



news release

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PEOPLE CAN'T TRUST NIXON, HUMPHREY SAYS

St. Louis, October 15 -- Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey said today that "you can't trust a man who has a vacuum where his principles ought to be."

"It's the same old Nixon -- and the people can't trust him any more in 1968 than they could in 1952, 1956 or 1960."

The Democratic nominee charged that Nixon's "managers have told him not to debate, not to speak out, to get plenty of rest, not to lose his temper, and just sit back and wait for Univac to tell him he's won three minutes after the polls close in Rhode Island.

"He has made few speeches -- and he has said very little in them.

"He has made himself a master of the 'yes, but' speech.

"Some issues are too big to be discussed, he tells us and some are too small. This leaves Mr. Republican little to talk about.

"Some issues are under investigation, or being negotiated, or out of his jurisdiction -- so Mr. Republican will not talk about them."

"But in less than three weeks the people of the United States are going to elect a President. So I say the American people have a right to know who they are electing, what he believes, and where he would lead America in these perilous and difficult times," Humphrey said.

The text of his remarks to the St. Louis State Democratic Dinner is attached.

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For Release: WEDNESDAY AMs
October 16, 1968

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
ST. LOUIS STATE DEMOCRATIC DINNER
CHASE PARK PLAZA HOTEL
OCTOBER 15, 1968

I always like to come to Missouri.

I feel right at home here.

The people here are skeptical. So am I -- skeptical of public opinion polls, skeptical of candidates who won't speak out, skeptical of candidates who take the people for granted.

The people here say, "I'm from Missouri -- you've got to show me."

That's how I feel. I'll show you.

And I'll show the nation -- how to win an election -- and how to end the war -- and how to hold this country together.

Since this is a political meeting, let me tell you a political story.

It's about a Democratic candidate battling with his back against the wall.

All the public opinion polls said he was sure to lose. So did the nation's press.

The financial contributions weren't coming in. And the odds were long against him.

His own party was deeply divided. Its left wing had gone its own way. A third party had arisen, lead by a Southern demagogue who was playing on people's fears and trying to throw the election into the House of Representatives.

And his principal opponent was riding a high-priced slick Republican steamroller to what seemed certain victory in November.

But no one had consulted the people. And when the people finally had their say -- in the voting booths -- Harry S. Truman went back to the White House for another four years.

In 1948 it was uphill all the way. Everything was against Harry Truman -- everything but the people.

And in 1968, it's been uphill all the way. But we've got the people again -- Democrats always do -- and we're going to win this election.

But let's not kid ourselves.

We are up against a more than \$20 million dollar computerized televised campaign blitz that hides its candidate behind tons of confetti, clouds of balloons, and millions of dollars worth of TV commercials.

Mr. Nixon's public opinion polls have convinced him he has the election won -- if he just plays it safe.

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His managers have told him not to debate, not to speak out, to get plenty of rest, not to lose his temper, and just sit back and wait for Univac to tell him he's won three minutes after the polls close in Rhode Island.

They have carefully manicured his image -- cool, detached, clean-shaven, above the battle so far ahead he's almost out of sight.

And he himself has conducted a silent campaign.

He has made few speeches -- and he has said very little in them.

He has refused to debate the issues before the people even though I'm willing to buy the time on national television.

All this is supposed to add up to the new Nixon.

The trouble is that there is no new Nixon.

He is the same old Nixon we've met before -- and defeated before.

If he won't tell the people where he stands, I'll tell them -- and I'll start right now.

In 1952, while Senator Joe McCarthy was openly vilifying Adlai Stevenson, Richard Nixon was slyly insinuating that Stevenson was somehow disloyal. He was saying, "I do not question good intentions, but...."

That year he was playing on people's fear of Communism.

This year he is playing on people's fear of crime and violence. While George Wallace is openly threatening to run down people with a car, Mr. Nixon is reading the crime news out of the daily papers to Southern audiences.

In 1952 he used the code words of McCarthyism. This year he uses the code words of fear and hate.

In 1960 he even said: "I have no doubt whatever about Senator Kennedy's loyalty to his country" -- as though there were some question about John Kennedy's patriotism.

We are told that the new Nixon would make responsible appointments if he were elected President. Well, he's already made his most important selection -- Spiro T. Agnew -- the man who would succeed him if they were elected.

You can't trust a man who has a vacuum where his principles ought to be.

It's the same old Nixon -- and the people can't trust him any more in 1968 than they could in 1952, 1956 or 1960.

In 1956 he called Adlai Stevenson's proposal to halt nuclear testing a "cruel hoax" and "catastrophic nonsense."

This year he wants to postpone ratification of the treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons.

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He was against Medicare in the 1950's and the 1960's -- and presumably he is still against it.

He was against John F. Kennedy's proposal for a Peace Corps and called it a haven for draft dodgers -- and presumably he's still against it.

He has made himself a master of the "yes, but" speech.

He has said the Supreme Court should "not be dragged into politics" -- but he signaled for Republicans in the Senate to drive the knife into Abe Fortas and the Court itself.

He has sent a secret letter to reassure Wall Street traders he will protect their interests -- but has explained the issue was too narrow for public discussion.

Some issues are too big to be discussed, he tells us, and some are too small. This leaves Mr. Republican little to talk about.

Some issues are under investigation, or being negotiated, or out of his jurisdiction -- so Mr. Republican will not talk about them.

With that kind of a record, it's no wonder Mr. Republican is ducking the debates.

It's no wonder that he's been insulated with balloons, confetti and staged TV interview shows.

But in less than three weeks the people of the United States are going to elect a President. And he'll be their President for four years.

So I say the American people have a right to know who they are electing -- what he believes -- and where he would lead America in these perilous and difficult times.

The American people must have trust in the man who is to lead them.

* * *

Mr. Nixon charges that I would increase the poverty program...that I would invest millions, perhaps billions, of dollars in our cities...in education...in health.

Mr. Nixon says I would take risks for peace.

I would do all these things.

I would do these things because this country needs help -- and many of its people need help.

I would do these things because I think time is running out now on the arms race.

If we do not act, the time is near when 15 or 20 countries will have their own tidy stockpiles of destructive nuclear explosives.

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And -- if we do not act -- I think this country we love could be rocked with human explosion that would change the whole nature of our society and our free institutions.

I propose to call forth not only the powers of the federal government and of the Presidency, but of every level of government and every part of our private economy -- right down to the house where you live.

This open Presidency would mean not oppression of responsible disagreement, but its encouragement.

The open Presidency would mean not secrecy, but the widest possible discussion and ventilation of this nation's problems and their alternative solutions.

This would be my Presidency: an active Presidency...an open Presidency... a Presidency calling forth participation by all Americans -- especially the young.

Our journey began more than 200 years ago.

We came to this country burning with the idea that one man was as good as another...that what was wrong could be made right...that people possessed the basic wisdom and goodness to govern themselves without conflict.

Now we come to a new moment of crisis in that journey and we are called:

- to heal the hatreds and divisions among us;
- to reaffirm the basic decency of spirit which lies within us as a people;
- to reassert this nation's moral leadership in a world that desperately seeks that leadership;

- to tell a new generation that what we have is good...that it is worth saving...that the dream of their parents is still a worthy dream.

This is work for all of us.

I seek to work through the Presidency of the United States.

And if you will stand with me, we can complete that work.

We need not be lost here in our own country.

We can build into reality the free and open society we all came to find.

That is the choice before us.

It is a choice among men...a choice among parties...a choice about our basic direction as a people.

"Who shall speak for the people?" Carl Sandburg asked.

And I answer: I shall speak and I shall act.

I ask your help.

REMARKS OF VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY AT
STATE DEMOCRATIC DINNER
CHASE PARK PLAZA HOTEL
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1968

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, thank you very much, Gussie. Thank you very much for an introduction that I heard loud and clear as I was waiting outside here -- not wanting to interrupt the proceedings of tonight -- hearing this magnificent array of speeches from some of the best Democrats that were ever produced in any state in the United States of America.

You will just have to let me get acquainted, you know. I don't really just sort of like to come in quick-like in a meeting like this. I sort of like to be around so I can say hello to old friends. And I can say hello again to Governor Hughes and Betty -- nice to see you. And say hello to Sidney and all the many other folks here tonight.

