

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

SOUTH CAROLINA STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

Columbia, South Carolina
March 27, 1974

South Carolina is a state that brings back some of my fondest memories. The Democratic Party of South Carolina has been kind to me. It is good to see so many of my friends again today. I am happy to be here with my good friend, Fritz Hollings.

South Carolina can be justly proud of his outstanding record and reputation for hard work in the U.S. Senate.

Do me a favor. Do yourselves and South Carolina and the country a favor: Send Fritz back to the Senate in November.

It is wonderful to see such a fine crowd of active, enthusiastic Democrats. As members of our great party, you know we have been experiencing a period of intense, sometimes painful, self-examination the past few years.

We have stood in front of a mirror and turned on a piercing light of introspection and asked ourselves, how can we do better? How can we fulfill our high ideals? How can we remake our party so that it does a more effective job of being the party of the people, the party of the future, the party of promise for every American?

The answers have not always come easily, nor have they always been easy to accept. They have occasionally divided us, caused vigorous disagreements, intense debate. But we have survived, we have grown stronger for our discomfort. We have managed not only to bring our widely different personalities and points of view closer together, but we have also attracted and retained people who formerly were outside the party. They have accepted us, and we them. They hold active and responsible positions, and we have all been enriched by their participation.

Our experiences have made us closer, and will continue to draw us together. We are like a family that has had an argument, and after it is settled, feels more like a family for having shared the pain of dispute.

The currents of change that are sweeping our party are paralleled by similar currents across our nation.

We have experienced great dissension and great difficulties in the American family.

We have seen the bounty of our great nation mismanaged at home and squandered for short-term advantage abroad.

We have seen our economy neglected.

We have seen shortages and scarcity grow through private greed and government short-sightedness.

We have seen our Constitutional system of delicate checks and balances dangerously tilted in favor of one branch of government at the expense of the others.

We have seen our political processes corrupted.

We have seen political power abused, and money abused as a means of buying power.

We have seen highly placed trustees of the public confidence betray their trust, and act as though they were above the law -- indeed, they have acted as though they were the law.

These experiences, following hard after nearly a decade of dissension within our society at home and in war overseas, have been a heavy burden for the American people and their leaders to withstand.

I am sure that a nation of lesser character and strength would have buckled under such pressures.

But the American people have not lost their confidence or their nerve or their guts.

We are a nation nearly 200

We are a nation nearly 200 years old, and in that time we have withstood other times of difficulty. We are a nation forged in trial and weened on challenge.

The first 100 years of our existence were spent in moving out beyond the next mountain range, the next untamed forest, the next desert -- building and growing and enduring and overcoming.

We built a nation that spanned a continent and then fought a war that threatened to split in two what we had built, and we went on to heal the breach and build some more.

Our second hundred years have been a period of getting it all together, finding better and better ways of making use of what we gained in our first century. We moved beyond the seas to become the world's leading power and then shouldered the tremendous burdens of that leadership, fighting, winning two world wars and then rebuilding what those wars destroyed far beyond our home soil.

And in the midst of all that, we endured and pulled ourselves out of a Great Depression that not only failed to grind us down, but instead built up our spirit and taught us new ways of achieving stability and a vigorous, healthy nation of industry.

What is our s

What is our secret? Why have we always been able to pick ourselves up and jump back into the fight?

Because Americans have by nature and circumstance always been a people that has learned by its experiences. We are a practical people who do it if it looks like it will work. We live by trial and error, by experimentation.

The American way may be wasteful and at times painful, but on the positive side of the balance, it is a way that provides freedom and stimulates individual initiative.

Look at what we have experienced and what we have achieved:

-- Our resources were being plundered in the last century and early in this one. We developed the concepts of conservation, the management of our resources, the techniques of returning when we took, so there would always be more.

-- Our financial institutions in the 1920's were irresponsible, and little concerned about the public good. We created the Securities Exchange Commission and an excellent system of banking laws.

-- The big railroads and utilities, in their early years, misused their power and harbored corruption. We wrote regulatory legislation to correct the problems.

-- Our older citizens were neglected. We wrote the Social Security Act, and the Medicare and Medicaid programs.

-- Some of our citizens were denied the rights and opportunities guaranteed in the Constitution. We passed and enforced civil rights laws.

The lessons we have learned have been learned the hard way; but pain is a teacher whose lectures are remembered.

We might have given up many times in the past were it not for the foundations on which our nation is built.

It is not a foundation of doctrine and dogma, but a foundation of faith and values, reason and pragmatism.

If we are to carry this grand experiment in democracy forward, emerge from our present set of trials and traumas once more renewed, invigorated, and triumphant, we must recapture these old values and principles that have served us so well in the past.

We must make ourselves understand the true, intrinsic value of those ideals. They are just as sturdy and dependable as they were when our nation was founded upon them nearly two centuries ago.

We believe in government by laws, not men.

We believe in government with integrity, an essential virtue that we demand of our leaders, even as we demand it of ourselves, as individual citizens.

We believe in government by public trust, and that means leaders who deserve our trust, can win it and who fulfill it.

We believe in self-reliance, but tempered by a sense of humanitarianism and compassion.

We believe in achievement; we believe in progress; we believe in work.

And we believe in justice.

Our beliefs have always been closely tied to our aspirations. We have often believed in what we have not yet achieved, and then have gone on to work for it, led onward by our beliefs.

The preamble to the Constitution spells out the faith and aspiration of America: "a more perfect union," "justice," "domestic tranquility," "the common defense," "the general welfare," "the blessings of liberty (for) ourselves and our posterity."

The Bill of Rights: the freedoms of religion, speech and the press, of petitioning government for redress of grievances; freedom for each state to maintain a militia; freedom from military takeover of private property; freedom from search and seizure; the right to fair, public, speedy trial by jury, to reasonable bail and fines and without cruel or unusual punishment; protection of other rights enjoyed by the people, and reservation of the rights of the states.

Not one word of the Constitution protects government from the people, or public officials from the public. The Constitution was written to protect the people from government.

And it was under these guarantees, stirred by our beliefs, led by our dreams, that we built this nation.

Nations are in many ways like children: they go through phases, and these phases continue with adulthood.

As children we learned certain ways of behaving were right and others were wrong, taking the word of our parents.

But as we reached adolescence, we began to question those values and rules, and we tested and challenged. We learned by breaking a few rules and experiencing the consequences. In the end, we had a better appreciation for what we had been taught than we had before. Faith followed blindly keeps you out of trouble, like a wall. But values built on experience open the eyes and set you free.

America has been passing through an adolescence.

It has been testing and questioning. I believe the process has opened our eyes and broken the walls.

They say the repented sinner makes the best Christian.

I believe a reformed America will make a better and stronger America.

