~

~~in a reaffirmation of the faith of Lincoln and Jackson.~~

And today, no less than then, we must find our chance for progress.

Can we stand for less than they fought and struggled to achieve?

The spirit of a free people must be continually reborn.

~~That is our opportunity in 1968~~  
~~Either we begin slipping backward~~

That is our challenge--that is our opportunity--in 1968.

Either we begin slipping backward <sup>... great division of</sup> into a continually polarizing  
<sup>our people</sup> of the nation and a widening spiral of fear--or we continue moving

forward into a new day of justice and order.

*Once we take this choice ---*  
 I don't see how ~~the momentum of this choice can be altered, once~~  
*we can change it.*

~~taken.~~

Which way: separation <sup>or</sup> community? Apartheid <sup>or</sup> democracy?

A society of ordered liberty <sup>or</sup> a society of fear and repression?

~~xxx~~ I appeal to <sup>you,</sup> the silent majority of Americans to voice  
*your belief*  
~~its~~ ~~believe~~ in the ~~decency~~ decency of our democracy.--to go to the

polls this November in the spirit of faith, not <sup>of</sup> fear--in the

spirit of hope, not <sup>of</sup> hate--in the spirit of our <sup>fathers</sup> ~~founders~~ who

crossed oceans, mountains and deserts <sup>... who</sup> ~~to~~ overcome all obstacles. --

to build a land of liberty and justice for all.

We have faced grave crises before--and we have transformed

~~chaos~~ chaos into creation.

<sup>do</sup> I believe ~~deeply~~ <sup>we --</sup> that the American people can do so again.--and

I mean to call them to this task.

*Win or lose, this is--for me--the challenge of the next five ~~xxxx~~ weeks...*  
*and The commitment of my whole life.*



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