But I surely want you to know that any time that I can stand up and have my picture taken with Governor Hearnese and Tom Eagleton and Stu Symington, and then have Gussie Busch up there putting his hand in my pocket -- (Laughter). Gussie, we got it mixed up. I saw him put a hammer lock on me, just like that. I guess he has heard my campaign is hard up.

Well, it was a real pleasure.

And I want to first of all thank my dear and good friend, a friend of many years, Senator Stuart Symington, for the address that he made tonight which I was privileged to read earlier today and which I was privileged to hear outside here, and to thank him, not only for his kind words about me, but what he had to say about our country, about our party, what he had to say about this fine, good Governor, Governor Warren Hearnese, and about Tom Eagleton that is going to be the next United States Senator.

(Applause)

And I listened to Tom, and I listened to Warren. And I want to tell you fellows something. What you said about me is all true. I like it very much.

(Applause)

Nothing like being modest.

Not long ago I was home visiting my mother after I had been reading some of the things that they said about me in the columns in the papers, and I was sort of down and discouraged. And you know, you always get the truth from your mother. And I have to tell you about her a little bit, because, you see, tomorrow night I am going up to New York, and I am going to be there at the Al Smith Dinner. I finally trapped Dick Nixon. He is going to be there, too.

(Applause)

And I figured that there was no better way to meet him than under the most wholesome and favorable circumstances. It is about time he caught up with what Al Smith was saying in 1928.

(Applause)

But in 1928 my father was the city chairman for Al Smith, and he was a brave man, I want you to know, because out in South Dakota it was both immoral and illegal to be a Democrat. And it was even worse to be for Al Smith in 1928. But my father was for Al Smith. He was not immoral and illegal, but he was for Al Smith. And I am going to have a lot of fun with that.

But I remember that Dad occasionally used to tell me about Mom and her politics. And he would say to me -- I remember very well when I was a very young fellow -- and this is a true family story.

I was a bit sassy with my mother, as young men are prone to be on occasion. After my father had given me the old-fashioned treatment, about how you get respect for your mother, he told me -- he said "I want you to know, young man, that the woman that you have insulted is my wife and my sweetheart, and I am in love with her. She just happens to be your mother. And she is a wonderful woman". And then in his way of saying it -- and I can only paraphrase it -- he said "She has only one weakness, son; your mother is politically unreliable.

(Laughter)

You see, Dad always felt that Mother voted for Harding once.

(Laughter)

And he never quite forgave her.

But since then, she has reformed, and she has become a very objective and stalwart Democrat. And I was reading about all the mistakes that I have made and all the difficulties that I was having, all of which are more or less true. And I went home to talk to Mom. She is 87 years of age, and just had her 87th birthday, and she listened to me. And I told her what people had been saying. And I want the members of the press to know that she denies every living word of it.

(Laughter)

And I said "Mother, in light of what you have heard now, what you have read, I want to ask you particularly in light of what Dad said about you, are you going to vote for me". And I make an announcement tonight, ladies and gentlemen -- I have my Mother's vote locked up.

(Applause)

Now, let me ask you. Who knows a man better than his own mother.

(Applause)

And if my mother can trust me, why can't you tonight, my friends.

(Applause)

You know, just a little while ago we were with Jimmy -- where is Jimmy -- he is back there. Well, he will be up front shortly -- don't worry about that. I was with Jimmy Symington and with Bill Clay. And there isn't the slightest doubt at all that there are going to be two new congressmen right out of St. Louis.

(Applause)

What a better Washington we are going to have.

Now, wouldn't it be a tragedy to have two wonderful men like Jimmy Symington -- Jim Symington and Bill Clay, go down there to Washington, D.C. and not to have a Democrat in the White House. That would be unbelievable.

(Applause)

So I just ask you to package it -- just include me in when you are casting that vote.

Thank you very much.

(Applause)

To my friend Delton Houtchins and Dr. Greenberg and Paul Berra and to you, Sidney, and to Shirley Butters and all of the other officers of this party in the state and every county, I want you to go to work. I want you to redouble your efforts. And I come to the right place to talk to you about it.

Tonight I thought maybe if you didn't mind, since this is not exactly a community chest gathering, that I would talk a little politics with you -- just a little old-fashioned politics.

Some of you approve of that? That is fine with me.

Since this is a political meeting, and since we are here in total objectivity, as good Democrats, let me tell you a political story. And most of you recognize it. It is about a Democratic candidate who was battling with his back against the wall. As a matter of fact, the pollsters didn't give him a chance, and the nation's press said he didn't have a prayer. And the financial contributors were leaving, with the exception of you, Gussie, and a few others. There were some that were still with him. And the contributions were mighty skimpy. And the odds -- well, the odds were long against him.

His own party -- up to now, as a matter of fact, this is a fair description of what I am going through -- and the odds, I say, were very much against him.

His party, his own great party, that he had been loyal to all of his life, was deeply divided. Its left wing had gone its own way on some kind of misguided flight. A third party had arisen, led by a southern demagogue who was playing on people's fears and suspicions and their hates. And that man was trying to throw the election into the House of Representatives, or at least he was going to have some electors with which he could bargain.

And his principle opponent -- well, he was riding a high-priced, slick, Republican steamroller to what seemed to be a certain victory.

There's only one thing that was wrong; somebody forgot to consult the people. And when the people finally had their say, when they went to the polling box, and not to the pollster, Harry S. Truman went back to the White House for another four years.

(Applause)

This is a great story to remember, because as far as I recall most of the people in this state that have had a great political career have been underdogs, fought their way up.

This Governor, this Senator, people in the House of Representatives -- why, I ever heard that Jimmy was going to have a rough go of it -- had to fight hard to come up.

And the story in 1948 was an uphill battle all the way -- everything was against us, everything but what counts.

And in 1968 I read this script as if they just took the boilerplate out from the issues of Time, Life, Look, from the issues of the daily press and the commentary of twenty years ago. And I want to tell you I hope they are saving the same headlines for November 5, because that is what is going to happen.

(Applause)

I don't mind if the Chicago Tribune does print that Nixon has won -- as long as the St. Louis Post Dispatch and the St. Louis Globe says Humphrey has won.

(Applause)

But let's not kid ourselves -- and I don't. I try to be as objective about the situation as I can.

I come to a state that in 1960 stood with Minnesota as one of the two Mid-Western states that cast their vote, and a majority vote, for John Kennedy. We were the only two outside of Illinois.

And I have had a little experience in this underdog role myself. I ran for Mayor of Minneapolis and they said I couldn't win. I read it every day. And the polls said I wasn't going to win. But I did. And I won by the largest majority that had ever been given a mayor of Minneapolis up until that time.

So I don't mind being an underdog.

(Applause)

In 1948 I was on that ticket for the United States Senate. There had never been a Democrat ever elected to the United States Senate from Minnesota in a hundred years, not one. And I had about as much chance according to all the wiseacres, according to all the people that thought they knew what the score was -- I had

about as much chance as a snowball in you-know-where. They said it is impossible. But it is a nice try -- he's a nice young fellow -- it doesn't hurt to get whipped if you are young -- let him try.

And we came out of that election with a majority vote in the State of Minnesota of 270,000 plus.

(Applause)

Carried that state.

And Stu Symington and Hubert Humphrey have been underdogs in the Senate for 101 bills -- if not that many -- yes -- you hear that dog -- I have sound effects, too.

(Applause)

Name me any other candidate that brings you along such entertainment.

Yes, my friends -- I have been with Stuart Symington in the United States Senate, as part of that little group there for years that stood and fought for our platform. That's right -- just for our platform. Nothing radical, something sensible. Time after time we were defeated. Time after time -- we were told it was impossible.

But, ladies and gentlemen, today the record of the Democratic platform that we promised the American people in 1960, and that platform in 1964, much of which they said was impossible -- today it is the law of the land, and the underdogs are on top, and we won our fight.

(Applause)

So if anybody in the house doesn't believe that we can win it, and if anybody in the house doesn't think that we have enough of what it takes to win it, you are in the wrong party, at the wrong time, because we can do it and we are going to do it, and we are starting it right out here in St. Louis, where it is a good place to start the fight.

I have been having a good time all day in Missouri. We had a rip-snorter over there today in Kansas City, I'll tell you. It was something. And I have been touching up a few tonight. I was over to the meeting of our labor friends, over at the COPE meeting, had a few kind words to say about the opposition, and some that weren't so kind. But every one of them was true.