We have had our prodigal days, and now we will return, sadder but wiser -- and stronger -- to the values of our fathers.

In the latter days of our nation's youth, our Presidents gave us the New Deal, the New Frontier, the Great Society. Today America is embarked on a New Maturity.

Having seen leaders break rules we had accepted without question, we have learned the reasons for those rules and the consequences of breaking them. We will work to assure that they are not broken in the future.

Having seen our bounty mismanaged and squandered, we have learned the hard lessons of stewardship, prudence, and conservation.

Having endured the painful experiences of fuel and energy shortage, we will learn to become more self-sufficient.

Having seen surplus shrink to shortage in our agricultural supplies, we will learn the necessity of a national food policy and food reserves for times of scarcity.

Having learned the hard lesson of executive usurpation of legislation power, we will devise means of restoring balance.

Having seen our concern for national security and the necessary rule of executive privilege cheapened, distorted and reduced to veil executive misdeeds, we will devise new means of revealing information that the public needs.

Having watched and then gone to court to fight executive impoundment to frustrate the will of Congress, we will write new laws that prevent those kinds of arrogance.

Having seen the excess of fast and loose collection and spending of political campaign funds, we will write laws that can help clean up this process.

We will achieve all this and more, because the American people are disgusted but not disillusioned, angry but not resigned, indignant but not despondent.

The American values still live. The old rules still stand. We need only to bring them back out into the light of the American Vision.

The American Vision has always been held by the Democratic Party. And the challenge to the Democratic Party today is to reassert its leadership as the party of the people.

It is the Democratic Party that is ready and able to get on with the job of meeting the needs of the people of America.

We are the Party that stands up for the working families of this country. We are the voice of hope and opportunity for them. And we shall take to the people our agenda for action in establishing a strong and stable economy; in providing decent jobs at a living wage; quality health care at the lowest possible cost for all the people; good education for our children; clean and safe neighborhoods; a fair tax system; and the right of every American to hope in the future and have a decent opportunity to make the most of his or her abilities.

The Democratic Party stands today for a restoration of American values and for replacing the politics of slogans and rhetoric with the principles of action and performance.

So I am confident of America's future. I do not find reason to despair.

A favorite quotation of mine is from a great American poet, Carl Sandburg. In closing, let me share his words with you:

"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."

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SOUTH CAROLINA STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

MARCH 27, 1974

Chr. Don Fowler
Hon John West (Edgar Drayton)
Senator Hallingsworth & Bob McNair
(his mother) & Barbara Sylvestre
& Jim Johnston (unseen hospital)
2 daughters, Sally & Liz

~~SOUTH CAROLINA IS A STATE THAT BRINGS BACK SOME OF MY FONDEST~~

~~MEMORIES.~~ THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF SOUTH CAROLINA HAS BEEN KIND

TO ME. IT IS GOOD TO SEE SO MANY OF MY FRIENDS AGAIN TODAY.

I AM HAPPY TO BE HERE WITH MY GOOD FRIEND, Fritz Hollings.

SOUTH CAROLINA CAN BE JUSTLY PROUD OF HIS OUTSTANDING

RECORD AND REPUTATION FOR HARD WORK IN THE U.S. SENATE.

DO ME A FAVOR! DO YOURSELVES AND SOUTH CAROLINA AND THE

COUNTRY A FAVOR! SEND FRITZ BACK TO THE SENATE IN NOVEMBER.

IT IS WONDERFUL TO SEE SUCH A FINE CROWD OF ACTIVE,

ENTHUSIASTIC DEMOCRATS. AS MEMBERS OF OUR GREAT PARTY, YOU

KNOW WE HAVE BEEN EXPERIENCING A PERIOD OF INTENSE, SOMETIMES

PAINFUL, SELF-EXAMINATION THE PAST FEW YEARS.

L WE HAVE STOOD IN FRONT OF A MIRROR AND TURNED ON A PIERCING
Self-Examination
LIGHT OF ~~INTERPRECTION~~ AND ASKED OURSELVES, HOW CAN WE DO
BETTER? HOW CAN WE FULFILL OUR HIGH IDEALS? HOW CAN WE REMAKE
OUR PARTY SO THAT IT DOES A MORE EFFECTIVE JOB OF BEING THE
PARTY OF THE PEOPLE, THE PARTY OF THE FUTURE, THE PARTY OF
PROMISE FOR EVERY AMERICAN?

L THE ANSWERS HAVE NOT ALWAYS COME EASILY, NOR HAVE THEY
ALWAYS BEEN EASY TO ACCEPT. THEY HAVE OCCASIONALLY DIVIDED US,
CAUSED VIGOROUS DISAGREEMENTS, INTENSE DEBATE! BUT WE HAVE
SURVIVED. WE HAVE GROWN STRONGER FOR OUR DISCOMFORT. WE HAVE
MANAGED NOT ONLY TO BRING OUR WIDELY DIFFERENT PERSONALITIES
AND POINTS OF VIEW CLOSER TOGETHER, BUT WE HAVE ALSO

ATTRACTED AND RETAINED PEOPLE WHO FORMERLY WERE OUTSIDE THE

PARTY. THEY HAVE ACCEPTED US, AND WE THEM. THEY HOLD ACTIVE

AND RESPONSIBLE POSITIONS, AND WE HAVE ALL BEEN ENRICHED BY

THEIR PARTICIPATION.

And I believe that

~~THE~~ OUR EXPERIENCES HAVE MADE US CLOSER, AND WILL CONTINUE

TO DRAW US TOGETHER. WE ARE LIKE A FAMILY THAT HAS HAD AN

ARGUMENT, AND AFTER IT IS SETTLED, FEELS MORE LIKE A FAMILY

FOR HAVING SHARED THE PAIN OF DISPUTE.

~~THE~~ THE CURRENTS OF CHANGE THAT ARE SWEEPING OUR PARTY ARE

PARALLELED BY SIMILAR CURRENTS ACROSS OUR NATION.

yes WE HAVE EXPERIENCED GREAT DISSENSION AND GREAT DIFFICULTIES

IN THE AMERICAN FAMILY.

*The Democratic Party is
a very real
part of American life. - We are not
above it - away from it - We are with it!*

L WE HAVE SEEN THE BOUNTY OF OUR GREAT NATION MISMANAGED
AT HOME AND SQUANDERED FOR SHORT-TERM ADVANTAGE ABROAD.

L WE HAVE SEEN OUR ECONOMY NEGLECTED.

L WE HAVE SEEN SHORTAGES AND SCARCITY GROW THROUGH PRIVATE
GREED AND GOVERNMENT SHORT-SIGHTEDNESS.

