

REMARKS OF  
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
AT THE ALFRED C. SMITH MEMORIAL DINNER

- - -

Grand Ballroom  
Waldorf-Astoria Hotel  
New York, New York  
Wednesday, October 16, 1968

Your Excellency, your Excellency, Archbishop Cooke, Mr. President, Governor Rockefeller and Mayor Lindsay and my friend, Mr. Nixon, and distinguished ladies and gentlemen, and Senator McCarthy, wherever you are.

(Laughter and applause)

Charlie, Your Excellency, for a while I thought that the suggestion that had been made here tonight that the President of the United States might serve as referee was somewhat within what I thought was fair play from my side of the fence.

(Laughter)

But, after having listened to Richard Nixon, I am not so sure that I am going to trust the President tonight.

(Laughter)

But, you have made me feel very good, Dick, when you described winner and loser. I have been reading the polls.

(Laughter)

Darned if you don't make it seem almost worthwhile.

(Applause and laughter)

And I am ha-py that my mother isn't here tonight much as I would love to have her here, because my father once told me, mother was a sweetheart, wife, and he loved her dearly, and admonished his sons to respect their mother, but he said, Son, I have got to confide in you. She is politically unreliable.

(Laughter and applause)

And I will tell you, Dick, if you keep talking like that, you are apt to get mother's vote.

(Laughter and applause)

I thought I had that one nailed down.

(Laughter)

My dear friend, Mr. Farley, Jim, a friend of my father and friend of mine, this is a wonderful, wonderful evening. This is truly an ecumenical occasion, both spiritual and political, I might add.

(Laughter)

Sort of what they call those ecumenical political happenings. And we live in a wonderful country. My, it is a wonderful country.

(Applause)

You have already been told that there are three men here who have served in the office of Vice President. Well, Dick Nixon and I know that this is the kind of a country where any poor boy can grow up to be Vice President.

(Applause)

It is one of those chances you have to take.

(Applause and laughter)

And we have both taken it.

Well, I am delighted also to be here at this great dinner that honors, you will pardon me, Dick, a great Democrat -- that is the only partisan reference I shall make for the moment --

(Laughter)

-- but also a great churchman and I am also very pleased that my friend, Mr. Nixon, is on the same platform with me, almost within camera range.

(Laughter)

It is all in good fun. Don't worry about it. We plan on talking to each other after November. It just depends on where we are

living.

(Applause)

But I really thought better of my friend. I never knew that he aspired to live in public housing.

(Laughter)

Whatever the -- what the television networks, the United States Congress and my telegrams couldn't accomplish, Archbishop Cooke has accomplished.

(Applause)

In fact, I am about to make a great political announcement. I wish I had Archbishop Cooke as my campaign manager --

(Laughter and applause)

and my advance man, and my finance chairman.

(Laughter and applause)

Richard Nixon -- I am going to call him affectionately, Dick, if you will permit me so, because we address each other as Dick and Hubert. You would be surprised, we really do talk to each other.

(Laughter)

He remembers that some eight years ago when he was on this platform with another candidate for President, Jack Kennedy referred that night to some of the differences that were evident in the audience and I want to say tonight I think it is a wonderful, wonderful thing to be able to bring people of such basic different philosophies together so that they can discuss their differences, and I have really looked forward to what Governor Rockefeller and Mayor Lindsay and Dick Nixon had to say tonight.

Now, His Excellency may even perform a real miracle tonight. In fact, I think he has already done it. He may be able to hold my speech down to about ten or 12 minutes.

(Laughter and applause)

There is only one other man that has ever been able to do that and he is to my left and your right.

(Applause and laughter)

But tonight we join in a great and common cause. We join together as one great American family and we are all here in the cause of charity, and may I suggest that in a few moments, the ushers will pass among you for contributions to the Democratic Party.

(Laughter)

In my present position in light of what you all know and have heard, I take a little heart from Harry Truman's campaign in 1948. In fact, Dick, I have to.

(Laughter)

And I say that in all respect to one of the best friends that I have in New York, to Governor Thomas Dewey, another great man.

(Applause)

I feel a little better because I remember another political year and if any of you do not share my enthusiasm for 1948, I am very sure that you will share my enthusiasm and admiration for the Democratic candidate of 1928. I am going to make an announcement here that no other candidate in this election can make. My father was Al Smith's County Chairman in Spink County, South Dakota.

(Applause)

And may I say that in those precincts, if it wasn't illegal and immoral, at least it was incredible.

(Laughter and applause)

Now, the Democratic candidate of that year, that man that they called the Happy Warrior, he warned that prosperity was fragile. He said then that disarmament was essential and he said that the world we see was fraught with danger, a prophet before his time, unlistened to. He spoke then as he did all of his life of building a stronger and a better America, strengthening of our economy and above all of our moral purpose, and in his acceptance speech, he spoke for men of goodwill of both parties

he spoke for men of goodwill of both parties when he said these words: "Government should be constructive, not destructive, progressive, not reactionary." And then, he said: "I am entirely unwilling to accept the old order of things as the best unless and until I become convinced that it cannot be made better."

Well, I think everyone here knows that the story of America is that we can make it better, that we are willing to accept change and that we are willing to direct its course. And when the Ku Klux Klan in those days burned its crosses as he campaigned, Al Smith warned this nation that it could lose its soul. And it came close to it.

And then, I remember, too, that in 1960 there was another man of Catholic faith, John Kennedy, and as the campaign began, it was said that his religion would hurt him, but to his everlasting credit, Richard Nixon, his opponent that year, and my opponent this year, declared that religion should not be an issue in the American political scene.

(Applause)

So, the first of bigotry which burned fiercely in 1928 were dampened in 1960 and we salute you, sir.

(Applause)

But there are those of the extreme right and the extreme left, of the extremes, who are trying to fan those fires of bigotry once again. In 1928 religion was the issue. In 1968 it is race. And we hear a slur against both black and white from irresponsible voices. But I do not believe and I do not believe that you believe that the extremists will succeed. I believe that America is brave enough to reject appeals to fear and it is compassionate enough to reject repression and I believe that it is wise enough to reject bigotry from any source in this land.

(Applause)

And I believe, too, that America is strong enough and its people, when inspired, are great enough to reject the spirit of suspicion and to replace it with that wholesome spirit of trust, and I know and every man on this platform knows that the world is watching us, and here is the very essence of the question that is before this Nation this year. Shall our Nation be divided by fear or shall it be united by faith? Shall we trust one another? Can we create the dream of every dreamer in this land, and of every patriot, of one Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all?

(Applause)

Can we vote our hopes and not our hates? And can we see a new day where opportunity for every American is a fact and not a fiction? And can we judge a man not by his race or by his last name or by his religion, but rather, will we judge him by his merit and by his performance?