I met tonight with some of the leaders here in the Negro community. I had a few things to say that were frank and true.

We had several meetings in Kansas City today, and every one of them a good one, every one, enthusiasm.

But I know what the facts are, and I know what we face.

We face a \$20 million computerized, televised campaign blitz that hides its candidate behind tons of confetti, clouds of balloons, millions of dollars worth of TV commercials, and tonight I learned that this same candidate is not yet satisfied -- that on two days before the election, on the Saturday before the election, he will have four hours of prime time, national television.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is more national television than I will have in all of this campaign.

But I don't care if he takes 24 hours. I just want him to discuss one issue and discuss it openly with the American people -- just one.

(Applause)

Of course, I offered him an hour of free time this Sunday night. I said we would go out and raise the money if he, Mr. Wallace and myself would stand on the same platform, before the same microphones, before the same audience, debating the same issues, on the same hour, on the same day, before the American

public.

You know what I have been told? Well, his campaign manager said -- Goodnight Hubert; goodnight, George. And then the candidate said this is kid stuff. I don't think it's kid stuff at all. I think it is the stuff of which men are made, when you stand up and face your opposition, and you face them face to face, head on.

What's more, the American people are entitled to a frank and open discussion of the issues.

(Applause)

But Mr. Nixon's public opinion polls have convinced him that he has won. And he is just playing it safe.

I want to tell you something. He is playing it so safe that he almost feels like he is President. And he has been feeling like he is President so long that by November 5 people are going to think it is time for a change.

(Applause)

Well, I guess you know what the story is. It's all fixed up, you know -- cool, calculated, detached, clean-shaven, above the battle, so far ahead he is almost out of sight. Frankly, I think that that is just exactly where he ought to be -- way out.

(Applause)

But what this really is supposed to add up to is something that I want you to clearly understand. It is to add up to what they say is the new Nixon. But I want you to know there is no new Nixon. There isn't even an old Nixon. There is just the real Nixon. And we have had him before. We have met him before. He is the same old one that we have met before, and he is the same old one we have defeated before. And he is the same one we will do it to again. He is used to it.

(Applause)

And, my friends, if he won't tell you where he stands, I have looked up the record and I am going to tell you. And I thought we would have a little review tonight, and we will go back a few years.

(Shout s of "Give 'em hell")

You know what Mr. Truman said. He said he never gave anybody hell; he just told them the truth, and they just realized that that is what they were having.

Some of you may recall 1952 when the late Senator Joe McCarthy was openly vilifying Adlai Stevenson. And there off on the sidelines, coming in out of the shadows every once in a while -- this fellow plays more in the shadows than any one man; I don't know what he is finding out there, but it must be interesting. Our there in the shadows there was the Republican nominee, slyly insinuating that Stevenson was somehow disloyal -- he was saying this, and I quote him. "I do not question his good intentions, but -- --"

This is the greatest "but" artist we have ever had.

(Applause)

My fellow Democrats, that is the year that he was playing on the people's fear of Communism. And lest you forget, this is the man that said that this party was the party of twenty years of treason. And I want you to know that I have not forgotten it. And I intend to make him eat every living word of it.

(Applause)

He has a new act this year. This year he is a little bit above that Communism battle. He got in it a little bit. But he has gotten on a little higher plateau.

This year he is playing on the people's fear of crime and violence. He is having a little trouble competing with the

"Bombsey Twins", as I call them -- Wallace and LeMay -- he is having a little trouble with them. It is pretty hard to out-Wallace Wallace on law and order --I'll tell you that.

Buthe is giving them a good run for their money.

And while George Wallace is openly threatening to run people down with his car if they should get in front of him -- I never knew that this was one of the qualifications for being President -- Mr. Nixon is not quite that way. Mr. Nixon is a little more prudent. He spends his time reading the crime news out of the daily papers to the Southern audiences, and he says most of it is in black print. Yes, ladies and gentlemen, there are lots of ways to interpret it.

Up North, a civil righter. Down South -- sniffing magnolias with Strom Thurmond.

(Applause)

In 1960 -- listen to these words -- how patronizing, how benignly kind.

"I have no doubt whatever about Senator Kennedy's loyalty to his country, but - - -" as though there ever had been any question about John Kennedy's patriotism.

This is the kind of "yes, but" candidate.

And we are told that the new Nixon would make responsible appointments now if he were elected President. My, he has even picked a cabinet, or two. I gather that he is going to have to expand it, because there have been more promises made for cabinet posts than there are cabinet offices.

But he said that he will make responsible appointments.

Well, he has already made his most important selection -- Spiro T. Agnew --the man who would succeed him if he were -- if they were elected; the man that is a heart-beat away from the Presidency.

Ladies and gentlemen, I will ask any impartial American jury to compare Spiro T. Agnew and Edmund S. Muskie.

(Applause)

If a man will compromise on the selection of his Vice-Presidential nominee, a heart-beat away from the President in these most precarious and uncertain days, when one out of three Presidents in the last 50 years has not lived out his term, when one President has been assassinated in the last five years and a contender for the Presidency has also been assassinated -- if a man will compromise his principles in the selection of a running mate, what makes you think he is going to select a good cabinet?

(Applause)

If I have done nothing else for this party, if I have done nothing else for this country, I have by my recommendation to the Democratic convention given to this party and this nation a man of honor, ability and integrity in the Vice-Presidential nominee of the Democratic ticket.

(Applause)

So let's get rid of all the deoderant, and all the new fix-up, all the new facials, all the new dressings, and let's take a look at what we have.

After all, how new can you get? When you got renewed in '52 and '56 and '60 --how many polish jobs can you have without wearing out the basic.

(Applause)

I say to you that it is the same Mr. Republican, the same Mr. Nixon, the real Nixon. And I say to you that the same Mr. Nixon is the one that the people cannot trust, any more in 1968 than they could in 1952, in '58, in '60 -- and the people of California who knew him best in 1962.

(Applause)

Somehow, some way we are going to get through this mirage. Somehow, some way we are going to get through this protective covering. And the man that is the real man is going to stand up and he is going to have to face the record and the public.

In 1956 he called Adlai Stevenson's proposal to halt nuclear testing and to prevent the fall of radioactivity that could damage human life, he called it a cruel hoax. And two years later he called it catastrophic nonsense.

Thank God that John Kennedy didn't listen to that kind of advice.

(Applause)

Yes -- in 1954, when French colonialism was at war in Vietnam, this man who said he knows how to get peace there, called for the use of American armed forces after the French defeat at Dien Ben Phu then -- not for self-determination, but to impose colonialism yet upon a people that were striving for freedom.

This year he wants to postpone ratification of the treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons.

I want to tell you in all candor, I don't feel any more secure with the thought that maybe Mr. Castro or Mr. Nasser, within the next year, may wake up with nuclear weapons in their hands. That doesn't make me happy -- not one bit.

He was against medicare in the 1950's and in the 1960's. And as far as I know, he is still against it -- even though he says he loves old people. Well, may he grow old beautifully.

(Applause)

He was against John F. Kennedy's proposal; and it was my privilege, along with your Senator, to be co-sponsors of it, of the Peace Corps. He was against the proposal of the Peace Corps and he called it a haven for draftdodgers. There is not a draft dodger in it. And he is presumably still against it.

Ladies and gentlemen, a man that had no more vision than that, and a man that could identify himself with every mistake of the last twenty years, I don't think is the new man that you want to be President of the United States in the most perilous period of time that this nation has lived through for many a decade. I just don't believe he belongs in the White House. I think he belongs back in his law office.

(Applause)

But I will say this. He has made himself the master, as I said a moment ago, of the "yes, but" speech.

He said the Supreme Court should not be dragged into politics. That's a noble statement. And I agree with him. But he signaled the Republicans of the Senate to drive the knife into Abe Fortas and the Court itself. And what's more, he spent more time than almost any candidate -- he is running neck and neck with George Wallace -- in condemning the Supreme Court of the United States and vilifying the Attorney General, and in the next breath calling for law and order.

He sent a secret letter --mighty secret -- to assure Wall Street traders that he will protect their interests. But he has explained the issue was too narrow for any public discussion.

Some issues he says are too big to be discussed, and some are just too small. Which leaves Mr. Republican very little to talk about.

