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HUMPHREY: "THE END OF AN ERA— THE BEGINNING OF A NEW DAY"

Following is full text of the acceptance speech of Hubert H. Humphrey, Democratic candidate for President, as delivered to the National Convention in Chicago, Aug. 29, 1968:

MR. CHAIRMAN, MY FELLOW AMERICANS, MY FELLOW DEMOCRATS:

I proudly accept the nomination of our party.

This moment is one of personal pride and gratification. Yet one cannot help but reflect the deep sadness that we feel over the troubles and the violence which have erupted regrettably and tragically in the streets of this great city, and for the personal injuries which have occurred. Surely we have now learned the lesson that violence breeds counterviolence, and it cannot be condoned, whatever the source.

I know that every delegate to this Convention shares tonight my sorrow and my distress over these incidents. And may we for just one moment, in sober reflection and serious purpose—may we just quietly and silently, each in our own way, pray for our country.

And may we just share for a moment a few of those immortal words of the prayer of St. Francis of Assisi—words which I think may help heal the wounds, ease the pain and lift our hearts. Listen to this immortal saint:

"Where there is hatred, let me sow love; where there is injury, pardon; where there is doubt, faith; where there is despair, hope; where there is darkness, light."

Those are the words of a saint. And may those of us of less purity listen to them well, and may America tonight resolve that never, never again shall we see what we have seen.

Yes, I accept your nomination in this spirit and I have spoken, knowing that the months and the years ahead will severely test our America. And might I say that, as this America is tested, that once again we give our testament to America, and I do not think it is sentimental nor is it cheap but I think it is true that each and every one of us in our own way should once again reaffirm to ourselves and our posterity that we love this nation—we love America.

But take heart, my fellow Americans. This is not the first time that our nation has faced a challenge to its life and its purpose, and each time that we've had to face these challenges, we have emerged with new greatness and with new strength. We must make this moment of crisis—we must make it a moment of creation. As it has been said: "In the worst of times a great people must do the best of things"—and let us do it.

We stand at such a moment now in the affairs of this nation because, my fellow Americans, something new, something different has happened. There is an end of an era, and there is the beginning of a new day. And it is the special genius of the Democratic Party that it welcomes change—not as an enemy but as an ally, not as a force to be suppressed but as an instrument of progress to be encouraged.

This week our party has debated the great issues before America in this very hall. And had we not raised these issues—troublesome as they were—we would have ignored the reality of change. Had we just papered over the differences between us with empty platitudes instead of frank, hard de-

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bate, we would deserve the contempt of our fellow citizens and the condemnation of history.

Yes, we dared to speak out, and we have heard hard and sometimes bitter debate. But I submit that this is the debate and this is the work of a free people, the work of an open Convention and the work of a political party responsive to the needs of this nation.

Democracy affords debate, discussion and dissent. But, my fellow Americans, it also requires decision, and we have decided here, not by edict but by vote, not by force but by ballot. Majority rule has prevailed, but minority rights are preserved.

There is always the temptation—always the temptation to leave the scene of battle in anger and despair. But those who know the true meaning of democracy accept the decision of today, but never relinquishing their right to change it tomorrow.

"Foundations of New Party Structure"

In the space of but a week this Convention has literally laid the foundations of a new Democratic Party structure in America. From precinct level to the floor of this Convention we have revolutionized our rules and our procedures.

And that revolution is in the proud tradition of our party. It is in the tradition of Franklin Roosevelt who knew that America had "nothing to fear but fear itself." And it is in the tradition of that one-and-only Harry Truman who "let 'em have it" and told it like it was. And that's the way we're going to do it from here on out. And it is in the tradition of that beloved man, Adlai Stevenson, who taught sense to the American people. And, oh, tonight how we miss this great, good and gentle man of peace in America!

And, my fellow Americans, all that we do and all that we ever hope to do must be in the tradition of John F. Kennedy, who said to us: "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country." And, my fellow Democrats and fellow Americans, in that spirit of that great man let us ask what together we can do for the freedom of man.

And what we are doing is in the tradition of Lyndon B. Johnson, who rallied a grief-stricken nation when our leader was stricken by the assassin's bullet and said to you and said to me and said to all the world: "Let us continue."

And in the space of five years since that tragic moment,

President Johnson has accomplished more of the unfinished business of America than any of his modern predecessors. And I truly believe that history will surely record the greatness of his contribution to the people of this land. And tonight, to you, Mr. President, I say: Thank you, thank you, Mr. President.

Yes, my fellow Democrats, we have recognized—and indeed we must recognize—the end of an era and the beginning of a new day. And that new day belongs to the people—to all the people everywhere in this land of the people—to every man, woman and child that is a citizen of this republic.

And within that new day lies nothing less than the promise seen a generation ago by that poet, Thomas Wolfe: "To every man his chance—to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity—to every man the right to live and to work and to be himself and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This is the promise of America."

Yes, the new day is here. Across America, throughout the entire world, the forces of emancipation are at work. We hear freedom's rising chorus. "Let me live my own life, let me live in peace, let me be free," say the people.

And that cry is heard today in our slums, on our farms and in our cities. It is heard from the old as well as from the young. It is heard in Eastern Europe and it is heard in Vietnam. And it will be answered by us in how we face the three realities that confront this nation:

"Necessity for Peace and Justice"

The first reality is the necessity for peace in Vietnam and in the world.

The second reality is the necessity for peace and justice in our cities and in our nation.

And the third reality is the paramount necessity for unity—unity in our country.

Let me speak first, then, about Vietnam. There are differences, of course—serious differences—within our party on this vexing and painful issue of Vietnam. And these differences are found even within the ranks of all of the Democratic presidential candidates.

But might I say to my fellow Americans that, once you have examined the differences, I hope you will also recognize the much larger areas of agreement.

Let those who believe that our cause in Vietnam has been right or those who believe that it has been wrong agree here and now that neither vindication nor repudiation will bring peace or be worthy of this country.

The question is not the yesterdays, but the question is: What do we do now? No one knows what the situation in Vietnam will be when the next President of the United States takes that oath of office on Jan. 20, 1969. But every heart in America prays that by then we shall have reached a cease-fire in all Vietnam and be in serious negotiation toward a durable peace.

Meanwhile, as a citizen, a candidate and Vice President, I pledge to you and to my fellow Americans that I shall do everything within my power, within the limits of my capacity and ability, to aid the negotiations and to bring a prompt end to this war.

May I remind you of the words of a truly great citizen of the world, Winston Churchill? It was he who said—and we would heed his words well: "Those who use today and the present to stand in judgment of the past may well lose the future." And if there is any one lesson that we should have learned, it is that the policies of tomorrow need not be limited by the policies of yesterday.

My fellow Americans, if it becomes my high honor to

serve as President of these States and people, I shall apply that lesson to the search for peace in Vietnam, as to all other areas of national policy.

Now, let me ask you: Do you remember these words at another time, in a different place? "Peace and freedom do not come cheap. And we are destined—all of us here today—to live out most, if not all, of our lives in uncertainty and challenge and peril."

The words of a prophet? Yes. The words of a President? Yes. The words of the challenge of today? Yes. And the words of John Kennedy to you and to me and to posterity.

Last week, we witnessed once again—in Czechoslovakia—the desperate attempt of tyranny to crush out the forces of liberalism by force and brutal power, to hold back change. But in Eastern Europe, as elsewhere, the old era will surely end, and there, as here, a new day will dawn.

And to speed this day, we must go far beyond where we've been—beyond containment to communication, beyond the emphasis of differences to dialogue, beyond fear to hope. We must cross those remaining barriers of suspicion and despair.

We must halt the arms race before it halts humanity. And is this—is this a vain hope? Is it but a dream?

I say the record says no. Within the last few years we have made progress. We have negotiated a nuclear test-ban treaty. We have laid the groundwork for a nuclear non-proliferation treaty. We have reached agreement on banning weapons in outer space. We have been building patiently—stone by stone, each in our own way—the cathedral of peace.

And now we must take new initiatives—new initiatives with prudence and caution, but with perseverance. We must find the way and the means to control and reduce offensive and defensive nuclear missile systems. The world cannot indefinitely hope to avoid nuclear war which one rash act, one error in judgment, one failure in communications could unleash upon all humanity and destroy all of mankind.

But the search for peace is not for the timid or the weak. It must come from a nation of high purpose, firm without being belligerent, resolute without being bellicose, strong without being arrogant. And that's the kind of America that will help build the peace of this world.

"Task of Slowing Down Arms Race"

But the task of slowing down the arms race, of halting the nuclear escalation—there is no more urgent task than ending this threat to the very survival of our planet. And if I am elected as your President, I commit myself—body, mind and soul—to this task.

Now our second reality is the necessity for peace at home. There is, my friends—let's see it as it is—there is trouble in America. But it does not come from a lack of faith—it comes from the kindling of hope. When the homeless can find a home, they do not give up the search for a better home. When the hopeless find hope, they seek higher hopes.

And in 1960 and again in 1964, you, the American people, gave us a mandate to awaken America to its unmet needs. You asked us to get America moving again, and we have, and America is on the move.

And we have awakened expectations. We have aroused new voices, and new voices that must and will be heard. We have inspired new hope in millions of men and women, and they are impatient—and rightly so—impatient now to see their hopes and their aspirations fulfilled.

We have raised a new standard of life in our America, not just for the poor but for every American: wage earner, businessman, farmer, schoolchild and housewife—a standard by which the future progress must be judged.

Our most urgent challenge is in urban America, where most of our people live. Some 70 per cent of our people live on 2 per cent of our land. And within 25 years, 100 million more will join our national family.

I ask you tonight: Where shall they live? How shall they live? What shall be their future?

We are going to decide in the next four years those questions. The next President of the United States will establish policies not only for this generation, but for children yet unborn.

Our task is tremendous, and I need your help.

The simple solution of the frustrated and the frightened to our complex urban problems is to lash out against society. But we know, and they must know, that this is no answer. Violence breeds more violence; disorder destroys. And only in order can we build. Riot makes for ruin; reason makes for solution.

"Guaranteeing Personal Security"

So from the White House to the courthouse to the city hall, every official has the solemn responsibility of guaranteeing to every American—black and white, rich and poor—the right to personal security—life.

Every American—black or white, rich or poor—has the right in this land of ours to a safe and a decent neighborhood, and on this there can be no compromise.

I put it very bluntly: Rioting, burning, sniping, mugging, traffic in narcotics and disregard for law are the advance guard of anarchy, and they must and they will be stopped!

But may I say most respectfully, particularly to some who have spoken before:

The answer lies in reasoned, effective action by State, local and federal authority. The answer does not lie in an attack on our courts, our laws or our Attorney General.

We do not want a police state, but we need a state of law and order, and neither mob violence nor police brutality have any place in America. And I pledge to use every resource that is available to the Presidency—every resource available to the President—to end, once and for all, the fear that is in our cities.

Now let me speak of other rights:

Nor can there be any compromise with the right of every American who is able and who is willing to work to have a job—that's an American right, too—who is willing to be a good neighbor, to be able to live in a decent home in the neighborhood of his own choice.

Nor can there be any compromise with the right of every American who is anxious and willing to learn to have a good education.

And it is to these rights—the rights of law and order, the rights of life, the rights of liberty, the right of a job, the right of a home in a decent neighborhood and the right of an education—it is to these rights that I pledge my life and whatever capacity and ability I have.

But we cannot be satisfied with merely repairing that which is old. We must also move beyond the enclosures of our traditional cities to create new cities, to restore our present cities. Yes, and we must bring prosperity and modern living and opportunity to our rural areas.

We must design an open America—opening new opportunities for new Americans in open land. I say to this audience: We have invested billions to explore outer space where man may live tomorrow; we must also be willing to invest to develop inner space right here on earth where man may live today.

And now the third reality—essential if the other two are to be achieved—is the necessity, my fellow Americans, for

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unity in our country, for tolerance and forbearance, for holding together as a family. And we must make a great decision: Are we to be one nation, or are we to be a nation divided—divided between black and white, between rich and poor, between North and South, between young and old?

I take my stand: We are and we must be one nation, united by liberty and justice for all. "One nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all"—this is our America.

And just as I have said to you there can be no compromise on the right of personal security, there can be no compromise on securing of human rights. If America is to make a social judgment of leadership in this coming election, then let that selection be made without either candidate hedging or equivocating.

Winning the Presidency, for me, is not worth the price of silence or evasion on the issue of human rights. And winning the Presidency—and listen well—winning the Presidency is not worth a compact with extremism.

I choose not simply to run for President; I seek to lead a great nation. And either we achieve true justice in our land, or we shall doom ourselves to a terrible exhaustion of body and spirit.