L WE HAVE SEEN OUR CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM OF DELICATE CHECKS
AND BALANCES DANGEROUSLY TILTED IN FAVOR OF ONE BRANCH OF
GOVERNMENT AT THE EXPENSE OF THE OTHERS.

L WE HAVE SEEN OUR POLITICAL PROCESSES CORRUPTED.

L WE HAVE SEEN POLITICAL POWER ABUSED, AND MONEY ABUSED AS
A MEANS OF BUYING POWER.

↳ WE HAVE SEEN HIGHLY PLACED TRUSTEES OF THE PUBLIC CONFIDENCE
BETRAY THEIR TRUST, AND ACT AS THOUGH THEY WERE ABOVE THE
LAW -- INDEED, THEY HAVE ACTED AS THOUGH THEY WERE THE LAW.!

↳ THESE EXPERIENCES, FOLLOWING HARD AFTER NEARLY A DECADE OF
DISSENSION WITHIN OUR SOCIETY AT HOME AND IN WAR OVERSEAS,
HAVE BEEN A HEAVY BURDEN FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THEIR
LEADERS TO WITHSTAND,

ⓧ ↳ I AM SURE THAT A NATION OF LESSER CHARACTER AND STRENGTH
WOULD HAVE BUCKLED UNDER SUCH PRESSURES!

ⓧ ↳ BUT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE NOT LOST THEIR CONFIDENCE OR
THEIR NERVE OR THEIR GUTS.!

WE ARE A NATION NEARLY 200 YEARS OLD, AND IN THAT TIME

WE HAVE WITHSTOOD OTHER TIMES OF DIFFICULTY. WE ARE A NATION

FORGED IN TRIAL AND WEENED ON CHALLENGE.

THE FIRST 100 YEARS OF OUR EXISTENCE WERE SPENT IN MOVING

OUT BEYOND THE NEXT MOUNTAIN RANGE, THE NEXT UNTAMED FOREST,

THE NEXT DESERT -- BUILDING AND GROWING AND ENDURING AND

OVERCOMING.

WE BUILT A NATION THAT SPANNED A CONTINENT AND THEN FOUGHT

A WAR THAT THREATENED TO SPLIT IN TWO WHAT WE HAD BUILT, AND

WE WENT ON TO HEAL THE BREACH AND BUILD SOME MORE.

Our SECOND HUNDRED YEARS HAVE BEEN A PERIOD OF GETTING
IT ALL TOGETHER, FINDING BETTER AND BETTER WAYS OF MAKING USE
OF WHAT WE GAINED IN OUR FIRST CENTURY. We MOVED BEYOND THE
SEAS TO BECOME THE WORLD'S LEADING POWER AND THEN SHOULDERED
THE TREMENDOUS BURDENS OF THAT LEADERSHIP, FIGHTING, WINNING
TWO WORLD WARS AND THEN REBUILDING WHAT THOSE WARS DESTROYED
FAR BEYOND OUR HOME SOIL.

And IN THE MIDST OF ALL THAT, WE ENDURED AND PULLED
OURSELVES OUT OF A GREAT DEPRESSION THAT NOT ONLY FAILED TO
GRIND US DOWN, BUT INSTEAD BUILT UP OUR SPIRIT AND TAUGHT US
NEW WAYS OF ACHIEVING STABILITY AND A VIGOROUS, HEALTHY
NATION OF Commerce + industry.

L WHAT IS OUR SECRET? WHY HAVE WE ALWAYS BEEN ABLE TO PICK
OURSELVES UP AND JUMP BACK INTO THE FIGHT?

L BECAUSE, AMERICANS HAVE BY NATURE AND CIRCUMSTANCE ALWAYS
BEEN A PEOPLE THAT HAS LEARNED BY ITS EXPERIENCES L WE ARE A
PRACTICAL PEOPLE WHO DO IT IF IT LOOKS LIKE IT WILL WORK,

L WE LIVE BY TRIAL AND ERROR, BY EXPERIMENTATION.

L THE AMERICAN WAY MAY BE WASTEFUL AND AT TIMES PAINFUL,
BUT ON THE POSITIVE SIDE OF THE BALANCE, IT IS A WAY THAT
PROVIDES FREEDOM AND STIMULATES INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE.

L LOOK AT WHAT WE HAVE EXPERIENCED AND WHAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED:

and at every turn, ~~at~~ the Democratic
Party has provided the leadership
that the nation needed — Wilson
FDR, Truman, Kennedy, Johnson

L -- OUR RESOURCES WERE BEING PLUNDERED IN THE LAST CENTURY
AND EARLY IN THIS ONE. L WE DEVELOPED THE CONCEPTS OF CONSER-
VATION, THE MANAGEMENT OF OUR RESOURCES, THE TECHNIQUES OF
RETURNING WHEN WE TOOK, SO THERE WOULD ALWAYS BE MORE,

L -- OUR FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE 1920'S WERE
IRRESPONSIBLE, AND LITTLE CONCERNED ABOUT THE PUBLIC GOOD. So

L WE CREATED THE SECURITIES EXCHANGE COMMISSION AND AN EXCELLENT
SYSTEM OF BANKING LAWS.

L -- THE BIG RAILROADS AND UTILITIES, ~~IN THEIR EARLY YEARS~~,
MISUSED THEIR POWER AND HARBORED CORRUPTION. L WE WROTE REGULATORY
LEGISLATION TO CORRECT THE PROBLEMS.

Our workers were unemployed; we
provided jobs & unemployment compensation.
Our industries were ¹⁰ shut down; we
provided loans & credits.

└-- OUR OLDER CITIZENS WERE NEGLECTED. WE WROTE THE SOCIAL
SECURITY ACT, AND THE MEDICARE AND MEDICAID PROGRAMS.

└ SOME OF OUR CITIZENS WERE DENIED THE RIGHTS AND
OPPORTUNITIES GUARANTEED IN THE CONSTITUTION. WE PASSED AND
ENFORCED CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS.

└ THE LESSONS WE HAVE LEARNED HAVE BEEN LEARNED THE HARD
WAY; BUT PAIN IS A TEACHER WHOSE LECTURES ARE REMEMBERED.

└ WE MIGHT HAVE GIVEN UP MANY TIMES IN THE PAST WERE IT NOT
FOR THE FOUNDATIONS ON WHICH OUR NATION IS BUILT.

└ IT IS NOT A FOUNDATION OF DOCTRINE AND DOGMA, BUT A
FOUNDATION OF FAITH AND VALUES, REASON AND experience.

and, we must not permit any person, group,
or party to destroy our values; to ~~neglect~~
~~abuse~~ to reach our gains by neglect or
the abuse of power.