Some issues, he says, he cannot talk on because they are under investigation. Others he can't talk about because they are being negotiated. Others he can't talk about because they are out of his jurisdiction.

So, Mr. Republican spends his time resting at Key Biscayne, enjoying parades, getting tanned, looking fit, and measuring the drapes in the White House.

(Applause)

Now, what kind of a record is this? What kind of a record is this?

I know what kind of a record it is; it is one that is indefensible.

And I charge from this platform tonight that he has no public record to defend, and that is why he doesn't want to defend it.

Is it any wonder, therefore, that we are seeing, as if it was a commercial product being merchandised, in the most razzle-dazzle Madison Avenue type of commercialism, on radio and television and the press, that any campaign has ever known. And I confess it is good, it looks good, it is slick. And I tell you one other thing. It costs one heck of a lot.

But I am here to announce the Presidency of the United States is not for sale.

(Applause)

We are not trying to pick somebody to be the grounds keeper. We are not even electing a sheriff. And we are not trying to elect somebody who can get saddle sores straddling every issue.

We are trying to elect somebody who will face the issues and understand that this country is in trouble; and yet that it has the greatness to meet any trouble that faces it.

In less than three weeks from tonight the people of the United States will know who their next President is going to be. And in less than three weeks from tonight we are going to elect that President. And he will be the President, God willing, for four years. And he will make decisions during those four years, not only for the people of that time, but the decisions of any President affect the lives of children yet unborn.

He will pick the next three or four Justices of the Supreme Court. What kind will they be? Are these some of the arrangements with Mr. Thurmond? What kind of a coalition will he build to govern? He surely won't have one with Senator Symington, or James Symington, or Bill Clay. Where will he turn? He will turn to the most conservative, reactionary influences in his own party and in the Democratic Party. And you will have a repeat of the 80th Congress, only you won't have Harry Truman there to protect your interests. You will have Dick Nixon in there not to protect your interests.

(Applause)

And it is your country, my fellow Americans -- not only mine. This is your fight, not just mine.

I happen to have a commission from the Democratic Party in convention to carry our message, a good platform, to the American people, a good record of a party that cares, a record of a party that has been good to business -- far better than any Republican administration -- a record of a party that has stood by its friends in organized labor, a record of a party that cared about the elderly, the record of a party that cared for children, as Senator Symington has told you tonight, a record of a party that has seen unbelievable economic growth in this country, a record of a political party that has helped people rise up out of the slums and the filth of poverty, so that today millions that only a short time ago were on relief and welfare, down and out, hopeless, are today productive, self-respecting American citizens, and proud of their citizenship -- black and white.

That is what is at stake here. Not just an election, not just whether or not it is Dick and Pat or Hubert and Muriel. That is really not the issue. The issue is where will we go and where are we going and what kind of a country are we going to have; what kind of an economy are we going to have.

Mr. Nixon says he thinks we ought to have more of the same of what he had in those good old Republican days -- God spare us. And I say that reverently.

(Applause)

In a country that today has great racial tension, in a country today with frustrations and difficulties -- and we have plenty of them -- imagine what it will be like if the unemployment rate is 7 per cent, as it was in 1960. It is bad enough now. Imagine what it will be like, my dear friends, if some of your neighbors and you who are workers, and you who are businessmen, find an economy in a recession. Imagine what it will be like if the gold outflow continued at the rate that it did in the last Republican years -- it has been bad enough recently -- and I know the concern of your Senator.

But let me tell you that in our worst days we were much better than our Republican friends were as they were telling us how they protected the dollar. And when the chief economic advisor to a Republican candidate can say that he things --that he says that Mr. Nixon believes that it would be alright to have a little higher rate of unemployment in order to have price stability, as if that is the only way you can get it --I say, dear Friends, God Bless America is no longer the name for a song; it is a short prayer -- because this nation will need to be blessed.

Who is to be unemployed? Which worker is to be laid off? Which family is to be without a check? What children are to be called home from school? Who is it that it not to pay the mortgage? What kind of nonsense is this? What kind of politics are we listening to? What kind of computerized, mechanized, dehumanized thinking is this, that you can have people say that the price of a little -- that one of the ways to have a little better price on a package of cigarettes, or a bottle of whiskey, or even a can of corn, is- that you will have another million people or more unemployed.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is not a philosophy worthy of a President. That is not even a philosophy worthy of an assistant instructor in a small college that hasn't even got credentials.

(Applause)

Is it any wonder that they don't want to defend their record?

Of course Mr. Nixon doesn't want to stand up and defend his record. He doesn't want to tell the elderly that he waasn't for their medicare. He doesn't want to tell an unemployed person that he wasn't for their improvement of unemployment compensation. He doesn't want to tell the children that he voted against federal aid to education. He doesn't want to tell you that he did nothing for cities. And the cities of America today represent our greatest institutional crisis. And here is a man that wants to be President and speaks not of the cities, as if they were in no difficulty. Here is a man that says he seeks to be President and doesn't understand that the crisis of our time is one in human relations, and doesn't understand that the fundamental issue of our time is can we learn how to live together.

I submit to you, ladies and gentlemen, we are not selling a product today -- we are trying to elect a leader. And what America needs today is not more TV commercials, and what America needs today is not a candidate with managers, good managers. What America needs today is a President that understands the commerce of this land, the humanity of this land, and knows how to manage the office of the Presidency of this land.

(Applause)

But I must say that Mr. Nixon has charged me with certain -- certain things for which I plead guilty.

He has said that I would invest millions -- these are his words -- billions of dollars in our cities, in education, in health, in the war on deprivation, despair and poverty. You are right, Mr. Nixon. That is exactly what I would do.

(Applause)

And I say from this platform, and it stands beyond any contradiction, the wisest investment that this government has ever

made is in the field of education.

Thomas Jefferson said you cannot be both ignorant and free, you have to make your choice.

And we have made our choice.

(Applause)

When I see what this Governor has done in this state, when I see what he has done here for your community colleges, when I know what this state has done, and when I know what the State of New Jersey has done, and when I know what Democratic Governors have fought for all across America, I say thank God that we have had some people to care.

Yes, ladies and gentlemen, I want you to know what you are going to get.

I think there are untold resources undeveloped in this country. I think there are mineral resources undeveloped. I think there are human resources undeveloped. And I think the human resources are the greatest resources yet to be developed.

(Applause)

I read Bob Gibson's book, From the Ghetto to Glory. Ladies and gentlemen, the people that are your champions today, that carry the banner of America in Mexico City today, most of them are children of the slums, of the poorest of the poor. And many of them are the blackest of the black. But they are Americans. And when they had a chance, they delivered.

(Applause)

And every time somebody comes up and stands tall and straight, every time that someone learns how to be a productive citizen it increases the wealth of this land, and more importantly it increases the dignity of this land.

Mr. Nixon says that I would take risks for peace. He is right -- I would. And we need to take some risks for peace.

(Applause)

I do not want to be a President who finds that he only knows how to make war and does not know how to make peace.

We will take the risks that are necessary, dear friends, to find an honorable peace, and every person in this audience knows that we must find it, and every person knows that we must be willing to dare there just as we have dared on the battlefield. And the first priority of the Humphrey-Muskie administration will be -- and don't you forget it -- to find a way to end that struggle in Vietnam and to bring our men and resources back here.

(Applause)

Yes -- I would do these things. And I would do them because our country needs help and because many of its people need help. And I would do these things because I think they are right. And I do all of these things because I think this country we love could be rocked with human explosion that could be devastating, that would change the whole nature of our society and our free institutions.

I am concerned.

Therefore I say that I believe in what we call the open Presidency, which would mean not oppression of responsible disagreement, but its encouragement; which would mean not secrecy, but the widest possible discussion and ventilation of the nation's problems and the search for their ultimate solutions.

It would be a Presidency, an active Presidency, a Presidency as a teacher and a leader, calling for the participation of all Americans, by all Americans, and making that White House not a fortress and not even a historical monument, but making it a living house, a welcome home to the young, who want to be understood and to be heard, and to every American who loves this nation for all that it is.

You see, our journey began 200 years ago, and the next President of the United States will make the preparations for the

200th anniversary of the birth of the first President of the United States.

200th anniversary of this great experiment called democracy.

We came to this country, our forefathers, with a burning idea that one man was as good as another, and this is the American dream. We came with the idea that what was wrong we could right. We came with the idea that mankind had enough wisdom to govern itself. And we are still testing that idea.