I base my entire candidacy on the belief which comes from the very depths of my soul, which comes from basic, religious conviction that the American people will stand up, that they will stand up for justice and fair play, and that they will respond to the call of one citizenship—one citizenship open to all—for all Americans.

So this is the message that I shall take to the people, and I ask you to stand with me. And to all of my fellow Democrats now who have labored hard and openly this week at the difficult and sometimes frustrating work of democracy, I pledge myself to that task of leading the Democratic Party to victory in November.

And may I say to those who have differed with their neighbor, or those who have differed with a fellow Democrat—may I say to you that all of your goals, that all of your high hopes, that all of your dreams—all of them will come to naught if we lose this election, and many of them can be realized with the victory that can come to us.

And now a word to two good friends.

To my friends—and they are my friends, and they're your friends, and they're fellow Democrats—to my friends Gene McCarthy and George McGovern—to my friends Gene McCarthy and George McGovern, who have given new hope to a new generation of Americans that there can be greater meaning in their lives, that America can respond to men of moral concern—to these two good

Americans: I ask your help for our America, and I ask you to help me in this difficult campaign that lies ahead.

And now I appeal—I appeal to those thousands, yea, millions of young Americans to join us not simply as campaigners, but to continue as vocal, creative and even critical participants in the politics of our time. Never were you needed so much, and never could you do so much if you want to help now.

Martin Luther King, Jr., had a dream. Robert F. Kennedy, as you saw tonight, had a great vision. If America will respond to that dream and that vision—if America will respond to that dream and that vision, their deaths will not mark the moment when America lost its way, but will mark the time when America found its conscience.

These men have given us inspiration and direction. And I pledge from this platform tonight we shall not abandon their purposes; we shall honor their dreams by our deeds now and in the days to come.

"I Shall Appeal to Reason, Judgment"

I am keenly aware of the fears and the frustrations of the world in which we live. It is all too easy, isn't it, to play on these emotions. But I do not intend to do so. I do not intend to appeal to fear, but rather to hope. I do not intend to appeal to frustration, but rather to your faith. I shall appeal to reason and to your good judgment.

The American Presidency—the American Presidency is a great and powerful office, but it is not all-powerful. It depends most of all upon the will and the faith and the dedication and the wisdom of the American people.

And I know, as you know, there is an essential strength in the American people.

And tonight I call you—I call you, the American people, not to be of one mind, but to be of one spirit. I call you, the

American people, not to a life of false security, false promises and ease, but to a new sense of purpose, a new dedication and a new commitment.

Remember that those who founded this republic said that in order to secure these inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, they pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. I submit, my fellow Americans, we dare do no less in our time if this republic is to survive.

So I call you forth—I call forth that basic goodness that is there; I call you to risk the hard path of greatness—and I say to America:

Put aside recrimination and dissension. Turn away from violence and hatred. Believe—believe in what America can do, and believe in what America can be.

And with the help of that vast unfrightened, dedicated, faithful majority of Americans—I say to this great Convention tonight and to this great nation of ours—I am ready to lead our country. [END]

As Mr. Humphrey accepts: "I take my stand. We are and we must be one nation, united by liberty and justice."

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Senate

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY'S ACCEPTANCE SPEECH: "THE BEGINNING OF A NEW DAY"

Mr. Chairman, my fellow Americans, my fellow Democrats—I proudly accept the nomination of our party.

This moment—this moment is one of personal pride and gratification. Yet one cannot help but reflect the deep sadness that we feel over the troubles and the violence which have erupted, regrettably and tragically, in the streets of this great city, and for the personal injuries which have occurred.

Surely we have now learned the lesson that violence breeds counterviolence and it cannot be condoned, whatever the source.

I know that every delegate to this convention shares tonight my sorrow and my distress over these incidents. And for just one moment, in sober reflection and serious purpose, may we just quietly and silently, each in our own way, pray for our country. And may we just share for a moment a few of those immortal words of the prayer of St. Francis of Assisi, words which I think may help heal the wounds, ease the pain and lift our hearts.

Listen to this immortal saint: "Where there is hatred, let me know love. Where there is injury, pardon. Where there is doubt, faith. Where there is despair, hope. Where there is darkness, light."

Those are the words of a saint. And may those of us of less purity listen to them well and may America tonight resolve that never, never again shall we see what we have seen.

Yes, I accept your nomination in this spirit and I have spoken knowing that the months and the years ahead will severely test our America. And might I say that as this America is tested, that once again we give our testament to America. And I do not think it is sentimental nor is it cheap, but I think it is true that each and everyone of us in our own way should once again reaffirm to ourselves and our posterity that we love this nation, we love America!

But take heart my fellow Americans. This is not the first time that our nation has faced a challenge to its life and its purpose. And each time that we've had to face these challenges we have emerged with new greatness and with new strength.

We must make this moment of crisis—we must make it a moment of creation.

As it has been said, in the worst of times a great people must do the best of things—and let us do it.

SEES A NEW DAY

We stand at such a moment now in the affairs of this Nation, because, my fellow Americans, something new, something different has happened. There is an end of an era, and there is the beginning of a new day.

And it is the special genius of the Democratic party that it welcomes change—not as an enemy but as an ally—not as a force to

be suppressed but as an instrument of progress to be encouraged.

This week our party has debated the great issues before America in this very hall, and had we not raised these issues—troublesome as they were—we would have ignored the reality of change.

Had we just papered over the differences of frank, hard debate, we would deserve the contempt of our fellow citizens and the condemnation of history.

Yes, we dare to speak out and we have heard hard and sometimes bitter debate. But I submit that this is the debate, and this is the work of a free people, the work of an open convention and the work of a political party responsive to the needs of this nation.

Democracy affords debate, discussion and dissent. But, my fellow Americans, it also requires decision. And we have decided here, not by edict, but by vote; not by force, but by ballot.

Majority rule has prevailed but minority rights are preserved.

There is always the temptation, always the temptation to leave the scene of battle in anger and despair, but those who know the true meaning of democracy accept the decision of today but never relinquishing their right to change it tomorrow.

In the space of but a week this convention has literally made the foundations of a new Democratic party structure in America. From precinct level to the floor of this convention, we have revolutioned our rules and procedures.

And that revolution is in the proud tradition of our party. It is in the tradition of Franklin Roosevelt, who knew that America had nothing to fear but fear itself!

And it is in the tradition of that one and only Harry Truman, who let 'em have it and told it like it was.

And that's the way we're going to do it from here on out.

And it is in the tradition of that beloved man, Adlai Stevenson, who talked sense to the American people—and oh, tonight, how we miss this great, good and gentle man of peace in America—

And my fellow Americans, all that we do and all that we ever hope to do, must be in the tradition of John F. Kennedy, who said to us: Ask not what your country can do for you, but what can you do for your country.

And, my fellow Democrats and fellow Americans, in that spirit of that great man let us ask what together we can do for the freedom of man.

CITES JOHNSON TRADITION

And what we are doing is in the tradition of Lyndon B. Johnson, who rallied a grief-stricken nation when our leader was stricken by the assassin's bullet and said to you and said to me, and said to all the world—let us continue.

And in the space, and in the space of five years since that tragic moment, President Johnson has accomplished more of the un-

finished business of America than any of his modern predecessors.

And I truly believe that history will surely record the greatness of his contribution to the people of this land.

And tonight to you, Mr. President, I say thank you. Thank you, Mr. President.

Yes, my fellow Democrats, we have recognized and indeed we must recognize the end of an era and the beginning of a new day—and that new day, and that new day belongs to the people—to all the people, everywhere in this land of the people, to every man, woman and child that is a citizen of this Republic.

And within that new day lies nothing less than the promise seen a generation ago by that poet Thomas Wolfe—to every man his chance, to every man regardless of his birth his shining golden opportunity, to every man the right to live and to work and be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him—this is the promise of America.

Yes, the new day is here across America. Throughout the entire world forces of emancipation are at work. We hear freedom's rising course—"Let me live my own life, let me live in peace, let me be free," say the people.

THREE REALITIES

And that cry is heard today in our slums, on our farms and in our cities. It is heard from the old as well as from the young. It is heard in Eastern Europe and it is heard in Vietnam. And it will be answered by us, in how we face the three realities that confront this nation.

The first reality is the necessity for peace in Vietnam and in the world.

The second reality, the second reality is the necessity for peace and justice in our cities and in our nation.

And the third reality is the paramount necessity for unity—unity in our country.

Let me speak first, then, about Vietnam.

There are differences of course, serious differences within our party on this vexing and painful issue of Vietnam, and these differences are found even within the ranks of all of the Democratic Presidential candidates.

But I might say to my fellow Americans that once you have examined the differences I hope you will also recognize the much larger areas of agreement.

Let those who believe that our cause in Vietnam has been right, or those who believe that it has been wrong, agree here and now, that neither vindication nor repudiation will bring peace or be worthy of this country!

The question is not the yesterdays but the question is what do we do now? No one knows what the situation in Vietnam will be when the next President of the United States takes that oath of office on Jan. 20, 1969.

But every heart in America prays that by then we shall have reached a cease-fire in all Vietnam and be in serious negotiation toward a durable peace.

Meanwhile, as a citizen, a candidate and Vice President, I pledge to you and to my fellow Americans that I will do everything

within my power, within the limits of my capacity and ability to aid the negotiations and to bring a prompt end to this war!

May I remind you of the words of a truly great citizen of the world, Winston Churchill. It was he who said—and we should heed his words well—"those who use today and the present to stand in judgment of the past may well lose the future."

A LESSON CITED

And if there is any one lesson that we should have learned, it is that the policies of tomorrow need not be limited by the policies of yesterday.

My fellow Americans, if it comes my high honor to serve as President of these states and people, I shall apply that lesson to the search for peace in Vietnam as to all other areas of national policy.

Now let me ask you, do you remember these words at another time, in a different place: Peace and freedom do not come cheap. And we are destined—all of us here today—to live out most if not all of our lives in uncertainty and challenge and peril. The words of a prophet—yes, the words of a President—yes, the words of the challenge of today—yes. And the words of John Kennedy to you, and to me, and to posterity!

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And to speed this day we must go far beyond where we've been—beyond containment to communication; beyond the emphasis of differences to dialogue; beyond fear to hope.

We must cross those remaining barriers of suspicion and despair. We must halt the arms race before it halts humanity.

And is this, is this a vain hope, is it but a dream? I say the record says no.

Within the last few years we have made progress, we have negotiated a nuclear test ban treaty, we have laid the groundwork for a nuclear nonproliferation treaty.

We have reached agreement on banning weapons in outer space. We have been building patiently—stone by stone, each in our own way—the cathedral of peace.

And now we must take new initiative, new initiative with prudence and caution but with perseverance. We must find the way and the means to control and reduce offensive and defensive nuclear missile systems. The world cannot indefinitely hope to avoid nuclear war which one last act, one erring judgment, one failure in communication could unleash upon all humanity and destroy all of mankind.

But the search for peace is not for the timid or the weak, it must come from a nation of high purpose—firm without being belligerent, resolute without being bellicose, strong without being arrogant. And that's the kind of America that will help build the peace of this world.

But the task of slowing down the arms race, of halting the nuclear escalation—there is no more urgent task than ending this threat to the very survival of our planet, and if I am elected as your President, I commit myself body, mind and soul to this task.

Now our second reality is the necessity for peace at home. There is, my friends, let's see it as it is—there is trouble in America. But it does not come from a lack of faith. But it comes from the kindling of hope.

When the homeless can find a home, they do not give up the search for a better home. When the hopeless find hope, they seek higher hopes. And in 1960 and again in 1964, you, the American people, gave us a mandate to awaken America. You asked us to get America moving again, and we have—and America is on the move.

And we have, we have awakened expectations. We have aroused new voices and new voices that must and will be heard.

We have inspired new hope in millions of men and women, and they are impatient—and rightfully so, impatient now to see their

hopes and their aspirations fulfilled.

We have raised a new standard of life in America, not just for the poor but for every American—wage earner, businessman, farmer, school child and housewife. A standard by which the future progress must be judged.

CHALLENGE OF THE CITIES

Our most urgent challenge is in urban America, where most of our people live. Some 70 per cent of our people live on 2 per cent of our land, and within 25 years 100 million more will join our national family.

I ask you tonight—where shall they live? How shall they live? What shall be their future? We're going to decide in the next four years those questions. The next President of the United States will establish policies not only for this generation but for children yet unborn. Our task is tremendous and I need your help.

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Violence breeds more violence; disorder destroys, and only in order can we build. Riot makes for ruin; reason makes for solution.

So from the White House to the courthouse to the city hall, every official has the solemn responsibility of guaranteeing to every American—black and white, rich and poor—the right to personal security—life.

Every American, black or white, rich or poor, has the right in this land of ours to a safe and a decent neighborhood, and on this there can be no compromise.