In our concern over the present troubles,
many voices cry out for something new —
new policy; new philosophy; new laws.
May I suggest that if

~~if~~ WE ARE TO CARRY THIS GRAND EXPERIMENT IN DEMOCRACY FORWARD,

EMERGE FROM OUR PRESENT SET OF TRIALS AND ~~TRIALS~~ ^{difficulties} ONCE MORE

RENEWED, INVIGORATED, AND TRIUMPHANT, WE MUST RECAPTURE ~~THE~~ ^{these}

~~OLD~~ VALUES AND PRINCIPLES THAT HAVE SERVED US SO WELL IN THE

PAST, ~~It is something new that we need —~~
~~the American people, with leadership~~

WE MUST MAKE OURSELVES UNDERSTAND THE TRUE, INTRINSIC VALUE

OF THOSE IDEALS. THEY ARE JUST AS STURDY AND DEPENDABLE AS

THEY WERE WHEN OUR NATION WAS FOUNDED UPON THEM NEARLY TWO

CENTURIES AGO.

"We hold these truths to be
self-evident" —

WE BELIEVE IN GOVERNMENT BY LAWS, NOT MEN.

yes The American people need to be reminded
again & again that we as the Democratic
Party believe in "Government by Laws
not men"

WE BELIEVE IN GOVERNMENT WITH INTEGRITY, AN ESSENTIAL VIRTUE
THAT WE DEMAND OF OUR LEADERS, EVEN AS WE DEMAND IT OF
OURSELVES, AS INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS.

WE BELIEVE IN GOVERNMENT BY PUBLIC TRUST, AND THAT MEANS
LEADERS WHO DESERVE OUR TRUST, ~~CANDIDATE~~ AND WHO FULFILL IT.

WE BELIEVE IN SELF-RELIANCE, BUT TEMPERED BY A SENSE OF
HUMANITARIANISM AND COMPASSION.

WE BELIEVE IN ACHIEVEMENT; WE BELIEVE IN PROGRESS; WE
BELIEVE IN WORK.

AND WE BELIEVE IN JUSTICE.

These and other
principles of
Public policy
must be over

L OUR BELIEFS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN CLOSELY TIED TO OUR ASPIRATIONS.

L WE HAVE OFTEN BELIEVED IN WHAT WE HAVE NOT YET ACHIEVED, AND
THEN HAVE GONE ON TO WORK FOR IT, LED ONWARD BY OUR BELIEFS.

L THE PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION SPELLS OUT THE FAITH
AND ASPIRATION OF AMERICA: "A MORE PERFECT UNION," "JUSTICE,"
"DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY," "THE COMMON DEFENSE," "THE GENERAL
WELFARE," "THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY (FOR) OURSELVES AND OUR
POSTERITY."

L THE BILL OF RIGHTS: THE FREEDOMS OF RELIGION, SPEECH AND
THE PRESS, OF PETITIONING GOVERNMENT FOR REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES;

L ~~FREEDOM FOR EACH STATE TO MAINTAIN A MILITIA; FREEDOM FROM~~
Freedom from Search & Seizure
~~MILITARY TAKEOVER OF PRIVATE PROPERTY; FREEDOM FROM SEARCH~~

AND SEIZURE; THE RIGHT TO FAIR, PUBLIC, SPEEDY TRIAL BY JURY,

TO REASONABLE BAIL AND FINES AND WITHOUT CRUEL OR UNUSUAL

PUNISHMENT; PROTECTION OF OTHER RIGHTS ENJOYED BY THE PEOPLE,

AND RESERVATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE STATES.

*It is these rights that are
+ threatened and
being violated by people in power -*

NOT ONE WORD OF THE CONSTITUTION PROTECTS GOVERNMENT FROM

THE PEOPLE, OR PUBLIC OFFICIALS FROM THE PUBLIC. THE

CONSTITUTION WAS WRITTEN TO PROTECT THE PEOPLE FROM GOVERNMENT!

AND IT WAS UNDER THESE GUARANTEES, STIRRED BY OUR BELIEFS,

LED BY OUR DREAMS, THAT WE BUILT THIS NATION.

*And at these guarantees
+ rights that
are being tested
today.*

NATIONS ARE IN MANY WAYS LIKE CHILDREN: THEY GO THROUGH

PHASES, AND THESE PHASES CONTINUE WITH ADULTHOOD.

L AS CHILDREN WE LEARNED CERTAIN WAYS OF BEHAVING WERE
RIGHT AND OTHERS WERE WRONG, TAKING THE WORD OF OUR PARENTS.

L BUT AS WE REACHED ADOLESCENCE, WE BEGAN TO QUESTION
THOSE VALUES AND RULES, AND WE TESTED AND CHALLENGED. WE

LEARNED BY BREAKING A FEW RULES AND EXPERIENCING THE

CONSEQUENCES. IN THE END, WE HAD A BETTER APPRECIATION FOR

WHAT WE HAD BEEN TAUGHT THAN WE HAD BEFORE. FAITH FOLLOWED

BLINDLY KEEPS YOU OUT OF TROUBLE, LIKE A WALL. BUT VALUES

BUILT ON EXPERIENCE OPEN THE EYES AND SET YOU FREE.

L AMERICA HAS BEEN PASSING THROUGH AN ADOLESCENCE.

L IT HAS BEEN TESTING AND QUESTIONING. I BELIEVE THE PROCESS

HAS OPENED OUR EYES AND BROKEN THE WALLS.

L THEY SAY THE REPENTED SINNER MAKES THE BEST CHRISTIAN.

I BELIEVE A REFORMED AMERICA WILL MAKE A BETTER AND
STRONGER AMERICA.

L WE HAVE HAD OUR PRODIGAL DAYS, AND NOW WE WILL RETURN,
SADDER BUT WISER -- AND STRONGER -- TO THE VALUES OF OUR
FATHERS.

L IN THE LATTER DAYS OF OUR NATION'S YOUTH, OUR PRESIDENTS
GAVE US THE NEW DEAL, THE NEW FRONTIER, THE GREAT SOCIETY.

L TODAY AMERICA IS EMBARKED ON A NEW MATURITY.

L HAVING SEEN LEADERS BREAK RULES WE HAD ACCEPTED WITHOUT
QUESTION, WE HAVE LEARNED THE REASONS FOR THOSE RULES AND
THE CONSEQUENCES OF BREAKING THEM. WE WILL WORK TO ASSURE
THAT THEY ARE NOT BROKEN IN THE FUTURE.

L ^{resources} HAVING SEEN OUR ~~money~~ MISMANAGED AND SQUANDERED, WE

HAVE LEARNED THE HARD LESSONS OF STEWARDSHIP, PRUDENCE, AND
CONSERVATION.

