

FOR RELEASE: SATURDAY AM's  
June 22, 1968

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
LEGISLATIVE FUND RAISING DINNER  
MINNESOTA DEMOCRATIC FARMER LABOR PARTY  
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA JUNE 21, 1968

Tonight I want to talk about the times we live in.

I want to talk about the challenge that will face our nation on January 20, 1968 -- and in the years thereafter.

That day the next President of the United States will find himself facing a new period in history -- a period in which all the old premises. . .the old policies . . .all the old ways of doing things are in question.

He will face not only a new world map -- but a world containing dozens of countries and millions of people who have, until now, almost literally lived outside history.

He will face what modern communication and technology have wrought -- namely, a highly sensitized, "in touch" and impatient family of people and nations who will no longer accept the status quo when it means hunger . . .injustice . . .lack of participation . . .subjugation of one man by another.

No continent or country will be immune from this rising tide. We see it now. And we see it right here in America.

It isn't just in Africa, Asia, and Latin America that there is a revolution of rising expectations. It is happening here, too.

Will we be able to cope with it?

I think we will be able to -- if we face clearly up to the nature of what lies ahead.

The next President of the United States will confront nothing less than the need to re-examine -- and to change, where necessary -- our national priorities, . . . the allocation of our resources . . . even the structures and framework in which we conduct the business of this country.

If America has stood for anything in its history, it has stood for the future.

Now it surely must.

For all the doctrinaire arguments about yesterdays -- or even rightful pride in recent accomplishments -- will mean very little against the challenge of the next decade or the year 2000.

\* \* \*

What is on our national agenda?

First of all, we must come face to face with ourselves -- with our shortcomings, but also with our assets.

From this self-confrontation, I believe we can develop a new social morality -- a morality that will no longer tolerate racial discrimination in democracy . . . hunger in the midst of plenty . . . or joblessness and under-employment in a prosperous society.

We see the beginnings of that new morality now. We see it in the progress that has been made -- and accepted -- by the people over these past seven years.

We see it in the concern that now fills this country over injustice and inequality that were taken for granted all too long.

How can we serve this new morality? I believe we can do so by dedicating ourselves -- and acting on that dedication -- to the overwhelming needs of the future.

I see those needs, first and foremost, as the relaxation of tensions . . . reconciliation . . . and peaceful development. That goes for the world, it goes for our own country.

If there is any single thing happening in the world today, it is the demand of ordinary people that their leaders put first things first.

And that means the placing of national priorities and resources against the problems that keep ordinary people from living a freer, more rewarding existence.

So-called civilized society has been around for a long time now.

But it will never be truly civilized until nations, and people, stop building fences . . . stop stocking weapons . . . stop settling their disputes by force.

We have to get down to the hard work -- right now with the Soviet Union, and in the future, with Communist China -- of reducing the tensions that increasingly take our resources for the wrong things.

I have talked to Prime Minister Kosygin about this. Given a change in the international atmosphere, I would hope to do the same with some future Chinese leader. I have talked about this, too, with the leaders of our Western allies. We have to get on with it.

And we have to do the same thing right here in America -- I mean getting down to the things that really count.

I reject the idea that we have to be two nations, black and white . . . or two nations, north and south . . . or two nations, rich and poor.

No responsible person wants that.

There is a vast, silent group of Americans -- a majority of many millions -- that wants to make this country work . . . that wants safety and equal rights for everyone . . . that bears no ill will against other Americans.

I think this Silent America -- an America still unaroused -- can be aroused.

I mean to try. That is why I went to the Poor Peoples March earlier this week -- and I am sure it is why Gene McCarthy went to the Poor Peoples March: To build bridges . . . to show fortunate Americans that many of the claims of the poor are legitimate . . . and to show them that they are not shut off from the leadership of this nation . . . that the democratic system can work.

Those are the overwhelming priorities of today -- and certainly of January 1968: To pull this country together, and then to see if we can't pull the world a little closer to sanity and peace.

\* \* \*

Now there are specifics in this: I think we know what they are.

In the world at large we have to slow down the arms race.

We have to get to the table as soon as possible with the Soviet Union to talk about mutual reduction of both offensive and defensive weapons.

With our allies, we need to talk to the Soviet Union and her allies about a mutual thin-out of troops in Central Europe.

We need to actively build bridges to Communist China -- to do our best to break the Chinese people out of their unhealthy isolation.

Once Vietnam is over -- and if we have the courage to see these discussions in Paris through, I think it can be over -- the nations of Southeast Asia can get down to the work of peaceful development, without regard to ideology. I think we should help.

