

FOR RELEASE
ON DELIVERY
1:00 P.M., E.S.T.
APRIL 27, 1968

UNITED DEMOCRATS FOR HUMPHREY

1604 K STREET, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

TELEPHONE 202 / 393-6420

INTRODUCTION SENATOR FRED HARRIS

Twenty years ago a young reform Mayor of Minneapolis, burst onto the national scene at the Democratic National Convention with one of the memorable statements of our time -- a statement of such clear and compelling idealism that it shook the conscience of our nation.

In the 20 years since, he has become United States Senator...Majority Whip of the United States Senate...and Vice President.

He has risen not because of any personal compromise.

He has risen because he has never once lost the idealism...the basic humanity and personal integrity that have marked him as a true servant of his people.

His record is unmatched in public life: A man so far ahead of his time that many of the bills he introduced in 1949 and 1950 have only become law in the last two Congresses.

His initiatives have led to Medicare...to federal aid for education...to the Alliance for Progress...to the Peace Corps...to Food for Peace...to the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the establishment of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency...and to almost every major piece of civil rights legislation in our era.

As Vice President, he has traveled across the world in sensitive diplomatic missions fundamental to our peace and security.

And he has never once swerved from loyalty to his President...to his party...to his country...or to his ideals.

I am honored to introduce a man whose time has come...

The Vice President and, the next President of the United States: Hubert Humphrey.

#

REMARKS
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
ANNOUNCEMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C.
APRIL 27, 1968

Sen Harris
Sen Mondale
my fellow
Americans

Here we are - with the people - in a spirit of
dedication and joy.

↳ We are here today on business: Freedom's
business ... America's business ... the Democratic
Party's business ... in that order.

↳ These priorities -- of freedom, country and party --
have guided me ~~over the past number of days~~ as I sought to
reach an important personal decision.

↳ Any man who has spent almost four years near
the Presidency, as I have, must weigh carefully the
implications of seeking an office that demands perhaps more
judgment, wisdom and maturity than any single man possesses.

Yet any man who has spent his adult life in public service, as I have, also knows within himself that he must be willing to give of himself when and where he feels he can best serve what he believes in.

∟ And so -- facing the hard realities of the office ... yet knowing the potential for good which lies within it: I shall seek the nomination of the Democratic Party for the Presidency of the United States.

∟ My credentials may be stated simply: ^u loving family ... teacher ... mayor of my city ... Senator from my state ... Vice President of my country ... grateful husband and proud father ... believer in the American dream and the concept of human brotherhood.

↳ In his address of almost four weeks ago
President Johnson acted bravely and beyond all personal
interest, to bring unity to America and peace to Southeast
Asia.

↳ We do not yet know the outcome of the President's
initiative for peace in Asia. We are hopeful, but without
illusion. Only time and events will give the answer.

↳ We do know, however, that in our country a
sense of balance has been restored.

↳ The President, by his action, has given us
all a chance to see ourselves and our country in
proper perspective.

↳ When seen in that perspective, I believe Lyndon
Johnson's Presidency will loom large in history for its
dramatic leadership toward social progress ... human
opportunity and peace.

↳ The President's action has served to dramatize our most urgent requirement: The unity of our people.

Not unity at the expense of personal freedom.
Not at the expense of diversity. Not at the expense of dissent.

For we do not demand, nor should we, an America of one mind.

↳ We seek an America of one spirit.

↳ We seek an America able to preserve and nurture all the basic rights of free expression — yet able to reach across the divisions that today too often separate race from race, region from region, young from old, worker from scholar, rich from poor,

↳ We seek an America able to do this in the higher knowledge that our goals and ideals are worth conciliation and personal sacrifice.

↳ For without unity, we shall begin to doubt not only ourselves but our goals and ideals.

↳ With unity, I am convinced those goals and ideals can be achieved.

Which brings me to the questions I have been asking myself.

↳ What do the times call for?

↳ What are the possibilities of the future?

↳ How should I now proceed?

* * *

The time has come to speak thoughts deeply felt, but not said often enough, by millions of Americans.

↳ The time has come to speak out on behalf of America -- not a nation that has lost its way, but a restless people striving to find a better way.

↳ The time has come to put aside selfish ambition and pettiness ... to forget old fears and animosities, ~~the~~ ~~past~~, and to bring forth tolerance ... understanding ... and mutual trust.

↳ The time has come to recognize that this nation has more strength than weakness ... more hope than despair ... more faith than doubt -- and that we have more chance than any nation in previous history to ~~the~~ *master* ~~the~~ the problems we face.

↳ The time has come for those who share a deep and abiding belief in the purposes and potentialities of this nation to say: I love my country.

