

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
ANNOUNCEMENT OF CANDIDACY  
FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

January 10, 1972

(For Release 11:00 A.M., January 10, 1972)

I have just signed a certificate declaring my candidacy for the Democratic nomination for President of the United States.

I chose this historic site of Philadelphia to sign my declaration because it was here that our republic was born -- this city of William Penn who spoke of peace and brotherhood and Thomas Jefferson who gave us the great documents of our democracy. It was here that "We, the People..." was proclaimed as the foundation for our institutions.

The next President of the United States will join all Americans in commemorating the 200th anniversary of our country.

Will we then be a country at peace with others?

Will we be a country at peace with ourselves?

Will we have healed the wounds of war, violence, and bitterness?

Will our system of government be sensitive and responsive to the pressures of change that flood in upon us? Or will we be paralyzed or muscle-bound?

Will we have stirred America to a higher standard of living and a better quality of life?

Will Americans be at work -- building, creating, developing? Or will we still be limping along, despondent, divided and discouraged?

These are the great issues of this election. The man who occupies the Presidency has the obligation and the opportunity to revive that feeling of common purpose which once inspired this nation -- that mutual respect among the generations, among the races and the groups in this country.

History will note the failures of the Nixon Administration and they will be the subject of this Presidential campaign. Regrettably, we cannot escape their consequences. What we do now, however, can help overcome them.

Let us face up to the realities of our present posture.

Our urgent immediate need is to end the war -- and to do it now. I served as the Vice President during the period of our heaviest involvement there. Yet when I spoke to the American people during my campaign for the Presidency in 1968, I said that my experience had led me to the conviction that however noble the intent of three Presidents who felt that our Vietnam involvement was essential to our national security, that position was no longer valid. I pledged in 1968 an end to the bombing, a cease-fire, and an immediate troop withdrawal program. I would have carried out that pledge.

It is taking Mr. Nixon longer to withdraw our troops than it took us to defeat Hitler. Had I been elected, we would now be out of that war. I repeat that pledge.

We must revitalize our economy and put our people to work.

We must create a respect for law and justice if we are to stop crime.

The attack on drug abuse which has taken on epidemic proportions must be given the highest priority.

A massive effort must begin to make our cities liveable, safe, and clean.

Farmers today are the victims of depression prices.

We must raise farm income. We must strengthen rural America so that its areas of poverty can become areas of beauty and economic opportunity.

Our air, lakes, and streams must be cleansed.

The fulfillment of the American dream requires that every American family has a decent home, food, health care and education.

These are difficult challenges, but to do less would be unworthy of us. To achieve these requires the energetic participation of government and the leadership and inspiration of a dedicated President.

Presidential delay, timidity, vetoes, divisiveness will not do the job. A total commitment is necessary, and it must be based on a supreme confidence in the American people and our institutions.

Even three years of sustained indifference and error on the part of an administration with limited vision and understanding cannot fundamentally damage the underlying health and vitality of this nation.

America is not sick! What we lack is leadership and vision. "Without vision," said Isaiah, "the people perish."

America needs renewed faith in itself. The fabric of America is strong and resilient. Our nation has withstood civil war. We received into our midst wave after wave of immigrants who ultimately added their richness of cultural diversity. We have weathered economic depression and vast natural disasters. And while the threads of our civilization and national unity are often stretched taut, they have held and are stronger for their testing.

A nation that could build arsenals of awesome weapons in the pursuit of military objectives can build the schools and the hospitals and the nurseries and the libraries necessary to enrich our lives.

A nation that developed a Marshall Plan to rebuild Europe can develop another to rebuild our neighborhoods and crime-ridden cities.

A country that could reconcile its differences with war-time enemies and long-time rivals can summon the decency and justice necessary to reconcile the differences among our people.

Our task is reconciliation, rebuilding, and rebirth.

Our nation was founded on the principle of faith and trust in the people. The "We, the People..." of our Constitution's Preamble has too often been forgotten by those who govern. But it is in the people that our strength, my strength lies.

We must bring into the mainstream of our society the energies, talents and experience of millions of Americans who have been barred from full participation, or forgotten, or ignored, either by law or by custom.

And I do not speak alone of our national and racial minorities.