I put it very bluntly—rioting, burning, sniping, mugging, traffic in narcotics, and disregard for law are the advance guard of anarchy, and they must and they will be stopped.

But may I say most respectfully, particularly to some who have spoken before, the answer lies in reasoned, effective action by state, local and Federal authority. The answer does not lie in an attack on our courts, our laws or our Attorney General.

We do not want a police state. But we need a state of law and order.

We do not want a police state but we need a state of law and order, and neither mob violence nor police brutality have any place in America.

And I pledge to use every resource that is available to the Presidency, every resource available to the President, to end once and for all the fear that is in our cities.

Now let me speak of other rights. Nor can there be any compromise with the right of every American who is able and who is willing to work to have a job—that's an American right, too.

Who is willing to be a good neighbor, to be able to live in a decent home in the neighborhood of his own choice.

Nor can there be any compromise with the right of every American who is anxious and willing to learn, to have a good education.

And it is to these rights—the rights of law and order, the rights of life, the rights of liberty, the right of a job, the right of a home in a decent neighborhood, and the right of an education—it is to these rights that I pledge my life and whatever capacity and ability I have.

And now the third reality, essential if the other two are to be achieved, is the necessity, my fellow Americans, for unity in our country, for tolerance and forbearance for holding together as a family and we must make a great decision. Are we to be one nation, or are we to be a nation divided, divided between black and white, between rich and poor, between north and south, between young and old? I take my stand—we are and we must be one nation, united by liberty and justice for all, one nation under God indivisible with liberty and justice for all. This is our America.

Just as I said to you there can be no compromise on the right of personal security, there can be no compromise on securing of human rights.

If America is to make a crucial judgment of leadership in this coming election, then let that selection be made without either candidate hedging or equivocating.

Winning the Presidency, for me, is not

worth the price of silence or evasion on the issue of human rights.

And winning the Presidency—and listen well—winning the Presidency is not worth a compact with extremism.

I choose not simply to run for President. I seek to lead a great nation.

And either we achieve through justice in our land or we shall damn ourselves to a terrible exhaustion of body and spirit.

I base my entire candidacy on the belief which comes from the very depths of my soul—which comes from basic religious conviction that the American people will stand up, that they will stand up for justice and fair play, and that they will respond to the call of one citizenship—one citizenship open to all for all Americans!

So this is the message that I shall take to the people, and I ask you to stand with me.

To all of my fellow Democrats now who have labored hard and openly this week at the difficult and sometimes frustrating work of democracy, I pledge myself to that task of leading the Democratic Party to victory in November.

And may I say to those who have differed with their neighbor, or those who have differed with fellow Democrats, may I say to you that all of your goals, that all of your high hopes, that all of our dreams, all of them will come to naught if we lose this election and many of them can be realized with the victory that can come to us.

And now a word to two good friends. To my friends—and they are my friends—and they're your friends—and they're fellow Democrats.

To my friends Gene McCarthy and George McGovern—to my friends Gene McCarthy and George McGovern, who have given new hope to a new generation of Americans that there can be greater meaning in their lives, that America can respond to men of moral concern, to these two good Americans: I ask your help for our America, and I ask you to help me in this difficult campaign that lies ahead.

And now I appeal, I appeal to those thousands—yea millions—of young Americans to join us, not simply as campaigners, but to continue as vocal, creative and even critical participants in the politics of our time. Never were you needed so much, and never could you do so much if you want to help now.

Martin Luther King Jr. had a dream. Robert F. Kennedy as you saw tonight had a great vision. If Americans will respond to that dream and that vision, if Americans will respond to that dream and that vision, their deaths will not mark the moment when America lost its way. But it will mark the time when America found its conscience.

These men, these men have given us inspiration and direction, and I pledge from this platform tonight we shall not abandon their purpose—we shall honor their dreams by our deeds now in the days to come.

I am keenly aware of the fears and the frustrations of the world in which we live. It is all too easy, isn't it, to play on these emotions. But I do not intend to do so. I do not intend to appeal to fear, but rather to hope. I do not intend to appeal to frustration, but rather to your faith.

I shall appeal to reason and to your good judgment.

The American Presidency, the American Presidency is a great and powerful office, but it is not all-powerful. It depends most of all upon the will and the faith and the dedication and the wisdom of the American people.

So I call you forth—I call forth that basic goodness that is there—I call you to risk the hard path of greatness.

And I say to America: Put aside recrimination and dissension. Turn away from violence and hatred. Believe—believe in what America can do, and believe in what America can be, and with the vast—with the help of that vast, unfrightened, dedicated, faithful majority of Americans, I say to this great convention tonight, and to this great nation of ours, I am ready to lead our country!

8-30-68

P.A. 7

Vice President Humphrey and Sen. Muskie look out over the wildly cheering delegates from the rostrum of the International Amphitheatre.

By Steve Northrup—The Washington Post

Humphrey Text: 'To Risk the Hard Path of Greatness'

Special to The Washington Post
CHICAGO, Aug. 29—Following is the prepared text of Vice President Humphrey's speech accepting the Democratic presidential nomination:

My fellow citizens, my fellow Democrats:
I proudly accept your nomination.

I accept your nomination knowing that the months and years ahead will severely test America's capacity to rise to challenge.

This is not the first time that our Nation has faced a challenge to its life and purpose.

Each time, we have emerged with new greatness and new strength.

We must make a moment of crisis a moment of creation.

We stand at such a moment now—in the affairs of this Nation—at the end of and at the beginning of a new day.

It is the special genius of the Democratic Party that it welcomes change, not as an enemy but as an ally—not as a force to be suppressed, but as an instrument of progress.

This week the Democratic Party has debated the great issues before America.

Had we not raised these issues, we would have ignored the reality of change.

Had we papered over differences with empty platitudes instead of frank debate, we would deserve the contempt of our fellow citizens and the condemnation of history.

We have heard hard and sometimes bitter debate.

This debate is the work of a free people—the work of an open convention—the work of a political party responsive to the needs of this Nation.

Democracy affords debate, discussion, and dissent.

But it also requires decision. And we have decided, here, not by edict but by vote—not by force but by ballot.

Majority rule has prevailed, but minority rights are preserved.

There is always the temptation to leave the scene of battle in anger and despair, but those who know the meaning of democracy and accept the decision of today, never relinquishing their right to change it tomorrow.

In the space of a week, this convention has laid the foundations for a new Democratic Party structure in America. From precinct level to the floor of this convention, we have literally revolutionized our rules and procedures.

This revolution is in the proud tradition of our Party.

It is the tradition of Franklin Roosevelt, who knew America had nothing to fear but fear itself—and to Harry Truman who let 'em have it—and how well you remember!

It is the tradition of Adlai Stevenson who talked sense to the American people—and how we miss this great and good man!

It is the tradition of John F. Kennedy, who said to us: "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country." Ask what together we can do for the freedom of man.

And it is the tradition of Lyndon B. Johnson who rallied a grief-stricken nation and told us: "Let us continue."

And in the space of five years President Johnson has accomplished more of the unfinished business of America than any of his modern predecessors.

History will surely record the greatness of his contribution to the people of this land.

At this convention, too we have recognized the end of an era and the beginning of a new day.

That new day belongs to the people—to every man, woman, and child.

Within it lies nothing less than the promise seen a generation ago by Thomas Wolfe: "To every man regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself. And to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This is the promise of America."

Across America—throughout the world—we hear freedom's rising chorus: "Let me live my own life. Let me live in peace. Let me be free."

That cry is heard today in our slums and on our farms and in our cities.

It is heard from the old, as well as from the young.

It is heard in Eastern Europe and it is heard in Vietnam.

It will be answered in how we face the three realities that confront this Nation.

The first reality is the necessity for peace in Vietnam and in the world.

The second reality is the necessity for peace in our cities and in our Nation.

The third reality is the necessity for unity in our party and in our Nation.

Let me speak first about Vietnam.

I recognize the difference within our parties on the issue of Vietnam. These differences are found within the ranks of all the Demo-



by Stephen Northrup—The Washington Post

Vice President Hubert Humphrey

cratic presidential candidates.

But I also recognize the much larger areas of agreement.

I expect this debate to continue in the months ahead. But it need not survive us.

Let those who believe that our cause in Vietnam has been right—and those who believe it has been wrong—agree here and now. Neither vindication nor repudiation will bring peace or be worthy of our country. "What Now?"

The question is, What do we do now?

No one knows what the situation in Vietnam will be on Jan. 20, 1969.

Every heart in America prays that, by then, we shall have reached a cease fire in all Vietnam, and be in serious negotiation toward a durable peace.

Meanwhile, as citizen candidate and Vice President, I shall do everything within

my power to aid the negotiations in Paris.

If there is one lesson we should have learned, it is that the policies of tomorrow need not be limited by the policies of yesterday.

If I am President, I shall apply that lesson to the search for peace in Vietnam, as to all other areas of National policy.

Last week we witnessed once again in Czechoslovakia the desperate attempt of tyranny to crush out the forces of liberalism by force and brutal power—to hold back change. But in Eastern Europe, as elsewhere, the old era will surely end and a new day will dawn.

To speed this day we must go beyond containment to communication—beyond differences to dialogue—beyond fear to hope.

We must cross the remaining barriers of suspicion and despair.

We must halt the arms race before it halts humanity. The world cannot indefinitely hope to avoid nuclear holocaust. Is this a vain hope? The record says no.

In the last years we have made progress.

We have negotiated a nuclear test ban treaty.

We have laid the groundwork for a nuclear nonproliferation treaty.

We have reached agreement on banning weapons in outer space.

And now we must take new initiatives.

With prudence and caution but with perseverance we must find ways and means to control and reduce offensive and defensive nuclear missile systems.

The world cannot indefinitely hope to avoid the nuclear war which one rash act—one error in judgment—one failure in communication could unleash on humanity.

There is no more urgent task than ending this threat to the very survival of our planet.

I commit myself to this task.

Our second reality is the necessity for peace at home.

There is trouble in America.

But it comes not from a lack of faith, but from a kindling of hope.

When the homeless find a home they do not give up the search for a better home. When the hopeless find hope they seek higher hope.

In 1960—and again in 1964—you the American People gave us a mandate to awaken America to its unmet needs.

You asked us to get America moving again.

And we have.

We have awakened expectations.

We have inspired new hope in millions of men and women.

And they are impatient now to see their hope and aspirations fulfilled.

We have raised a new standard of life in America—not just for the poor but for every America wage earner, farmer, school child and housewife—a standard by which all future progress must be judged.

Our most urgent challenge is in urban America.

Some 70 per cent of our people live on 2 per cent of our land. 100 million more Americans will join our family in the next 25 years.

Where shall they live? How shall they live? What shall be their future?

Urban congestion has not only created a complex of new problems it has multiplied and intensified problems of race, poverty, crime, hunger, despair.

All of these have grown to explosive proportion.

The simple solution of the frustrated and the frightened is the lash out against society. We know—and they must know—that this is no answer. Violence breeds counter violence. Disorder destroys.

Only order can build. Riot makes for ruin. Reason makes for solution.

No man in the White House—or at any level of Government—can shrug the immediate responsibility of guaranteeing to every American the right to personal security.

Every American has the right to a safe neighborhood. On this there can be no compromise.

I put it bluntly: Rioting, burning, sniping, mugging, traffic in narcotics and disregard for the law are the advance guard for anarchy—and they must be stopped.

But the answer does not lie in attacks on our courts or our laws or our Attorney General.

The answer lies in reasoned, effective action by state, local and Federal authorities.

We do not want a police state but we do need a state of law and order.

Neither mob violence nor police brutality have any place in America.

I pledge to you every resource available to the President to end the fear in our cities.

Nor can there be any compromise with the right of every American who is willing to work to have a job—who is willing to be a good neighbor to live in a decent home—who is willing to learn to have a good education.

We must restore our present cities and—we must bring prosperity and opportunity to our rural areas.

We must also move beyond the enclosures of our traditional cities to create new cities.

We must design and open America—opening new opportunities in open land.

We have invested heavily to explore outer space where man may live tomorrow.

We must also invest to develop an inner space where man may live today.

The third reality is the necessity for unity in our country.

We must make a decision. Are we to be one nation—or are we to be a nation divided? Divided between black and white, . . . between rich and poor . . . between North and South . . . between young and old . . . I take my stand.

We are and we must be one nation—united by liberty and justice for all.

Just as there can be no compromise on the right of personal security, there can be no compromise on the securing of human rights.

If America is to make a crucial judgment of leadership, let that selection be made without either candidate hedging.

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

Winning the presidency is not worth a compact with extremism.

I choose not simply to run for President.

I seek to lead a Nation.

Either we achieve true justice in our land or we shall doom ourselves to a terrible exhaustion of body and spirit.