↳ The time has come to express a New American Patriotism. *The future*

Not a patriotism expressed alone in flags or parades, but in a willingness to get down to the hard, tiring, endless work that every generation before us has paid out to keep alive the vision of what America can be!

↳ The time has come, in short, to reaffirm once more that we can do whatever we must do to carry forth the unfinished and peaceful American revolution.

* * *

↳ And, then, the question of our vision.

↳ If we can mobilize the human resources to bring unity among ourselves, what are the possibilities?

↳ I believe this nation ~~and people~~ can finally break across the threshold of what no previous society has ever achieved -- the building of a social order of both freedom and compassion, of both enterprise and peace.

I believe we can and must maintain
the strength needed for protected
Occupational Security & to
meet our international commitments.

↳ I believe we can finally create a nation where human equality and human opportunity not only exist side-by-side, but nourish and re-inforce each other ... where every citizen may participate, on equal terms, in every aspect of being and doing that relates to self-respect.

↳ I believe we can make law and order not only compatible with justice and human progress -- but their unflinching guardians.

↳ I believe we can build cities and neighborhoods where all our citizens may walk together in safety and in pride ... and in a spirit of true community.

↳ I believe we can and must maintain the strength needed to protect our national security and to meet our international commitments.

↳ I believe, too, in the practical possibilities of peace.

I believe that free men, through the exercise of their own will, can narrow the dangerous gap between the rich nations and the poor ... can end the scourge of hunger ... can slow down and halt the spiraling arms race ... can treat and reduce the basic causes of tension and conflict in the world.

↳ I believe that, through our leadership, we can strengthen the United Nations and other international institutions and make them real, everyday forces for peace.

↳ And I believe that this strong, rich, idealistic nation can help to create a broader world society in which human values may one day rule supreme.

I mean a world society, of independent and free nation states, where the individual -- and not the institution -- comes first.

↳ I mean a world society where every child's future lies open ahead ... where he can be a free man and answer ultimately to no one but his God and his conscience.

all This

our

~~That~~ is what I believe ~~this~~ America can help achieve -- if we will only remember who and what we are ... and why this country came into being ... and what it is we really set out to do.

↳ I know the limitations of such a testament -- that it says more of ideals than practicalities, and more of purposes than ~~the~~ ways and means.

↳ There is nothing here of dollar balances ... of inflationary pressures ... tight money ... loose morals ... farm policy or labor laws ... conservation ... housing ... health ... social security ... jobs ... and a great deal more of infinite importance.

↳ Most of my time for the past quarter century has gone into working at these problems. ↳ I know them. And I have some ideas about how they may be challenged. During my campaign, I shall express those ideas.

But today, I thought we would do well to begin by looking at the stars.

↳ For there is guidance in the pursuit of great ideals, and energy in the pursuit of great ideas. •

* (Pause)

↳ Now, to the business of getting elected.!

The people who voted for me as Vice President had every right to expect a full four years' service in that office.

Thus, in the weeks ahead, I shall continue to fulfill to the best of my abilities the duties of my office.

I shall, as the President has, observe the absolute priority of peace over politics.

I shall do my utmost to contribute to a broad national dialogue -- devoted not to personalities, but to issues -- which may at once benefit ... educate and inform both the American people and the Democratic Party.

↳ For 1968 is not the year for frenzied or inflammatory rhetoric, or for finding scapegoats for our problems. It is a year for common sense!

↳ It is a time requiring maturity, restraint, and responsibility. *But it is a time for confidence and the spirit of public Happiness*

↳ I will resist the temptation to deceive either the people or myself. ↳ I have been too close to the Presidency to believe that the solutions are simple and the answers easy.

↳ What concerns me is not just winning the nomination, but ^{how} it is won.

↳ The man who wins the nomination must be able to unite his party.

↳ The man who unites his party must be able to unite and govern his nation.

↳ I intend to fight hard for the nomination, but I do not intend to divide either my party or my nation.

↳ In this effort I shall do my best, And I ask
no less of those who will join me.

↳ For democracy is only what democracy gets done.

↳ We don't get what we stand for. ↳ We get what !
we earn and work for.

↳ In full knowledge of the challenges that lie
within both the campaign and the office ... I enter this
course with a determination to win.

↳ And I shall base everthing I do on one
conviction: That this country, working in a spirit of
unity, can overcome any obstacle in finally realizing
the fullness of freedom, the prize of peace, and the
happiness of human opportunity -- here and in the
world.

↳ We are the people of today and
tomorrow. It is to the future
we look and aspire —

As History records -
(Victor Hugo)

"The future has several names.

For the weak, it is the impossible.

For the faint-hearted, it is the unknown.

For the thoughtful and valiant, it is ideal.