The women of America have rightly come to expect and demand full equality with men -- equal pay for equal work, equal access to the professions, removal of the artificial barriers that have barred those women who so desire from full participation in the intellectual, economic, and political life of our nation. Here again the President of the United States must lead -- must persuade and encourage the community at large to change its ways of thinking and acting.

The elderly of our nation have been neglected, shunted aside -- their experience and wisdom ignored. I pledge my energies to bring them back into the mainstream of American life.

To the young of this nation we owe a paramount obligation -- the full opportunity to help strengthen that sense of community without which we cannot rebuild our nation.

The young must be full and effective partners in restoring the physical beauty and the human vitality of America -- in fulfilling Jefferson's dream of a people united in friendship, compassion, and mutual respect.

Jefferson was a young man when he drafted the Declaration of Independence. Some considered him radical. But in reality he and his fellows were true conservatives -- for above all they wished to conserve the freedom and liberty of the individual.

But even as we conserve the values of the past, our eyes must be set on the future. Our challenge today is to be as creative and wise as the men who met here 200 years ago.

Our times require the capacity to solve problems. I learned early in my public career that concern is not enough, outrage is not enough. Even a good idea is not enough. Certainly rhetoric is not enough. As Mayor, as Senator, and as Vice President, I have learned to translate ideas and ideals into action.

It was not enough to speak against crime when I was Mayor of Minneapolis. It was necessary to take action, and I proved that a big city could be cleaned up.

It was perhaps easy to talk about Medicare for the elderly, a Youth Conservation Corps for the young and a Peace Corps, but my initiative and action were required to bring about the legislation which did, in fact, create Medicare, a Youth Conservation Corps and a Peace Corps.

It is all very fine to speak of peace. But I early decided that talk would be wasted if we could not get concrete action, and I am proud of my role as an architect of the first treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

In my years of government experience I have learned one other essential fact: we may suffer an occasional defeat. We all do.

But with determination and faith, a man or a nation can grow from defeat. Persistence and tenacity are old American virtues. I was defeated for Mayor the first time I ran for office -- but I was elected the second time. I was defeated for the Vice Presidential nomination the first time -- but I was later nominated and elected. I was defeated for the Presidential nomination in 1960 -- but I was nominated in 1968.

I was defeated in the Presidential election of 1968. But I return to the battle determined to do my best to achieve victory in 1972.

We Americans have gone through much of the same kinds of trial and error, of victory and defeat, together. We have had disappointments -- we have taken some severe blows in the last several years. But I know we, the American people, are determined to get back on our feet, to put our house in order, and get our country moving again.

Those who would lead the American people must demonstrate a capacity for achievement. That should be the essential criterion, and it is that judgment that I would ask from the American people.

Let me now conclude by reading to you from an undelivered speech of a young President whose philosophy I share. He did not live to see his commitments fulfilled. The words of John F. Kennedy:

"For this is a time for courage and a time for challenge. Neither conformity nor complacency will do. Neither the fanatics nor the faint-hearted are needed. And our duty as a Party is not to our Party alone, but to the nation, and indeed, to all mankind...

"... Let us not quarrel amongst ourselves when our nation's future is at stake. Let us stand together with renewed confidence in our cause -- united in our heritage of the past and our hopes for the future -- and determined that this land we love shall lead all mankind into new frontiers of peace and abundance."

With your trust and confidence we shall fulfill this commitment and achieve these goals.

Thank you.

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*File: news*

*FILE*

S T A T E M E N T

On Monday of this week, I declared my candidacy for the Democratic nomination for President of the United States in Philadelphia. Since that time I have taken my campaign to the state of Florida.

My chief aim in Florida during these past five days was to listen rather than to talk to the people. I wanted to discover what must be done to restore a unity of purpose which we have lost.

I found in Florida people who were dissatisfied with a lack of concerned national leadership.

People no longer believe that we have an administration in Washington that cares about their day to day problems and needs.

I found elderly people in St. Petersburg who wouldn't go to a doctor because they couldn't afford the medicine that he would prescribe.

I found aerospace workers and engineers at Cape Kennedy without jobs and like more than five million other jobless Americans, down on their luck.

I found a young couple in Tampa who, after three years of uncontrolled inflation, just can't make ends meet.