I base my entire candidacy on the belief—which comes from the depths of my soul—that the American people will stand up for justice and fair play . . . They will re-

spond to a call for one citizenship—open to all.

This is the message I shall take to the people. I ask you to stand with me.

To all my fellow Democrats who have labored hard and openly this week at the difficult and sometimes frustrating work of democracy, I pledge myself totally to the task of leading the Democratic Party to victory in November.

To my friends Gene McCarthy and George McGovern, who have given hope to a new generation of Americans that there can be greater meaning in their lives . . . that America can respond to men of moral concern . . . I ask you to help America in the difficult campaign ahead.

I appeal to young Americans to join us not simply as campaigners but as vocal, creative, even critical participants in the politics of our times.

Martin Luther King Jr. had a dream. Robert F. Kennedy had a vision.

If America will respond to that dream and vision, their deaths will not mark the moment when America lost its way, but when America found its conscience.

These men have given us inspiration and direction.

We shall not abandon their purposes. We shall honor their dreams by our own needs.

I am keenly aware of the fears and frustrations of the world in which we live.

It is all too easy to play on these emotions.

But I do not intend to do so.

I appeal to reason.

I appeal not to fear but to hope . . . not to frustration but to faith.

The American presidency is a great and powerful office. But it is not all-powerful.

It depends, most of all, upon the will and wisdom of the American people.

There is an essential strength in the American people.

Tonight I call you—the American people—not to be a one mind, but rather a one spirit.

I call you—the American people—not to a life of false security and ease, but to a new sense of purpose as a free people.

I call you to risk the hard path of greatness.

I say to America: Put aside recrimination and dissension.

Turn away from violence and hatred.

Believe in what America can do and can be.

With the help of the vast, unfringed majority of Americans, I am ready to lead our country.



news release

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For Immediate Release

WASHINGTON, Sept. 5 -- The Democratic candidates for President and Vice President today hailed changes in the political process made at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago last week.

Sen. Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, speaking for Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, told the American Political Science Association meeting here that "the face of American politics will be fundamentally different because of the decisions which the Democrats made in Chicago."

"Despite the disorder and violence which we all deplore, the Democratic Party emerged from this testing with its sights firmly fixed on the goal of modernizing and democratizing its structure and procedures," the Democratic Vice Presidential nominee declared.

He cited changes made by the Convention's Credentials and Rules Committees as examples of the party's providing broader participation, involvement and responsibility.

Muskie said The Vice President will also recommend that the special Democratic Party committee proposed to implement the new rules begin work promptly with adequate staff and resources before the end of 1968.

Muskie said the Vice President was pleased to learn that the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence will undertake a thorough investigation of the "distressing incidents" which "dominated the TV screens" during the convention.

The full text of the prepared speech follows:

(more)

THE ACCEPTANCE SPEECH OF
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
AUGUST 29, 1968

A NEW DAY FOR AMERICA

My fellow Americans, my fellow Democrats:

I proudly accept the nomination of our party.

This moment is one of personal pride and gratification. Yet one cannot help but reflect the deep sadness that we feel over the troubles and the violence which have erupted regrettably and tragically in the streets of this great city, and for the personal injuries which have occurred. Surely we have learned the lesson that violence breeds more violence and that it cannot be condoned -- whatever the source.

I know that every delegate to this Convention shares tonight my sorrow and my distress for these incidents. And may we, for just one moment, in sober reflection, in serious purpose, may we just quietly and silently -- each in our own way -- pray for our country. And may we just share for a moment a few of those immortal words of the prayer of St. Francis of Assisi -- words which I think may help heal the wounds and lift our hearts. Listen to this immortal saint: "Where there is hatred, let me sow love; where there is injury, pardon; where there is doubt, faith; where there is despair, hope; where there is darkness, light."

Those are the words of a saint. And may those of us of less purity listen to them well. And may America tonight resolve that never, never again shall we see what we have seen.

Yes, I accept your nomination in this spirit that I have spoken, knowing that the months and the years ahead will severely test our America. And as this America is tested once again, we give our testament to America. And I do not think it is sentimental nor is it cheap -- that each and every one of us in our own way should once again reaffirm to ourselves and our posterity -- that we love this nation -- we love America.

This is not the first time that our nation has faced a challenge to its life and its purpose.

Each time that we have faced these challenges, we have emerged with new greatness and with new strength.

We must make this moment of crisis a moment of creation. As it has been said: "In the worst of times, a great people must do the best of things." And let us do it.

We stand at such a moment now -- in the affairs of this nation. Because, my fellow Americans, something new, something different has happened. It is the end of an era and is the beginning of a new day.

It is the special genius of the Democratic Party that it welcomes change, not as an enemy but as an ally ... not as a force to be suppressed, but as an instrument of progress to be encouraged.

* * * *

This week our Party has debated the great issues before America in this very hall.

Had we not raised these issues, troublesome as they were, we would have ignored the reality of change.

Had we papered over differences with empty platitudes instead of frank, hard debate, we would deserve the contempt of our fellow citizens and the condemnation of history.

We have heard hard and sometimes bitter debate.

But I submit that this ~~is~~ is the debate and this is the work of a free people, the work of an open convention, and the work of a political party responsive to the needs of this nation.

Democracy affords debate, discussion and dissent.

But it also requires decision.

And we have decided, here, not by edict but by vote -- not by force but by ballot.

Majority rule has prevailed, while minority rights are preserved.

There is always the temptation to leave the scene of battle in anger and despair, but those who know the true meaning of democracy accept the

decision of today, but never relinquish their right to change it tomorrow.

In the space of one week, this Convention has laid the foundations for a new Democratic Party structure in America. From precinct level to the floor of this Convention, we have revolutionized our rules and procedures.

And that revolution is in the proud tradition of our Party.

It is in the tradition of Franklin Roosevelt, who knew that America had nothing to fear but fear itself ... and it is in the tradition of Harry Truman who let'em have it and told it like it was. And that's the way we're going to do it from here on out.

It is in the tradition of that beloved man, Adlai Stevenson, who talked sense to the American people. And, oh, tonight, how we miss that great, good and gentle man of peace in America.

And my fellow Americans, all that we do and all that we ever hope to do, must be in the tradition of John F. Kennedy who said to us: "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what can you do for your country."

And my fellow Democrats and my fellow Americans, in the spirit of that great man, ask what together we can do for the freedom of man.

And what we are doing is in the tradition of Lyndon B. Johnson who rallied a grief-stricken nation when our leader was stricken by the assassin's bullet and said to you and said to me and said to all the world: "Let us continue."

And in the space of five years since that tragic moment, President Johnson has accomplished more of the unfinished business of America than any of his modern predecessors.

I do believe that history will surely record the greatness of his contribution to the people of this land.

And tonight, to you, Mr. President, I say: Thank you, thank you, Mr. President.

At this convention, too, we have recognized the end of an era and the beginning of a new day.

And that new day belongs to the people -- to all of the people everywhere in this land of the people -- to every man, woman, and child that is a citizen of the Republic.

Within that new day lies nothing less than the promise seen a generation ago by Thomas Wolfe: "To every man his chance, to every man regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity. To every man the right to live and to work and to be himself. And to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This is the promise of America."

Yes, a new day is here. Across America -- throughout the entire world -- the forces of emancipation are at work. We hear freedom's rising chorus: "Let me live my own life. Let me live in peace. Let me be free," say the people.

And that cry is heard today in our slums and on our farms and in our cities.

It is heard from the old, as well as from the young.

It is heard in Eastern Europe and it is heard in Vietnam.

And it will be answered by us in how we face the three realities that confront this nation.

The first reality is the necessity for peace in Vietnam and in the world.

The second reality is the necessity for peace in our cities and in our nation.

The third reality is the paramount necessity for unity in our country.

Let me speak first about Vietnam.

There are differences, of course, serious differences, within our Party on this vexing, painful issue of Vietnam. And these differences are found even within the ranks of all the Democratic Presidential candidates.

Once you have examined the differences, I hope you will recognize the much larger areas of agreement.

Let those who believe that our cause in Vietnam has been right -- and those who believe it has been wrong -- agree here and now: Neither vindication nor repudiation will bring peace or be worthy of our country.

The question is: What do we do now?

No one knows what the situation in Vietnam will be on January 20, 1969.

Every heart in America prays that, by then, we shall have reached a cease-fire in all Vietnam, and be in serious negotiation toward a durable peace.

Meanwhile, as a citizen, a candidate, and Vice President, I pledge to you and to my fellow Americans, that I shall do everything within my power to aid the negotiations and to bring a prompt end to this war.

May I remind you of the words of a truly great citizen of the world, Winston Churchill -- it was he who said -- and we would heed his words well: "Those who use today and the present to stand in judgment of the past, may well lose the future."

And if there is one lesson we should have learned, it is that the policies of tomorrow need not be limited by the policies of yesterday.

And my fellow Americans, if it becomes my high honor to serve as President of these States and people, I shall apply that lesson to the search for peace in Vietnam, as to all areas of national policy.

Now, let me ask you, do you remember these words, at another time, in a different place: "Peace and freedom do not come cheap. And we are destined -- All of us here today -- to live out most, if not all of our lives, in uncertainty and challenge and peril."

The words of a prophet? Yes.

The words of a President? Yes.

The words of the challenge of today? Yes.

And the words of John Kennedy to you and to me and to me and to posterity.

* * * *

Last week we witnessed once again in Czechoslovakia the desperate attempt of tyranny to crush out the forces of liberalism by force and brutal power -- to hold back change. But in Eastern Europe, as elsewhere, the old era will surely end and, there, as here, a new day will dawn.

And to speed this day, we must go far beyond where we've been, beyond containment to communication, beyond differences to dialogue, beyond fear to hope.

We must cross the remaining barriers of suspicion and despair.

We must halt the arms race before it halts humanity. And is this, is this a vain hope? Is it but a dream? I say the record says no.

Within the last few years we have made progress.

We have negotiated a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

We have laid the groundwork for a Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

We have reached agreement on banning weapons in outer space.

We have been building patiently stone by stone, each in our own way, the cathedral of peace. And now we must take new initiatives.

Every American, black or white, rich or poor, has the right in this land of ours to a safe and a decent neighborhood. And on this there can be no compromise.

I put it very bluntly. Rioting, sniping, mugging, traffic in narcotics and disregard for law are the advance guard of anarchy and they must and they will be stopped.

But may I say most respectfully, particularly to some who have spoken before, the answer lies in reasoned, effective action by state, local and federal authority. The answer does not lie in an attack on our courts, our laws or our Attorney General.

We do not want a police state, but we need a state of law and order. And neither mob violence nor police brutality have any place in America.

And I pledge to use every resource that is available to the President to end for once and for all the fear that is in our cities.

Now let me speak of other rights. Nor can there be any compromise with the right of every American who is able and who is willing to work to have a job, who is willing to be a good neighbor, to be able to live in a decent home in the neighborhood of his own choice.

Nor can there be any compromise with the right of every American who is anxious and willing to learn to have a good education.

And it is to these rights -- the right of law and order, the right of life, the right of liberty, the right of a job, the right of a home in a decent neighborhood, and the right to an education -- it is to these rights that I pledge my life and whatever capacity and ability I have.

But we cannot be satisfied with merely repairing that which is old. We must also move beyond the enclosures of our traditional cities to create new cities, to restore our present cities, yes, and we must bring prosperity and modern living and opportunity to our rural areas.

We must design and open America, opening new opportunities for new Americans in open land. I say to this audience, we have invested billions to explore outer space where man may live tomorrow. We must also be willing to invest to develop inner space right here on earth where many may live today.

And now that third reality. Essential if the other two are to be achieved, is the necessity, my fellow Americans, for unit in our country, for tolerance and forbearance, for holding together as a family. And we must make a great decision: are we to be one nation, or are we to be a nation divided between black and white, between rich and poor, between north and south, between young and old.

I take my stand. We are and we must be one nation -- united by liberty and justice for all, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. This is our America.

And just as I've said to you that there can be no compromise on the right of personal security, there can be no compromise on securing of human rights.

If America is to make a crucial judgment of leadership, in this coming election, then let that selection be made without either candidate hedging or equivocating. Winning the presidency for me is not worth the price of silence or evasion on the issue of human rights.

And winning the presidency, and listen well, winning the presidency is not worth a compact with extremism.

I choose not simply to run for President. I seek to lead a great nation. And either we achieve true justice in our land or we shall doom ourselves to a terrible exhaustion of body and spirit.

I base my entire candidacy on the belief which comes from the very depths of my soul, which comes from basic religious conviction that the American people will stand up, that they will stand up for justice and fair play, and that they will respond to the call of one citizenship, one citizenship open to all for all Americans.