The Challenge is Urgent.

The Task is Large.

The Time is Now, "

On to Victory!

April 27, 1968

HHH _ WASHINGTON DECLARATION OF CANDIDACY FOR
PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION

Thank you, thank you, Senator Harris. How can I say thank you any more sincerely than to say that my heart runneth over with gratitude and appreciation of a friend, and thank you, Senator Mondale; thank you my champion. Thank you, you two co-chairmen for the brilliant leadership you have given all of us, that you have given Congress that symbolizes and representes our country. I am so proud of my co-chairmen and our committee and every person in this gathering today. Thank you. (applause)

And here we are, just as we ought to be, here we are, the people, here we are the spirit of dedication, here we are the way politics ought to be in America, the politics of happiness, politics of purpose, politics of joy; and that's the way it's going to be, all the way, too, from here on out. (applause)

My fellow Americans, we're here today on important business, freedom's business, American's business, the Democratic Party's business, and in that order. These priorties of freedom, country, and party have guided me as I have sought to reach an important personal decision. Any man who has had the privilege of spending almost twenty years near the President and the Presidency as I have, must weigh very carefully the implications of seeking an office that demands perhaps more judgment, wisdom, and maturity than any single man possesses. Yet any man who has spent a

lifetime, at least who has spent his adult life in public service, also knows within himself that he must be willing to give of himself, when and where he feels he can best serve what he believes in. And so my friends and fellow Americans, facing and knowing the hard realities of the office, yet also knowing the potential for good which lies within it, I shall seek the nomination of the Democratic Party (applause) .

(We want Humphrey...) Like it or not, you have him. Yes, as I said, I shall seek the nomination of the Democratic Party for the Presidency of the United States. My credentials, well, they may be stated rather simply: of a loving family; teacher; mayor of my city; senator from my state; vice-president of my country; grateful husband; proud father; believer in the American Dream--the concept of human brotherhood. (Applause)

In his address of almost four weeks ago, President Johnson acted bravely and beyond all personal interest to bring unity to American and to bring peace to Southeast Asia. We do not yet know the outcome of the initiative for peace in Asia. But we are hopeful, but without illusion--only time and events will give the answer. We do know, however, that in our country, a sense of balance has been restored. We know the President by his action, has given us all a chance to see ourselves and our country in proper perspective. And when seen in that perspective, I believe Lyndon Johnson's presidency will loom large in

history for its dramatic leadership towards social progress, human opportunity, and peace. (applause)

The President's action has served to dramatize our most urgent requirement--the unity of our people--not unity at the expense of personal freedom, not at the expense of diversity, not at the expense of dissent, or we do ~~do~~ not demand, nor should we, an America of one mind. What we seek is an America of one spirit. (applause)

We seek an America able to preserve and nurture all the basic rights of free expression, yet able to reach across the divisions that too often separate race from race, region from region, young from old, worker from scholar, rich from poor. We seek an American able to do this in the higher knowledge that our goals and ideals are worthy of conciliation and personal sacrifice. For without unity, we shall begin to doubt not only ourselves, but our goals and ideals. With unity, I am convinced these goals and ideals can be achieved, which brings me to the questions I have been asking myself : What do these times call for? What are the possibilities of the future? And how should I now proceed?

Well, the time has come to speak thoughts deeply felt, but not often said by millions of Americans. The time has come to speak out on behalf of America, not a nation that has lost its way, but a restless people, a great nation, striving to find a better way (applause)

The time has come to put aside selfish ambition and pettiness, to forget old fears, and animosities, and to bring forth from our midst tolerance, understanding, and mutual trust. The time has come to recognize that this nation has more strength than weakness, more hope than despair, more faith than doubt, that we have more chance than any nation in previous history to master the problems that we face. The time has come for those who ~~take~~ share a deep and abiding^{faith} in the purpose and potentialities of this nation to say: I love my country. (applause)

Yes, the time has come to express in our way and our time a new American patriotism; not a patriotism expressed alone in flags, but in a willingness to get down to the higher, hard, tiring,^{endless} work that every generation before us has paid out to keep alive the vision of what America can do. The time has come, in short, to reaffirm once more, that we can do whatever we must do to carry forth the unfinished, peaceful American revolution. (applause)

And then comes the question of our vision: What is it? What shall it be? If we can mobilize the human resources to bring unity among ourselves, what are the possibilities? Let me state them as I see them: I believe this nation can finally break across the threshold of what no previous society has ever dared dream or achieve--the building of a social order of both freedom and compassion, of both enterprise and peace. I believe we can

finally create a nation where human equality and human opportunity not only exist side by side, but nourish and reinforce each other; where every citizen may participate, on equal terms, in every aspect of being and doing that which relates to self-respect.