We must set as a high priority the closing of the gap between rich and poor nations -- a gap that is growing larger every day, and one that I believe is far more a threat to our ultimate security than any other, with the possible exception of the arms race itself.

We can get on, too, with the work of building better peace-keeping machinery in the United Nations and in regional organizations so that the United States will not find itself standing alone as world policeman. We do not have that role now. But it is a danger, unless international machinery can be built to help prevent it.

Here at home, we can get on with the business that every one of us wants to see done.



If we can generate the public support for it, we can use the resources being used in Vietnam and put them to work for human life in America.

First of all, we can bring both security and opportunity to the people of this country -- not one without the other, but both.

I submit that the recommendations of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders are right, and that they should be carried out.

I submit that those proposals of the Poor Peoples Campaign relating to food, jobs and human dignity are reasonable, and need action.

There is no reason in America -- with unequalled wealth and agricultural productivity -- for anyone to go hungry. It is immoral to allow some children to suffer from malnutrition while others in America are concerned about the dangers of overeating.

We should have food stamps and commodity distribution programs in every low-income American county by July 1.

We must look to the full meaning of civil rights.

We must recognize the civil right of every American to earn a living -- to work and earn.

I don't believe that anyone wants a welfare check or a hand-out.

I believe people want the dignity and the self-respect that comes from an honest job.

I believe it is our responsibility to help everyone who wants a job to have that job. I think the private sector can come up with the jobs. I also believe the government must do whatever is necessary to back that effort up with financing or subsidy.

We must provide the civil right to a full education for every American -- from age four through college -- and the civil right to grow up in a decent home and neighborhood.

We must, once and for all, devote ourselves to the reinvigoration and renewal of our urban environment through a new Marshall Plan for the American city.

And at the same time we can help build a rural America where people can and will be able to earn a living, and to live a satisfying life, rather than being thrown unprepared into the alien environment of the urban slum.

\* \* \* \* \*

Those are big goals.

They will require big commitments -- commitments in money; commitments in determination by federal, state and local government...by the free institutions of this country...by every single person.

I am betting my personal future that the American people are ready, and willing, to do this.

And I am betting my future that they will reject the opposition party's appeal -- and it is already beginning -- to nostalgia...to escapism...to wishfulness and inaction.

Eight years from now this country will celebrate its 200th birthday.

By then, this nation can be torn...divided...withdrawing within itself and from the outside world.

Or it can be open.

It can be safe.

It can be free.

It can be filled with opportunity -- for every single citizen.

I think we can do that. I think we can build that kind of country.

We can do it if those of us who believe in political action will dedicate ourselves to it.

This nation has the resources.

This nation has the money.

This nation has the strength.

This nation has the power to do whatever it needs to do. The only question is the question of our will. I mean to summon that will. I ask your help.

# # # # #

✓ Mrs Joseph  
✓ Betty Kane

Warren Spannus

✓ Mondale } Fred Cline  
✓ Blatnick } Carl  
✓ Fraser } Gutman

✓ Paul  
Rasmussen  
✓ Joe Donora

Legislature

Democrat

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

LEGISLATIVE FUND RAISING DINNER

MINNESOTA DEMOCRATIC FARMER LABOR PARTY

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

JUNE 21, 1968

ⓧ This is kind of Country  
where any boy can  
grow up to be V.P. -  
Just a chance you  
have to take

Escalation  
from V.P. to Pres.

⌞ Tonight I want to talk about the times we live in.

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on January 20, 1968 -- and in the years thereafter.

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himself facing a new period in history -- a period in which all the  
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MMH.

ⓧ 25<sup>00</sup> - ticket  
Burgin Press

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Now it surely must.

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Relax Tensions

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Top  
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*Law and Order - Justice and Opportunity*  
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~~the inaction~~



Eight years from now this country will celebrate its  
200th birthday.

By then, this nation can be torn ... divided ... ~~without drawing~~ *weary and*  
~~destined~~ *destined* within itself and from the outside world.

Or it can be open, safe, free, and united.

~~It can be safe.~~

~~It can be free.~~

It can be filled with opportunity -- for every single citizen.

~~I think we can do that.~~ *Believe* I ~~think~~ we can build that kind of  
country.

We can do it if those of us who believe in political action will  
dedicate ourselves to it.

This nation has the resources.

This nation has the ~~manpower~~ *manpower*.

This nation has the strength.

This nation has the ~~power~~ *strength* to do whatever it needs to do.

The only question is the question of our will.

I mean to summon that will.

I ask your help.

Carl Sandburg:

"I see America, not in the setting  
sun of a black night of despair ahead of us."