So this is the message that I shall take to the people and I ask you to stand with me. And to all of my fellow Democrats now who have labored hard and openly this week at the difficult and sometimes frustrating work of democracy, I pledge myself to the task of leading the Democratic Party to victory in November.

And may I say to those who have differed with their neighbor or those who have differed with a fellow Democrat, that all of your goals, that all of your high hopes, that all of your dreams, all of them will come to naught if we lose this election. And many of them can be realized with a victory that can come to us.

And now a word to two good friends, and they are my friends, and they're your friends, and they're fellow Democrats. To my friends, Gene McCarthy and George McGovern, who have given new hope to a new generation of Americans that there can be greater meaning in their lives, that America can respond to men of moral concern, to these two good Americans I ask your help for our America. And I ask you to help me in the difficult campaign that lies ahead.

And now I appeal to those thousands, yes, millions of young Americans to join us not simply as campaigners but to continue as vocal, creative and even critical participants in the politics of our times. Never were you needed so much and never could you do so much if you were to help now.

Martin Luther King, Jr. had a dream. Robert F. Kennedy as you saw tonight had a great vision.

If America will respond to that dream and that vision, their deaths will not mark the moment when America lost its way, but it will mark the time when America found its conscience.

These men have given us inspiration and direction. And I pledge from this platform tonight we shall not abandon their purposes. We shall honor their dreams by our deeds, now and in the days to come.

I am keenly aware of the fears and frustrations of the world in which we live.

It is all too easy to play on these emotions.

But I do not intend to do so.

I do not intend to appeal to fear, but rather to hope.

I do not intend to appeal to frustration, but rather to your faith.

I shall appeal to reason and to your good judgment.

* * * *

The American Presidency is a great and powerful office. But it is not all-powerful.

It depends, most of all, upon the will, the faith and the dedication and the wisdom of the American people.

And I know as you know, there is an essential strength in the American people.

Tonight I call you -- the American people -- not to be of one mind, but to be of one spirit.

I call you -- the American people -- not to a life of false security, false promises and ease, but to a new sense of purpose, a new dedication and a new commitment.

Remember, that those who founded this Republic said that in order to secure these inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. I submit, my fellow Americans, we dare do no less in our time if this Republic is to survive.

So I call you forth, I call forth that basic goodness that this there.

I call you to risk the hard path of greatness and I say to America:

Put aside recrimination and dissension.

Turn away from violence and hatred.

Believe, believe in what America can do and believe in what America can be, and with the help of that vast, unfrightened, dedicated, faithful majority of Americans, I say to this great Convention tonight and to this great nation of ours, I am ready to lead our country.

#

REMARKS BY
SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
AUGUST 29, 1968

WORKING FOR FREEDOM

May I, first of all, say "Thank you" for your trust and your confidence.

I did not really expect that this opportunity and responsibility would come to me.

My reaction to it is an acute awareness of the work we must do:

To build a peace.

To heal our country.

To make a society such as ours work is not easy.

It means living with, understanding, and respecting our differences as human beings -- different colors, different races, different national backgrounds, different cultural levels, different tastes and intellectual capacities, different educational attainments, and different social backgrounds, personalities and dispositions - and to accept each other as equals.

It means learning to trust each other to work with each other, to think of each other as neighbors.

It means diminishing our prerogatives by as much as is necessary to give others the same prerogatives.

It means respect for the rule of law and equal justice as the best guardian of the rights of all citizens.

It means granting all citizens equal opportunity to participate in American life, in the policy-making processes of our society.

In all frankness our society has not worked in this way up to now.

In part this is because of the risks in our society. There is evil as well as good. There is meanness as well as generosity.

There is dishonesty as well as honesty. There is violence as well as peace.

In all frankness our society has not overcome these risks up to now.

And there are those who believe it cannot.

PAGE TWO

To put their doubts in perspective, let us not forget that when we began this experience in government we did not instantly achieve an equal chance for every member of our society, but we did promise to work toward it.

We made that promise because we believe that when men, however different, are free to grow, they will enlarge their intellectual and spiritual powers, they will become better neighbors to others, and they will make possible a more enlightened and civilized society.

The practice of freedom since that time has made possible tremendous advances in the lives of our people.

Ironically these very advances have highlighted our shortcomings which have denied hope for improvement to too many Americans, which have concealed the reality of hunger, poverty and deprivation for many under an illusion of prosperity and equality for all.

We have learned painfully at times that freedom does not automatically correct the inequalities, the injustices, the human failures of a society.

It does not automatically create concern, understanding and compassion in all citizens.

And so, we have learned that freedom does not work unless we work at it.

That, perhaps, is at least part of the reasons for the surging determination of so many of our young people and of the disadvantaged among us to make a place for themselves in building the future of our country, in identifying the direction in which it should go, in setting the pace at which we should move.

Such a force should hearten those who believe in freedom as the most creative expression of the human spirit.

There are, however, disquieting aspects to this force. It can be expressed in unrestrained, irrational, and sometimes explosive ways. These may be the product of impatience with results, lack of confidence in our intentions, lack of experience with the democratic process. They may also be the product of exploitation by militants whose motives are suspect.

We must have the patience to make the distinction and to deal with each differently.

PAGE THREE

We must learn to work with this force, to insure continued and more meaningful participation in the democratic process. This should inspire those involved with confidence that their efforts will achieve the dignity, opportunity equality and full participation which is the measure of what they seek.

This is the way to develop the self-discipline of an enlightened and civilized society, rather than the imposed discipline of a barracks state.

This is the kind of work which the Democratic party knows, responds to instinctively, and does so well. We must surpass all our previous efforts in this election year.

We might well heed these words from ancient Greece:

"We are capable at the same time of taking risks and of estimating them beforehand. Others are brave out of ignorance; and when they stop to think, they begin to fear. But the man who can most truly be accounted brave is he who best knows the meaning of what is sweet in life and of what is terrible, and then goes out undeterred to meet what is to come."

It is in this spirit that I accept your nomination and will try to justify it.

#

Text: Humphrey Decries Violence in Call for Unity

The text of Hubert H. Humphrey's speech accepting the Democratic presidential nomination:

Mr. Chairman, my fellow Americans, my fellow Democrats — I proudly accept the nomination of our party.

This moment, this moment is one of personal pride and gratification, yet one cannot help but reflect the deep sadness that we feel over the troubles and the violence which have erupted regrettably and tragically in the streets of this great city, and for the personal injuries which have occurred.

Surely we have now learned the lesson that violence breeds counter-violence and it cannot be condoned, whatever the source.

I know that every delegate to this convention shares tonight my sorrow and my distress over these incidents. And may we for just one moment, in sober reflection and serious purpose may we just quietly and silently, each in our own way, pray for our country and may we just share for a moment a few of those immortal words of the prayer of St. Francis of Assisi, words which I think may help heal the wounds, ease the pain and lift our hearts.

Listen to this immortal saint: "Where there is hatred, let me know love. Where there is injury, pardon. Where there is doubt, faith. Where there is despair, hope. Where there is darkness, light."

Those are the words of a saint. And may those of us of less purity listen to them well and may America tonight resolve that never, never again shall we see what we have seen.

Yes, I accept your nomination in this spirit that I have spoken knowing that the months and the years ahead will severely test our America. And might I say that as this America is tested, that once again we give our testament to America. And I do not think it is sentimental nor is it cheap, but I think it is true that each and everyone of us in our own way should once again reaffirm to ourselves and our posterity that we love this nation, we love America!

But take heart my fellow Americans, this is not the first time that our nation has faced a challenge to its life and its purpose. And each time that we've had to face these challenges we have emerged with new greatness and with new strength.

We must make this moment of crisis—we must make it a moment of creation.

As it has been said, in the worst of times a great people must do the best of things—and let us do it.

A New Day

We stand at such a moment now in the affairs of this nation, because, my fellow Americans, something new, something different has happened. There is an end of an era, and there is the beginning of a new day.

And it is the special genius of the Democratic Party that it welcomes change—not as an enemy but as an ally—not as a force to be suppressed but as an instrument of progress to be encouraged.

This week our party has debated the great issues before America in this very hall, and had we not raised these issues—troublesome as they were—we would have ignored the reality of change. Had we just papered over the differences between us with empty platitudes instead of frank, hard debate, we would deserve the contempt of our fellow citizens and the condemnation of history.

Yes we dare to speak out and we have heard hard and sometimes bitter debate. But I submit that this is the debate and this is the work of a free people, the work of an open convention and the work of a political party responsive to the needs of this nation.

Democracy affords debate, discussion and dissent. But, my fellow Americans, it also requires decision. And we have decided here, not by edict, but by vote; not by force but by ballot.

Majority rule has prevailed

but minority rights are preserved.

There is always the temptation, always the temptation to leave the scene of battle in anger and despair, but those who know the true meaning of democracy accept the decision of today but never relinquishing their right to change it tomorrow.

In the space of but a week this convention has literally made the foundations of a new democratic party structure in America. From precinct level to the floor of this convention, we have revolutionized our rules and our procedures. And that revolution is in the proud tradition of our party. It is in the tradition of Franklin Roosevelt, who knew that America had nothing to fear but fear itself!

And it is in the tradition of that one and only Harry Truman, who let 'em have it and told it like it was.

And that's the way we're going to do it from here on out.

And it is in the tradition of that beloved man, Adlai Stevenson, who talked sense to the American people—and oh, tonight, how we miss this great, good and gentle man of peace in America.

And my fellow Americans, all that we do and all that we ever hope to do, must be in the tradition of John F. Kennedy who said to us: Ask not what your country can do for you but what can you do for your country.

And, my fellow Democrats and fellow Americans, in that spirit of that great man let us ask what together we can do for the freedom of man.

And what we are doing is in the tradition of Lyndon B. Johnson who rallied a grief-stricken nation, who rallied a great-stricken nation when our leader was stricken by the assassin's bullet and said to you and said to me, and said to all the world—let us continue.

And in the space, and in the space of five years since that tragic moment, President Johnson has accomplished more of the unfinished business of American than any of his modern predecessors.

And I truly believe that history will surely record the greatness of his contribution to the people of this land.

And tonight to you, Mr. President, I say thank you. Thank you, Mr. President.

Freedom's Cry

Yes, my fellow Democrats, we have recognized and indeed we must recognize the end of an era and the beginning of a new day—and that new day, and that new day belongs to the people—to all the people, everywhere in this land of the people, to every man, woman and child that is a citizen of this Republic.

And within that new day lies nothing less than the promise seen a generation ago by that poet Thomas Wolfe—to every man his chance, to every man regardless of his birth his shining golden opportunity, to every man the right to live and to work and be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him this is the promise of America.

Yes, the new day is here across America, throughout the entire world forces of emancipation are at work. We hear freedom's rising course. Let me live my own life, let me live in peace, let me be free, say the people.

crush out the forces of liberalism by force and brutal power—to hold back change.

But in Eastern Europe as elsewhere, the old era will surely end, and there, as here, a new day will dawn.

And to speed this day we must go far beyond where we've been—beyond containment to communication; beyond the emphasis of differences to dialogue; beyond fear to hope.

The Arms Race

We must cross those remaining barriers of suspicion and despair. We must halt the arms race before it halts humanity.

And is this, is this a vain hope, is it but a dream? I say the record says no. Within the last few years we have made progress, we have negotiated a nuclear test ban treaty, we have laid the ground work for a nuclear nonproliferation treaty. We have reached agreement on banning weapons in outer space. We have been building patiently—stone by stone, each in our own way—the cathedral of peace.

And now we must take new initiative, new initiative with prudence and caution but with perseverance. We must find the way and the means to control and reduce offensive and defensive nuclear missile systems. The world cannot indefinitely hope to avoid nuclear war which one last act, one erring judgment, one failure in communication could unleash upon all humanity and destroy all of mankind.

But the search for peace is not for the timid or the weak, it must come from a nation of high purpose—firm without being belligerent, resolute without being bellicose, strong without being arrogant. And that's the kind of America that will help build the peace of this world.

But the task of slowing down the arms race, of halting the nuclear escalation—there is no more urgent task than ending this threat to the very survival of our planet and if I am elected as your president, I commit myself body, mind and soul to this task.

Now our second reality is the necessity for peace at home. There is, my friends, let's see it as it is—there is trouble in America. But it does not come from a lack of faith. But it comes from the kindling of hope. When the homeless can find a home, they do not give up the search for a better home. When the hopeless find hope, they seek higher hopes. And in 1960 and again in 1964, you, the American people, gave us a mandate to awaken America to its unmet needs. You asked us

to get America moving again, and we have—and America is on the move.

And we have, we have awakened expectations. We have aroused new voices and new voices that must and will be heard.

We have inspired new hope in millions of men and women, and they are impatient—and rightfully so, impatient now to see their hopes and their aspirations fulfilled.