And everywhere I found a belief that this Republican administration had forgotten the problems of the average working family.

In the eyes of all these Floridians, I could read the message: where did we lose our way and how can we find it again?

In my declaration of candidacy for the Presidency I said that America needs renewed faith in itself.

But there is no possibility that faith can be restored without a conviction that things are really improving. And they are not.

People's jobs are still threatened despite promises that we will have economic recovery in 1972.

Their savings are still devoured by inflation.

Our air and water grow more polluted every day despite assurances that we are making great strides in improving the

quality of our environment.

And so I found on my first campaign trip of 1972 that the most disturbing trend in our country today is a widespread feeling of stagnation: people believe things can't be done and their problems can't be solved.

If we are to move ahead in peace and in prosperity the leadership of this nation must propose bold and innovative new programs. I intend to do this in the coming months.

During this campaign that I will now take to the people in the states I have mentioned, I pledge that a Humphrey Administration will not forget the people.

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REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

TO ANNOUNCE HIS CANDIDACY FOR THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION  
FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

JANUARY 10, 1971

L I HAVE JUST SIGNED A CERTIFICATE DECLARING MY CANDIDACY  
FOR THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

L I CHOSE THIS HISTORIC SITE OF PHILADELPHIA ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ BECAUSE IT WAS HERE THAT OUR REPUBLIC WAS BORN -- THIS ~~is~~

*the* CITY OF WILLIAM PENN WHO SPOKE OF PEACE AND BROTHERHOOD, AND THOMAS  
JEFFERSON WHO GAVE US THE GREAT DOCUMENTS OF OUR DEMOCRACY. <sup>and</sup> ~~it~~ <sup>is</sup>

WAS HERE THAT "WE, THE PEOPLE..." WAS PROCLAIMED AS THE FOUNDATION  
FOR OUR <sup>Political</sup> INSTITUTIONS.

L THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WILL JOIN ALL AMERICANS  
IN COMMEMORATING THE 200TH ANNIVERSARY OF OUR COUNTRY.

L WILL WE THEN BE A COUNTRY AT PEACE WITH OTHERS?

L WILL WE BE A COUNTRY AT PEACE WITH OURSELVES?

↳ WILL WE HAVE HEALED THE WOUNDS OF WAR, VIOLENCE, AND BITTER-  
NESS?

↳ WILL OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT BE SENSITIVE AND RESPONSIVE  
TO THE PRESSURES OF CHANGE THAT FLOOD IN UPON US? OR WILL WE BE  
PARALYZED OR MUSCLE-BOUND?

↳ WILL WE HAVE STIRRED AMERICA TO A HIGHER STANDARD OF LIVING  
AND A BETTER QUALITY OF LIFE?

↳ WILL AMERICANS BE AT WORK -- BUILDING, CREATING, DEVELOPING?  
OR WILL WE STILL BE LIMPING ALONG, DESPONDENT, DIVIDED AND  
DISCOURAGED?

THESE ARE THE GREAT ISSUES OF THIS ELECTION. THE MAN WHO  
OCCUPIES THE PRESIDENCY HAS THE OBLIGATION AND THE OPPORTUNITY  
TO REVIVE THAT FEELING OF COMMON PURPOSE WHICH ONCE INSPIRED  
THIS NATION -- THAT MUTUAL RESPECT AMONG THE GENERATIONS, AMONG  
THE RACES AND THE GROUPS IN THIS COUNTRY.

HISTORY WILL NOTE THE FAILURES OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION  
AND THEY WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF THIS PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

REGRETTABLY, WE CANNOT ESCAPE THEIR CONSEQUENCES. WHAT WE DO  
NOW, HOWEVER, CAN HELP OVERCOME THEM.

LET US FACE UP TO THE REALITIES OF OUR PRESENT POSTURE.