∟ I see America in the crimson light of  
a rising sun fresh from the burning,  
creative hand of God. ∟ I see great days  
ahead, great days possible to men and  
women of will and vision."

ORIGINAL

1

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

LEGISLATIVE FUND RAISING DINNER

MINNESOTA DEMOCRATIC FARMER LABOR PARTY

at

St. Paul, Minnesota

June 21, 1968

(Introduction by Warren Spannaus, DFL Chairman  
for the State of Minnesota.)

Vice President Hubert Humphrey has, of course,  
many great qualities and he has shared them fully with  
this party for twenty-five years as party builder, as  
Mayor of Minneapolis, as Senator from Minnesota and the  
Vice President. Those that have been beside of him know  
that he is the doer, and the tradition that the Humphrey  
office gets things done is legendary. We all know that,  
but even more important, we must remember that from his  
mind and from his imagination have come the great creed of  
ideas of liberal American politics of these last two  
decades. (Applause) Civil rights, test ban treaty,  
Medicare, Peace Corps, just to name a few. They have  
finally been passed into law because of his great

1       parlimentary skill and his inexhaustable patience, but  
2       we must remember that even with these skills and these  
3       talents, they were, first of all, ideas that came from  
4       the heart and mind of Hubert Humphrey.

5               I think Eleanor Roosevelt said it best, and it  
6       has been repeated many times, but she said, "Hubert  
7       Humphrey has that spark of greatness," and so I introduce  
8       to you now Hubert Humphrey, Vice President of the United  
9       States. (Standing ovation)

10  
11               - - -

12  
13              Thank you very much, Chairman Spannaus. As I  
14       was listening to you introduce me, I wasn't sure whether  
15       you were going to get that much of a rousing ovation out  
16       of this audience or not, but you do send them, I must  
17       confess. I want to thank you for your kind remarks, your  
18       generous praise, all of which your Vice President is  
19       deeply, very deeply, appreciative.

20              I have been told that my successor to my seat in  
21       the United States Senate, Senator Mondale, received a  
22       stupendous, thunderous, rousing ovation. He deserves it,  
23       I just wanted you to know. (Applause) And I know that my  
24       former colleague in the United States Senate and the  
25       Senior Senator from the State of Minnesota, the gentleman

1 that seeks the highest office of this land, also received  
2 a wonderful ovation from you, and he deserves it,  
3 (Applause) and there are people all through this auditorium  
4 tonight, party leaders, public officials, that are so  
5 deserving of the thanks and the appreciation of all of  
6 us, that I trust that when this dinner is over tonight,  
7 we will all salute them. We are appreciative in our praise  
8 for their great service, but let me first of all just  
9 salute the Dean of the Minnesota Congressional Delegation.

10 I have been his partner in government for years,  
11 the youngest member of the Minnesota State Senate, on his  
12 rise to political fame, and today, may I say, one of the  
13 most active and one of the most youthful in spirit and one  
14 of the most hard working members of the Congress of the  
15 United States, and our National Committeeman, and a great  
16 fellow, Johnny Blatnik. Johnny, it is great to see you.  
17 (Applause) Just one thing, I want the friends that have  
18 come here from other parts of America to know that whenever  
19 the rest of us are running for office in Minnesota, the  
20 one thing we all do is call up to find out, how is John  
21 Blatnik doing up in the Eighth, because if he gets about  
22 25,000 more votes than anybody else gets, we generally get  
23 elected. John, I want to thank you for all the times you  
24 have helped elect all of us. You have been a great source  
25 of help. (Applause)



1 Over to my right, venturing here into strange  
2 territory far away from his congressional district,  
3 in this hostile environment, since he does come from  
4 Minneapolis, is a gentleman that has already carved out  
5 for himself a place of greatness and a place of competence  
6 and great ability and integrity in public service and I am  
7 proud to have his friendship from the earliest days, from  
8 his first interest in politics, proud that he is here tonight  
9 to represent the Minnesota Fifth Congressional District,  
10 and that is Don Fraser. (Applause)

11 We miss our friend, Joe Karth. I would be remiss,  
12 however, if I didn't pay my respects to him, representing  
13 this district, this great Minnesota Fourth Congressional  
14 District.