We have raised a new standard of life in our America, not just for the poor but for every American—wage earner, businessman, farmer, school child and housewife. A standard by which the future progress must be judged.

Our most urgent challenge is in urban America, where most of our people live. Some 70 percent of our people live on 2 percent of our land, and within 25 years 100 million more will join our national family.

I ask you tonight—where shall they live? How shall they live? What shall be their future? We're going to decide in the next four years those questions. The next president of the United States will establish policies not only for this generation but for children yet unborn. Our task is tremendous and I need your help.

The simple solution of the frustrated and the frightened to our complex urban problems is to lash out against society. But we know—and they must know—that this is no answer.

Disorder Destroys

Violence breeds more violence; disorder destroys, and only in order can we build. Riot makes for ruin; reason makes for solution.

So from the White House to the courthouse to the city hall, every official has the solemn responsibility of guaranteeing to every American—black and white, rich and poor—the right to personal security—life.

Every American, black or white, rich or poor, has the right in this land of ours to a safe and a decent neighborhood, and on this there can be no compromise.

I put it very bluntly—rioting, burning, sniping, mugging, traffic in narcotics, and disregard for law are the advance guard of anarchy and they must and they will be stopped.

But may I say most respectfully, particularly to some who have spoken before, the answer lies in reasoned, effective action by state, local and federal authority. The answer does not lie

in an attack on our court, our laws or our attorney general.

We do not want a police state but we need a state of law and order, and neither mob violence nor police brutality have any place in America.

And I pledge to use every resource that is available to the presidency, every resource available to the president, to end once and for all the fear that is in our cities.

Now let me speak of other rights. Nor can there be any compromise with the right of every American who is able and who is willing to work to have a job—that's an American right, too.

Who is willing to be a good neighbor, to be able to live in a decent home in the neighborhood of his own choice.

And that cry is heard today in our slums, on our farms and in our cities. It is heard from the old as well as from the young. It is heard in Eastern Europe and it is heard in Vietnam. And it will be answered by us, in how we face the three realities that confront this nation.

The first reality is the necessity for peace in Vietnam and in the world.

The second reality, the second reality is the necessity for peace and justice in our cities and in our nation.

And the third reality is the paramount necessity for unity—unity in our country.

Let me speak first, then, about Vietnam.

There are differences of course, serious differences with

in our party on this vexing and painful issue of Vietnam, and these differences are found even within the ranks of all of the Democratic presidential candidates.

But might I say to my fellow Americans that once you have examined the differences I hope you will also recognize the much larger areas of agreement.

Let those who believe that our cause in Vietnam has been right or those who believe that it has been wrong agree here and now, agree here and now, that neither vindication nor repudiation will bring peace or be worthy of this country.

The question is not the yesterdays but the question is what do we do now? No one knows what the situation in Vietnam will be when the next president of the United States takes that oath of office on Jan. 20, 1969. But every heart in America prays that by then we shall have reached a ceasefire in all Vietnam and be in serious negotiation towards a durable peace.

Meanwhile, as a citizen, a candidate and Vice President, I pledge to you and to my fellow Americans that I shall do everything within my power, within the limits of my capacity and ability to aid the negotiations and to bring a prompt end to this war!

May I remind you of the words of a truly great citizen of the world, Winston Churchill. It was he who said—and we would heed his words well—"those who use today and the present to stand in judgment of the past may well lose the future."

And if there is any one lesson that we should have learned, it is that the policies of tomorrow need not be limited by the policies of yesterday.

My fellow Americans, if it comes my high honor to serve as president of these states and people, I shall apply that lesson to the search for peace in Vietnam as to all other areas of national policy.

Now let me ask you, do you remember these words at another time, in a different place: Peace and freedom do not come cheap. And we are destined—all of us here today—to live out most if not all of our lives in uncertainty and challenge and peril. The words of a prophet—yes, the words of a President—yes, the words of the challenge of today—yes. And the words of John Kennedy to you, and to me, and to posterity!

...with the right of every American who is anxious and willing to learn to have a good education.

And it is to these rights—the rights of law and order, the rights of life, the rights of liberty, the right of a job, the right of a home in a decent neighborhood, and the right of an education—it is to these rights that I pledge my life and whatever capacity and ability I have.

But we cannot be satisfied with merely repairing that which is old. We must also move beyond the enclosures of our traditional cities to create new cities. To restore our present cities, yes. And we must bring prosperity and modern living and opportunity to our rural areas. We must design an open America—opening new opportunities for new Americans in open land.

I say to this audience, we have invested billions to explore outer space where man may live tomorrow. We must also be willing to invest to develop inner space right here on earth where man may live today.

Need for Unity

And now the third reality, essential if the other two are to be achieved, is the necessity, my fellow Americans, for unity in our country, for tolerance and forbearance for holding together as a family, and we must make a great decision. Are we to be one nation, or are we to be a nation divided, divided between black and white, between rich and poor, between north and south, between young and old? I take my stand—we are and we must be one nation, united by liberty and justice for all, one nation under God, indivisible with liberty and justice for all. This is our America.

Just as I said to you there can be no compromise on the right of personal security, there can be no compromise on securing of human rights.

If America is to make a crucial judgment of leadership in this coming election, then let that selection be made without either candidate hedging or equivocating.

Winning the presidency, for me, is not worth the price of silence or evasion on the issue of human rights.

And winning the presidency—and listen well—winning the presidency is not worth a compact with extremism.

I choose not simply to run for president. I seek to lead a great nation.

And either we achieve true justice in our land or we shall doom ourselves to a terrible exhaustion of body and spirit.

I base my entire candidacy on the belief which comes from the very depths of my soul—which comes from basic religious conviction that the American people will stand up, that they will stand up for justice and fair play, and that they will respond to the call of one citizenship—one citizenship open to all for all Americans!

So this is the message that I shall take to the people, and I ask you to stand with me.

To all of my fellow Democrats now who have labored hard and openly this week, at the difficult and sometimes frustrating work of democracy, I pledge myself

to a democratic party to victory in November!

And may I say to those who have differed with their neighbor, or those who have differed with fellow Democrats, may I say to you that all of your goals, that all of your high hopes, that all of your dreams, all of them will come to naught if we lose this election and many of them can be realized with the victory that can come to us.

And now a word to two good friends. To my friends—and they are my friends—and they're your friends—and they're fellow Democrats.

To my friends Gene McCarthy and George McGovern—to my friends Gene McCarthy and George McGovern, who have given new hope to a new generation of Americans that there can be greater meaning in their lives, that America can respond to men of moral concern, to these two good Americans: I ask your help for our America and I ask you to help me in this difficult campaign that lies ahead.

And now I appeal, I appeal to those thousands—yea millions—of young Americans to join us, not simply as campaigners, but to continue as vocal, creative and even critical participants in the politics of our times. Never were you needed so much and never could you do so much if you want to help now.

Martin Luther King Jr. had a dream. Robert F. Kennedy as you saw tonight had a great vision. If America will respond to that dream and that vision, if America will respond to that dream and that vision (repeated in delivery) their deaths will not mark the moment when America lost its way. But it will mark the time when America found its conscience.

These men, these men have given us inspiration and direction, and I pledge from this platform tonight we shall not abandon their purposes—we shall honor their dreams by our deeds now and in the days to come!

I Am Ready

I am keenly aware of the fears and the frustrations of the world in which we live. It is all too easy, isn't it, to play on these emotions. But I do not intend to do so. I do not intend to appeal to fear, but rather to hope. I do not intend to appeal to frustration, but rather to your faith.

I shall appeal to reason, and to your good judgment.

The American presidency, the American presidency is a great and powerful office, but it is not all-powerful. It depends most of all upon the will and the faith and the dedication and the wisdom of the American people.

And I know, as you know, there is an essential strength in the American people. And tonight I call you, I call you, the American people, not to be of one mind but to be of one spirit. I call you, the American people, not to a life of false security, false promises and ease, but to a new sense of purpose, a new dedication and a new commitment.

Remember that those who founded this republic said that in order to secure these inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, they pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.

I submit, my fellow Americans, we dare do no less in our time if this republic is to survive.

So I call you forth, I call forth that basic goodness that is there—I call you to risk the hard path of greatness, and I say to America—put aside recrimination and dissension, turn away from violence and hatred, believe—believe in what America can do, and believe in what America can be, and with the vast, with the help of that vast unfrightened, dedicated faithful majority of Americans, I say to this great convention tonight, and to this great nation of ours, I am ready to lead our country!

Opening page insert

-1-

My fellow ~~citizens~~ ^{americans} -- my fellow Democrats:

I proudly accept the nomination of your party.

This moment -- one of personal pride and gratification -- cannot help but reflect the deep sadness we feel over the violence which erupted last night in the streets of this great city -- and for the personal injuries which occurred.

Violence breeds counter-violence -- it cannot be condoned whatever the source. I know every delegate to this Convention shares my sorrow and distress over these incidents.

~~may we unite, left and right~~
~~heart in prayer in that~~
~~immortal prayer.~~

Pray for our country with those immortal words of the prayer of St. Francis of Assisi



~~Lord, make me an instrument of thy peace;~~

Where there is hatred, let me sow love;

Where there is injury, pardon;

Where there is doubt, faith;

Where there is despair, hope;

Where there is darkness, light;

~~And where there is sadness, joy.~~

O, Divine Master, grant that I may not so much seek to be consoled
as to console;

To be understood, as to understand;

To be loved, as to love;

For it is in giving that we receive,

It is in pardoning that we are pardoned,

And it is in dying that we are born to eternal life.

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH AT
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
August 29, 1968

My fellow citizens, my fellow Democrats:

I proudly accept your nomination.

in this spirit -

yes I accept your nomination knowing that the months
and years ahead will severely test America's capacity to rise
to challenge.

This is not the first time that our nation has faced
a challenge to its life and purpose. !

Each time, we have emerged with new greatness and
new strength.

∟ We must make a moment of crisis, a moment of creation!

∟ We stand at such a moment now -- in the affairs of this nation -- at the end of an era and at the beginning of a new day.

New Day

∟ It is the special genius of the Democratic Party that it welcomes change, not as an enemy but as an ally . . . not as a force to be suppressed, but as an instrument of progress!

* * *

∟ This week the Democratic Party has debated the great issues before America.

∟ Had we not raised these issues, we would have ignored the reality of change.

∟ Had we "papered over differences with empty platitudes instead of frank debate, we would deserve the contempt of our fellow citizens and the condemnation of history!

↳ We have heard hard and sometimes bitter debate.

↳ This debate is the work of a free people . . . the work of an open convention . . . the work of a political party responsive to the needs of this nation.

↳ Democracy affords debate, discussion, and dissent.

But it also requires decision.

↳ And we have decided, here, not by edict but by vote . . . not by force but by ballot!

↳ Majority rule has prevailed, but minority rights are preserved.

↳ There is always the temptation to leave the scene of battle in anger and despair, but those who know the meaning of democracy accept the decision of today, ^{but} never relinquishing their right to change it tomorrow.

↳ In the space of a week, this convention has laid the foundations for a new Democratic Party structure in America.

↳ From precinct level to the floor of this convention, we have literally revolutionized our rules and procedures.

↳ This revolution is in the proud tradition of our Party.

↳ It is the tradition of Franklin Roosevelt, who knew America had nothing to fear but fear itself . . . and of Harry Truman who "Told it like it was" let 'em have it . . . and how well you remember!

↳ It is the tradition of Adlai Stevenson who talked sense to the American people . . . and how we miss this great and good and gentle man.

↳ It is the tradition of John F. Kennedy who said to us: "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country . . . ask what together we can do for the freedom of man."

↳ And it is the tradition of Lyndon B. Johnson who rallied a grief-stricken nation and told us: "Let us continue."

↳ And in the space of five years President Johnson has accomplished more of the unfinished business of America than any of his modern predecessors.

↳ History will surely record the greatness of his contribution to the people of this land. *Thank you Mr President!*

↳ At this convention, too, we have recognized the "end of an era and the beginning of a new day." NEW DAY

↳ That new day belongs to the people -- to every man, woman, and child.

↳ Within it lies nothing less than the promise seen a generation ago by Thomas Wolfe: "To every man his chance, to every man regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself. And to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This . . . is the promise of America."

Across America ^{yes} throughout the world -- we hear freedom's rising chorus: "Let me live my own life."

Let me live in peace. Let me be free!"

That cry is heard today in our slums and on our farms and in our cities.

It is heard from the old, as well as from the young.

It is heard in Eastern Europe and it is heard in Vietnam.

It will be answered in how we face the three realities that confront this nation.

3 realities

The first reality is the necessity for peace in Vietnam and in the world.

The second reality is the necessity for peace in our cities and in our nation.