You see, I believe we can. In fact, I know we must. I know that the world awaits our answer. They are waiting to find out will we give to humanity inspiration or will we again settle for desperation?

The Al Smith Foundation is dedicated to this great work, this great work of human understanding, of helping the poor, the disinherited and the disadvantaged, and our late and beloved friend, that noble spirit, Cardinal Spellman, who we remember tonight and revere, he fully understood this cause. He devoted his life to it. And I ask you, my fellow Americans, can we do less?

So, this is the American credo and there is nothing wrong in these days of sophistication and being above it all to have a little basic fundamental patriotism. This is our credo, this compassion, this faith, this credo, this will. It can light our way in the difficult and dangerous days ahead and I tonight take heart from O'Shaughnessy, the Irish poet who in his own way once sang these words: "For each age is a dream that is dying or one

that is coming to birth."

You see, I believe that the American dream is coming to birth and I say lustily and loudly, long live America, the last best hope of this earth.

Thank you so much.

(Applause)

# # #

**REMARKS**

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
AL SMITH DINNER  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK  
OCTOBER 16, 1968

Your Excellency Archbishop Cooke, Governor Rockefeller, Mayor Lindsay, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, and Senator McCarthy wherever you are.

We live in a wonderful country. Both Dick Nixon and I know that this is the kind of a country where any poor boy can grow up to be Vice President. It's just one of those chances you have to take.

I am delighted to be here once again at this most distinguished dinner, and I am very glad indeed that Mr. Nixon is here on the same platform -- almost within camera range of me.

What the television networks, the United States Congress and my telegrams could not accomplish, Archbishop Cooke has accomplished -- and I congratulate him.

In fact, I wish I had the Archbishop for my scheduler...my advance man...and my finance chairman.

As Jack Kennedy said eight years ago at this same occasion, it's a wonderful thing to bring people of different philosophies together so that they can discuss their differences. I am looking forward to what Governor Rockefeller, Mayor Lindsay, and Dick Nixon have to say.

His Excellency may even perform a real miracle tonight. He may be able to hold my own speech down to ten minutes.

And Mr. Nixon is in a rare position: If he accepts my debate invitation he can shut Humphrey up at least for half the time. No other man has ever done that.

Well, maybe one other man

\* \* \*

Tonight we all make common cause.

We are all here in the cause of charity. May I suggest that in a few moments ushers will pass among you for contributions ... to the Democratic Party.

In my present position, I take heart from Harry Truman's campaign of 1948 -- I have to.

Now I would not for a moment suggest that 1968 is 1948 all over again. And I would not want to raise any false hopes in your breasts. But every night when I go to bed I feel a little better because I know Harry Truman made it to the White House -- on his own.

I also feel a little better because I remember another political year -- and if each and every one of you here tonight does not share my enthusiasm for 1948, I am sure you share my admiration of the Democratic candidate of 1928.

The Democratic candidate of that year warned that prosperity was fragile, and that disarmament was essential.

(cont'd)



He spoke of building a stronger America, of strengthening our economy and our moral purpose.

In his acceptance speech to the Democratic National Convention, Governor Al Smith surely spoke for men of good will of both parties when he said:

"Government should be constructive, not destructive, progressive, not reactionary. I am entirely unwilling to accept the old order of things as the best, unless and until I become convinced that it cannot be made better."

We know the old order of things can -- and does -- change -- for the better.

And when the Ku Klux Klan burned its crosses where he campaigned, he warned the nation it could lose its soul.

And I remember another presidential campaign in 1960. John F. Kennedy, too, was a Catholic. And as the campaign began, it was said that his religion would hurt him.

But to his everlasting credit, Richard Nixon, his opponent that year and mine now, declared that religion should not be an issue in an American political campaign.

The fires of bigotry that burned fiercely in 1928 were dampened in 1960.

And there are those -- of the right and the left -- who are trying to fan the fires of bigotry again.

In 1928 religion was the issue. Today it is race -- and we hear racial slurs against both black and white.

I do not believe the extremists will succeed.

I believe America is brave enough to reject appeals to fear -- compassionate enough to reject repression -- and wise enough to reject bigotry from the right or the left.

I believe America is strong enough, and its people great enough, to drive out the spirit of suspicion and replace it with a new spirit of trust.

Here is the essence of the question America faces this year:

Shall our nation be divided by fear or united by truth?

Shall we be able to trust each other?

Can we create one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all?

Can we vote our hopes, not our hates?

Can we see a new day where opportunity for every American is fact, not fiction?

Can we judge a man not by his race or his religion, but by merit and performance?

I believe we can.

I know we must.

The Al Smith foundation is dedicated to Al Smith's great work -- to helping the poor, the disinherited, the disadvantaged. Our friend, Cardinal Spellman, whom we remember and revere tonight, understood that cause. He devoted his life to it.

This is the American credo -- generosity and compassion, not fear and bigotry.

This is the American faith.

This compassion, this faith, this credo -- this will light our way in the difficult and dangerous time that lies ahead.



I take heart from O'Shaughnessy, the Irish poet, who once sang: "For each age is a dream that is dying, or one that is coming to birth."

I believe the American dream is coming to birth!

THE ANNUAL ALFRED C. SMITH MEMORIAL FOUNDATION  
DINNER, GRAND BALL ROOM, WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

- - -

Wednesday, October 16, 1968

- - -

REMARKS OF MR. RICHARD M. NIXON

- - -

Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, Excellency Archbishop Cooke, Governor Rockefeller, Mayor Lindsay, Chairman Silver, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, all the distinguished members of this great audience, it is a very great honor for me to leave the campaign trail and to return again to this dinner for the fourth time --

(Applause)

-- and as I sit here tonight, my thoughts go, as I am sure yours do, to His Eminence and how delighted he would have been to have seen this dinner.

(Applause)

He would have been delighted first to know that the man who was chosen as his successor is one that we all knew, who had seen him with this man, that we all knew he himself would have chosen, the respect, the affection that he had for Archbishop Cooke, and he is carrying on that great tradition.

(Applause)

And His Eminence, too, with that twinkle in his eye that captivated us all would have been so excited about those who had come to this dinner, all of those in the audience from all over the nation, and those who are here as speakers, looking back over the years, His Eminence has had candidates for President, both of them in 1960, I well recall.

(Applause)

He also has had present at dinner a President of the United States and a former President, but tonight is a first. This is the first dinner in this great series in which there is present a President of the United States, a Vice President of the United States, and more than that, three men who have served as Vice President of the United States.