(applause) I believe we can make law and order not only compatible with justice and human progress, but their unflinching guardians. (applause) I believe that we can build cities and neighborhoods where all our citizens may walk together in safety and in pride and the spirit of true community. (applause)

I believe we can, and I know we must, maintain the strength needed to protect our own national security and to meet our international commitments. (applause)

But I believe, too, in the practical possibilities of peace; I believe that free men, through the exercise of their own will, can narrow the dangerous gap between the rich nations and the poor, can even end the surge of hunger, can slow down ~~and~~ halt the dangerous spiriling arms race, and can treat and reduce the basic causes of tension and conflict in the world. I believe that through our leadership, we can strengthen the United Nations and other international institutions and make them real, everyday forces for peace. (appluase)

Yes, I believe that this strong, rich, and idealistic nation of ours can help to create a broader world society in which human values will one day rule supreme. And I mean a world society of

independent and free nations, where the individual and not the institution or the party comes first. I mean a world society where a child's future lies open ahead and where he can be a free man and answer ultimately to no one but to God and to his conscience (applause).

A dream, yes, a hope, yes, because America is both a dream and a hope for ourselves and for others. All of this is what I believe our America can help achieve. If we will only remember who and what we are, and why this country came into being, and what it is we really set out to do. Now, I know, full well, the limitations of such a testament. I know that it says more of ideals than it does of practicalities, and more of high purposes than ways and means. This I know. There is nothing here that I have said of dollar balances, or inflationary pressures, tight money, loose morals, farm policy or labor laws, conservation, housing, health, social security, jobs, and a great deal more of infinite importance. In fact, most of the time, of my time for the past quarter century, has gone into working at these problems; I know them. (applause) I know them and I have some ideas about how they can be challenged, and during the coming months in my campaign and your campaign I shall express these ideas. But today, I thought we would do well to begin this great pursuit and venture, this cause that is ours, to begin by looking at the stars, for, my friends, there is guidance in the pursuit of great ideals and energy in the pursuit of great ideas. (applause)

And now to the business of getting elected. Let me share with you my thoughts: The people who voted for me for Vice-President have every right to expect a full four-year service in that office. Thus in the weeks ahead, I want you to know that I shall place high priority upon that call to service and I shall continue to fulfill, to the best of my abilities, the duties of my office, and the responsibilities ~~of~~ that have been placed upon me. I shall, as the President has, observe the absolute priority of peace over politics. (applause)

I shall do my utmost to contribute to a broad reasoned national dialogue, devoted not to personalities, but to issues which may at once benefit, educate, and inform the American people and the Democratic Party. For 1968, this year, is not the year for frenzied or inflammatory rhetoric, nor is it the year for searching out, and seeking and finding scapegoats for our problems. I submit that 1968 is the year for common sense to the American people (applause).

It is a time requiring every person, in every post, in every area of leadership, maturity, restraint, and responsibility. And it should be a time of great confidence, and above all, my friends, a time for public happiness in this nation. (applause)

So you may understand the ground rules of my effort, I will resist the temptation, and successfully so, to deceive either the people or myself. I have been too close to the Presidency to believe that the solutions to our complex and difficult problems are either simple or easy and I know the answers do not come quickly. But what concerns me is not just winning the nomination, but how it is to be won. (applause)

The man who wins the nomination must be able, first, to unite his party. The man who unites his party must be able, above all to unite and govern his nation. You can rest assured that I intend to fight hard and clean for the nomination (applause). But I do not, and will not, divide either my party or my country. In this great effort, I shall do my best and I ask no less of those who join me.

For democracy is only what democracy gets done; we don't get just what we stand for, we get what we earn and what we work for. In the full knowledge of all the challenges that lie ahead within both the campaigns and in the high office, I enter this course with a resolved and a determination to win. (applause) And I shall make everything that I do on one conviction: that this country, we the people of these United States, working in a spirit of unity, can overcome any obstacle, finally realizing the fullness of

freedom, the prize of peace, and the happiness of human opportunity, both here and in the world. My fellow Americans, we are the people of today; we are the people of tomorrow, and it is to the future that we look and we aspire. And I found some words that told me exactly what I want to tell you; you'll find them inscribed in great literature. The future has several names: for the weak it is impossible, for the faint-hearted it is the unknown, for the thoughtful and the valiant it is ideals. The challenge is urgent, the task is large, the time is now -- on to victory! (applause)

2



THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON
20501

April 30, 1968

Dear Fellow Democrat:

Enclosed is a copy of my announcement of candidacy for the Democratic Presidential nomination. In it I have tried to set forth the broad directions and spirit in which I hope to conduct my campaign.