The third reality is for unity in our Party and in our country.

Let me speak first about Vietnam.

There are
~~recognize the~~ differences within our party on the issue
of Vietnam. These differences are found within the ranks of all
the Democratic Presidential candidates.

But I also recognize the much larger areas of agreement.

~~I expect this debate to continue in the months ahead.~~

~~But it need not divide us.~~

Let those who believe that our cause in Vietnam has
been right -- and those who believe it has been wrong -- agree
here and now: Neither vindication nor repudiation will bring
peace or be worthy of our country.

The question is: What do we do now?

No one knows what the situation in Vietnam will be on
January 20, 1969.

Every heart in America prays that, by then, we shall have
reached a cease-fire in all Vietnam, and be in serious negotiation
toward a durable peace.

John F. Kennedy:

"Peace and freedom do not come cheap, and we are destined -- all of us here today -- to live out most, if not all, of our lives in uncertainty and challenge and peril."

*These are Prophetic
words.*

↳ Meanwhile, as citizen, candidate and Vice President,
I shall do everything within my power to aid the negotiations and
to end the war.

"Those who use the present, to stand in judgment of the
^{will} past lose the future." ~~and the present has lost the future.~~

X
X
X

↳ If there is one lesson we should have learned, it is that
the policies of tomorrow need not be limited by the policies of
yesterday.

↳ ^{Lufkin} I am President, I shall apply that lesson to the search
for peace in Vietnam, as to all other areas of national policy.

↳ Last week we witnessed once again in Czechoslovakia the
desperate attempt of tyranny to crush out the forces of liberalism
by force and brutal power ... to hold back change. (But in Eastern
Europe, as elsewhere, the old era will surely end and a new day will dawn.

To speed this day we must go beyond containment to communication...
beyond differences to dialogue ... beyond fear to hope.

↳ We must cross the remaining barriers of suspicion
and despair.

↳ We must halt the arms race before it halts
humanity. ~~The world cannot indefinitely hope to avoid~~
~~nuclear holocaust.~~ Is this a vain hope? The record says no.

Within the last ^{few} years we have made progress.

We have negotiated a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

We have laid the groundwork for a Nuclear Non-Proliferation
Treaty.

We have reached agreement on banning weapons in
outer space.

And now we must take new initiatives.

↳ With prudence and caution, but with perseverance, we must find ways and means to control and reduce offensive and defensive nuclear missile systems.

↳ The world cannot indefinitely hope to avoid the nuclear war which one rash act. . . one error in judgment. . . one failure in communications could unleash upon humanity.

↳ There is no more urgent task than ending this threat to the very survival of our planet. !

↳ I commit myself to this task. !

#2 Our second reality is the necessity for peace at home.

There is trouble in America.

↳ But it comes not from a lack of faith but from a kindling of hope.

↳ When the homeless find a home, they do not give up home.

↳ the search for a better home. ↳ When the hopeless find hope, they seek higher hopes.

↳ In 1960 -- and again in 1964 -- you, the American people, gave us a mandate to awaken America to its unmet needs.

↳ You asked us to get America moving again.

And we have.

↳ We have awakened expectations. - *We have aroused new voices that must be heard.*

↳ We have inspired new hope in millions of men and women.

And they are impatient now to see their hopes and aspirations fulfilled.

↳ We have raised a new standard of life in America -- not just for the poor, but for every American, wage earner, farmer, school child and housewife -- a standard by which all future progress must be judged.

↳ Our most urgent challenge is in urban America.

Some 70 per cent of our people live on 2 per cent of our land. 100 million more Americans will join our *national* family in the next 25 years.

Where shall they live?

How shall they live?

What shall be their future?

These are the questions we must answer -

↳ Urban congestion has not only created a complex of new problems, it has multiplied and intensified the problems of race, of poverty, crime, hunger, despair.

↳ All of these have grown to explosive proportion.

↳ The simple solution of the frustrated and the frightened is to lash out against society. ↳ We know -- and they must know -- that this is no answer.

↳ Violence breeds ~~counter~~ *more* violence.

↳ Disorder destroys. ↳ Only order can build.

↳ Riot makes for ruin ↳ Reason makes for solution.

↳ ~~No man at the White House~~ from ~~or at any level of government~~ to city Hall --

every official has the ~~consists of~~ the immediate responsibility of guaranteeing to every

American the right to personal security.

↳ Every American has the right to a safe neighborhood, ~~on~~

on this there can be no compromise. !

↳ I put it bluntly, Rioting, burning, sniping, mugging,
traffic in narcotics and disregard for the law are the advance
guard of anarchy -- and they must be stopped.

↳ But the answer does not lie in attacks on our courts,
or our laws, or our Attorney General.

↳ The answer lies in reasoned, effective action by state,
local and federal authority. o

↳ We do not want a police state, but we do need a state of
law and order.

↳ Neither mob violence nor police brutality have any place
in America. !

I pledge to use every resource available to the President

to end the fear in our cities.

↳ Nor can there be any compromise with the right of every American who is willing to work to have a job . . . who is willing to be a good neighbor to live in a decent home . . . who is willing to learn to have a good education. ~~There are American rights~~

↳ We must restore our present cities and -- we must bring Prosperity, modern living, and opportunity to our rural areas.

↳ But we must also move beyond the enclosures of our traditional cities to create new cities.

↳ We must design an open America -- opening new opportunities in open land.

↳ We have invested heavily to explore outer space where man may live tomorrow. ↳ We must also invest to develop an inner space where man may live today.

(Pause)

#3 L The third reality is the necessity for unity in our country.

We must make a decision!

L Are we to be one nation -- or are we to be a nation divided?

Divided between black and white . . . between rich and poor . . . between North and South . . . between young and old.

I take my stand.

L We are and we must be one nation -- united by liberty and justice for all. (Yes, One Nation, under God, with liberty and justice for all.)

L Just as there can be no compromise on the right of personal security, there can be no compromise on the securing of human rights.

Slow L If America is to make a crucial judgment of leadership, let that selection be made without either candidate hedging or equivocating.

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

L Winning the Presidency is not worth a compact with extremism!

↳ I choose not simply to run for President.

↳ I seek to lead a nation. !

Either we achieve true justice in our land or we shall doom ourselves to a terrible exhaustion of body and spirit.

↳ I base my entire candidacy on the belief -- which comes from the depths of my soul -- that the American people will stand up for justice and fair play. . . they will respond to a call for one citizenship -- open to all. !

↳ This is the message I shall take to the people. I ask you to stand with me. !

↳ To all of my fellow Democrats who have labored hard and openly this week at the difficult and sometimes frustrating work of democracy, I pledge myself ~~totally~~ to the task of leading the Democratic Party to victory in November. }

I all of our goals, all of our high hopes, depend on this victory!

L To my friends Gene McCarthy and George McGovern,
 who have given ^{new} hope to a new generation of Americans that there
can be greater meaning in their lives . . . that America can respond
 to men of moral concern . . . I ask you to ^{our} help America ^{I ask you to} in the difficult

keep me in the difficult
 campaign ahead.

L I appeal to young Americans to join us not simply as campaigners
 but as vocal, creative, even critical participants in the politics of our
 times. The new day is your day.

L Martin Luther King, Jr. had a dream. L Robert F. Kennedy had
 a vision.

^{loss} If America will respond to ^{that} that dream and vision, their
~~deaths~~ will mark the moment not when America lost its way, but
 when America found its conscience. [!]

L These men have given us inspiration and direction.

L We shall not abandon their purposes. L We shall honor their
dreams by our own deeds.

∟ I am keenly aware of the fears and frustrations of the world
in which we live.

∟ It is all too easy to play on these emotions.

But I do not intend to do so.

~~I appeal to reason.~~

∟ I appeal not to fear but to hope . . . not to frustration but
to faith.

I appeal to reason!

∟ The American Presidency is a great and powerful office.
But it is not all-powerful.

∟ It depends, most of all, upon the will and wisdom of the
American people. (Pewee)

∟ There is an essential strength in the American people.

∟ Tonight I call you -- the American people -- not to be
of one mind, but rather of one spirit.

↳ I call you -- the American people -- not to a life of false security and ease, but to a new sense of purpose as a free people.

↳ I call you to risk the hard path of greatness.

↳ I say to America:

Put aside recrimination and dissension.

↳ Turn away from violence and hatred.

↳ Believe in what America can do and can be. |

↳ With the help of the vast, unfrightened majority of Americans, I am ready to lead our country.

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COMPLETE TEXT OF HUMPHREY'S ACCEPTANCE SPEECH

Following is the complete text of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey's Aug. 29 speech accepting the Democratic nomination for President:

Mr. Chairman, my fellow Americans, my fellow Democrats—I proudly accept the nomination of our party.

This moment—this moment is one of personal pride and gratification. Yet you cannot help but reflect the deep sadness that we feel over the troubles and the violence which have erupted, regrettably and tragically, in the streets of this great city, and for the personal injuries which have occurred.

Surely we have now learned the lesson that violence breeds counterviolence and it cannot be condoned, whatever the source.

I know that every delegate to this convention shares tonight my sorrow and my distress over these incidents. And for just one moment, in sober reflection and serious purpose, may we just quietly and silently, each in our own way, pray for our country. And may we just share for a moment a few of those immortal words of the prayer of St. Francis of Assisi, words which I think may help heal the wounds, ease the pain and lift our hearts.

Listen to this immortal saint: "Where there is hatred, let me know love. Where there is injury, pardon. Where there is doubt, faith. Where there is despair, hope. Where there is darkness, light."

Those are the words of a saint. And may those of us of less purity listen to them well and may America tonight resolve that never, never again shall we see what we have seen.

Yes, I accept your nomination in this spirit and I have spoken knowing that the months and the years ahead will severely test our America. And might I say that as this America is tested, that once again we give our testament to America. And I do not think it is sentimental nor is it cheap, but I think it is true that each and everyone of us in our own way should once again reaffirm to ourselves and our posterity that we love this nation, we love America!

But take heart my fellow Americans. This is not the first time that our nation has faced a challenge to its life and its purpose. And each time that we've had to face these challenges we have emerged with new greatness and with new strength.

We must make this moment of crisis—we must make it a moment of creation.

As it has been said, in the worst of times a great people must do the best of things—and let us do it.

Something New

We stand at such a moment now in the affairs of this Nation, because, my fellow Americans, something new, something different has happened. There is an end of an era, and there is the beginning of a new day.

And it is the special genius of the Democratic party that it welcomes change—not as an enemy but as an ally—not as a force to be suppressed but as an instrument of progress to be encouraged.

This week our party has debated the great issues before America in this very hall, and had we not raised these issues—troublesome as they were—we would have ignored the reality of change.

Had we just papered over the differences of frank, hard debate, we would deserve the contempt of our fellow citizens and the condemnation of history.

Yes, we dare to speak out and we have heard hard and sometimes bitter debate. But I submit that this is the debate, and this is the work of a free people, the work of an open convention and the work of a political party responsive to the needs of this nation.

Democracy affords debate, discussion and dissent. But, my fellow Americans, it also requires decision. And we have decided here, not by edict, but by vote; not by force, but by ballot.

Majority rule has prevailed but minority rights are preserved.

There is always the temptation, always the temptation to leave the scene of battle in anger and despair, but those who know the true meaning of democracy accept the decision of today but never relinquishing their right to change it tomorrow.

In the space of but a week this convention has literally made the foundations of a new Democratic party structure in America. From precinct level to the floor of this convention, we have revolutionized our rules and procedures.

And that revolution is in the proud tradition of our party. It is in the tradition of Franklin Roosevelt, who knew that America had nothing to fear but fear itself!

And it is in the tradition of that one and only Harry Truman, who let 'em have it and told it like it was.

And that's the way we're going to do it from here on out.

And it is in the tradition of that beloved man, Adlai Stevenson, who talked sense to the American people—and oh, tonight, how we miss this great, good and gentle man of peace in America—

And my fellow Americans, all that we do and all that we ever hope to do, must be in the tradition of John F. Kennedy, who said to us: Ask not what your country can do for you, but what can you do for your country.

And, my fellow Democrats and fellow Americans, in that spirit of that great man let us ask what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Lyndon Johnson

And what we are doing is in the tradition of Lyndon B. Johnson, who rallied a grief-stricken nation when our leader was stricken by the assassin's bullet and said to you and said to me, and said to all the world—let us continue.

And in the space, and in the space of five years since that tragic moment, President Johnson has accomplished more of the unfinished business of America than any of his modern predecessors.

And I truly believe that history will surely record the greatness of his contribution to the people of this land.

And tonight to you, Mr. President, I say thank you. Thank you, Mr. President.

Yes, my fellow Democrats, we have recognized and indeed we must recognize the end of an era and the beginning of a new day—and that new day, and that new day belongs to the people—to all the people, everywhere in this land of the people, to every man, woman and child that is a citizen of this Republic.