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L OUR URGENT IMMEDIATE NEED IS TO END THE WAR -- AND TO DO  
 IT NOW. I SERVED AS THE VICE PRESIDENT DURING THE PERIOD OF OUR  
 HEAVIEST INVOLVEMENT THERE. YET WHEN I SPOKE TO THE AMERICAN  
 PEOPLE DURING MY CAMPAIGN FOR THE PRESIDENCY IN 1968, I SAID THAT  
 MY EXPERIENCE HAD LED ME TO THE CONVICTION THAT HOWEVER NOBLE  
 THE INTENT OF THREE PRESIDENTS WHO FELT THAT OUR VIETNAM INVOLVE-  
 MENT WAS ESSENTIAL TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY, THAT POSITION WAS  
 NO LONGER VALID. I PLEDGED IN 1968 AN END TO THE BOMBING, A  
CEASE-FIRE, AND AN IMMEDIATE TROOP WITHDRAWAL PROGRAM. I WOULD  
 HAVE CARRIED OUT THAT PLEDGE.

h IT IS TAKING MR. NIXON LONGER TO WITHDRAW OUR TROOPS *from Vietnam*  
 than IT TOOK US TO DEFEAT HITLER. HAD I BEEN ELECTED, WE WOULD NOW BE  
 OUT OF THAT WAR. I REPEAT THAT PLEDGE.



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There are other urgent needs!

↳ WE MUST REVITALIZE OUR ECONOMY AND PUT OUR PEOPLE TO WORK. - and do it now.

↳ WE MUST CREATE A RESPECT FOR LAW AND JUSTICE IF WE ARE TO

STOP CRIME.

↳ THE ATTACK ON DRUG ABUSE WHICH HAS TAKEN ON EPIDEMIC

PROPORTIONS MUST BE GIVEN THE HIGHEST PRIORITY.

↳ A MASSIVE EFFORT MUST BEGIN TO MAKE OUR CITIES LIVEABLE,

SAFE, AND CLEAN.

↳ FARMERS TODAY ARE THE VICTIMS OF DEPRESSION PRICES.

↳ WE MUST RAISE FARM INCOME. ↳ WE MUST STRENGTHEN RURAL AMERICA

SO THAT ITS AREAS OF POVERTY CAN BECOME AREAS OF BEAUTY AND

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY.

OUR AIR, LAKES, AND STREAMS MUST BE CLEANSED.

THE FULFILLMENT OF THE AMERICAN DREAM REQUIRES THAT EVERY

AMERICAN FAMILY HAS A DECENT HOME, FOOD, HEALTH CARE AND EDUCATION.

THESE ARE DIFFICULT CHALLENGES, BUT, TO DO LESS WOULD BE  
UNWORTHY OF US. TO ACHIEVE THESE <sup>goals</sup> REQUIRES THE ENERGETIC

PARTICIPATION OF GOVERNMENT AND THE LEADERSHIP AND INSPIRATION  
OF A DEDICATED PRESIDENT.

PRESIDENTIAL DELAY, TIMIDITY, VETOES, DIVISIVENESS WILL NOT  
DO THE JOB. A TOTAL COMMITMENT IS NECESSARY, AND, IT MUST BE  
BASED ON A SUPREME CONFIDENCE IN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND OUR  
INSTITUTIONS.

The dogmas of the <sup>quiet</sup> past are  
inadequate for the stormy  
present.

The occasion is piled high  
with difficulty - and we  
must rise with the occasion.

Our case is new, so we  
must think anew.

We must decentralize ourselves!

and, so we must!

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~~EVEN THREE YEARS OF SUSTAINED INDIFFERENCE AND ERROR ON~~

~~THE PART OF AN ADMINISTRATION WITH LIMITED VISION AND UNDERSTANDING~~

~~CANNOT FUNDAMENTALLY DAMAGE THE UNDERLYING HEALTH AND VITALITY~~

~~OF THIS NATION.~~

*we are  
that, we have experienced unprecedented  
change - to see about in the  
turbulence of violence  
confusion, days  
and  
fear*

AMERICA IS NOT SICK! WHAT WE LACK IS LEADERSHIP AND VISION.

"WITHOUT VISION," SAID ISAIAH, "THE PEOPLE PERISH."

AMERICA NEEDS RENEWED FAITH IN ITSELF. THE FABRIC OF AMERICA

IS STRONG AND RESILIENT. OUR NATION HAS WITHSTOOD CIVIL WAR,

WE RECEIVED INTO OUR MIDST WAVE AFTER WAVE OF IMMIGRANTS WHO

ULTIMATELY ADDED THEIR RICHNESS OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY. WE HAVE

WEATHERED ECONOMIC DEPRESSION AND VAST NATURAL DISASTERS. AND WHILE

THE THREADS OF OUR CIVILIZATION AND NATIONAL UNITY ARE OFTEN

STRETCHED TAUT, THEY HAVE HELD AND ARE STRONGER FOR THEIR TESTING.