And now we come to that moment of crisis, which is your crisis and mine -- a crisis in that journey, when nations around the world are giving up the hope of democracy, when other people are wondering if we can make it work.

The fact is, just as Lincoln said in his time, this is the last best hope of earth, and we are going to decide in this country in our time whether or not government by the consent of the governed -- those inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, can be secured for ourselves and our prosperity. And therefore we are called upon to do something that few have ever been able to do -- to heal the wounds and the divisions that are among us, to reaffirm a basic decency that lies within us as a people, and to reassert not the wealth of this nation, not its military power, but to reassert its moral leadership in a world that desperately needs it and looks to America for that leadership.

(Applause)

And we are calling, my friends -- we are being called upon to tell a new generation that we have something here that is good and that it is worth saving -- not burning, not destroying.

This is the work that is before us. This is far more important than balloons or confetti, or TV commercials, or even just plain partisan speeches. It is the unfinished business of America. And America is the unfinished story of a great people. And each generation adds a new chapter to that noble book.

The question is will this be a chapter of hope, our chapter, or a chapter of tragedy? Will it be a chapter that turns back, or will it be a chapter that points the way to a better day?

And I say to you, my friends, tonight, if you will stand with me, and if I stand with you, and if we get others to join with us, we can carry on this work, and we can build into reality the free and open society that we all have prayed for, dreamed of, and believed that was possible.

We know now as never before that we need everyone, that every man that stands and says "I am an American" must be at his best. There is no room left in this country for people to opt out, nor is there any way that we dare lead people out. The doors of this democracy are flung wide open, and it is not only enough that we beckon people to enter, but for some that are the handicapped, even the handicapped that come from deprivation and discrimination and bigotry and segregation, for those that are the handicapped we must reach out the helping hand, extend the hand of a friend.

The question before this house is can we trust one another, can we trust one another enough so that we can say in God we trust, and build one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

Thank you very much.

(Applause)

-- -- --

City
✓ Paul Berre

~~James~~
✓ ~~James~~ Busche

Sidney Solomon
Shirley Butters

Dr Greenberg

✓ Sen Symington

✓ Delton Hautchens

✓ Gov Hearnes

REMARKS

✓ Tom Eagleton

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

STATE DEMOCRATIC DINNER - CHASE PARK PLAZA HOTEL

• TUESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1968

Jim
Symington
Sen. Butler
Bill Clay

✓ I always like to come to Missouri.

✓ I feel right at home here.

The people here are skeptical. So am I -- skeptical
of public opinion polls, skeptical of candidates who won't
speak out, skeptical of candidates who take the people for
granted.

✓ The people here say, "I'm from Missouri -- you've got
to show me."

✓ Bill Clay
✓ Jim Symington

✓ Delton Hautchens
Dr Greenberg
Paul Berre
Sidney Solomon
Shirley Butters

✓ Sen Symington
✓ Warren Hearnes
✓ Tom Eagleton
✓ Bill Morris
✓ ~~Sen. Sullivan~~
✓ ~~Bill Montgomery~~
✓ ~~Sen. Symington~~

That's how I feel. I'll show you.

And I'll show the nation--how to win an election--how to end the war--and how to hold this country together.

Since this is a political meeting, let me tell you a political story. !!

It's about a Democratic candidate battling with his back against the wall. !

All the public opinion polls said he was sure to lose. So did the nation's press.

The financial contributors weren't coming in. And the odds were long against him. !

His own party was deeply divided. Its left wing had gone its own way. A third party had arisen, lead by a southern demagogue who was playing on people's fears and trying to throw the election into the House of Representatives. •

HST

And his principle opponent was riding a high-priced slick Republican steamroller to what seemed certain victory in November.

Only one thing was wrong!

But no one had consulted the people! And when the people finally had their say--in the voting booths--

Harry S. Truman went back to the White House for another four years. !!

In 1948 it was uphill all the way. Everything was against Harry Truman--everything but the people!

And in 1968, it's been uphill all the way. *the battle* But we've *your lives* ~~get the people again~~ ~~Democrats always do~~ and we're going to win this election. !

But let's not kid ourselves.

! But let's face facts!

Here's the way it is!!

↳ We are up against a more than \$20-million dollar

computerized televised campaign blitz that hides its candidates

behind tons of confetti, clouds of balloons, millions of dollars

worth of TV commercials.

! + 4 hours on TV. Sat!!

↳ Mr. Nixon's public opinion polls have convinced him he has the election won--if he just plays it safe.!

Picking his Cabinet
Time for a change.

↳ His managers have told him not to debate, not to speak
out, to get plenty of rest, not to lose his temper, and just sit
back and wait for Univac to tell him he's won three minutes
after the polls close in Rhode Island. !!

No Debate
No Speak
Plenty Rest

↳ They have carefully manicured his image--cool, detached,
clean-shaven, above the battle, so far ahead he's almost out
of sight. !

yaw,

And he himself has conducted a silent campaign.

He has made few speeches--and he has said very little in them.

He has refused to debate the issues before the people--even though ^{we} I'm willing to buy the time on national television.

All this is supposed to add up to the new Nixon. !!

New Nixon!

But
The trouble is that there is no new Nixon. !

He is the same old Nixon we've met before--and defeated before. !

we've met before!

If he won't tell the people where he stands, I'll tell them--and I'll start right now. !!

< In 1952, while Senator Joe McCarthy was openly vilifying Adlai Stevenson, Richard Nixon was slyly insinuating that Stevenson was somehow disloyal. He was saying, "I do not question good intentions, but"

L That year he was playing on people's fear of communism.

L This year he is playing on people's fear of crime and violence. While George Wallace is openly threatening to run down people with a car, Mr. Nixon is reading the crime news out of the daily papers to southern audiences.!!

L In 1952 he used the code words of McCarthyism. This year he uses the code words of fear and hate.

ⓧ - 20 yrs
Threaten

1960

L In 1960 he ~~even~~ said: "I have no doubt whatever about
Senator Kennedy's loyalty to his country" ^{but} as though there
were some question about John Kennedy's patriotism.!

and / We are told that the new Nixon would make responsible
appointments if he were elected President. Well, he's already
made his most important selection---Spiro T. Agnew---the man
who would succeed him if they were elected.!

Agnew

< ~~You can't trust a man who has a vacuum where his
principles ought to be.~~

The Real Nixon

< It's the same ~~old~~ Nixon and the people can't trust him
any more in 1968 than they could in 1952, 1956 or 1960. 1962 in Calif

↳ In 1956 he called Adlai Stevenson's proposal to halt nuclear testing a "cruel hoax" and "catastrophic nonsense."

↳ This year he wants to postpone ratification of the treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons.

↳ He was against Medicare in the 1950's and 1960's--and presumably he is still against it.

↳ He was against John F. Kennedy's proposal for a Peace Corps and called it a haven for draft dodgers--and presumably he's still against it.

↳ He has made himself a master of the "yes, but" speech. !

He has said the Supreme Court should "not be dragged into politics"---but he signaled the Republicans in the

Senate to drive the knife into Abe Fortas and the Court

itself. ! *He speaks 7 laws, rules + condemns the Supreme Ct + the atty Genl*

He has sent a secret letter to reassure Wall Street traders

he will protect their interests---but has explained the issue was too narrow for public discussion.

then Some issues are too big to be discussed, he tells us, and some are too small! This leaves Mr. Republican little to talk about.

Some issues are under investigation, or being negotiated, or out of his jurisdiction---so Mr. Republican will not talk about them. !

↳ With that kind of a record, it's no wonder
Mr. Republican is ducking the debates. !

↳ It's no wonder that he's been insulated with
balloons, confetti and staged TV interview shows. !

But in less than three weeks the people of the United
States are going to elect a President. And he'll be their
President for four years. - *decisions for the future*

↳ So I say the American people have a right to know
who they are electing--what he believes--and where he
would lead America in these perilous and difficult times.

↳ The American people must have trust in the man who
is to lead them.

Mr. Nixon charges that I would ~~increase the poverty~~
~~program... that I would~~ invest millions, perhaps billions,
of dollars in our cities... in education... in health. - *His Right!*

Mr. Nixon says I would take risks for peace. - *He's Right!*

I would do all these things.

I would do these things because this country needs help--
and many of its people need help.