And within that new day lies nothing less than the promise seen a generation ago by that poet Thomas Wolfe—to every man his chance, to every man regardless of his birth his shining golden opportunity, to every man the right to live and to work and be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him—this is the promise of America.

Yes, the new day is here across America. Throughout the entire world forces of emancipation are at work. We hear freedom's rising chorus—"Let me live my own life, let me live in peace, let me be free," say the people.

Realities

And that cry is heard today in our slums, on our farms and in our cities. It is heard from the old as well as from the young. It is heard in Eastern Europe and it is heard in Vietnam. And it will be answered by us, in how we face the three realities that confront this nation.

The first reality is the necessity for peace in Vietnam and in the world.

The second reality, the second reality is the necessity for peace and justice in our cities and in our nation.

And the third reality is the paramount necessity for unity—unity in our country.

Let me speak first, then, about Vietnam.

There are differences, of course, serious differences within our party on this vexing and painful issue of Vietnam, and these differences are found even within the ranks of all of the Democratic Presidential candidates.

But I might say to my fellow Americans that once you have examined the differences I hope you will also recognize the much larger areas of agreement.

Let those who believe that our cause in Vietnam has been right, or those who believe that it has been wrong, agree here and now, that neither vindication nor repudiation will bring peace or be worthy of this country!

The question is not the yesterdays but the question is what do we do now? No one knows what the situation in Vietnam will be when the next President of the United States takes that oath of office on Jan. 20, 1969.

But every heart in America prays that by then we shall have reached a cease-fire in all Vietnam and be in serious negotiation toward a durable peace.

Meanwhile, as a citizen, a candidate and Vice President, I pledge to you and to my fellow Americans that I will do everything within my power, within the limits of my capacity and ability to aid the negotiations and to bring a prompt end to this war!

May I remind you of the words of a truly great citizen of the world, Winston Churchill. It was he who said—and we should heed his words well—"those who use today and the present to stand in judgment of the past may well lose the future."

And if there is any one lesson that we should have learned, it is that the policies of tomorrow need not be limited by the policies of yesterday.

My fellow Americans, if it becomes my high honor to serve as President of these states and people, I shall apply that lesson to the search for peace in Vietnam as to all other areas of national policy.

Now let me ask you, do you remember these words at another time, in a different place: Peace and freedom do not come cheap. And we are destined—all of us here today—to live out most if not all of our lives in uncertainty and challenge and peril. The words of a prophet—yes, the words of a President—yes; the words of the challenge of today—yes; and the words of John Kennedy to you, and to me, and to posterity!

Last week we witnessed once again in Czechoslovakia the desperate attempt of tyranny to crush out the forces of liberalism by force and brutal power, to hold back change.

But in Eastern Europe as elsewhere the old era will surely end, and there, as here, a new day will dawn.

And to speed this day we must go far beyond where we've been—beyond containment to communication; beyond the emphasis of differences to dialogue; beyond fear to hope.

We must cross those remaining barriers of suspicion and despair. We must halt the arms race before it halts humanity.

And is this, is this a vain hope, is it but a dream? I say the record says no.

Within the last few years we have made progress, we have negotiated a nuclear test ban treaty, we have laid the groundwork for a nuclear nonproliferation treaty.

We have reached agreement on banning weapons in outer space. We have been building patiently—stone by stone, each in our own way—the cathedral of peace.

And now we must take new initiative, new initiative with prudence and caution but with perseverance. We must find the way and the means to control and reduce offensive and defensive nuclear missile systems. The world cannot indefinitely hope to avoid nuclear war which one last act, one erring judgment, one failure in communication could unleash upon all humanity and destroy all of mankind.

But the search for peace is not for the timid or the weak, it must come from a nation of high purpose—firm without being belligerent, resolute without being belligerent, strong without being arrogant. And that's the kind of America that will help build the peace of this world.

But the task of slowing down the arms race, of halting the nuclear escalation—there is no more urgent task than ending this threat to the very survival of our planet, and if I am elected as your President, I commit myself body, mind and soul to this task.

Now our second reality is the necessity for peace at home. There is, my friends, let's see it as it is—there is trouble in America. But it does not come from a lack of faith. But it comes from the kindling of hope.

When the homeless can find a home, they do not give up the search for a better home. When the hopeless find hope, they seek higher hopes. And in 1960 and again in 1964, you, the American people, gave us a mandate to awaken America. You asked us to get America moving again, and we have—and America is on the move.

And we have, we have awakened expectations. We have aroused new voices and new voices that must and will be heard.

We have inspired new hope in millions of men and women, and they are impatient—and rightfully so, impatient now to see their hopes and their aspirations fulfilled.

We have raised a new standard of life in our America, not just for the poor but for every American—wage earner, businessman, farmer, school child and housewife. A standard by which the future progress must be judged.

Our most urgent challenge is in urban America, where most of our people live. Some 70 per cent of our people live on 2 per cent of our land, and within 25 years 100 million more will join our national family.

I ask you tonight—where shall they live? How shall they live? What shall be their future? We're going to decide in the next four years those questions. The next President of the United States will establish policies not only for this generation but for children yet unborn. Our task is tremendous and I need your help.

The simple solution of the frustrated and the frightened to our complex urban problems is to lash out against society. But we know—and they must know—that this is no answer.

Violence

Violence breeds more violence; disorder destroys, and only in order can we build. Riot makes for ruin; reason makes for solution. So from the White House to the courthouse to the city hall, every official has the solemn responsibility of guaranteeing to every American—black and white, rich and poor—the right to personal security—life.

Every American, black or white, rich or poor, has the right in this land of ours to a safe and decent neighborhood, and on this there can be no compromise.

I put it very bluntly—rioting, burning, sniping, mugging, traffic in narcotics, and disregard for law are the advance guard of anarchy, and they must and they will be stopped.

But may I say most respectfully, particularly to some who have spoken before, the answer lies in reasoned, effective action by state, local and Federal authority. The answer does not lie in an attack on our courts, our laws or our Attorney General.

We do not want a police state, but we need a state of law and order.

We do not want a police state but we need a state of law and order, and neither mob violence nor police brutality have any place in America.

And I pledge to use every resource that is available to the Presidency, every resource available to the President, to end once and for all the fear that is in our cities.

Now let me speak of other rights. Nor can there be any compromise with the right of every American who is able and who is willing to work to have a job—that's an American right, too.

Who is willing to be a good neighbor, to be able to live in a decent home in the neighborhood of his own choice.

Nor can there be any compromise with the right of every American who is anxious and willing to learn, to have a good education.

And it is to these rights—the rights of law and order, the rights of life, the rights of liberty, the right of a job, the right of a home in a decent neighborhood, and the right of an education—it is to these rights that I pledge my life and whatever capacity and ability I have.

And now the third reality, essential if the other two are to be achieved, is the necessity, my fellow Americans, for unity in our country, for tolerance and forbearance for holding together as a family, and we must make a great decision. Are we to be one nation, or are we to be a nation divided, divided between black and white, between rich and poor, between north and south, between young and old? I take my stand—we are and we must be one nation, united by liberty and justice for all, one nation under God, indivisible with liberty and justice for all. This is our America.

Just as I said to you there can be no compromise on the right of personal security, there can be no compromise on securing of human rights.

If America is to make a crucial judgment of leadership in this coming election, then let that selection be made without either candidate hedging or equivocating.

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

And winning the Presidency—and listen well—winning the Presidency is not worth a compact with extremism.

I choose not simply to run for President. I seek to lead a great nation.

And either we achieve through justice in our land or we shall doom ourselves to a terrible exhaustion of body and spirit.

One Citizenship

I base my entire candidacy on the belief which comes from the very depths of my soul—which comes from basic religious conviction that the American people will stand up, that they will stand up for justice and fair play, and that they will respond to the call of one citizenship—one citizenship open to all for all Americans!

So this is the message that I shall take to the people, and I ask you to stand with me.

To all of my fellow Democrats now who have labored hard and openly this week, at the difficult and sometimes frustrating work of democracy, I pledge myself to that task of leading the Democratic Party to victory in November.

And may I say to those who have differed with their neighbor, or those who have differed with fellow Democrats, may I say to you that all of your goals, that all of your high hopes, that all

of your dreams, all of them will come to naught if we lose this election and many of them can be realized with the victory that can come to us.

And now a word to two good friends. To my friends—and they are my friends—and they're your friends—and they're fellow Democrats.

To my friends Gene McCarthy and George McGovern—to my friends Gene McCarthy and George McGovern, who have given new hope to a new generation of Americans that there can be greater meaning in their lives, that America can respond to men of moral concern, to these two good Americans: I ask your help for our America, and I ask you to help me in this difficult campaign that lies ahead.

And now I appeal, I appeal to those thousands—yea millions—of young Americans to join us, not simply as campaigners, but to continue as vocal, creative and even critical participants in the politics of our time. Never were you needed so much, and never could you do so much if you want to help now.

Martin Luther King Jr. had a dream. Robert F. Kennedy as you saw tonight had a great vision. If Americans will respond to that dream and that vision, if Americans will respond to that dream and that vision, their deaths will not mark the moment when America lost its way. But it will mark the time when America found its conscience.

These men, these men have given us inspiration and direction, and I pledge from this platform tonight we shall not abandon their purpose—we shall honor their dreams by our deeds now in the days to come.

I am keenly aware of the fears and the frustrations of the world in which we live. It is all too easy, isn't it, to play on these emotions. But I do not intend to do so. I do not intend to appeal to fear, but rather to hope. I do not intend to appeal to frustration, but rather to your faith.

I shall appeal to reason and to your good judgment.

The American Presidency, the American Presidency is a great and powerful office, but it is not all-powerful. It depends most of all upon the will and the faith and the dedication and the wisdom of the American people.

So I call you forth—I call forth that basic goodness that is there—I call you to risk the hard path of greatness.

And I say to America. Put aside recrimination and dissension. Turn away from violence and hatred. Believe—believe in what America can do, and believe in what America can be, and with the vast—with the help of that vast, unfrightened, dedicated, faithful majority of Americans, I say to this great convention tonight, and to this great nation of ours, I am ready to lead our country!

Public Laws

(For previous Public Laws, See Weekly Report p. 2270)

- PL 90-396 (HR 6279)—Standard Reference Data Act. MILLER (D Calif.)—2/28/67—House Science and Astronautics reported May 15, 1967 (H Rept 260). House passed Aug. 14. Senate Commerce reported June 12, 1968 (S Rept 1230). Senate passed, amended, June 13. House agreed to Senate amendments June 27. President signed July 11.
- PL 90-397 (S 2047)—Exempt certain fishing vessels from requirements of certain laws. MAGNUSON (D Wash.)—6/28/67—Senate Commerce reported Oct. 25, 1967 (S Rept 686). Senate passed Oct. 27. House passed, amended, June 3, 1968. Senate agreed to House amendment June 28. President signed July 11.
- PL 90-398 (S 2837)—Establish Cradle of Forestry in America in Pisgah National Forest, N.C. JORDAN (D N.C.) and ERVIN (D N.C.)—1/18/68—Senate Agriculture and Forestry reported May 16, 1968 (S Rept 1120). Senate passed May 17. House Agriculture reported June 6 (H Rept 1530). House passed July 1. President signed July 11.

- PL 90-399 (HR 3639)—Assure safety and effectiveness of new animal drugs. JARMAN (D Okla.)—1/24/67—House Interstate and Foreign Commerce reported Oct. 31, 1967 (H Rept 875). House passed Nov. 6. Senate Labor and Public Welfare reported June 21, 1968 (S Rept 1308). Senate passed, amended, June 24. House agreed to Senate amendments July 2. President signed July 13.
- PL 90-400 (S 1251)—Make severance pay to reclamation project employees nonreimbursable. JORDAN (D N.C.) and CHURCH (D Idaho)—3/10/67—Senate Interior and Insular Affairs reported July 26, 1967 (S Rept 457). Senate passed Aug. 2. House Interior and Insular Affairs reported June 11, 1968 (H Rept 1528). House passed, amended, June 17. Senate agreed to House amendment July 2. President signed July 13.
- PL 90-401 (S 1401)—Augment revenues for the Land and Water Conservation Fund. JACKSON (D Wash.), ANDERSON (D N.M.), HART (D Mich.), KENNEDY (D Mass.), SCOTT (R Pa.), KUCHEL (R Calif.) and NELSON (D Wis.)—3/30/67—Senate Interior and Insular Affairs reported March 29, 1968 (S Rept 1071). Senate passed April 30. House passed, amended, May 23. Conference report filed June 28 (H Rept 1698). Conference report adopted by the House and Senate July 2. President signed July 13.



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