(Applause)

And I know, too, that His Eminence would have been delighted to find that Hap Farley would have been selected as the dinner speaker because he would realize that first, Hap Farley filled that qualification from two standpoints because he was known as a great and intimate friend of His Eminence, but also because Hap Farley was certainly as loyal a friend as Al Smith ever had, and I put it in terms of political loyalty, if I may be permitted a political nonpartisan comment.

I recall so well at our convention --

(Applause)

-- in Miami, Governor Rockefeller and I were counting our delegates and I am sure that he had perhaps the same test about loyalty of delegates that I had. If you thought a delegate could stay with you on one ballot he was pretty loyal. If you thought he would stay with you on two ballots he was very loyal. If you thought he might stick with you on three ballots, that was the ultimate. There could be no greater loyalty.

This, however, is Hap Farley's record. In 1924 he voted for Al Smith on 102 ballots. That is the ultimate loyalty.

(Applause)

And, Mr. President, I welcome this opportunity to say to you personally what I have said on the political stump many times during this campaign. There are occasions when we in politics must be critical of each other's record but there are other occasions when we do have the opportunity to speak about those issues that are above politics, and I say here what I think every American should hear about their President during this time. He is the hardest working President we have had in this country.

(Applause)

He is a President who is devoted to peace. He is a President who is deeply concerned about the lives and welfare of 500,000 fighting men in Vietnam, including two of his own sons-in-law.

(Applause)

And at this time when in Paris delicate negotiations may be going on which might bring some progress in bringing this war to a conclusion, I say again that all of us should remember we have one President at a time. Let none of us say anything that will undercut his chance to bring that war to a conclusion.

(Applause)

Now, to my friend and former colleague, Vice President Humphrey, we all know that during the next three weeks we will be engaging in the final throes of the campaign and we will have to judge the results of that on November five. I do, however, want you to know that when you think of our differences, we have several things in common. We both come from rather humble backgrounds. Regardless of what some others may call us, he is the son of a druggist and I am the son of a grocer.

(Applause and laughter)

He is a former Senator and I am a former Senator. He is Vice President and I was a Vice President. And just three weeks from today, either he or I will be receiving congratulations as a winner of the election and the other will be receiving the condolences as a loser.

I have been in both positions and winning is a lot more fun.

(Applause)

But just thinking in terms of the compensations for the man who may lose, will you please remember this. The man who wins for most of the nights of his life for the next four years will have to struggle to get into a white tie for state dinners. The man who loses will have to do it perhaps only once a year when we all gather at the next Al Smith dinner.

Thank you.

I have noticed since March 8  
that the priests in this Archdiocese  
seem to be gaining weight. Perhaps  
that is because there is a new  
Cooke on Fifth Avenue. !!

Referee!!  
What an Ecclesiastical Experience!  
It's a Baptismal, Political Happening!

#  
Mr President, ~~with~~ Nixon  
Your Excellency Archbishop Cooke, Governor  
Sam J. Davis, Dear Mr. Lindsay  
Rockefeller, Mayor Lindsay, distinguished ladies and  
gentlemen, and Senator McCarthy wherever you are. !!

We live in a wonderful country! Both Dick and Deep

Nixon and I know that this is the kind of a country where  
any poor boy can grow up to be Vice President. It's just  
one of those chances you have to take. !!

I am delighted to be here once again at this most  
distinguished dinner, and I am very pleased that Mr.  
Nixon is here on the same platform -- almost within camera  
range of me. e

JOE  
Referee  
after Nixon  
speech

winner  
loser  
my  
mother

2  
What the television networks, the United States

Congress and my telegrams could not accomplish, Archbishop Cooke has accomplished -- and I congratulate him. !!

∠ In fact, I wish I had the Archbishop for my Campaign Manager  
~~for~~ ... my advance man ... and my finance chairman. !!

∠ As Jack Kennedy said eight years ago at this same occasion, it's a wonderful thing to bring people of different philosophies together so that they can discuss their differences.

∠ ~~had looked~~ forward to what Governor Rockefeller, Mayor Lindsay, and Dick Nixon have to say. !

∠ His Excellency may even perform a real miracle tonight. He may be able to hold my own speech down to ten or 12 minutes.

2  
And Mr. Nixon is in a rare position: If he accepts my debate invitation he can shut Humphrey up at least for half the time. No other man has ever done that.!

~~Mr President~~  
Well, maybe one other man ...!!  
1      =

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⌞ Tonight we all make common cause - *we join together as one family,*  
⌞ We are all here in the cause of charity. May 1

suggest that in a few moments ushers will pass among you for contributions .... to the Democratic Party.

4  
In my present position, I take heart from Harry Truman's campaign of 1948 -- I have to.!

⌞ Now I would not for a moment suggest that 1968 is 1948 all over again. And I would not want to raise any false hopes. ~~in your breasts.~~ But every night when I go to bed I feel a little better because I know Harry Truman made it to the White House -- on his own.



∠ I also feel a little better because I remember  
another political year -- ~~and as anyone of you here~~

tonight ~~do~~ is not share my enthusiasm for 1948, I am sure you

share my admiration of the Democratic candidate of 1928. ~~my father~~

∠ The Democratic candidate of that year warned

that prosperity was fragile, ~~and~~ that disarmament was essential,

~~and the world scene fraught with~~  
~~danger. and the scene~~

My father  
Al Smith  
campaign  
cheer for  
Al Smith  
in Spunk  
county  
S. O. A.

my father  
Al Smith  
Spunk  
county!

6  
He spoke of building a stronger America, of strengthening our economy and our moral purpose.

↳ In his acceptance speech to the Democratic National Convention, Governor Al Smith spoke for men of good will of both parties when he said: "Government should be constructive, not destructive; progressive, not reactionary; I am entirely unwilling to accept the old order of things as the best, unless and until I become convinced that it cannot be made better."

↳ We know the old order of things ~~can~~ *can and shall be* and does -- change --

~~for the better. This is our intention to change for the better!~~

↳ And when the Ku Klux Klan burned its crosses where he campaigned, he warned the nation it could lose its soul.!

↳ And I remember another presidential campaign in 1960.

↳ John F. Kennedy, too, was a Catholic. ↳ And as the campaign began it was said that his religion would hurt him.

But to his everlasting credit, Richard Nixon, his  
opponent that year and mine now, declared that religion should  
not be an issue in an American political campaign.

∠ The fires of bigotry that burned fiercely in 1928 were  
dampened in 1960.

∠ ~~But~~ there are those -- of the <sup>Extreme</sup> right and the <sup>Extreme</sup> left --  
who are trying to fan ~~the~~ <sup>those</sup> fires of bigotry again.

~~But~~ In 1928 religion was the issue! Today it is race, ~~the issue~~  
We hear racial slurs against both black and white. But,

∠ I do not believe the extremists will succeed.