15 Now, may I pay my respects to the two mayors,  
16 the mayor, first, of St. Paul. I always have to be careful  
17 when I come to St. Paul, Mayor Byrne. (Applause)  
18 And, by the way, a proclaimed Democrat reelected with the  
19 great majority of this great Democratic City of St. Paul.  
20 Mayor Byrne, delighted, congratulations. (Applause)

21 Over here on the other side is the Mayor of  
22 Minneapolis who just goes on winning, winning and winning.  
23 Of course, I gave him good instruction as a young man.  
24 Our good friend, distinguished Mayor of Minneapolis,  
25 Arthur Naftalin, another Democrat. (Applause)

1           And we have with us our State officeholders who  
2 are on the ballot this year. We wouldn't want to ever  
3 forget them. The public won't. They will reelect them.  
4 Paul Rasmussen of the Railroad and Warehouse Commission  
5 and Joe Donovan, our distinguished Secretary of State.  
6 Joe, Paul, I always feel better when I see the two of you.  
7 You just make us proud of your public service.

8           Then, in our Legislature, representing the  
9 legislators here tonight, down here on this end of the  
10 table, the tireless, the indefatigable, the liberal, the  
11 capable leader of the minority only temporarily in the  
12 House of Representatives, Fred Cina. (Applause)

13           Way down here, just preparing to take over one  
14 of these days, but can't this time because the Senate seats  
15 are not up, is the distinguished minority leader of the  
16 State Senate of the State of Minnesota, a stalwart in  
17 progressive government, my longtime friend, and he will  
18 be the majority leader if we Democrats and if we DFLers  
19 stick together, Karl Grittner. (Applause)

20           I could go down to our Party office, but I just  
21 want to share a couple of thoughts with you. I want to  
22 let you in on a secret. The next President of the  
23 United States is going to be a Democrat from the State of  
24 Minnesota. (Applause) And whoever he is, I am going to  
25 support him. (Applause)



1           If you want some private advice who I think it  
2 will be, come see me after the meeting. (Applause)  
3 In the meantime, stick with your man, do your job, but  
4 just remember this, what is wrong with this country isn't  
5 because of the Democrats. What you need to do with this  
6 country is to make sure that the Republicans don't take  
7 over the White House in November and next January. (Applause)

8           I think we Democrats have been working each other  
9 over about long enough. I suggest that we start tonight  
10 at least for the State of Minnesota since we have already  
11 had our preliminaries, since we already have a good idea  
12 where we all stand, I suggest that we give a one-two punch  
13 to any Republican that comes within these precincts and let  
14 him know that this is going to be a Democratic state come  
15 next November and the election, and we are going to  
16 cast our votes for a Democratic president who will be  
17 elected and go to office in 1969. (Applause)

18          Now, may I just make an observation or two about  
19 my job. Somebody once said this is the kind of a country  
20 where any poor boy can grow up to be Vice President, it is  
21 just one of the chances he has to take, and it was one  
22 of the chances that I did take. I have often been accused  
23 for being for escalation. I am. From Vice President to  
24 President. That is the kind of escalation I believe in.  
25 (Applause)

1 I have often been accused of being somewhat  
2 partisan. I am. First of all, I am partisan for this  
3 country. I am partisan for the greatest nation on the face  
4 of the earth and I am partisan for the political party that  
5 has helped make it the greatest nation on the face of the  
6 earth, the Democratic Party. (Applause)

7 I want to see this State of Minnesota get its  
8 legislature back in shape. My goodness, with higher  
9 education, we ought to know how to vote. We spend hundreds  
10 of millions of dollars teaching, training, educating our  
11 citizenry. I think there is just one little mistake; we  
12 haven't taken our political message to enough of our people  
13 and I believe that the purpose of this dinner tonight,  
14 Chairman Spannaus, is to get the money that is necessary to  
15 back up our legislative candidates so that they can go on  
16 and compete with their Republican opponents and gain a  
17 victory in November, and thank goodness that you are here.  
18 (Applause)

19 By the way, what a deal you got. You know that if  
20 you had put on the Humphrey-McCarthy show in New York,  
21 we could sell these tickets at a thousand dollars a lick.  
22 Why, you got the best for \$25 and I will bet some of you  
23 even got in free. If you did, will you please leave your  
24 contribution at the door. Oh, well, I guess we have always  
25 been for the poor. We are happy that you are here.

1 Now, I want to be serious with you about many  
2 things tonight, but before I do that, I want to tell you  
3 one of the main reasons that I ought to be elected and that  
4 I ought to have your help, your support, you don't only want  
5 a President, you want to have a First Lady, and I would like  
6 to present my First Lady and hopefully your First Lady,  
7 Muriel Humphrey. (Applause, standing ovation)

8 We know what most of the people say out in  
9 Minnesota, they say, "Well, we get mad at Vice President  
10 Humphrey quite often but we can always forgive him because  
11 of Muriel." That is a good habit. Stick with it.  
12 (Laughter)

13 Tonight, I want to share with you my thoughts on  
14 the times in which we live. Not to reflect on the past,  
15 but to perceive the future. I want to talk to this  
16 audience of issue-oriented DFLers, of deeply concerned  
17 Americans, about the challenge that we will face as a  
18 nation on January 20th, 1968, on January 20th, 1969, and  
19 the years thereafter. That day the next President of the  
20 United States will find himself facing a new period of  
21 history, a period in which all of the old premises, many  
22 of the old policies, and many of the old ways of doing  
23 things, will be brought into question. Some people say it  
24 is a period of change. That is really not a very hard  
25 observation to make.