*(over-to-humans)*

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The message of Lincoln speaks  
to us today!

"The Dogmas of the quiet Past are  
inadequate for the stormy present.  
The occasion is piled high with  
difficulty - and we must rise  
to the occasion.

↳ Our case is new, so we  
must think anew.  
We must disenthrall  
ourselves. -

Yes, we must think ~~anew~~  
anew. -

*L* A NATION THAT COULD BUILD ARSENALS OF AWESOME WEAPONS IN

~~THE PURSUIT OF MILITARY OBJECTIVES~~ CAN BUILD THE SCHOOLS, AND THE  
*the Childcare Centers,*  
HOSPITALS, ~~AND THE NURSERIES~~ AND THE LIBRARIES NECESSARY TO ENRICH

OUR LIVES.

*L* A NATION THAT DEVELOPED A MARSHALL PLAN TO REBUILD EUROPE *amer-torun*

CAN DEVELOP ANOTHER TO REBUILD OUR NEIGHBORHOODS AND CRIME-  
RIDDEN CITIES.

*L* A COUNTRY THAT COULD RECONCILE ITS DIFFERENCES WITH WAR-TIME  
~~ENEMIES AND LONG-TIME RIVALS~~ *Security* CAN SUMMON THE DECENCY AND JUSTICE  
NECESSARY TO RECONCILE THE DIFFERENCES AMONG OUR *own* PEOPLE.

*h* OUR TASK IS RECONCILIATION, REBUILDING, AND REBIRTH.

OUR NATION WAS FOUNDED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF FAITH AND TRUST  
 IN THE PEOPLE. THE, "WE, THE PEOPLE..." OF OUR CONSTITUTION'S  
 PREAMBLE HAS TOO OFTEN BEEN FORGOTTEN BY THOSE WHO GOVERN. BUT  
 IT IS IN THE PEOPLE THAT OUR STRENGTH, <sup>yes</sup> MY STRENGTH, LIES.

WE MUST BRING INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF OUR SOCIETY THE ENERGIES,  
 TALENTS AND EXPERIENCE OF MILLIONS OF AMERICANS WHO HAVE BEEN  
 BARRED FROM FULL PARTICIPATION, OR FORGOTTEN, OR IGNORED, EITHER  
 BY LAW OR BY CUSTOM.

*Here are the reserves of  
our new vitality.*

AND I DO NOT SPEAK ALONE OF OUR NATIONAL AND RACIAL MINORITIES.

I speak of

who

THE WOMEN OF AMERICA HAVE RIGHTLY COME TO EXPECT AND DEMAND

FULL EQUALITY WITH MEN -- EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK; EQUAL ACCESS

TO THE PROFESSIONS; REMOVAL OF THE ARTIFICIAL BARRIERS THAT HAVE

BARRED THOSE WOMEN WHO SO DESIRE FROM FULL PARTICIPATION IN THE

INTELLECTUAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL LIFE OF OUR NATION HERE

AGAIN THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES MUST LEAD -- MUST PERSUADE

AND ENCOURAGE THE COMMUNITY AT LARGE TO CHANGE ITS WAYS OF THINKING

AND ACTING.

THE ELDERLY OF OUR NATION HAVE BEEN NEGLECTED, SHUNTED ASIDE --

THEIR EXPERIENCE AND WISDOM IGNORED. I PLEDGE MY ENERGIES TO

BRING THEM BACK INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF AMERICAN LIFE.



↳ TO THE YOUNG OF THIS NATION WE OWE A PARAMOUNT OBLIGATION --  
THE FULL OPPORTUNITY TO HELP STRENGTHEN THAT SENSE OF COMMUNITY  
WITHOUT WHICH WE CANNOT REBUILD OUR NATION.

THE YOUNG MUST BE FULL AND EFFECTIVE PARTNERS IN RESTORING THE  
PHYSICAL BEAUTY AND THE HUMAN VITALITY OF AMERICA -- IN FULFILLING  
JEFFERSON'S DREAM OF A PEOPLE UNITED IN FRIENDSHIP, COMPASSION,  
AND MUTUAL RESPECT.