L HAVING ENDURED THE PAINFUL EXPERIENCES OF FUEL AND ENERGY
SHORTAGE, WE WILL LEARN TO BECOME MORE SELF-SUFFICIENT.

L HAVING SEEN SURPLUS SHRINK TO SHORTAGE IN OUR AGRICULTURAL
SUPPLIES, WE WILL LEARN THE NECESSITY OF A NATIONAL FOOD
POLICY AND FOOD RESERVES FOR TIMES OF SCARCITY.

L HAVING LEARNED THE HARD LESSON OF EXECUTIVE USURPATION OF
LEGISLATIVE POWER, WE WILL DEVISE MEANS OF RESTORING BALANCE.

L Having seen in recent years the cruel & ironical situation of high unemployment & raging inflation hitting millions of our people at the same time, we must have the will & the courage, to ~~the~~ put an end to this.

HAVING SEEN OUR CONCERN FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AND THE

~~TEMPORARY~~ RULE OF EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE CHEAPENED, DISTORTED

cover up AND REDUCED TO ~~VERY~~ EXECUTIVE MISDEEDS, WE *must will* ~~WILL~~ DEVISE NEW

MEANS OF REVEALING INFORMATION THAT THE PUBLIC NEEDS.

L HAVING WATCHED AND THEN GONE TO COURT TO FIGHT EXECUTIVE

IMPOUNDMENT TO FRUSTRATE THE WILL OF CONGRESS, WE WILL WRITE

NEW LAWS THAT PREVENT THOSE KINDS OF ARROGANCE.

L HAVING SEEN THE EXCESS OF FAST AND LOOSE COLLECTION AND

SPENDING OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS, WE WILL WRITE LAWS

THAT CAN HELP CLEAN UP THIS PROCESS.

L WE WILL ACHIEVE ALL THIS AND MORE, BECAUSE THE AMERICAN

PEOPLE ARE DISGUSTED BUT NOT DISILLUSIONED, ANGRY BUT NOT

RESIGNED, INDIGNANT BUT NOT DESPONDENT!

L THE AMERICAN VALUES STILL LIVE L THE OLD RULES STILL STAND.

L WE NEED ONLY TO BRING THEM BACK OUT INTO THE LIGHT OF THE

AMERICAN VISION.

L THE AMERICAN VISION HAS ALWAYS BEEN HELD BY THE DEMOCRATIC

PARTY, L AND THE CHALLENGE TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY TODAY IS TO

REASSERT ITS LEADERSHIP AS THE PARTY OF THE PEOPLE. "We the People"

L IT IS THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY THAT IS READY AND ABLE TO GET ON

WITH THE JOB OF MEETING THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA.

WE ARE THE PARTY THAT STANDS UP FOR THE WORKING FMAILIES
OF THIS COUNTRY. WE ARE THE VOICE OF HOPE AND OPPORTUNITY
FOR THEM. AND WE SHALL TAKE TO THE PEOPLE OUR AGENDA FOR
ACTION IN ESTABLISHING A STRONG AND STABLE ECONOMY; IN
PROVIDING DECENT JOBS AT A LIVING WAGE; QUALITY HEALTH CARE
AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE COST FOR ALL THE PEOPLE; GOOD EDUCATION
FOR OUR CHILDREN; CLEAN AND SAFE NEIGHBORHOODS; A FAIR TAX
SYSTEM; AND THE RIGHT OF EVERY AMERICAN TO HOPE IN THE FUTURE
AND HAVE A DECENT OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE THE MOST OF HIS OR HER
ABILITIES.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY STANDS TODAY FOR A RESTORATION OF
AMERICAN VALUES AND FOR REPLACING THE POLITICS OF SLOGANS
AND RHETORIC WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF ACTION AND PERFORMANCE.

✓ SO I AM CONFIDENT OF AMERICA'S FUTURE, I DO NOT FIND
REASON TO DESPAIR.

✓ A FAVORITE QUOTATION OF MINE IS FROM A GREAT AMERICAN
POET, CARL SANDBURG. IN CLOSING, LET ME SHARE HIS WORDS WITH
YOU:

"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."

unrevised

March 27, 1974 - Keynote address,
South Carolina Democratic Convention

. . . You know, we've got a wonderful Democratic Party. Just look around this afternoon, just look around here and see who's here and see how much better it is than it used to be. Here we are, the people of every walk of life, every race, creed and nationality, young and old, men and women, representing this country in all that it means. This is the way the Democratic Party ought to be. Because this Party of Jefferson and of Jackson ~~and~~ this Party that we're so proud of in the 20th Century, ~~that~~ ^{that} has given us the leaders ^{hip} of a Wilson and a Roosevelt and a Truman and a Kennedy and a Johnson and an Adlai Stevenson, and men of that great ~~caliber~~ ^{character}. This is the people's Party and

(the people is)
(Republicans are going to know it. ?)

I want to quickly remind you to do yourself a great favor.

I rode down here in the plane with Senator Hollings and he indicated to me somewhere along the lines that he kind of liked the United States Senate. We like him. We know that he's the (power of the United States Senate.) *(Etc.) So deeply & S. Can. a favor -*
keep him in the U.S. Senate.

Dear Friends, I come to you today not just to give you a partisan message. I think the country deserves even better than we as partisans might be able to offer. I want to ~~comment~~ ^{come and} in the words of a man that ~~served with~~ ^{and} to reason with you, to talk with you, to appeal to the best that's in us and not the worst, ^{to} talk about our Party and how it has related itself to the times in which we live. We've gone through a very difficult time of intense and sometimes painful self-examination. And we had the courage to do it. We stood literally up in front of

a mirror/a great mirror and looked at ourselves, And asked ourselves some questions. And above all, we asked ourselves how can we do better. Not how can we be ~~crooked~~ ^{perfect} -- but how can we do better. How can we fulfill high ideals. How can we remake or rebuild ~~crime~~ ^{our strength} in our Party so that it can be doing a more effective job of being what we say it is, the Party of the people -- the Party of the future -- the Party of real promise for every American.

Now this is a big job. But we have to set ourselves to that task. America deserves much better than it is getting. And we're capable of giving it much better than it is getting.

The answers to these questions that I've ~~told you~~ ^{posed} do not come easily. You and I know that. And they haven't all been easy to accept. Occasionally we've been divided because we've sought Answers, and we have vigorous disagreements and intense and bitter debates, but we have survived and we've grown even stronger from our discomfort. We've managed not only to bring into our ranks widely divergent and different personalities and points of view but we've brought ~~this~~ ^{em} closer together. We've also ~~trusted~~ ^{attracted} and we have retained people who were formally outside of the Party, who didn't have a place in the Party. We've opened the door and they have accepted us and we have accepted them. And they hold today active and responsible positions and you and I know that we're all the better for it. We've been enriched and strengthened by it. And I believe that our experiences will make us closer and ~~will we'll~~ ^{will} continue to ~~draw us~~ ^{that's} together. We're like a family ~~we've~~ gone through a

bitter family argument, and after it's been settled, there is a closer feeling due to the sharing of the pain ~~and the~~ dispute.