1           The question is, what kind of change will we  
2 have. Will it be changed for the better or will it be  
3 changed for the worse? We have had to face this question  
4 many times before.

5           They asked for change in 1952, and it wasn't  
6 changed for the better. America turned away from the  
7 noble, inspired leadership of Adlai Stevenson to elect  
8 the 83rd Congress of the United States and a Republican  
9 administration, and America did not come to grips with the  
10 reality of that time. America rested on its victories of  
11 other days.

12           In January, 1969, only a few months from now,  
13 whoever is that new President will face not only a new map  
14 of the world, but a world containing dozens of new nations  
15 and millions and millions of people who have, up until very  
16 recently, almost literally been shoved outside of the pages  
17 of history, people that were unknown and often forgotten,  
18 but today restless and demanding.

19           That new President will face what modern  
20 communication and technology have brought us; namely, a  
21 highly sensitized, in touch and impatient people, a  
22 family of people, of nations, who will no longer accept  
23 the status quo when the status quo means more hunger,  
24 continuing injustices, lack of participation or subjugation  
25 of one man by another, and, my fellow Americans, no

1 continent or country will be immune from this rising tide  
2 that I speak of.

3 We see it now even in our own midst right here  
4 in America. It isn't just in Africa and Latin America and  
5 Asia where there is a revolution of rising expectations,  
6 it is here in St. Paul, it is there in Minneapolis, it is  
7 across the entire spans of this State and this nation.  
8 People want to be heard. They want to participate in  
9 processes of this Democracy, and they want to share in its  
10 benefits. There is a new day which requires new leader-  
11 ship and new administration. (Applause)

12 Now, the next President of the United States will  
13 confront nothing less than the need to reexamine and to  
14 dare to change where necessary our national priorities,  
15 the allocation of our resources, even the structures and  
16 the framework under which we conduct the business of this  
17 country. He must be innovating. He must be daring and  
18 at the same time he must be prudent. That is the  
19 responsibility the next man will have who guides the  
20 destiny of this land.

21 Now, if America has stood for anything in its  
22 history, and it has stood for much, this America of ours  
23 has stood for the future. It has represented, as Lincoln  
24 put it, the last best hope of earth. It is not a tired  
25 nation or a sick one. It is a restless nation that has not

1 lost its way, but is finding its way, and I remind all in  
2 the sound and the reach of my voice that all the  
3 doctrinaire arguments about yesterdays, or even our rightful  
4 and just pride in recent accomplishments, and I have that  
5 pride, will mean very, very little against the challenge  
6 of the next decade and this last third of the twentieth  
7 century.

8 These are new times that require new things, new  
9 days that require new ideas, new challenges that require  
10 new leadership, and, my fellow Americans, we dare not let  
11 this country down. We cannot turn back. We have but one  
12 way to go, forward, forward, forward under Democratic  
13 leadership. (Applause)

14 Now, what is on our national agenda? What is it  
15 that we seek to do?

16 Well, the first thing I suggest that we do is to  
17 come face to face with ourselves. Ask ourselves about our  
18 own shortcomings and also take an inventory of our own  
19 assets; not to do so in fear, but in integrity and in  
20 strength, and I believe that from this self examination,  
21 this self confrontation, I believe that we can develop a  
22 new social morality, a morality that will no longer tolerate  
23 racial discrimination in a democracy, hunger amongst  
24 the plenty, joblessness and underemployment in a prosperous  
25 society.



1           The new morality calls for us to do much better  
2           than that, and I ask your help. (Applause) We see the  
3           beginnings of this new morality. We see it in the progress  
4           that has already been made and accepted by the people  
5           over the past seven years. That new morality had its  
6           beginning when John Kennedy said, "Let us begin, let us  
7           get this country moving again."

8           That new morality has had its continuity in these  
9           recent years when President Johnson has said, "Let us  
10          continue, let us tackle the problems that confront our  
11          people." It is a morality that needs continued infusion  
12          of new spirit and new vitality. We see it in the concern  
13          that now fills our country over injustice and inequality.