I solicit your help - I welcome your participation. I am already heartened by the support and encouragement I have received from so many of the leaders and members of the Democratic Party in Colorado. The progressive, dynamic idealism of your organization makes this support particularly meaningful.

I look forward to working with you in meeting the challenges which lie before us this summer and fall.

Sincerely,


Hubert H. Humphrey

ON DELIVERY
1:00 PM EST

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
ANNOUNCEMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C.
APRIL 27, 1968

We are here today on business: Freedom's business . . . America's business . . . the Democratic Party's business . . . in that order.

These priorities -- of freedom, country and party -- have guided me over the past number of days as I sought to reach an important personal decision.

Any man who has spent almost four years near the Presidency, as I have, must weigh carefully the implications of seeking an office that demands perhaps more judgment, wisdom and maturity than any single man possesses.

Yet any man who has spent his adult life in public service, as I have, also knows within himself that he must be willing to give of himself when and where he feels he can best serve what he believes in.

And so -- facing the hard realities of the office . . . yet knowing the potential for good which lies within it: I shall seek the nomination of the Democratic Party for the Presidency of the United States.

My credentials may be stated simply: loving family . . . teacher . . . mayor of my city . . . Senator from my state . . . Vice President of my country . . . grateful husband and proud father . . . believer in the American dream and the concept of human brotherhood.

* * *

In his address of almost four weeks ago President Johnson acted bravely and beyond all personal interest, to bring unity to America and peace to Southeast Asia.

We do not yet know the outcome of the President's initiative for peace in Asia. We are hopeful, but without illusion. Only time and events will give the answer.

We do know, however, that in our country a sense of balance has been restored.

The President, by his action, has given us all a chance to see ourselves and our country in proper perspective.

Page 2

When seen in that perspective, I believe Lyndon Johnson's Presidency will loom large in history for its dramatic leadership toward social progress . . . human opportunity and peace.

The President's action has served to dramatize our most urgent requirement: The unity of our people.

Not unity at the expense of personal freedom. Not at the expense of diversity. Not at the expense of dissent.

For we do not demand, nor should we, an America of one mind.

We seek an America of one spirit.

We seek an America able to preserve and nurture all the basic rights of free expression -- yet able to reach across the divisions that today too often separate race from race, region from region, young from old, worker from scholar, rich from poor.

We seek an America able to do this in the higher knowledge that our goals and ideals are worth conciliation and personal sacrifice.

For without unity, we shall begin to doubt not only ourselves but our goals and ideals.

With unity, I am convinced those goals and ideals can be achieved.

Which brings me to the questions I have been asking myself.

What do the times call for?

What are the possibilities of the future?

How should I now proceed?

* * *

The time has come to speak thoughts deeply felt, but not said often enough, by millions of Americans.

3 [The time has come to speak out on behalf of America -- not a nation that has lost its way, but a restless people striving to find a better way.

The time has come to put aside selfish ambition and pettiness . . .to forget old fears and animosities, where they exist, and to bring forth tolerance . . .understanding . . .and mutual trust.

The time has come to recognize that this nation has more strength than weakness . . .more hope than despair . . .more faith than doubt -- and that we have more chance than any nation in previous history to cope with the problems we face.

The time has come for those who share a deep and abiding belief in the purposes and potentialities of this nation to say: I love my country.

The time has come to express a New American Patriotism.

Not a patriotism expressed alone in flags or parades, but in a willingness to get down to the hard, tiring, endless work that every generation before us has paid out to keep alive the vision of what America can be.

The time has come, in short, to reaffirm once more that we can do whatever we must do to carry forth the unfinished and peaceful American revolution.

* * *

And, then, the question of our vision.

If we can mobilize the human resources to bring unity among ourselves, what are the possibilities?

I believe this nation and people can finally break across the threshold of what no previous society has ever achieved -- the building of a social order of both freedom and compassion, of both enterprise and peace.

I believe we can finally create a nation where human equality and human opportunity not only exist side-by-side, but nourish and re-inforce each other . . .where every citizen may participate, on equal terms, in every aspect of being and doing that relates to self-respect.

I believe we can make law and order not only compatible with justice and human progress -- but their unflinching guardians.

I believe we can build cities and neighborhoods where all our citizens may walk together in safety and in pride... and in a spirit of true community.

I believe, too, in the practical possibilities of peace.

I believe that free men, through the exercise of their own will, can narrow the dangerous gap between the rich nations and the poor...can end the scourge of hunger...can slow down and halt the spiraling arms race...can treat and reduce the basic causes of tension and conflict in the world.

I believe that, through our leadership, we can strengthen the United Nations and other international institutions and make them real, everyday forces for peace.

And I believe that this strong, rich, idealistic nation can help to create a broader world society in which human values may one day rule supreme.