∠ I believe America is brave enough to reject appeals to  
fear -- compassionate enough to reject repression -- and wise enough  
to reject bigotry from ~~the right~~ any source.

8  
I believe America is strong enough, and its people great enough, to ~~reject~~ <sup>reject</sup> the spirit of suspicion and replace it with ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> spirit of trust. The world is watching us.

Here is the essence of the question America faces this year:

Shall our nation be divided by fear or united by faith?

Shall we be able to trust each other?

Can we create one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all?

Can we vote our hopes, not our hates?

Can we see a new day where opportunity for every American is fact, not fiction?

Can we judge a man not by his race or his religion, but by his merit and his performance?

I believe we can.

I know we must.

The World awaits our answer.  
Will we give Inspiration to  
man kind or desperation.

9  
The Al Smith foundation is dedicated to ~~Al Smith's~~ <sup>his</sup>

great work -- to helping the poor, the disinherited, the

disadvantaged. <sup>beloved</sup> Our friend, Cardinal Spellman, whom we

remember and revere tonight, understood that cause! He devoted

his life to it. **We can do no less.**

∟ This is the American credo -- generosity and compassion, not fear and bigotry.

∟ This is the American faith.!

∟ This compassion, this faith, this credo, -- this will light our way in the difficult and dangerous time that lies ahead.

∟ I take heart from O'Shaughnessy, the Irish poet, who once sang: "For each age is a dream that is dying, or one that is coming to birth."

I believe the American dream is coming to birth! !

**Long live our America - the last best hope of earth.**

DEM FOR HHM DC  
ARE YOU READY TO RECEIVE AL SMITH TAPE? WAIT 1 MIN OK

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
AL SMITH DINNER  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK  
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1968

YOUR EXCELLENCY ARCHBISHOP COOKE, GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER,  
MAYOR LINDSAY, DISTINGUISHED LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, AND SENATOR  
MCCARTHY WHEREVER YOUR ARE. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

I AM DELIGHTED TO BE HERE ONCE AGAIN AT THIS MOST DISTINGUISHED  
DINNER, AND I AM VERY GLAD [REDACTED] INDEED THAT MR. NIXON IS HERE  
ON THE SAME PLATFORM -- ALMOST WITHIN CAMERA RANGE OF ME.

WHAT THE TELEVISION NETWORKS, THE U. S. CONGRESS AND MY  
TELEGRAMS COULD NOT ACCOMPLISH, ARCHBISHOP COOKE HAS ACCOMPLISHED --  
AND I CONGRATULATE HIM.

IN FACT, I WISH I HAD THE ARCHBISHOP FOR MY SCHEDULER --  
MY ADVANCE MAN (PAUSE) -- AND MY FINANCE CHAIRMAN.

SERIOUSLY, AS YOU ALL KNOW, THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW YORK DOES  
GREAT AND GOOD WORKS. OF COURSE, THE ARCHDIOCESE OF WASHINGTON  
DOES THIS ALSO. HOWEVER, PRESENTLY THEY ARE ENGAGED IN A  
GREAT DEBATE ABOUT NON-PROLIFERATION. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

SPEAKING ABOUT DEBATES, (PAUSE) IT [REDACTED] OCCURRED TO ME JUST  
THE OTHER DAY (PAUSE) THAT MY OPONENT IS MISSING A GREAT OPPORTUNITY  
(PAUSE). THE COLUMNISTS SAY I TALK TOO LONG. MY STAFF SAYS I TALK  
TOO LONG. BUT THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER IS, I'VE HAD TO SPEAK FOR THE  
BOTH OF US. MR. NIXON IS IN A RARE POSITION: IF HE ACCEPTS MY  
DEBATE INVITATION HE CAN SHUT HUMPHREY UP AT LEAST FOR HALF THE TIME.  
NO OTHER MAN HAS EVER DONE THAT. WELL, MAYBE ONE [REDACTED]  
OTHER MAN . . .



BUT I KNOW THAT MR. NIXON AND I CANNOT DEBATE HERE TONIGHT, SO  
I'VE BEEN PASSING HIM NOTES ALL DURING DINNER [REDACTED] ASKING HIM TO  
DEBATE ME THIS SUNDAY ON TV. AND I JUST GOT ONE BACK. LET'S  
SEE WHAT IT SAYS. ✓

(NOT IN TEXT: HHH OPEN NOTE)

IT READS: "CLEAR IT WITH STROM."

TONIGHT WE ALL MAKE COMMON CAUSE.

WE ARE ALL HERE IN THE CAUSE OF CHARITY -- TO HELP THE POOR  
AND UNDERPRIVILEGED. IN A FEW MOMENTS USHERS WILL PASS AMONG YOU  
FOR CONTRIBUTIONS (PAUSE) . . . TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

I REALIZE THIS IS A NON-POLITICAL DINNER -- MY FELLOW VOTERS --  
BUT SINCE YOUR DISTINGUISHED PRINCIPAL SPEAKER TONIGHT ENJOYS THE  
STANDING OF AT LEAST AN AMATEUR POLITICIAN, PERHAPS YOU WILL FORGIVE  
ME IF I TELL YOU A POLITICAL STORY.

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

PICTURE FOR A MOMENT, IF YOU WILL, THE DESPERATE SITUATION OF  
THIS CANDIDATE. HE IS INCUMBENT -- EMBARRASSINGLY INCUMBENT.

ALL THE PUBLIC OPINION POLLS SAY HE IS SURE TO LOSE. THE  
FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS AREN'T COMING IN. AND THE ODDS ARE LONG  
AGAINST HIM.

HIS OWN PARTY IS DEEPLY DIVIDED. ITS LEFT WING HAS GONE  
ITS OWN WAY. A THIRD PARTY HAS ARISEN, LED BY A SOUTHERN  
DEMAGOGUE WHO IS PLAYING ON PEOPLE'S FEARS AND [REDACTED] TRYING  
TO THROW THE ELECTION INTO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

AND HIS REPUBLICAN OPPONENT IS RIDING A HIGH-PRICED REPUBLICAN  
STEAMROLLER TO WHAT LOOKS LIKE CERTAIN VICTORY IN NOVEMBER. WHAT  
A HEROIC FIGURE THIS [REDACTED] DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE IS.

I REFER, OF COURSE, TO HARRY TRUMAN.

NOW I WOULD NOT FOR A MOMENT SUGGEST THAT 1968 IS 1948 ALL  
OVER AGAIN.

3

BUT EVERY NIGHT WHEN I GO TO BED I DO SLEEP A LITTLE BETTER  
KNOWING THAT HARRY TRUMAN MADE IT TO THE WHITE HOUSE -- ON HIS OWN.