14          How can we serve this new morality? Well, I  
15          would believe we can do so best by dedicating ourselves  
16          to it and acting on that dedication, making it our  
17          personal business to be concerned about the injustices, the  
18          inadequacies, the difficulties and the problems that  
19          confront us and then to translate that concern into a new  
20          source of strength and inspiration to overcome those  
21          problems, those injustices and those inequities; yes,  
22          if you please, righting the unrightable wrong, doing what  
23          needs to be done, doing the impossible.

24          Now, I see those needs, first and foremost, the  
25          highest priority on my agenda, as the relaxation of



1 tensions, national tensions, international tensions;  
2 reconciliation of our people as peaceful development. This  
3 goes for the world and it goes for our country. If there  
4 is any single thing happening in the world today, it is  
5 the demand of ordinary people that their leaders put first  
6 things first, and that means the placing of national  
7 priorities and resources against the problems that keep  
8 ordinary people from living a freer and more rewarding  
9 existence. So-called civilized society has been around  
10 a long time. Our young study it in their books. But I  
11 will submit that it will never be a truly civilized  
12 world until nations and people stop building fences to  
13 separate themselves, stop stocking up weapons of mass  
14 destruction, to isolate themselves and stop trying to  
15 settle their disputes by force and violence which destroys  
16 themselves. (Applause)

17 We have got to get down to some hard work. It  
18 isn't good enough to have a good idea. A good idea must  
19 also have a follow through. A good idea not used is no  
20 idea. A good idea put to work is progress. Well, let's  
21 get to work right now, for example, the international  
22 scene, with the Soviet Union and in the future with  
23 Communist China, of reducing tensions that increasingly  
24 take our resources and their resources for the wrong  
25 things.

1 I have talked within the past two years to the  
2 Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Kosygin, about  
3 this very thing, and I would hope to do the same thing at  
4 some future date, unafraid, carrying the message of this  
5 country and its high purpose, to some future Chinese  
6 leader. I have talked about this, too, with the leaders  
7 of our Western allies, and I submit that what I have said,  
8 we have to get on with. This is the important business  
9 of our time, preventing the holocaust, preventing  
10 Armageddon, preventing mankind from destroying himself with  
11 the weapons that he has made of destruction, and calling  
12 upon mankind with this new morality to use this science  
13 and this technology and all that he has for the betterment  
14 of humanity, for the enrichment of the human spirit, and  
15 for the improvement of our environment. It can be done,  
16 if we will it. I submit that we have to do the same thing  
17 right here in America and I mean getting down to things  
18 that count.

19 I reject the idea that we have to be two societies,  
20 black and white, or two societies, north and south, or two  
21 societies, rich and poor. I accept the idea that we can  
22 be one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and  
23 justice for all, and I reject the idea that we must be  
24 two separate societies, two societies separate and unequal.  
25 America was never intended for that, and this generation,

1 this young generation of Americans, can do nothing greater  
2 for this land than to see that the wounds of yesterday are  
3 healed, to see that the divisions of yesterday are put  
4 aside and to see that at long last people of every race,  
5 color and creed from every region of the United States  
6 as one people -- the people of these United States of  
7 America. That is what America is for. (Applause)

8 There is a vast, silent group of Americans,  
9 and they are the vast majority of many millions, that wants  
10 to make this country work for these high purposes, that  
11 wants safety and equal rights, that wants civil order and  
12 civil justice, that wants law enforcement and social  
13 progress, and this vast majority bears no hate, no ill will  
14 against other Americans. I ask that we appeal to their  
15 conscience, that we appeal to their good will. I think  
16 this silent America can be aroused and I mean to try to  
17 arouse it for the good purposes of this country. (Applause)

18 That is why I went to the Poor People's March  
19 earlier this week, and I am sure that is why Senator  
20 Eugene McCarthy went to the Poor People's March. He went  
21 there. (Applause) Yes, indeed, he went there as I did,  
22 to build the bridges of understanding, to show the  
23 fortunate Americans that viewed that on television, that  
24 many of the claims of the poor are legitimate, and to show  
25 them that they are not shut off, to show these deprived



1 people that they are not shut off from the leadership of  
2 this nation, to show them that the democratic system  
3 cares, that this is a government with a heart, and that our  
4 democracy can and will work for their benefit as well as  
5 yours and mine. (Applause)

6 These, then, are the overwhelming priorities of  
7 today. Certainly they will be the overwhelming priorities  
8 of next year, to pull this country together, to draw of  
9 its best, to ask people to give of their best, and then to  
10 see if we can't pull the world a little closer to sanity  
11 and to peace.