I would do these things because I think time is running
out now on the arms race.

If we do not act, the time is near when 15 or 20 countries
will have their own tidy stockpiles of destructive nuclear
explosives.

And--if we do not act--I think this country we love could be rocked with human explosion that would change the whole nature of our society and our free institutions.

I propose to call forth not only the powers of the federal government and of the Presidency, but of every level of government and every part of our private economy -- right down to the house where you live.

My Presidency

This open Presidency would mean not oppression of responsible disagreement, but its encouragement.

The open Presidency would mean not secrecy, but the widest possible discussion and ventilation of this Nation's problems and their alternative solutions.

↳ This would be my Presidency: an active Presidency...
an open Presidency... a Presidency calling forth
participation by all Americans--and especially the young.

Trust
the People

↳ Our journey began more than 200 years ago.

We came to this country burning with the idea that
one man was as good as another.. ↳ that what was wrong could
be made right. ↳ that people possessed the basic wisdom and
goodness to govern themselves, without conflict.

↳ Now we come to a new moment of crisis in that journey
and we are called:

- To heal the hatreds and divisions among us;
- To reaffirm the basic decency of spirit which lies
within us as a people;

-- To reassert this Nation's moral leadership in a world
that desperately seeks that leadership;

-- To tell a new generation that what we have is
good... that it is worth saving... ~~that the dream of their parents~~
~~is still a worthy dream.~~

This is work for all of us.

*need everyone
America Unfinished
business*

~~I seek to work through the Presidency of the United States.~~

And if you will stand with me, we can complete that work!

We need not be lost here in our own country.

We can build into reality the free and open society we all
came to find.

That is the choice before us.

DEM FOR HHH DC
ATTENTIN: NEAL GREGORY

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
ST. LOUIS STATE DEMOCRATIC DINNER
CHASE PARK PLAZA HOTEL
OCTOBER 15, 1968

I ALWAYS LIKE TO COME TO MISSOURI.

I FEEL RIGHT AT HOME HERE.

THE PEOPLE HERE ARE SKEPTICAL. SO AM I -- SKEPTICAL OF PUBLIC
OPINION POLLS, SKEPTICAL OF CANDIDATES WHO WON'T SPEAK OUT, SKEPTICAL
OF CANDIDATES WHO TAKE THE PEOPLE FOR GRANTED.

THE PEOPLE HERE SAY, "I'M FROM MISSOURI -- YOU'VE GOT TO SHOW ME."

THAT'S HOW I FEEL. I'LL SHOW YOU.

AND I'LL SHOW THE NATION -- HOW TO WIN AN ELECTION -- AND HOW TO
END THE WAR -- AND HOW TO HOLD THIS COUNTRY TOGETHER.

WINCE THIS IS A POLITICAL MEETING, LET ME TELL YOU A POLITICAL
SOTRY.

IT'S ABOUT A DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE BATTLING WITH HIS BACK AGAINST
THE WALL.

ALL THE PUBLIC OPINION POLLS SAID HE WAS SURE TO LOSE. SO DID
THE NATION'S PRESS.

THE FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTORS WEREN'T COMING IN. AND THE ODDS
WERE LONG AGAINST HIM.

HIS OWN PARTY WAS DEEPLY DIVIDED. ITS LEFT WING HAD GONE ITS
OWN WAY. A THIRD PARTY HAD ARISEN, LEAD BY A SOUTHERN DEMAGOGUE WHO
WAS PLAYING ON PEOPLE'S FEARS AND TRYING TO THROW THE ELECTION INTO THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

AND HIS PRINCIPLE OPPONENT WAS RIDING A HIGH-PRICED LISXX
SLICK REPUBLICAN STEAMROLLER TO WHAT SEEMED CERTAIN VICTORY IN NOVEMBER.

BUT NO ONE HAD CONSULTED THE PEOPLE. AND WHEN THE PEOPLE FINALLY
HAD THEIR SAY -- IN THE VOTING BOOTHS -- HARRY S. TRUMAN WENT BACK TO
THE WHITE HOUSE FOR ANOTHER FOUR YEARS.

IN 1948 IT WAS UPHILL ALL THE WAY. EVERYTHING WAS AGAINST HARRY
TRUMAN -- EVERYTHING BUT THE PEOPLE.

AND IN 1968, IT'S BEEN UPHILL ALL THE WAY. BUT WE'VE GOT THE
PEOPLE AGAIN -- DEMOCRATS ALWAYS DO -- AND WE'RE GOING TO WIN THIS
ELECTION.

BUT LET'S NOT KID OURSELVES.

WE ARE UP AGAINST A MORE THAN \$20 MILLION DOLLAR COMPUTERIZED
TELEVISED CAMPAIGN BLITZ THAT HIDES ITS CANDIDATE BEHIND TONS OF
CONFETTI, CLOUDS OF BALLOONS, AND MILLIONS OF DOLLARS WORTH OF TV
COMMERCIALS.

MR. NIXON'S PUBLIC OPINION POLLS HAVE CONVINCED HIM HE AS THE ELECTION WON -- IF HE JUST PLAYS IT SAFE. (HIM HE HAS THE ELECTION....)

HIS MANAGERS HAVE TOLD HIM NOT TO EBATE, NOT TO SPEAK OUT, TO GET PLENTY OF REST, NOT TO LOSE HIS TEMPER, AND JUST SIT BACK AND WAIT FOR UNIVAC TO TELL HIM HE'S WON THREE MINUTES AFTER THE POOLLS CLOSE IN RHODE ISLAND.

THEY HAVE CAREFULLY MANICURED HIS IMAGE -- COOL, DETACHED, CLEAN-SHAVEN, ABOVE THE BATTLE, SO FAR AHEAD HE'S ALMOST OUT OF SIGHT.

AND HE HIMSELF HAS CONDUCTED A SILENT CAMPAIGN.

HE HAS MADE FEW SPEECHES -- AND HE HAS SAID VERY LITTLE IN THEM

HE HAS REFUSED TO DEBATE THE ISSUES BEFORE THE PEOPLE ON (STRIKE "ON") -- EVE N THOUGH I'M WILLING TO BRING THXX (CORRECTION: "BUY THE TIME ON NATIONAL TELEVISION.

ALL THIS IS SUPPOSED TO ADD UP TO THE NEW NIXON.

THE TROUBLE IS THAT THERE IS NO NEW NIXON.

HE IS THE SAME OLD NIXON WE'VE MET BEFORE -- AND DEFEATED BEFORE.

IF HE WON'T ELL THE PEOPLE WHERE HE STANDS, I'LL TELL THEM -- AND I'OLL START RIGHT NOW.

* * *

IN 1952, WHILE SENATOR JOE MCCARTHY WAS OPENLY VILIFYING ADLIA STEVENSON, RICHARD NIXON WAS SLYLY INSINUATING THAT STEVENSON WAS SOMEHOW DISLOYAL. HE WAS SAYING, "I DO NOT QUESTION GOOD INTENTIONS, BUT"

THAT YEAR HE WAS PLAYING ON PEOPLE'S FEAR OF COMMUNISM.

THIS YEAR HE IS PLAYING ON PEOPLE'S FEAR OF CRIME AND VIOLENCE. WHILE GEORGE WALLACE IS OPENLY THREATENING TO RNXX RUN DOWN PEOPLE WITH A CAR, MR. NIXON IS READING THE CRIME NEWS OUT OF THE DAILY

A
E

PAPERS TO SOUTHERN AUDIENCES.

IN 1952 HE USED THE CODE WORDS OF MCCARTHYISM. THIS YEAR HE USES THE CODE WORDS OF FEAR AND HATE.

IN 1960 HE EVEN SAID: "I HAVE NO DOUBT WHATEVER ABOUT SENATOR KENNEDY'S LOYALTY TO HIS COUNTRY" -- AS THOUGH THERE WERE SOME QUESTION ABOUT JOHN KENNEDY'S PATRIOTISM.

WE ARE TOLD THAT THE NEW NIXON WOULD MAKE RESPONSIBLE APPOINTMENTS IF HE WERE ELECTED PRESIDENT. WELL, HE'S ALREADY MADE HIS MOST IMPORTANT SELECTION -- SPIRO T. AGNEW -- THE MAN WHO WOULD SUCCEEEEEEED THE MAN WHO WOULD SUCCEED HIM IF THEY WERE ELECTED.