I mean a world society, of independent and free nation states, where the individual -- and not the institution -- comes first.

I mean a world society where every child's future lies open ahead...where he can be a free man and answer ultimately to no one but his God and his conscience.

That is what I believe this America can help achieve -- if we will only remember who and what we are...and why this country came into being...and what it is we really set out to do.

I know the limitations of such a testament -- that it says more of ideals than practicalities, and more of purposes than the duller ways and means.

There is nothing here of dollar balances...of inflationary pressures...tight money...loose morals...farm policy or labor laws...conservation...housing...health...social security...jobs...and a great deal more of infinite importance.

Most of my time for the past quarter century has gone into working at these problems. I know them. And I have some ideas about how they may be challenged. During my campaign, I shall express those ideas.

But today, I thought we would do well to begin by looking at the stars.

For there is guidance in the pursuit of great ideals, and energy in the pursuit of great ideas.

* * *

Now, to the business of getting elected.

The people who voted for me as Vice President had every right to expect a full four years' service in that office.

Thus, in the weeks ahead, I shall continue to fulfill to the best of my abilities the duties of my office.

I shall, as the President has, observe the absolute priority of peace over politics.

I shall do my utmost to contribute to a broad national dialogue -- devoted not to personalities, but to issues -- which may at once benefit...educate and inform both the American people and the Democratic Party.

For 1968 is not the year for frenzied or inflammatory rhetoric, or for finding scapegoats for our problems. It is a year for common sense.

I will resist the temptation to deceive either the people or myself. I have been too close to the Presidency to believe that the solutions are simple and the answers easy.

What concerns me is not just winning the nomination, but how it is won.

The man who wins the nomination must be able to unite his party.

The man who unites his party must be able to govern his nation.

I intend to fight hard for the nomination, but I do not intend to divide either my party or my nation.

In this effort I shall do my best. And I ask no less of those who will join me.

For democracy is only what democracy gets done.

We don't get what we stand for. We get what we earn and work for.

In full knowledge of the challenges that lie within both the campaign and the office...I enter this course with a determination to win.

And I shall base everything I do on one conviction: That this country, working in a spirit of unity, can overcome any obstacle in finally realizing the fullness of freedom, the prize of peace, and the happiness of human opportunity -- here and in the world.

#####

*Announcement Statement
Norman Cousins Draft.
April 20.*

~~III~~
II-A-1

My fellow Americans:

I intend to seek the nomination of the Democratic Party for the Presidency of the United States.

Virtually all my professional life has been spent in public service--public service at the community level as Mayor of Minneapolis, at the state level as Senator from Minnesota, at the national level as Vice President.

My decision to run, obviously, is directly related to President Lyndon B. Johnson's decision not to seek re-election.

I am proud to have been associated with President Johnson and his administration. The past four years have been years of challenge and trial for the American people but they have also

been years of surging, exciting growth.

In terms of legislation directed to the making of a better America, it is difficult to think of any four-year period in our history that can show more promise translated into actual progress.

I have served as President Johnson's lieutenant during this period. I have attempted to carry out to the best of my ability every assignment given me -- helping to get vital legislation through the Congress, undertaking missions in search of peace to all parts of the world, participating in the work of the National Security Council.

In seeking the Presidency of the United States, however, I do so not as a lieutenant but as an elected official with a long record of public service, and with a program of his own.

Nothing that I say, therefore, ^{concerns} ~~concerns~~ the present

Administration. Everything I say ^{concerns} ~~concerns~~ me.

I have never been more hopeful, more confident, about the American people and their future than I am now.

I believe this nation and this people are involved in an adventure in creative growth and progress that will have enduring meaning--for ourselves and for all mankind.

I believe that peace is possible--in Vietnam and in the rest of the world.

I believe we can bring the world arms race under control. I believe we can help make 'of the United Nations an organization strong enough to carry the hopes of the world's peoples for lasting peace under law.

I believe it is possible to develop the world's resources

for the world's good. I believe it is possible to end the scourge of hunger in the world and to deal with basic causes of tension and conflict.

I believe it is possible for freedom to win the war of ideas in the world -- whether the opponent is the Soviet Union or Communist China or any other totalitarian ideology. But the important thing here is that the weapons will not be guns or bombs but ideas -- and victory will be measured not by destruction but by human progress.

And I believe, most profoundly of all, that we can create here in America not just a Great Society but a Humane Society, a society in which human values are supreme, a society of opportunity, a society of justice for all our citizens.

I intend tonight to tell you why I believe all this is possible. I intend to tell you what I would do as President to help advance the goals of a Humane Society.