~~JEFFERSON WAS A YOUNG MAN WHEN HE DRAFTED THE DECLARATION OF  
INDEPENDENCE, SOME CONSIDERED HIM RADICAL. BUT IN REALITY HE AND  
HIS FELLOWS WERE TRUE CONSERVATIVES -- FOR ABOVE ALL THEY WISHED  
TO CONSERVE THE FREEDOM AND LIBERTY OF THE INDIVIDUAL.~~

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L BUT EVEN AS WE CONSERVE THE VALUES OF THE PAST, OUR EYES  
 MUST BE SET ON THE FUTURE. L OUR CHALLENGE TODAY IS TO BE AS  
CREATIVE AND WISE AS THE MEN WHO MET HERE 200 YEARS AGO.

L OUR TIMES REQUIRE THE CAPACITY TO SOLVE PROBLEMS. L I LEARNED  
 EARLY IN MY PUBLIC CAREER THAT CONCERN IS NOT ENOUGH, OUTRAGE  
IS NOT ENOUGH, EVEN A GOOD IDEA IS NOT ENOUGH, CERTAINLY  
RHETORIC IS NOT ENOUGH. L AS MAYOR, AS SENATOR, AND AS VICE PRESIDENT,  
 I HAVE LEARNED TO TRANSLATE IDEAS AND IDEALS INTO ACTION.

L IT WAS NOT ENOUGH TO SPEAK AGAINST CRIME WHEN I WAS MAYOR  
 OF MINNEAPOLIS. L IT WAS NECESSARY TO TAKE ACTION, AND I PROVED

THAT A BIG CITY COULD BE ~~CLEANED UP~~

*have law and order and  
 justice,*

*medical & hospital care*

↳ IT WAS PERHAPS EASY TO TALK ABOUT ~~MEDICARE~~ FOR THE ELDERLY,  
 A YOUTH CONSERVATION CORPS FOR THE YOUNG, AND A PEACE CORPS, BUT  
 MY INITIATIVE AND ACTION WERE REQUIRED TO BRING ABOUT THE  
 LEGISLATION WHICH DID, IN FACT, CREATE MEDICARE, *a job*  
~~CONSERVATION CORPS~~ AND A PEACE CORPS.

↳ IT IS ALL VERY FINE TO SPEAK OF PEACE, BUT, I EARLY DECIDED  
 THAT TALK WOULD BE WASTED IF WE COULD NOT GET CONCRETE ACTION.

↳ AND I AM PROUD OF MY ROLE AS AN ARCHITECT OF THE FIRST TREATY  
 TO PREVENT THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

↳ IN MY YEARS OF GOVERNMENT EXPERIENCE I HAVE LEARNED ONE  
 OTHER ESSENTIAL FACT: WE MAY SUFFER AN OCCASIONAL DEFEAT, *We*

ALL DO.

↳ BUT WITH DETERMINATION AND FAITH, A MAN OR A NATION CAN  
GROW FROM DEFEAT. ↳ PERSISTENCE AND TENACITY ARE OLD AMERICAN  
VIRTUES. I WAS DEFEATED FOR MAYOR THE FIRST TIME I RAN FOR  
OFFICE -- BUT I WAS ELECTED THE SECOND TIME. I WAS DEFEATED  
FOR THE VICE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION THE FIRST TIME -- BUT I  
WAS LATER NOMINATED AND ELECTED. I WAS DEFEATED FOR THE  
PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION IN 1960 -- BUT I WAS NOMINATED IN 1968.

↳ I WAS DEFEATED IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1968.  
BUT I RETURN TO THE BATTLE DETERMINED TO DO MY BEST TO ACHIEVE  
VICTORY IN 1972.