YOU CAN'T TRUST A MAN WHO HAS A VACUUM WHERE HIS PRINCIPLES OUGHT TO BE.

IT'S THE SAME OLD NIXON -- AND THE PEOPLE CAN'T TRUST HM ANY MORE IN 1968 THAN THEY COULD IN 1952, 1956 OR 1960.

IN 1956 HE CALLED ADLAI'S XXXX ADLAI STEVENSON'S PROPOSAL TO HALT NUCLEAR TESTING A "CRUEL HOAX" AND "CATASTROPHIC HXX NONSENSE." TO HALT NUCLEAR TESTING) A "CRUEL HOAX" AND "CATASTROPHIC NONSENSE."

THIS YEAR HE WANTS TO POSTPONE RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY TO
STOP THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

HE WAS AGAINST MEDICARE IN THE 1950'S AND THE 1960'S -- AND
PRESUMABLY HE IS STILL AGAINST IT.

HE WAS AGAINST JOHN F. KENNEDY'S PROPOSAL FOR PEACE CORPS
(FOR A PEACE CORPS) AND CALLED IT A HAVEN FOR DRAFT DODGERS -- AND
PRESUMABLY HE'S STILL AGAINST IT.

HE HAS MADE HIMSELF A MASTER OF THE "YES, BUT" SPEECH.

SEVERAL YEARS AGO HE SAID, "IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL LEGISLATION
WE MUST RESIST SOCIALIZATION OF FREE AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS AND THE
ADOPTION OF PROGRAMS WHICH WOULD BANKRUPT THE COUNTRY."

THEN HE ADDED: "BUT WE CANNOT PLACE OURSELVES IN THE INDEFENSIBLE
POSITION OF BEING AGAINST EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN, DECENT HOUSING FOR
OUR PEOPLE, MEDICAL CARE FOR THE SICK."

HE HAS SAID FIRST THAT HE WANTS

N O T E: STRIKE TWO PREVIOUS PARAGRAPHS FROM THE TEXT. (STRIKE
PARA BEGINNING "SEVERAL YEARS..." AND PARA BEGINNING "THEN HE ADDED..."

NOW CONTINUE WITH TEXT

HE HAS SAID FIRST THAT HE WANTED TO ESCALATE THE WAR IN VIETNAM, THEN
THAT HE WANTED TO END THE WAR -- BUT HE WON'T SAY HOW.

HE HAS SAID THE SUPREME COURT SHOULD "NOT BE DRAGGED INTO
POLITICS" -- BUT HE SIGNALED THE REPUBLICANS IN THE SENATE TO DRIVE
THE KNIFE INTO ABE FORTAS (FORTAS) AND THE COURT ITSELF.

HE HAS SENT A SECRET LETTER TO REASSURE WALL STREET TRADERS HE
WILL PROTECT THEIR INTERESTS -- BUT HAS EXPLAINED THE ISSUE WAS TOO
NARROW FOR PUBLIC DISCUSSION.

SOME ISSUES ARE TOO BIG TO BE DISCUSSED, HE TELLS US ,
AND SOME ARE TOO SMALL. THIS LEAVES MR. REPUBLICAN LITTLE TO
TALK ABOUT.

SOME ISSUES ARE UNDER INVESTIGATION, OR BEING NEGOTIATED,
OR OUT OF HIS JURISDICTION--SO MR. REPUBLICAN WILL NOT TALK ABOUT
THEM.

WITH THAT KIND OF A RECORD, IT'S NO WONDER MR. REPUBLICAN IS
DUCKING THE DEBATES.

IT'S NO WONDER THAT HE'S BEEN INSULATED WITH BALLOONS, CON-
FETTI AND STAGED TV INTERVIEW SHOWS.

BUT IN LESS THAN THREE WEEKS THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES
ARE GOING TO ELECT A PRESIDENT. (UNDERLINE PRESIDENT) AND HE'LL
BE THEIR PRESIDENT FOR FOUR YEARS.

SO I SAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE A RIGHT TO KNOW WHO (UNDER-
LINE WHO) THEY ARE ELECTING--WHAT (UNDERLINE WHAT) HE BELIEVES--
AND WHERE (UNDERLINE WHERE) HE WOULD LEAD AMERICA IN THESE PERIL-
OUS AND DIFFICULT TIMES.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MUST HAVE TRUST (UNDERLINE TRUST) IN THE
MAN WHO IS TO LEAD THEM.

MR. NIXON CHARGES THAT I WOULD INCREASE THE POVERTY PROGRAM... THAT I WOULD INVEST MILLIONS, PERHAPS BILLIONS, OF DOLLARS IN OUR CITIES...IN EDUCATION...IN HEALTH.

MR. NIXON SAYS I WOULD TAKE RISKS FOR PEACE.

I WOULD DO ALL THESE THINGS.

I WOULD DO THESE THINGS BECAUSE THIS COUNTRY NEEDS HELP-- AND MANY OF ITS PEOPLE NEED HELP.

I WOULD DO THESE THINGS BECAUSE I THINK TIME IS RUNNING OUT NOW ON THE ARMS RACE.

IF WE DO NOT ACT, THE TIME IS NEAR WHEN 15 OR 20 COUNTRIES WILL HAVE THEIR OWN TIDY STOCKPILES OF DESTRUCTIVE NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES.

AND -- IF WE DO NOT ACT -- I THINK THIS COUNTRY WE LOVE COULD BE ROCKED WITH HUMAN (UNDERLINE HUMAN) EXPLOSION THAT WOULD CHANGE THE WHOLE NATURE OF OUR SOCIETY AND OUR FREE INSTITUTIONS.

I PROPOSE TO CALL FORTH NOT ONLY TExXX THE POWERS OF THE FEDERAOXXXX FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND OF THE PRESIDENCY, OXX BUT OF EVERY LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT AND EVERY PART OF OUR PRIVATE ECONOMY -- RIGHT DOWN TO THE HOUSE WHERE YOU LIVE.

THIS OPEN PRESIDENCY WOULD MEAN NOT OPPRESSION OF RESPONSIBLE DISAGREEMENT, BUT ITS ENCOURAGEMENT.

THE OPEN PRESIDENCY WOULD MEAN NOT SECRECY, BUT THE WIDEST POSSIBLE DISCUSSION AND VENTILATION OF THIS NATION'S PROBLEMS AND THEIR ALTERNATIVE SOLUTIONS.

THIS WOULD BE MY PRESIDENCY; AN ACTIVE PRESIDENCY...AN OPEN PRESIDENCY...A PRESIDENCY CALLING FORTH PARTICIPATION BY ALL AMERICANS -- ESPECIALLY THE YOUNG.

OUR JOURNEY BEGAN MORE THAN 200 YEARS AGO.

WE CAME TO THIS COUNTRY BURNING WITH THE IDEALXXXXX IDEA THAT ONE MAN WAS AS GOOD AS ANOTHER... THAT WHAT WAS WRONG COULD BE MADE RIGHT...THAT PEOPLE POSSESSED THE BASIC WISDOM AND GOODNESS TO GOVERN THEMSELVES WITHOUT CONFLICT.

NOW WE COME TO A NEW MOMENT OF CRISIS IN THAT JOURNEY AND WE ARE CALLED:

-- TO HEAL THE HATREDS AND DIVISIONS AMONG US;

-- TO REAFFIRM THE BASIC DECENCY OF SPIRIT WHICH LIES WITHIN US AS A PEOPLE;

-- TO REASSERT THIS NATION'S MORAL LEADERSHIP IN A WORLD THAT DESPERATELY SEEKS THAT LEADERSHIP;

-- TO TELL A NEW GENERATION THAT WHAT WE HAVE IS GOOD... THAT IT IS WORTH SAVING...THAT THE DREAM OF THEIR PARENTS IS STILL A WORTHY DREAM.

THIS IS WORK FOR ALL OF US.

I SEEK TO WORK THROUGH THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES.

AND IF YOU WILL STAND WITH ME, WE CAN COMPLETE THAT WORK.

WE NEED NOT BE LOST HERE IN OUR OWN COUNTRY.

WE CAN BUILD INTO REALITY THE FREE AND OPEN SOCIETY WE ALL
CAME TO FIND.

THAT IS THE CHOICE BEFORE US.