I ALSO FEEL A LITTLE BETTER BECAUSE I REMEMBER ANOTHER  
POLITICAL YEAR -- AND IF EACH AND EVERY ONE OF YOU HERE TONIGHT  
DOES NOT SHARE MY ENTHUSIASM FOR 1948, I AM SURE YOU SHARE MY  
ADMIRATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE OF 1928.

THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE OF THAT YEAR WARNED THAT PROSPERITY  
WAS FRAGILE, THAT DISARMAMENT WAS ESSENTIAL, AND THAT WE MUST  
IMPROVE OUR RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA. HE SPOKE OF BUILDING  
A STRONGER AMERICA, OF STRENGTHENING OUR ECONOMY AND OUR MORAL  
PURPOSE.

AND WHEN THE KU KLUX KLAN BURNED ITS CROSSES WHERE HE  
CAMPAIGNED, HE WARNED THE NATION IT COULD LOSE ITS SOUL.

AND IN HIS ACCEPTANCE SPEECH TO THE DEMOCRATIC [REDACTED] NATIONAL  
CONVENTION, GOVERNOR AL SMITH SURELY SPOKE FOR MEN OF GOOD WILL  
OF BOTH PARTIES WHEN HE SAID: "GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE CONSTRUCTIVE,  
NOT DESTRUCTIVE, PROGRESSIVE, NOT REACTIONARY. I AM ENTIRELY  
UNWILLING TO ACCEPT THE OLD ORDER OF THINGS AS THE  
BEST, UNLESS AND UNTIL I BECOME CONVINCED THAT IT CANNOT BE  
MADE BETTER."

WE KNOW THE OLD ORDER OF THINGS CAN -- AND DOES -- [REDACTED]  
CHANGE -- FOR THE BETTER.

FOR WE REMEMBER ANOTHER PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN IN 1960.  
AND WE REMEMBER THAT JOHN F. KENNEDY TOO WAS A CATHOLIC, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

AND AS THE CAMPAIGN BEGAN IT WAS SAID THAT HIS RELIGION WOULD HURT HIM. 4

BUT TO HIS EVERLASTING CREDIT, RICHARD NIXON, HIS [REDACTED] OPPONENT THAT YEAR AND MINE NOW, DECLARED THAT RELIGION SHOULD NOT BE AN ISSUE IN AN AMERICAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN. AND WE ARE ALL DEEPLY IN HIS DEBT.

THE FIRES OF BIGOTRY THAT BURNED FIERCLY IN 1928 WERE EXTINGUISHED IN 1960.

BUT TODAY THERE ARE THOSE -- [REDACTED] OF THE RIGHT AND THE LEFT -- WHO ARE TRYING TO FAN THE FIRES OF BIGOTRY AGAIN.

IN 1928 RELIGION WAS THE ISSUE. TODAY IT IS RACE -- AND WE HEAR RACIAL SLURS AGAINST BOTH BLACK AND WHITE.

I DO NOT BELIEVE THE EXTREMISTS WILL SUCCEED.

I BELIEVE AMERICA IS BRAVE ENOUGH TO REJECT APPEALS TO FEAR -- COMPASSIONATE ENOUGH TO REJECT REPRESSION -- AND WISE ENOUGH TO IGNORE BIGOTRY FROM THE RIGHT OR THE LEFT.

THE AL SMITH FOUNDATION IS DEDICATED TO AL SMITH'S GREAT WORK -- TO HELPING THE POOR, THE DISINHERITED, THE DISADVANTAGED. OUR FRIEND, CARDINAL SPELLMAN, WHOM WE REMEMBER AND REVERE TONIGHT, UNDERSTOOD THAT CAUSE. HE DEVOTED HIS LIFE TO IT.

THIS IS THE AMERICAN CREDO -- GENEROSITY AND COMPASSION, NOT FEAR AND BIGOTRY.

THIS IS THE AMERICAN FAITH.

THIS COMPASSION, THIS FAITH, THIS CREDO -- THIS WILL LIGHT OUR WAY IN THE DIFFICULT AND DANGEROUS YEARS AHEAD.

HHH ADV STL

DEM FOR HHH DC  
ATTENTION: TED VAN DYK

FROM: JOHN G. STEWART (WHO IS PERSONALLY SAXX SLAVING TO SEND THIS TO YOU)

SO BEAR WITH ME, I'LL MAKE A FEW MUSTAKES.

SPEECH OF SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY  
AL SMITH

YOUREMIIENCE, CARDINAL SPELLMAN, ETC.....  
LADIES ND GENTLEMEN, FELLOW VOTERS (HA HA) I AM GLAD TO BE HERE AT THISNOTABLE DINNER ONCE AGIN AND I AM GLAD THAT MR NIXON ISHERE ALSO NOWTHAT CARDINAL SPELLHAN HAS DEMONSTRATEDTHE PROPER SPIRIT, I ASSUME TE THATSHORTLY I WILL BE INVITED TO A QUACKER MXXX DINNER HONORING HOOBERT HEEVER.

CARDINAL SPELLMANIS THE ONLY MAN SO WIDELY RESPECTED INAMERICAN POLITICS THAT HE COULD BRING TOGETHER , AMICABLY, AT THE SAME BANQUET TABLE, FOR THE FIRSTTIME TXX IN THIS CAMPAIGN, TWO POLITICAL LEADERSWHO ARE INCREASINGLY APPREHENSIE ABOUT EACXXX THE NOVEMBER ELECTION. . . WHO HAVE EYED EACH OTHER SUSPICIOUSLY AND WHOHAVE SO STRONGLY DISAGREED BOTH PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY VICE PRESIDENT NIXONAND GOV ROCKFELLER ( HA HA9

MR. NIXON, LIKE THERET OF US, HAS HAD HIS TROUBLES IN THIS CAMPAIGN. AT ONE POINT EVEN THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WAS CRITICIZING HIS TCTICS. THAT IS LIKE THE OBSERVATORE ROMANO CRITICIZING THE POPE. (HA HA)

BUT I THINK THE WORST NEWS FOR THE REPUBLICANS THIS WEEK WAS THAT CASEY STENGEL HAS BEEN FIRED. (HA HA) IT MUST SHOW THAT PERAHPS EXPERIENCE DOES NOT COUTN. (HA HA & CLAPS)

ON THIS MATTER OF EXPERIENCE, I HAD ANNOUNCED EARLIER THIS YEAR IF SUCCESSFUL I WOULD NOT CONSIDER CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR EXPERIENCE IN APPOINTING AMABASSADORS. EVER SINCE I MADE THAT STTTEMENT I HAVE NOT RECEIVED ONE SINGLE CENT FROM MY FATHER. (HA HA HA & CLAPX)