12 Now, what are the specifics, because I have given  
13 you some, and some generalities, but I think we know what  
14 the specifics are. In the world at large, we have to slow  
15 down the arms race. We have to get at the table as soon  
16 as possible with the Soviet Union to talk about the  
17 mutual reduction of both offensive and defensive weapons.  
18 That is a specific for the next President of the United  
19 States. (Applause)

20 And with our allies, we need to talk to the Soviet  
21 Union and her allies about a mutual thinning-out of troops  
22 throughout western and eastern Europe, something that will  
23 lead, that will not jeopardize their security or ours, but  
24 something that can release millions and millions of dollars  
25 and hundreds of thousands of men for the works of peace and

1 reconstruction there and here. That is on the agenda  
2 of the next President of the United States. (Applause)

3 We need to dare -- we need to dare to actively  
4 build bridges of cultural exchanges and of commerce and  
5 trade to one of the great land masses of this earth,  
6 Communist China and her hundreds of millions of people,  
7 and to do our level best to break the Chinese people out  
8 of their unhealthy isolation; not to isolate that part of  
9 the world, but to engage it and hopefully to bring to it  
10 some semblance of understanding and sanity about the  
11 relationships between nations and peoples. This is on the  
12 agenda of the next President of the United States. (Applause)

13 Once this tragic war is over (applause), every  
14 sane, decent man or woman prays that it will be over -- if  
15 we have the courage to see these discussions in Paris  
16 through, if we have the patience, we have the perseverance,  
17 I think that we can find the path to peace, and I am  
18 asking as a private citizen and as a public official that  
19 we have the same willingness to sacrifice at the conference  
20 table for the cause of peace that we have been willing to  
21 sacrifice on the battlefield to get us to that conference  
22 table for the cause of peace. (Applause)

23 Let there be a clearing of the atmosphere. No  
24 responsible official in your government, or the critics  
25 of that government, have ever suggested that the answer to

1 the problems in Southeast Asia would come through a military  
2 solution. These are political problems. They are  
3 social problems and they will come with a political  
4 solution at the conference table, and we know it.

5 (Applause)

6 Well, once it is over, and it will be over, the  
7 nations of Southeast Asia can now get down to the work of  
8 peaceful development, of nation building. I think that they  
9 should. I think that they will, and I think we should help  
10 them and we must set this high up on priority on closing  
11 the gap on the rich and the poor, a gap that is growing  
12 larger every day and threatens the peace of this world.  
13 We can get onto the work of building better peacekeeping  
14 machinery in the United Nations and in regional organiza-  
15 tions so that the United States will not find itself  
16 standing alone as a world policeman. (Applause)

17 We do not want that role and it must never be ours.  
18 But it would be a danger unless international machinery can  
19 be built to prevent it.

20 I call upon the academic community of America, I  
21 call upon the intellectuals of America, to help design for  
22 us these sophisticated tools of peace just as the scientists  
23 have been called upon to design the sophisticated weapons of  
24 war, put some balance into America, my friends, concentrate  
25 your attention on the positive. (Applause)



1           Now, if we can generate public support for it,  
2           and that is the purpose of this meeting, we can use the  
3           resources now being used in Viet Nam and put them to work  
4           for human life in America and elsewhere in the world; but,  
5           mark my words, unless you will it, unless you vote it,  
6           unless you send the people to the next Congress of the  
7           United States, and unless you elect a President that is  
8           going to look ahead rather than look back, that is going to  
9           be willing to invest our resources rather than to let them  
10          lie idle, we will do once again what we did after Korea,  
11          waste the peace, waste it only to find America and the rest  
12          of the world in greater and greater trouble.

13           I call upon my young friends in the Democratic  
14          Farmer Labor Party to think now constructively of how will  
15          you use the peace that you have worked for, that you have  
16          asked for, that you petitioned for, that you protested for;  
17          how will you use it to build America, to rebuild its cities,  
18          to help its people? How will you do it? (Applause)

19           Let me give you a few suggestions. First of all,  
20          we can bring both security and opportunity to the people of  
21          this country. We can bring law and order, justice and  
22          opportunity, but we can't do one without the other. I  
23          submit that the recommendations of the President's Commission  
24          on Civil Disorders are right and that they should be put to  
25          work and carried out, and I submit to you that whoever is the

1 next President of the United States and whoever is next  
2 in the Congress of the United States, and the people who  
3 serve as State and local government, have a solemn  
4 responsibility to take a look at those recommendations  
5 and put them to work for the people of America. (Applause)

6 I submit that the proposals of the Poor People's  
7 Campaign relating to food and jobs and housing and human  
8 dignity, regardless of what you may think of their demonstra-  
9 tion, I submit that those proposals are reasonable and I  
10 submit that they need action by the government of the  
11 United States and the people of the United States. (Applause)