IT IS A CHOICE AMONG MEN...A CHOICE AMONG PARTIES... A
CHOICE ABOUT OUR BASIC DIRECTION AS A PEOPLE.

"WHO SHALL SPEAK FOR THE PEOPLE?" CARL SANDBURG ASKED.

AND I ANSWER: I SHALL SPEAK AND I SHALL ACT.

I ASK YOUR HELP.

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END OF TEXT OF VP'S REMARKS FOR STATE DEMOCRATIC DINNER.

ST. LOUIS FUND RALLY - CHASE PARK PLAZA HOTEL
FOR TUESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1968

DRAFT 1 (JBM)

~~You know,~~ I always like to come to Missouri.

I feel right at home here.

The people here are skeptical. So am I -- skeptical of public opinion polls, skeptical of candidates who won't speak out, skeptical of candidates who take the people for granted.

The people here say, "I'm from Missouri -- you've got to show me."

That's how I feel. I'll show you. And I'll show the nation how to win an election -- ~~and~~ how to end the war -- and how to hold this country together.

Since this is a political meeting, let me tell you a political story.

It's about a Democratic candidate ~~public opinion~~ battling with his back against the wall. ^{public opinion} All the polls said he was sure to lose. So did the nation's press. The financial contributors weren't coming in. And the odds were long against him. His own party was deeply divided. Its left wing had gone its own way. A third party had arisen, lead by a southern demagogue who was playing on people's fears and trying to throw the election into the House of Representatives. And his principle opponent was riding a high-priced

lick Republican steamroller to what seemed certain ~~victory~~ victory in November.

But no one had consulted the people. And when the people finally had ~~their~~ their say--in the voting booths-- Harry S. Truman went back to the White House for ~~another~~ another four years.

In 1948 it was uphill all the way. Everything was against Harry Truman--everything but the people.

And in 1968, it's been uphill all the way. But we've got the people again--Democrats always do--and ~~we're~~ we're going to win this election.

But let's not kid ourselves.

We are up against a \$20-million dollar computerized televised campaign blitz that hides its candidates' ~~real views~~ *millions of dollars worth of* behind tons of confetti, clouds of balloons, and TV commercials.

Mr. Nixon's public opinion polls have convinced him he has the election won -- if he just plays it safe.

His managers have told him not to debate, not to speak out, not to lose his temper, to get plenty of rest, and just sit back and wait for Univac to tell him he's won three minutes after the polls close in Rhode Island.

They have carefully manicured his image -- cool, detached, *clean-shaven* above the battle, so far ahead he's almost out of sight.

And he himself has conducted a silent campaign.

He has refused to debate the issues before the people on national television. *even though I'm willing to buy his time on national television*

He has made few speeches -- and he has said very little in them.

All this is supposed to add up to the new Nixon.

The trouble ~~with it~~ is that there is no new Nixon. He is the same old Nixon we've met before -- and defeated before. If he won't tell the people where he stands, I'll tell them -- and I'll start right now.

In 1952, while Senator Joe McCarthy was openly vilifying Adlai Stevenson, Richard Nixon was slyly insinuating that Stevenson was somehow disloyal. He was saying, "I do not question (Mr. Stevenson's)

good intentions, but"

[That year he was playing on people's fear of communism.

[This year he is playing on people's fear of ~~crime~~ Negroes and violence. While George Wallace is openly threatening to run down people with a car, Mr. Nixon is reading the crime news out of the daily papers to southern audiences.

[In 1952 he used ^{the} code words of McCarthyism. This year he uses the code words of fear and hate.

[In 1960 he even said: "I have no doubt whatever about Senator Kennedy's loyalty to his country"--as though there ~~s~~ were some question about John ~~Kennedy~~ Kennedy's patriotism.

[We are told that the new Nixon would make responsible appointments if he were elected President. Well, he's already made his most important

selection
[appointment]---Spiro T. Agnew. -- *The man who would succeed him if they were the devil.*

You can't trust a man who has a vacuum where his principles ought to be.

It's the same old Nixon--and the people can't trust him any more in 1968 than they could in 1952, ~~1954, 1956~~, 1956 or 1960.

~~xxxxxxxagainxxx~~ [In 1956 he called Adlai's Stevenson's ~~xxxxxx~~ proposal to halt nuclear testing a "curel hoax" and "catastrophic nonsense."

This year he wants to postpone ratification of the treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. ~~This year he has urged the United States to "go ahead at all costs" to build an anti-missile defense system.~~

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Several years ago he said, "In the field of social legislation we must resist socialization of free American institutions and the adoption of programs which would bankrupt the country. ~~But now~~ *Then he added: "But we* cannot place ourselves in the indefensible position of being against education for children, decent housing for our people, medical care for the sick."

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He has said ~~the Supreme Court~~ the Supreme Court should "not be dragged into politics"---but he signaled the Republicans ~~in~~ in the Senate to drive the knife into Abe Fortas and the Court itself.

He has sent a secret letter to reassure Wall Street traders he will protect their interests---but has explained the issue was too narrow for public discussion.

Some issues are too big to be discussed, he tells us, and some are too small. This leaves little to talk about.

Some issues are under investigation, or being negotiated, or out of his jurisdiction---so ~~he~~ *Mr. Republican* will not talk about them.

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With that kind of record,

→ it's no wonder Mr. Republican is ducking the debates.

It's no wonder that ~~xxxxxxx~~ he's been insulated with balloons, confetti and staged TV interview ~~xxxx~~ shows.

But in less than three weeks the people of the United States are going to elect a President. And' he'll be ^{their} ~~xxxxx~~ President for four years.

So I say the American people have a right to know ~~xxxx~~ who they are electing--what he believes--
~~what he would do as President--and~~ ^{where} ~~he~~ ^{where} would ^{America's} lead ~~this nation~~ in these perilous and difficult times.

→ ~~that's all~~
x x x
x x x

The American people must have trust in the man who is to lead them.

Mr. Nixon charges that I would increase the poverty program ... that I would invest millions, perhaps billions, of dollars in our cities ... in education ... in health.

7/

PAGE FOUR

Mr. Nixon says I would take risks for peace.

I would do all these things.

~~And I would not do them simply to enhance the power of the Presidency or of some massive federal bureaucracy.~~

I would do these things because this country needs help -- and many of its people need help.

I would do these things because I think time is running out now on the arms race.

If we do not act, the time is near when 15 or 20 countries will have their own tidy stockpiles of destructive nuclear explosives

And -- if we do not act -- I think this country we love could be rocked with human explosion that would change the whole nature of our society and our free institutions.

I propose to call forth not only the powers of the federal government and of the Presidency, but of every level of government and every part of our private economy -- right down to the house where you live.

~~And I would do all these things in such a way to encourage once more an American dialogue -- a dialogue in which public officials, the press, and every man with an idea to express can enter free and without reservation into the business of this nation.~~

This open Presidency would mean not oppression of responsible disagreement, but its encouragement.

The open Presidency would mean not secrecy, but the widest possible discussion and ventilation of this Nation's problems and their alternative solutions.

~~The open Presidency would mean, in short, not decisions made at the top of a vast pyramid, but the exposure of ideas -- all ideas which have to do with the fundamental workings of our society -- to the maximum number of people in that society.~~

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PAGE FIVE

This would be my Presidency: an active Presidency ... an open Presidency ... a Presidency calling forth participation by all Americans -- and especially the young.

Our journey began more than 200 years ago.

We came to this country burning with the idea that one man was as good as another ... that what was wrong could be made right... that people possessed the basic wisdom and goodness to govern themselves without conflict.

Now we come to a new moment of crisis in that journey and we are called:

- To heal the hatreds and divisions among us;
- To reaffirm the basic decency of spirit which lies within us as a people;
- To reassert this Nation's moral leadership in a world that desperately seeks that leadership;
- To tell a new generation that what we have is good ... that it is worth saving ... that the dream of their parents is still a worthy dream.

This is work for all of us.

I seek to work through the Presidency of the United States.

And if you will stand with me, we can complete that work.

We need not be lost here in our own country.

We can build into reality the free and open society we all came to find.

That is the choice before us.

It is a choice among men ... a choice among parties ... a choice about our basic direction as a people.

"Who shall speak for the people?" Carl Sandburg asked.

And I answer: I shall speak and I shall act.

I ask your help.

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- Remarks -
- Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey -
State Democratic Dinner
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