ONE OF THE INSPIRING NOTES THAT WAS STRUCK IN THE LAST DEBATE WAS STRUCK BY THE VICE PRESIDENT HI XXX IN HIS VERY MOVING WARNING TO THE CHILDREN OF THE NATION AND THE CANDIDATES AGAINST THE USE OF PROFANITY BY PRESIDENTS AND EX-PRESIDENTS WHEN THEY ARE ON THESTUMP. AND I KNOW AFTER 14 YEARS IN THE CONGRESS WITH THE VP THAT HE WAS VERY SINCERE IN HIS VIEWS ABOUT THE SUE OF PROFANITY. BUT I AM TOLD THAT A PROMINENT REPUBLICAN SAID TO HIM ESTERDAY IN JACKSONVILL, FLA. , "MR. PRESIDENT, THAT WAS A DAMN FINE SPEECH." (HA HA) AND THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID, "I APPRECIATE THE COMPLIMENT BUT NOT THE LANGUAGE." AND THE REPUBLICAN WENT ON, "YES, SIR, I LIKED IT SO MUCH THAT I CONTRIBUTED A THOUSAND DOLLARS TO YOUR CAMPAIGN." AND MR. NIXON REPLIED, "THE HELL YOU SAY." (HA HA & CLPS)

HOWEVER I WOULD NOT WANT TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT I AM TAKING  
FORMER PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S USE OF LANGUAGE LIGHTLY. IAXXX I HAVE  
SENT HIM THE FOLLOWING WIRE+:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I HAVE NOTED WITH INTEREST YOUR SUGGESTION AS  
TO WHERE THOSE WHO VOTE FOR MY OPPONENT SHOULD GO. WHILE I AXXX  
UNDERSTAND AND SYMPATHIZE WITH YOUR DEEP MOTIVATION, I THINK IT IS  
IMPORTANT THAT OUR SIDE TRY TO REFRAIN FROM RASXXX RAISING THE RELI-  
GIOUS ISSUE. (HA HA AND LCLPS).

ONE OF THE SUBJECTS THAT INTERESTS CANDIDATES AND THOSE WHO WRITE  
ABOUT CANDIDATES IS WHETHER 1960 WILL BE ANOTHER 1928. I HAVE HAD  
SOME INTEREST IN THAT QUESTION MYSELF, AND LOOKING AT THE SPEECHES  
OF GOVERNOR SMITH IN THE 1928 CAMPAIGN, I AM STRUCK BY THE CON-  
TINUITY OF THE THEMES. THE 1928 AND 1960 CAMPAIGN,  
WITH ALL OF THE OBVIOUS DIFFERENCES, HAVE MUCH IN COMMON. IN  
1928, AS IN 1960, THE YANKEES WON THE PENALTY, THE POSTMASTER GENERAL  
WAS PROMISING EFFICIENT MAIL DELIVERY AT LAST, FARM PURCHASING  
POWER WAS DOWN SOME 20 PERCENT IN 1928 COMPARED TO 8 YEARS EARLIER,  
JUST AS IT IS TODAY. THREE MILLION PEOPLE HAD XXX HAD LEFT THE  
FARMS IN THAT PERIOD, JUST AS THEY HAVE IN THE LAST 8 YEARS.  
THE STOCK MARKET WAS UNSTABLE AND TWO-THIRDS OF ALL CORPORATE  
PROFITS WENT TO ONE-FOURTH OF 1 PERCENT OF THE CORPORATIONS.

IN SEPTEMBER 1928, THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY  
DECLARED-:

REAL WAGES HAVE IMPROVED MORE DURING THE PAST 7 AND ONE-HALF YEARS  
THAN IN ANY SIMILAR PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY.

TO BE CONTINUED IN A MOMENT.

DEM FOR HHH DC

CONTINUATION OF SPEECH OF SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY

HE SPOKE OF THE COUNTRY'S UNPARALLELED PROGRESS. HE  
STRESSED AMERICAN COMFORT, HOPE, AND CONFIDENCE FOR THE  
FUTURE ARE IMMEASURABLY HIGHER THAN THEY WERE 7 1/2 YEARS AGO.

THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE IN 1928 QUESTIONED HOW STABLE OUR  
PROSPERITY WAS. HE POINTED TO THE POCKETS OF INDUSTRIES. WE  
WARNED OF A FARM DEPRESSION. HE CRITICIZED ADMINISTRATION FARM  
VETOES. HE STRESSED, AND I QUOTE HIM, "THE NECESSITY FOR THE  
RESTORATION OF CORDIAL RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA" AND HE  
CALLED FOR MORE EFFECTIVE ACTION AGAINST DISARMAMENT.

THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE IN 1928 SPOKE 30 YEARS AGO TONIGHT  
ABOUT BUILDING A STRONGER AMERICA, STRENGTHENING  
NOT ONLY OUR ECONOMY BUT OUR SENSE OF MORAL PURPOSE AND OUR  
PUBLIC DUTY. IN ALL OF THESE AND OTHER WAYS, 1960 AND 1928 MAY  
BE SISTERS UNDER THE SKIN.

SOME SAY THAT THIS WILL ALSO BE TRUE WHEN THE BALLOTS ARE  
COUNTED, THAT THE RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS OF THE CANDIDATES WILL  
INFLUENCE THE OUTCOME MORE THAN THEIR CONVICTIONS ON  
THE ISSUES. BUT THIS IS WHERE I BELIEVE THAT 1928 AND 1960  
ARE VERY DIFFERENT. REGARDLESS OF THE OUTCOME, AND REGARDLESS  
OF THESE SIMILARITIES, I DO NOT BELIEVE THE AMERICAN VOTER IN  
1960 IS THE SAME AS THE AMERICAN VOTER OF 1928, FOR WE  
LIVE IN A DIFFERENT WORLD.



THERE ARE A BILLION MORE PEOPLE CROWDING OUR GLOBE, AND EVERY AMERICAN CAN HEAR THE RUMBLING OF A DISTANT DRUM. THE NEXT PRESIDENT WILL HAVE A BUDGET 25 TIMES AS LARGE AS THAT OF THE CANDIDATES IN AL SMITH'S TIME, AND HE WILL FACE PROBLEMS UNPRECEDENTED IN THAT TIME OR IN ANY TIME IN OUR LONG HISTORY, AUTOMATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT, FARM SURPLUSES AND FOOD SHORTAGES, A HIGH COST OF LIVING IN THE MIDST OF AN ECONOMIC SLUMP, NEW NATIONS, NEW LEADERS, THE WORLD IS DIFFERENT ACROSS THE STREET AND ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE MOON. THE WHITE RACE IS IN THE MINORITY, THE FREE-ENTERPRISE SYSTEM IS IN THE MINORITY, ADXXX AND THE MAJORITY ARE LOOKING AT US HARDER AND LONGER THAN THEY EVER LOOKED BEFORE.

THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN THE TEMXXX TENEMENTS OF AFRICA AND ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA WANT TO FIGHT THEIR WAY OUT OF THE SLUMS. THE LOWER EAST SIDE OF THE WORLD IS LOOKING FOR HELP, AND UNLIKE 1928 THE LOWER EAST SIDE OF THE WORLD HAS A VOICE AND A VOTE.

#"THE WORLD IS LARGE," JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY WROTE, "THE WORLD IS LARGE WHEN ITS WEARY LEAGUE TWO LOVING HEARTS DIVIDE, BUT THE WORLD IS SMALL WHEN YOUR ENEMY IS LOOSE ON THE OTHER SIDE."

IN 1960, AS NEVER BEFORE, OUR ENEMY IS LOOSE ON THE OTHER SIDE. IN 1928, THE VOTERS PERHAPS COULD BE EXCUSED FOR NOT SEEING THE STORM COMING, THE DEPRESSION, THE JAPANESE CONQUEST OR MANCHURIA, HITLER'S RISE, AND ALL THE REST. BUT IN 1960, THE CITIZENS OF THIS COUNTRY FACE THE GREAT QUESTION OF WHETHER FREEDOM WILL NOT ONLY ENDURE, BUT WHETHER IT WILL ALSO PREVAIL. THUS, 1960 AND 1928 ARE VERY DIFFERENT. IT WILL BE WITH THIS VIEW OF AMERICA THAT WE SHALL ACCEPT THE FORTUNES OF NOVEMBER 8, 1960, BE THEY FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE, GOOD OR BAD. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN 1960 SEE THE SROXX STORM COMING. THEY SEE THE PERILS AHEAD. 1960 IS NOT 1928. I AM CONFIDENT THAT WHATEVER THEIR VERDICT, REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC, MYSELF OR MR. NIXON, THAT THEIR JUDGMENT WILL BE BASED NOT ON ANY EXTRANEIOUS ISSUE, BUT ON THE REAL ISSUES OF OUR TIME, ON WHAT IS BEST FOR OUR COUNTRY, ON THHE HARD FACTS THAT FACE US, ON THE CONVICTIONS OF THE CANDIDATES AND THEIR PARTIES, AND ON THEIR ABILITY TO INTERPRET THEM.

WHEN THIS HAPPENS THEN THE BITTER MEMORY OF 1928 WILL BEGIN TO FADE, AND ALL THAT WILL REMAIN WILL BE THE FIGURE OF AL SMITH, LARGE AGAINST THE HORIZON, TRUE, COURAGEOUS, AND HONEST, WHO IN THE WORDS OF THE CARDINAL, SERVED HIS COUNTRY WELL, AND HAVING SERVED HIS COUNTRY WELL, NOBLY SERVED HIS GOD.

END

NOTE... POSSIBLE ADDITIN TO HHH TEXT. JR. NIXON HAS SAID ITS ONE THING TO GIVE 'EM HELL AND ITS ANOTHER THING TO GIVE 'EM HUMPHREY. WELL, I'VE ALWAYS SAID THERE'S CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRTIC PARTIES.

THIS COULD GO IN TRUMAN SECTION OF SPEECH.

GOOD MORNING..... LUTSXXX O LOUTS.  
WHAT THE HELL HAPPENED TO THE DETROIT SPEECH.  
SENIOR CITIZENS ORGY

HOLD ON... WE HAVE MORE...  
ANOTHER GEM FOR THE SPEECH.

SMXXXX AMERICAN ENGINEERING AND TECHNOLOGY HAS NOW SCORED ONE OF ITS MOST IMPRESSIVE TRIUMPHS. . . . THREE MEN IN ORBIT AROUND THE EARTH. NOW ITS JUST A SMALL STEP FROM THIS ACHIEVEMENT TO GETTING THREE CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENCY ON TELEVISION.

AFTER THIS INCREDIBLE OUTPOURING OF WIT AND HUMOR. . . NOT TO MENTION SILENT, INTERNAL, VITRIOL, GRRRRR, WE BID YOU ALL GOOD MORNING.

JGS. SBD . . . . REH..... YOU SEE, I WAS NOT ALONE.



from Wouk

Al Smith

Of course I'm honored and delighted to appear at this traditional Al Smith dinner. But at the outset I've encountered a severe handicap. Your chairman has told me to limit my remarks to ten minutes. Imagine giving Hubert Humphrey ten minutes to make a speech! Why that's like handing a pogo stick to an astronaut, and telling him to blast off. I often take ten minutes just to clear my throat. However, I was willing to endure any hardship, accept any sacrifice, for the chance to meet Richard Nixon face to face. They say he's being silent and elusive, but I was beginning to wonder whether he was still alive. Oh, I know this confrontation won't last long. This dinner will soon be over. And I'm not saying that Richard Nixon is deliberately trying to avoid me. I do want to warn any women and children sitting between him and the nearest exit to stay well clear. Just the breeze may knock them over.

It's too bad really that Mr. Nixon has been persuaded not to debate. I know he's a slugger by nature. But obviously Madison Avenue has advised him that this time he must tiptoe through the tulips to the White House. Well, he's tried every other way. I suppose he may as well try tiptoeing through the tulips. And I may be wrong -- and I know what the polls are saying -- but I still have a funny little feeling that Tiny Dick isn't going to make it. Of course if the pollsters were right, the St. Louis Cardinals would now be dividing up the World Series money. Fortunately, they paid off on the ball game. I'm still in this ball game. And in fact my inning starts now. And one

thing is sure -- I've got the greatest back-up hitter playing with me that this country has seen in many decades, and I mean big Ed Muskie. Now there's a man I'm glad to have on my team. A man who I believe will make a great President himself some day -- I mean of course after I've lived out a long natural life! Now by contrast people are saying that my opponent's running mate is rather undistinguished. Yes, you hear a lot of that talk about Mr. Agnew, and I for one think it's rather unfair. I don't see how you can call a candidate undistinguished when he's the only man running for high public office who has his own footprints on his tongue.

Well, all this kidding is in the American spirit. We fight hard for public office. Most of us try to fight clean. Perhaps you expect me to make a jest or two about the third party candidate, Mr. Wallace. I'm not going to do that. I see nothing amusing about him or his candidacy. And I don't see anything American about it. It is a malignant growth of fear and hate. I am not afraid of that growth. The voters are going to cut it out once for all in November. But especially at the Al Smith dinner, I must express my contempt and abhorrence for this thing. You see Al Smith was defeated -- and the spirit of a very great public servant was thus forever broken -- by a campaign based on fear and hate. Ten presidential elections have gone by since that campaign which was based on nothing more than a nightmare fear of Protestant Americans for Catholic Americans. And it was only two elections ago that a great

Catholic American, John Kennedy, became one of our noblest Presidents, and laid that fear to rest for all time. Would that Al Smith had lived to see that presidency.