Now the ~~courage that~~ *currents of change that are sweeping our country* ~~have~~ *are* paralleled by similiar currents ~~of~~ *across our nation*.

You See, this is the difference between the two Parties. We really do reflect what is in our country, and it isn't all pleasant and it isn't all comfort, but we are the ~~mirror~~ *mirror* of the people and the nation with all of its *stresses and strains*, *its turbulence and* difficulties and also its hope and its promise. Our Republican friends are trying to ~~sum~~ *come* out of it pretending it isn't that way at all. They're ~~literally~~ *living in the past --* ~~impassed~~ and ~~when~~ *might* I suggested *to them,* ~~that~~ *really* they didn't help very much in the past either.

Here's what I'm saying - is that the Democratic Party is a very real Party in America. We are ~~with~~ *-- we're* ~~not away~~ from the country. We're not standing aloof from the country -- we're with it. And because we're with it we see both that which is beautiful and that which sometimes is ugly. But we know that we *we've seen* ~~can~~ form a more perfect union. That's what we seek. ~~We seek~~ the bounty, the riches of our great nation that *mis* ~~is~~ managed at home and squandered for short-term advantage at times *abroad* ~~of~~ ~~wroth~~. We've seen this economy of ours neglected. We've seen shortages and scarcity grow through private greed and government short-sightedness. We've seen our constitutional system of delicate balance, of ~~one~~ checks and balances, dangerously *tilted*

in favor of one branch of the government at the expense of the others. We've seen our political processes polluted and corrupted. And we have seen the political power abused and money abused as a means of buying ^{power} a house. We've seen ^{highly placed trustees} of the public ^{good} book betray their trust and act as though they were above the law. Indeed ~~not~~ ^{at home} Act as if they were the law. These experiences following hard after nearly a decade of dissension within our society ~~and at home and a war's on~~ and ^a ~~in~~ war abroad have been ~~a have been~~ a heavy burden for the American people, and for their leaders ~~that would stand~~ ^{to with} ~~it~~ ¹⁰

But I am sure that as a nation and ~~a nation~~ of lesser character, a nation of lesser strength, would have buckled under such ^{pressures} ~~tactics~~. But the American people have not lost their confidence, their nerve or their guts -- we have what it takes!

We're a nation nearly 200 years young. And in that time we've withstood other kinds of great difficulties ^y ~~yes~~. We're a nation that's forged in trial and weened on challenge. The first hundred years of our existence ^{were} ~~was~~ spent moving out beyond the mountain range, The next untamed force ^{est} ~~es~~, the next desert. Building, growing, ^{enduring} ~~and yearning~~, overcoming. We build a nation that ^{spanned} ~~stands~~ a continent in just a century and then fought a war that ^{threatened to} ~~practically~~ split in half -- ^{to} tear apart that which we ^d ~~1~~ built and then we went on to heal the breach and build some more. Our second hundred years have been a period of getting it all back together again, ~~finding~~ ^{at} better and better ways ~~at~~ making use of what we gained in our first one hundred. And we moved beyond the seas to become the world's leading

power ^{and} we still are, ~~Make~~ no mistake about it. And then ~~we~~ shouldered the tremendous burdens of that leadership, fighting, winning two world wars and then rebuilding what those wars destroyed far beyond our home soil.

Ladies and gentlemen that's quite a record for a young nation and we should be proud of it. *And in the midst of all of this,* We endured and pulled ourselves out of a great depression, that not only failed to grind us down but instead, as we look back, ^t build up our spirits, and taught us new ways of achieving stability and a vigorous, ^{always} healthy nation of commerce and industry.

So what is our secret? Why have we ^{always} been able to pick ourselves up and jump right back into the fight? Well it's because - *yes - of* ~~we have some~~ leadership we've been blessed with great leadership in times of crisis, ~~and of~~ a great political system, ^{and} a great economic system, ^{and} but I think Americans, have by nature ^{and} of circumstances always have been a people ^{that} and have learned by ^{its} experiences.

~~We're practical.~~ We're a practical people, you know? Who do it if it looks like it will work. We live by trial and error -- by experimenting. The American way -- well it may be wasteful, I guess it is, and at times it's very painful -- but on the positive side of the ^{balance} ~~bolts~~ it is a way that provides maximum freedom for our country and stimulates individual initiative. It has left much to be done, and challenges for every living person in generations yet unheard of. But it is a good way and it has given more ^{to} ~~for~~ more people in a short ^{or} period of time than any other way or any other system ^{that has} ~~as~~ ever been created by the hand of man.

At every turn,
This Party ~~of~~ ^{of} which you and I are privileged to be a part ^{ed}
~~of~~ or members ^{of} has provided the leadership that this nation needs.
~~it is not~~ ^{On either} ~~is it that~~ we do not claim to be paragons of virtue; we have
no monopoly ~~mean of~~ ^{ranks} virtue or wisdom, but we have been able
somehow to provide ~~for~~ from our rights the guidance and the
guiding spirit ^{and} ~~of~~ the leadership to rally the people ~~to~~ ⁱⁿ a Woodrow
Wilson, who has gained a permanent place of honor in our history; ^{me}
My politics stem from the days of a great President who saw a
nation dying, sick, broken and he helped lift it -- Franklin
Delanor Roosevelt. And who could ever forget that living symbol
of the American people who was the people incarnate,
literally in his own person, I think who will go down in history
if not the greatest but at least one of the greatest men that
ever served in the Presidency, Harry S. Truman. Simple, direct,
honest, and then all of the ^{spirit} ~~spirit~~ of this century, the new
spirit of a new generation ⁱⁿ ~~and~~ John Kennedy, who literally lifted
us to new heights of appreciation and hope; ^{then} and that practical man
who knew how to get things done and who literally hammered out
the greatest single legislative program of this Century. And I
was proud to be ~~his~~ Vice President with him and I say to you
that the history books will put him down as one of the great
forceful leaders of the American Republic -- Lyndon Johnson!