WE AMERICANS HAVE GONE THROUGH MUCH OF THE SAME KINDS OF TRIAL AND ERROR, OF VICTORY AND DEFEAT, ~~TOGETHER~~ WE HAVE HAD

DISAPPOINTMENTS -- WE HAVE TAKEN SOME SEVERE BLOWS, ~~AND~~

*But I know*  
~~SEVERAL YEARS, BUT I KNOW~~ THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE DETERMINED TO

GET BACK ON OUR FEET, TO PUT OUR HOUSE IN ORDER, AND GET ~~TO~~ *work*

*and to get our country moving again.*  
~~COUNTRY MOVING AGAIN.~~

~~THOSE WHO WOULD LEAD THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MUST DEMONSTRATE A CAPACITY FOR ACHIEVEMENT, THAT SHOULD BE THE ESSENTIAL CRITERION, AND IT IS THAT JUDGMENT THAT I WOULD ASK FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.~~

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LET ME NOW CONCLUDE BY READING TO YOU FROM AN UNDELIVERED  
SPEECH OF A YOUNG PRESIDENT WHOSE PHILOSOPHY I SHARE, HE DID  
NOT LIVE TO SEE HIS COMMITMENTS FULFILLED, THE WORDS OF  
JOHN F. KENNEDY:

"FOR THIS IS A TIME FOR COURAGE AND A TIME FOR CHALLENGE,  
NEITHER CONFORMITY NOR COMPLACENCY WILL DO, NEITHER THE FANATICS  
NOR THE FAINT-HEARTED ARE NEEDED, AND OUR DUTY AS A PARTY IS  
NOT TO OUR PARTY ALONE, BUT TO THE NATION, AND INDEED, TO ALL  
MANKIND...

"... LET US NOT QUARREL AMONGST OURSELVES WHEN OUR NATION'S  
FUTURE IS AT STAKE. LET US STAND TOGETHER WITH RENEWED CONFIDENCE  
IN OUR CAUSE -- UNITED IN OUR HERITAGE OF THE PAST AND OUR HOPES  
FOR THE FUTURE -- AND DETERMINED THAT THIS LAND WE LOVE SHALL  
LEAD ALL MANKIND INTO NEW FRONTIERS OF PEACE AND ABUNDANCE."

WITH YOUR TRUST AND CONFIDENCE WE SHALL FULFILL THIS  
COMMITMENT AND ACHIEVE THESE GOALS.

THANK YOU.

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History will note the failures of the Nixon Administration and they will be the subject of this Presidential campaign. Regrettably, we cannot escape their consequences. What we do now, however, can help overcome them.

Let us face up to the realities of our present posture.

Our urgent immediate need is to end the war -- and to do it now. I served as the Vice President during the period of our heaviest involvement there. Yet when I spoke to the American people during my campaign for the Presidency in 1968, I said that my experience had led me to the conviction that however noble the intent of three Presidents who felt that our Vietnam involvement was essential to our national security, that position was no longer valid. I pledged in 1968 an end to the bombing, a cease-fire, and an immediate troop withdrawal program. I would have carried out that pledge.

It is taking Mr. Nixon longer to withdraw our troops than it took us to defeat Hitler. Had I been elected, we would now be out of that war. I repeat that pledge.

We must revitalize our economy and put our people to work.

We must create a respect for law and justice if we are to stop crime.

The attack on drug abuse which has taken on epidemic proportions must be given the highest priority.

A massive effort must begin to make our cities liveable, safe, and clean.

Farmers today are the victims of depression prices.



We must raise farm income. We must strengthen rural America so that its areas of poverty can become areas of beauty and economic opportunity.

Our air, lakes, and streams must be cleansed.

The fulfillment of the American dream requires that every American family has a decent home, food, health care and education.

These are difficult challenges, but to do less would be unworthy of us. To achieve these requires the energetic participation of government and the leadership and inspiration of a dedicated President.

Presidential delay, timidity, vetoes, divisiveness will not do the job. A total commitment is necessary, and it must be based on a supreme confidence in the American people and our institutions.

Even three years of sustained indifference and error on the part of an administration with limited vision and understanding cannot fundamentally damage the underlying health and vitality of this nation.

America is not sick! What we lack is leadership and vision. "Without vision," said Isaiah, "the people perish."

America needs renewed faith in itself. The fabric of America is strong and resilient. Our nation has withstood civil war. We received into our midst wave after wave of immigrants who ultimately added their richness of cultural diversity. We have weathered economic depression and vast natural disasters. And while the threads of our civilization and national unity are often stretched taut, they have held and are stronger for their testing.