A great historian said of a great statesman: "If you want to see his monument, look all around you." Al Smith lives on, not only in the memory of those who knew and loved him, but in the whole liberal tradition which has shaped our nation ever since that fatal campaign. The tradition that is now the very heart of America, and that has made us the strongest and most resilient nation on earth. Our people have learned many lessons in these forty years, and that is why the spirit of Al Smith, defeated and broken in 1928, will rise and triumph over the forces of blind fear and reaction in 1968. I have the historic privilege of leading the party of Al Smith in this fight for everything that is good and decent and progressive in this land of ours, and with God's blessing I will win.

Muskie:

"To put it another way the decisive factor in this campaign is confidence and trust. Confidence and trust between people and government, and trust between citizens and their public officials.

That confidence and trust can be achieved only if we are willing to accept all men and women as equals, only if we are willing to give all men and women an equal chance, and only if we work to make our government serve us. You and I know that federal, state and local government can be responsive and responsible instruments of the public will. You and I know that individuals and private business can work in partnership with government for the public good. Not all Americans have that view.

Some live in areas where the sheer weight of numbers makes government remote.

Some have regarded government an enemy to their hopes and aspirations. Some have regarded it an obstacle to their efforts to exploit others.

Confidence and trust among such citizens can be built only by leaders who believe in the capacity of the American people."

A fellow could get a persecution complex out of this campaign. First ~~there are those fighting Democrats that~~ seem to like to fight each other more than the Republicans. Then there are those polls that keep giving the Republican candidate reason for rejoicing. Then there are those columns that keep reminding us that there is a new Mr. Nixon. And then I keep reading how Mr. Nixon is so cool, calm, confident, poised, and positive. Now that's almost more than a fellow can take. Then, if you add onto that, that I must labor under the restraints of the Office of the Vice President with its awesome responsibilities and heavy burdens, and its unknown and undiscovered opportunities, you can see why it's difficult for the Democratic standard bearer of 1968 to be a happy warrior. ~~But I forgot to add, because it's difficult makes~~ it all the more challenging.

NG

?

I always thought that the Church did not involve itself in matters of politics. But, Your Excellency, how do you explain the presence of three distinguished Republicans -- Governor Rockefeller, Mayor Lindsay, and Richard Nixon -- ~~as a just~~ *as a against*

*2 Democrats -*  
~~lonely, lone Democrat? This is neither equal time nor equal treatment unless you feel like I do -- that one Democrat can take on three Republicans any place and any time.~~

(a) ~~I~~ I have been trying to get a debate going in this campaign and it's met, as you may know, with some reluctance. Dick Nixon says he doesn't want any three-man debate. I see no reason that he shouldn't take on Lindsay and Rockefeller. And I'll make a deal with him -- I'll take on the winner.

*Fairley counts for any 2 Republicans*

*I suppose you felt that  
But then Jim Fairley  
counts for any 2 Republicans.  
So the odds are even,  
I'll take Jim*



Bill Shannon

I am happy to see that Archbishop Cooke has been able to do  
something <sup>(which)</sup> Congress and the networks have been unable to do

~~something~~ -- persuade my opponent to appear on the same  
platform with me.

( Everywhere across the world tides of change are moving.

If we tried like King Canute to bid the restless tides to stop  
moving, we would only fail. We have to learn to master change or  
change will master us. Pope John XXIII recognized that when he  
summoned the Vatican Council to freshen and quicken the spirit of  
the Church. John Kennedy recognized that in 1960 when he summoned  
Americans to venture on a New Frontier. Francis Cardinal Spellman  
recognized that in his leadership of this archdiocese. <sup>(Twenty-</sup>  
~~five~~  
five years ago when great numbers of Spanish-speaking Catholics  
began to move from the island of Puerto Rico to the island of  
Manhattan, Cardinal Spellman did not ignore their coming or try  
to block the changes which they inevitably brought about. Instead,  
he instructed his young Seminarians to begin learning Spanish. He  
sent teachers and members of his staff to Puerto Rico to study the  
life of the people there. In these and other ways, Cardinal Spellman

good

made the transition easier -- easier for an ~~Arch~~ Archdiocese with old and settled ways, easier for the Puerto Ricans starting the great adventure of life here on the mainland. In bidding them welcome and in taking practical steps to make sure that they were, in fact, welcome, Cardinal Spellman was following the Bible's command -- to make straight the way of the Lord.

What Cardinal Spellman did in his time for his people, each of us must do in our own time in our own sphere of responsibility. All of you attending this great dinner in behalf of charity are making the road a little smoother, the harshness of change a little softer, the strain of transition a little easier. In a sense, that is also what this presidential campaign is all about -- it is an attempt to find the right answer to the question -- How can we master change in our turbulent cities and in our troubled world? My answer is that Government, private charity, and the individual must all work together. It is easy to say that voluntary agencies can do it all. But those of you who do charitable work know that churches and private organizations ~~cannot~~ do not have the financial resources to bear the whole

3-3-3

burden. ~~It~~ It is equally easy to say that the individual should do everything for himself. Let him stand on his own two feet, some argue. But root, hog, or die has never been a Christian principle. There are too many who cannot stand alone unaided -- those who are old, those ~~and the sick, the blind, the disabled,~~ who are blind or disabled, those who are sick in body or spirit, the widow with small children to care for, the alcoholic and the drug addict, the father who has lost his self-confidence because he has been out of a job too long. All of these need a helping hand.

Government alone cannot do it all, but government has a critical role to play and so do ~~the~~ private charitable agencies and so do self-reliant individuals building on their own strength. Government programs strengthen each of the other two partners. Government programs, for example, for children in low-income ~~neighborhoods~~ neighborhoods enable the schools, both public and parochial, to do a better job for their pupils. Federal hot-lunch programs, Federally-financed day care centers, and programs ~~like~~ like Head Start



4-4-4

-- these programs create strength where only weakness existed. They do not cripple charity or undercut self-reliance. They open the door to hope.

Americans need not fear for themselves or for their institutions as long as they recognize the tides of change and move with them, as long as they have trust ~~in their government,~~ <sup>in each other.</sup> ~~in their private agencies,~~ and in themselves. We should not ~~stand still.~~ And we do not need revolution or violent upheaval. We need instead a spirit of renewal, a quickening of ~~our~~ faith. 1-



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