Look at what we've achieved together. Our resources were
being ^{plundered} ~~plundered~~ in the last Century and early in this one, so
we developed concepts of conservation and management of our
resources, ~~techniques~~ ^{of returning} techniques ~~that were turning~~ to them
so that there would always be more. Our financial institutions

in the '20's were abused, irresponsible, little concern about the public good, so we created the Securities Exchange Commission and a host of laws to regulate ~~the~~ ^{other} banking and/financial institutions, ^{the} big railroads and utilities misused their power and harbored corruption, and we wrote regulatory legislation to help correct those problems. Our workers were unemployed -- and we provided jobs and unemployment compensation, ^{many} of our industries were broken and shut down and we provided loans and credits, ^{we} in other words faced the reality. Not philosophizing but getting on with the job. Our older citizens were neglected shamefully and it was this Party and its leadership that wrote ~~that~~ the social security act, the medicare and medicaid programs for the senior citizens of this Republic. And some of our citizens were being denied the rights and ^{the} opportunities that were ^{guaranteed} ~~buried~~ in the constitution, and we passed -- and we have ^{been} ~~been~~ forced ^{to} ~~to~~ civil rights laws to provide for the American people equal opportunity if you're an American citizen.

It's not been easy. It's been terribly difficult. And we had to learn the hard way, but pain is a teacher whose lectures are remembered. We might have given up many times in the past were it not for leadership, true leadership, and were it not for the foundations on which our nation ^{is} ~~was~~ built ^{and} ~~and~~ it is not a foundation of ~~doctrines~~ doctrine and dogma, but a foundation of ^{and} ~~and~~ faith and values, reason and experience. You and I, we the people, must not permit any person or any Party or group to destroy or to erase those values, or to erase our gains by neglect or ^{the} ~~the~~ abuse of power, in our common concern over the present

troubles, ^{for} Many voices fly out today ~~with~~ something brand new, ^{and} they say we've got to change everything. They want to go in many different directions. And we are never fearful of changing. But let me just suggest that what this country needs today is not so ~~much~~ much something that is new, as to understand that which we have had, to appreciate what this grand experience in democracy means. And therefore we'll emerge from our present set of ~~plans~~ ^{trials} and difficulties once more renewed and ~~invigorated~~ ^{and} and triumphant. And in order to do that we must recapture the values ^{and} the principles that have served us well in the past because they are eternal and they are right.

We must make ourselves understand the true, intrinsic value of ~~of~~ these ideals. They are just as sturdy and dependable today as they were when the nation was founded. ^P [We hold these truths to be self-evidence, ^{we} ~~we~~ have said it repeatedly, ~~recently~~ we should believe it. We believe in government by laws -- not by power drunk men. Yet the American people need to be reminded again and again that the Democratic Party believes ~~and is~~ in and is committed to an old-fashioned constitutional principle: government by law, and no one above the law, and not government by ~~men~~ ^{men} who ~~think~~ think they can break the law!

We believe in government with integrity, an essential virtue that we demand of our leaders even as ^{we} ought to demand it of ourselves as individual citizens. We believe in government ^{by} ~~the~~ public trust ~~that~~ because without trust there ~~would~~ ^{can} be no self government. And that means that we must have leaders

who deserve our trust and who will fulfill it ^{--and} not people who take ~~it~~ ^{us} for granted and then abuse it.

We believe in self-reliance -- but tempered by a sense of humanitarianism and compassion for the less fortunate. We believe in achievement. We believe in progress. We believe in work. We believe in justice -- not just for some, but justice for all. ^P ~~And~~ our beliefs have always been closely tied with our aspirations. We've ^{often} believed in what we have ~~yet~~ ^d yet not even achieved, and then ~~have~~ gone ~~out~~ on to work for it, to let it lead us onward -- because we have that belief.

Now I've been a teacher in American government and I've had ^{many} ~~a few~~ people say to me well what do you think we ought to do, Mr. Humphrey -- as if I had all the answers; I don't.

But I know that if I were ~~to have the~~ ^{to be} given a few minutes to teach this whole nation a lesson in American government, I would ask them to remember ^{but} ~~what~~ one very short ^{Chapter} ~~tactic~~ in our history -- it's called the Preamble of the Constitution.

And remember the first three words of that Preamble represent the concept of popular sovereignty, the power of the people. It starts out, "we the people of these United States, in order to form a more perfect union, to assure domestic tranquility, to establish justice, to provide for the common defense, and to promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity, do this day, this hour, here in Columbia, South Carolina, this moment, establish and ordain this constitution. It's all there. The Bill of Rights, the Freedoms of Religion ^{and} speech, ^{and} ~~so the~~ press, the

petitioning of a government for regress~~ive~~^{of} grievances. The right to be free from search and seizure~~and~~^{P/} and wiretaping and snooping!

The right to fair, ^{public} speedy trial by jury, ~~for~~^{to} reasonable bail and fines, without cruel or unusual punishment. It is these rights that are being threatened today and many times violated by people in power. And all this Party needs to do is to stand ~~its own~~^{with those} rights. You don't need to come out with some new image or new charisma or some new national plan. The American people are not asking for genius -- they're asking for solid, honest, ~~decent~~^{trust}, ~~up~~^{new} worthy leadership -- that's all.

Listen my friends, not a single word in the Constitution is to be ~~found~~^{found}, designed ~~and~~ to protect the government from the people, ~~or~~ those in power from the public. The Constitution was written to protect the people from the abuse of ^{the} power of government.

~~But~~ let's get back to what it's all about: "We the people." The ^{most} three/beautiful words of democracy. And it was under these guarantees, stirred by our beliefs, led by our ~~beliefs~~^{dreams} that we built this nation. ^P Nations ~~in no ways~~ are in many ways, you know, like children. They go through phases. And I guess that's one thing that this present administration knows. They got lots of phases. The next phase is good-bye!

Like children we go through phases, ~~and we get~~^{even} into adulthood. As children we learned certain ways of behaving, right and wrong, taking the word of our parents. And as we reached adolescence we begin to question those values and

rules. We test them and we challenge them. And we learned by breaking a few rules and experiencing the consequences.

In the end we have better appreciation for what we've been taught than ~~what~~ we had before. ~~Faith followed blindly~~ ~~Baseball and blinders~~ keeps you out of trouble like a wall or a prison. But ~~damn few~~ ^{values built on} children ^{are} ~~experience that~~ ^{how} the eyes ^{that} can set you free.

America has been passing through adolescence. It has been testing the question. ^{ing} I believe the process has opened our eyes and broken down the wall. ^S They say that the repented sinner makes the best Christian. I believe the reformed America will make a better and stronger America. We've had our prodical days and now we will return sadder but wiser ^a and stronger ^P to the values of our fathers. In the later days of our nation's youth our Presidents gave us the New Deal. The New Frontier. The Great Society. ~~And~~ today and tomorrow, America is embarked on ^a new maturity. And have ^{ing} you seen leaders break the rules ^{that} ~~and~~ we have ^d accepted without question, ^{and} we have learned the reasons for those rules, ^{and} the consequences ^{of breaking} of them. And we will work to assure that they are not broken

^P in the future. That's what ^{is} the Party will stand for. (Having seen our resources mismanaged and squandered, we have learned the hard lessons of stewardship and prudence and conservation.