But first I want to make known my high admiration for Senator Eugene McCarthy and Senator Robert Kennedy. It is a tribute to the Democratic Party that it can offer men of such capacity and courage to the American electorate.

I have known Eugene McCarthy since our school days.

I am proud to call him a friend. He is a man of high intelligence and integrity. The people of Minnesota have been well served by Eugene McCarthy. He is entitled, on the basis of his achievements in government, to seek the highest office in the land.

I have similar high regard for Robert Kennedy, ^{As} Attorney General and as Senator from New York, he has demonstrated the highest qualities of public service. He does full justice to a great American name.

Anyone who expects me to try to advance my cause by tearing these two men down couldn't be making a greater mistake.

And I want to make this clear: I am not running against any-

one in my bid for the Democratic nomination. I intend to run on the strength of my own record and on the strength of my own program for America.

I'd like to talk now about the two most important issues before the American people. As the campaign develops, I will speak about the full range of problems affecting the well-being of this nation. Tonight, however, I want to talk about just ^{of these} two problems.

The first of these problems ^{the need} is to create just one class of citizenship in the United States--to do it swiftly, and without riots or violence. ✓

The second of these problems is to end the war in Vietnam and then go beyond Vietnam to attack the basic causes of war itself and make this earth safe and fit for the human race.

Let me begin with the first problem--the need for social justice for all Americans.

A few weeks ago, in Atlanta, I stood by the side of a wife and mother who, perhaps more than any single other American, is entitled to speak about the need for peaceful change in this nation. Her name, of course, is Coretta King, the widow of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

What she said in Atlanta that day can serve as the basis for the most magnificent advance yet experienced by any society on earth. She spoke of Martin Luther King's dream for an America that places proper value on the gift of life and on the worth of all its citizens, black and white. Her conviction-- which was Dr. King's conviction--is that this dream must become reality in our time.

Anyone who was in Atlanta that day will never forget Coretta King's testament--the testament of a woman whose overwhelming personal grief cannot deflect her from ^{her} the biggest mission in ^{her} life--to keep alive and vibrant Martin Luther King's challenge to every individual American--the challenge

of peaceful change and the making of a more decent society,
a more compassionate society, a more responsible society.

When I talk about peaceful change, I do not mean insignificant change or routine change.

Neither am I talking about casual commitments to great goals.

I am talking about the need for far-reaching change and for enduring commitments to the goal for a renewed America.

I am talking about rebuilding our cities. I am talking about the end of the ghetto. I am talking about new housing, schools, hospitals, libraries, playgrounds, community centers.

I am talking about new job opportunities.

I am talking about vital health services.

I am talking about the importance of human respect and pride.

Let me say here that I don't think the conventional idea of integration is good enough.

Certainly we must push ahead with integration, but integration must never mean ~~the~~ subordination. The purpose of integration should to enable a man to find himself, not to lose himself. He must be respected for what he is, black or white, and not become faceless in ^a ~~the~~ crowd.

Integration is not just an opportunity for a black man to work for a white man. It must mean that a black man can have his own business--whether we are talking about a grocery store or a department store or a bank or a factory.

In our society the freedom to work goes along with the opportunity to own. Obviously, ownership of important enter-

prises cannot be had for the asking. People need capital.

They must be trained. But most of all they must have the opportunity to own.

American business and government can help make loans available and thus create enlarged opportunities for business ownership by Negroes.

If we want the American Negro to feel fully connected to a free America he must be free to play an important role in it; he must be free to make his full contribution to it; he must be free to come into full possession of his abilities.

Franklin D. Roosevelt never waited for the United States to outgrow the depression. He knew that action was required. He believed that history is what men want it to be. He believed

that Americans had the opportunity and therefore the obligation to change their country for the better. And because he wouldn't accept the notion that unemployment was beyond the reach of human intelligence, he helped create all sorts of new economic programs--programs for farms and factories and for small businesses--programs that enabled men to rebuild their enterprises or farms or start up new ones.

I want to see ample funds made available to help qualified Negro Americans hold the highest positions in industry and government and to become important proprietors in American business. I believe we should help train them to be entrepreneurs.

The same is true of the professions. Men may have the finest professional training in the world--whether as lawyers or doctors

or scientists or educators -- but they must have the opportunity to use those skills productively.

This is what I mean when I say that integration is not enough. All citizens -- white and black -- should have access to the good things of life. They should know fulfillment and joy. They should be able to walk in pride and respect in their communities.

I want to talk now about education.

The first test of a nation is how it educates its children. Let us face it: we are short-changing millions of our young children. Our schools are overcrowded; many of our teachers are overworked and underpaid.

No wonder that so many teachers find their jobs almost beyond human endurance.

As a former teacher myself, I should like to talk about the difficult and sometimes impossible conditions in many of our

big city schools.