A nation that could build arsenals of awesome weapons in the pursuit of military objectives can build the schools and the hospitals and the nurseries and the libraries necessary to enrich our lives.

A nation that developed a Marshall Plan to rebuild Europe can develop another to rebuild our neighborhoods and crime-ridden cities.

A country that could reconcile its differences with war-time enemies and long-time rivals can surmount the decency and justice necessary to reconcile the differences among our people.

Our task is reconciliation, rebuilding, and rebirth.

Our nation was founded on the principle of faith and trust in the people. The "We, the People..." of our Constitution's Preamble has too often been forgotten by those who govern. But it is in the people that our strength, my strength lies.

We must bring into the mainstream of our society the energies, talents and experience of millions of Americans who have been barred from full participation, or forgotten, or ignored, either by law or by custom.

And I do not speak alone of our national and racial minorities.

The women of America have rightly come to expect and demand full equality with men -- equal pay for equal work, equal access to the professions, removal of the artificial barriers that have barred those women who so desire from full participation in the intellectual, economic, and political life of our nation. Here again the President of the United States must lead -- must persuade and encourage the community at large to change its ways of thinking and acting.

The elderly of our nation have been neglected, shunted aside -- their experience and wisdom ignored. I pledge my energies to bring them back into the mainstream of American life.

To the young of this nation we owe a paramount obligation -- the full opportunity to help strengthen that sense of community without which we cannot rebuild our nation.

The young must be full and effective partners in restoring the physical beauty and the human vitality of America -- in fulfilling Jefferson's dream of a people united in friendship, compassion, and mutual respect.

Jefferson was a young man when he drafted the Declaration of Independence. Some considered him radical. But in reality he and his fellows were true conservatives -- for above all they wished to conserve the freedom and liberty of the individual.

But even as we conserve the values of the past, our eyes must be set on the future. Our challenge today is to be as creative and wise as the men who met here 200 years ago.

Our times require the capacity to solve problems. I learned early in my public career that concern is not enough, outrage is not enough. Even a good idea is not enough. Certainly rhetoric is not enough. As Mayor, as Senator, and as Vice President, I have learned to translate ideas and ideals into action.

It was not enough to speak against crime when I was Mayor of Minneapolis. It was necessary to take action, and I proved that a big city could be cleaned up.

It was perhaps easy to talk about Medicare for the elderly, a Youth Conservation Corps for the young and a Peace Corps, but my initiative and action were required to bring about the legislation which did, in fact, create Medicare, a Youth Conservation Corps and a Peace Corps.

It is all very fine to speak of peace. But I early decided that talk would be wasted if we could not get concrete action, and I am proud of my role as an architect of the first treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

In my years of government experience I have learned one other essential fact: we may suffer an occasional defeat. We all do.

But with determination and faith, a man or a nation can grow from defeat. Persistence and tenacity are old American virtues. I was defeated for Mayor the first time I ran for office -- but I was elected the second time. I was defeated for the Vice Presidential nomination the first time -- but I was later nominated and elected. I was defeated for the Presidential nomination in 1960 -- but I was nominated in 1968.

I was defeated in the Presidential election of 1968. But I return to the battle determined to do my best to achieve victory in 1972.

We Americans have gone through much of the same kinds of trial and error, of victory and defeat, together. We have had disappointments -- we have taken some severe blows in the last several years. But I know we, the American people, are determined to get back on our feet, to put our house in order, and get our country moving again.

Those who would lead the American people must demonstrate a capacity for achievement. That should be the essential criterion, and it is that judgment that I would ask from the American people.

Let me now conclude by reading to you from an undelivered speech of a young President whose philosophy I share. He did not live to see his commitments fulfilled. The words of John F. Kennedy:

"For this is a time for courage and a time for challenge. Neither conformity nor complacency will do. Neither the fanatics nor the faint-hearted are needed. And our duty as a Party is not to our Party alone, but to the nation, and indeed, to all mankind...

"... Let us not quarrel amongst ourselves when our nation's future is at stake. Let us stand together with renewed confidence in our cause -- united in our heritage of the past and our hopes for the future -- and determined that this land we love shall lead all mankind into new frontiers of peace and abundance."

With your trust and confidence we shall fulfill this commitment and achieve these goals.

Thank you.

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