12 There is no reason in America for anyone to be  
13 hungry, particularly when many of our people are worried  
14 about overeating. What a tragedy and what an appalling act  
15 to allow some children to suffer from malnutrition while  
16 others are taking diet pills. You can't justify it. We  
17 can have the Food Stamp Programs and the Commodity Distribution  
18 Programs if you will give us the people to enact them, if  
19 you will give us the help that we need; not only now, but in  
20 the months ahead. We must recognize the new civil rights of  
21 every American to earn -- I repeat, to earn a living, to work  
22 and earn. I don't believe that many people want relief checks  
23 and handouts. I believe that most people want the dignity  
24 and the self respect that comes from a decent job that is  
25 there where they are earning their own way. (Applause)



1 I believe that it is our responsibility, yours  
2 and mine, the people and the government, business and  
3 government, to help everyone who wants jobs, who seeks to  
4 put his energy to work, to see to it that he has that  
5 chance. Every American is entitled to contribute to the  
6 resource, development and the wealth of this nation.

7 We must provide another civil right to a full  
8 education for every American, not just some, every American  
9 from age four through college, technical schools. That will  
10 be on the agenda of the next President and the next Congress.  
11 And we must provide that additional civil right which long  
12 ago was promised in law by your government, the right to a  
13 decent home, the right to a safe and decent neighborhood.  
14 I say to this audience what I have said to hundreds of  
15 others, any nation that has the resources, the knowhow to  
16 put a man on the moon, and we shall do it within this next  
17 decade, ought to also measure the standard of our performance  
18 by being able to put a man on his feet right here on earth.  
19 (Applause)

20 Yesterday, in Washington, D.C., I called upon this  
21 country to prepare itself, and upon the next Congress to  
22 prepare itself, and the next President of the United States  
23 to prepare himself, to present to the American people a  
24 Marshal Plan of development for urban America, to rebuild  
25 our cities, to make them liveable for the best people on the

1 face of the earth, the American people. (Applause)

2 Well, I am betting my personal future that the  
3 American people are ready and willing to do everything that  
4 I mentioned tonight, and I am betting my future that these  
5 same American people will reject the opposition party's  
6 appeal, that appeal to the good old days of the past, which  
7 they never knew, that appeal to escapism, that appeal to  
8 wishful thinking and inaction. Eight years from now this  
9 country will celebrate its 200th anniversary, 1976. By  
10 then, this nation can be torn, divided, weary and isolated  
11 from the outside world, or this America can be open, safe,  
12 free, progressing and united. That decision is in our  
13 hands. The tools are here for us to do the job.

14 This America can be filled with opportunity for  
15 every single citizen. I call upon the American people to  
16 join me in this adventure in opportunity for tomorrow.  
17 We can do it if those who believe in political action will  
18 dedicate themselves to it. We know this nation has the  
19 resources. We know this nation has the technology. We know  
20 this nation has the strength and the capacity. We need to  
21 know, and the world needs to know, that we have the will.

22 I call to your attention as I leave you tonight,  
23 the challenge of the great American poet of our twentieth  
24 century, Carl Sandberg, who seemed to sense more than any  
25 man that I know the spirit that is America, and he speaks for

1 me tonight, and I think he speaks for you, and if you call  
2 yourselves liberal, progressive, forward looking, if you  
3 call yourselves Americans, then you ought to embrace these  
4 words. Carl Sandberg had no doubts about our country.  
5 He had no fears about tomorrow. He saw America not only as  
6 a land but as a spirit, not only as a people but an idea.

7 Here are his words: "I see America not in the  
8 setting sun of a black night of despair ahead of us, I see  
9 America in the crimson light of a rising sun fresh from  
10 the burning, creative hand of God. I see great days ahead,  
11 great days possible to men and women of will and vision."

12 I see what Carl Sandberg saw. I ask you to join  
13 me in seeing that his vision of America, and what I know  
14 is your vision of America, becomes a reality of America,  
15 and that when we celebrate our 200th birthday, we can stand  
16 tall and proud to say that we Americans have done something  
17 that no one else has ever done, we have been able to bring  
18 peoples of every land together in a oneness of community  
19 without the loss of identity, we have been able to  
20 successfully wage war on man's ancient enemies of poverty,  
21 disease and despair, and we stand here now a free people,  
22 humble and grateful, but determined that our best years  
23 have yet to be lived, that the history that is important is  
24 yet to be written. The America of tomorrow, that is the one  
25 that I love and that is the one we want. Thank you.



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