^P (Having endured the painful experience ^S of a fuel and energy shortage, we will learn to become more self-sufficient and

^P less wasteful. (Having seen our surplus ^{es} shrink ^{to} with shortage ⁱⁿ our agricultural supplies, we will learn the necessity for national food policy and a food reserve for the times of

scarcity. If need be to draw ~~out to~~ ^{from} the 41st Chapter of Genesis, the story of Joseph, ~~and~~ ^{the} seven years that are ~~that are~~ ^{that are} ~~pleen~~ and the seven years ~~they're~~ ^{they're} rich. And having learned the hard lesson of executive usurpation of legislative power, We are determined to ~~divide the meanings~~ ^{devise} of restoring the ~~balance~~ ^{balance}. Having seen in recent years the cruel and paradoxical, ironical situation of high unemployment and rising inflation, literally hitting millions of our people at the same time, We must have the will, the know-how and the courage to put an end to all of this nonsense. We can't afford it. Besides that, it's unfair, ~~its~~ unjust. Inflation and unemployment are cruel to the poor, to the elderly, to the young, to those just ~~starving~~ ^{starting} in life. [And if ^{there is} anything this Party stands for, it is the protection of the young, of the seniors, of the elderly, of the oppressed and of the poor. And my fellow Americans we must be determined to keep this nation on a steady forward movement to build our economy, to conserve our resources and to see to it that everyone has a chance to share in what God Almighty has made available to us.

Having seen our concern for national security, and the rule of executive privilege, cheapened, distorted and ~~abused~~ ^{reduced} to cover up executive misdeeds, ~~we~~ We are determined to ~~divide new needs~~ ^{devise} new means of revealing necessary information that is required for public understanding and what the public ~~means~~ ^{needs}. (There's a lot of difference, dear friends, between national security and White House plumbers. Make no mistake about it.

Having watched and then gone to court to fight executive impoundment of ~~newly~~ ^{duly} appropriated funds by the people's representatives in Congress, frustrating the ~~will of~~ ^{the} Congress -- we will write new laws, and we are writing them -- that prevents this kind of executive ~~errors~~ ^{arrogance}. Having seen the excess of fast and loose collection and spending of national political campaign funds, we will write laws that can help clean up this process. And make no mistake about it, this is absolutely essential. We've got to clean it up -- or we'll never ever do better.

We will achieve ^{all of} this and more, because ~~we're~~ ^{the} American people are disgusted, not disillusioned; angry, not resigned; indignant, but not ~~responsive~~ ^{dependent}.

American values still live. Sometimes you wonder -- but they do. The old rules still stand, and we need only to bring them back into the light of the American vision. And the American vision has always been held by the Democratic Party. We've been accused of being dreamers ^{-- what's wrong with} ~~for as long as~~ that. We've been accused of being too kind and too soft and too generous. Better to be that than ^{to be} greedy and selfish and mean.

The challenge ^{to} ~~of~~ our Party is to reassert its role of leadership as the Party of the people. It is the Democratic Party that is ready and able to get on with the job and meeting the needs of the people of America. This Party understands the needs of a worker in the shop, in the factory. Because ^{you're} ~~we're~~ with it. We're part of you and you're part of us. We understand the needs of the people of the rural towns and

villages and the farms of this land -- because you've been with us and we're part of you and you're part of us. ~~He~~ We understand the needs of the working families of this country.

Of that businessman that seeks to provide employment and

P build ~~in~~ his enterprise. *[*We are the voice of hope and opportunity for these people and we shall take to the people

our agenda for action. I'm going to insist as one of the Party's leaders, *(and I say that ^{immodestly} ~~in modesty~~ but it is a fact.)*

I'm going to insist that we perform. I'm going to insist

^{we} that/come with sensible realizable goals for the American

people -- not dancing out here in the far beyond, but

working right down here on earth, to help the American people meet their needs and their problems. *We can do it.*

We're going to provide, help establish a strong and stable economy. We're going to help provide ~~people with~~ *decent* jobs, and a living wage. We're not afraid that a worker is going to be overpaid. I want to tell you this friends, I've seen very few working people get a month off in the Caribbean in a 60 foot yacht. Or that have two or three homes. The best that the American people are asking for is just a couple of weeks off in the summertime for a vacation, *to* have a little fun down in South Carolina or up in one of the Minnesota lakes in a row boat. Don't misunderstand me, if you've got a yacht that's fine too.

But we're interested in the people of this country. We need quality health care, not just for some, but for everybody; every little baby, every mother, every father, son and daughter -- right across the board, at the lowest possible ^{cost} ~~cross~~ for all of our people. And we can do it if we have the will. Good education for our children. Clean and safe neighborhoods, ~~and~~ a much better and fair^{er} tax system. And we stand for the right of every American to hope ⁱⁿ ~~for~~ the future and to have a descent opportunity to make the most of his or her abilities. That's all they're asking for. We provide no free rides. We're not trying to say, ^{or} ~~well~~, we're just going to make it easy for you. ^{or} What we're going to say is we're going to try to make it possible for you to make something out of your life.

Yes, we're kind of old-fashioned. And isn't that nice~~#~~ for a change? Because there are a lot of things in our history that stand well. The Democratic Party stands for restoration of American values, and for replacing the politics ~~with~~ ^{of} slogans and rhetoric with the principles of action and performance. We take replacing the politics of image with character and substance. Replacing the politics of charisma with performance and duty. That's what's needed in this country. We don't need Madison Avenue to tell us what to do. What we need are men and women who will love America, who are dedicated to it, who see its promise, who see its hopes, who understand the yearnings of the American people and who realize that democracy does not require genius. It

just requires honor, duty, performance, the willingness to serve and to give.

A favorite quotation of mine summarizes my message to you today. *It comes from that* ~~The confident~~ great American poet who seemed to understand the heartbeat and the spirit of this nation. So let me share it with you, these are the words of Carl Sandburg. And he speaks for me as I know he speaks for you. He said:

"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."

Dear friends, as we will it, so shall it be. A nation without vision shall perish. But a people with will and vision shall *triumph* ~~find it (?)~~ and I ask this Party not to cheapen itself by looking for easy ways out. I ask us to have the courage now to go to the American people with good candidates, with a sensible, responsible, achieveable program and platform; to reject those that would lead us into paths of dissension and disruption. To remember the American people are tired of all of that. What they want of us now is duty, honor, performance and action, reliability, integrity and character. We can give it to them.

Let's do it. ~~Right now.~~ *God bless you.*



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