Just having an integrated school doesn't by itself make for a satisfactory education. You can't expect to put something in the mind of a child who comes to school with an empty stomach.

You can't expect a child to grow up in a neighborhood atmosphere of struggle and violence and not be affected by it.

You can't expose a child to an environment of insecurity and tension and expect him to concentrate in the classroom. Many thousands of our children lack the emotional and physical stamina that the learning process requires.

The problem is not just what happens in the school but

what happens in the community and the home. It is a basic problem and cannot be met by once-over-lightly approaches.

It is the problem of poor food, poor housing, congestion, tension, and, finally, ^{social} explosion.

The answer here is not to shut down schools inside the ghettos, but to open the eyes and the consciences of the white community. Education is only a reflection of what is right or wrong with the neighborhood itself. Good neighborhoods and poor salaries don't go together. When we get at the basic problems of the ghetto, we will lay the foundation for good schools.

The same is true of housing.

There is no point in talking about open housing unless

we are prepared to talk about an open economy.

There is something else.

Of all the rights of man, no single right is more important, more fundamental, and more essential than the right to be respected because a man belongs to the human race.

We are going to build a Great Society. ~~But we~~

~~But~~ We are also going to build a Humane Society. By a Humane Society, I am thinking not just of sympathy and welfare. I am thinking of attitudes and human values--the value we place on life; our awareness of the fragility of life; our determination to protect life against abuse and indignity.

I don't believe we should use up all our moral and physical energy in handwringing over what is likely to happen this summer

or fall.

Let's put all that energy to work now--right now--in
bringing social justice to life.

The black community should have a far larger role than
it now has in the operation of the machinery of law and order.

Law and order will prevail--make no mistake about it;
but it must not be law and order carried out along color lines.

It must not be one wall of color trying to contain another.

The black community needs protection against rioting and
violence no less than does the white. And the black community
today is ready to play its full role in furnishing whatever
police and auxiliary units may be required to insure orderly
conditions in their communities.

We must move now--imaginatively, swiftly--to give Negroes a major share in the protection of their neighborhoods.

Again, let me make clear, with all the emphasis at my command, that we are not going to build a Humane Society just by quelling outbreaks.

We have got to fix our gaze on the quality of life in America. This is where our real security begins.

Self-respect and human dignity are impossible unless a man is free.

Freedom is possible only under law.

Justice--social justice--cannot exist without law.

Social justice is not complicated. What it means is that a man is entitled to basic decencies.

the
A

It means a man can have confidence in his government
to ^{assure him} ~~see that he~~ gets a square deal in life, and that he won't
be pushed around or kicked around.

Is this kind of confidence justified?

Of course it is.

Wherever I have gone in this country, I have found deter-
mination and indeed an eagerness to make one class of citizenship
a reality.

Everywhere I have found individuals who ask:

"What can I do?"

No longer do they ask only what someone else is going
to do. Now the question is put exactly as it has to be:

"What can I do?"

Increasingly, people are answering this question by realizing that as individuals they hold a large part of the answer.

If you are a businessman, you can employ more blacks -- even if it means you have to help train them.

If you belong to a labor union, see to it that Negroes can get in.

Wherever you live, you can work for open housing.

Whatever you do, you can work for better schools.

Whoever you are, you can show respect. Attitudes are important. With the wrong attitude, nothing is possible. With the right attitude, all things are possible.

What I am saying, of course, is that the challenge is big enough for everyone to have a piece of it. The challenge belongs to the men who make our laws and set the standards-- in the Federal government, in the states, cities, and towns. It belongs to the private organizations and institutions that make up our free society. It belongs to all those individuals who in their day-to-day actions and attitudes set the tone for our society and create the dominant atmosphere which determines whether this nation moves forward or stands still.

***** ** *****

I'd like now to speak about the second great problem *facing us*: -

to end the war in Vietnam and then to commit ourselves fully to an attack on what is literally the biggest ~~problem~~ *need* in the

world -- the need to do away with war before war does away with man.

There are only three ways for ending the war in Vietnam.

One is simply for us just to pick up and go home --

without respect to or regard for the consequences of unilateral

withdrawal. There is no question in my mind that a pullout of this

kind would not create peace but instead would lead to one of the worst

blood baths in history. The stage would be set for chaos or the

attempt at takeover in Indo-China and elsewhere in Asia. The

end result would not be peace but a larger war.

So I do not believe in walking away from Vietnam or in
any unilateral pullout.

A second way -- to my mind just as irresponsible as the

first way--is by trying to end the war by using all the force
at our command in the utter destruction of North Vietnam.

This might end war in Vietnam but it would lead to a wider
war in Asia and probably in the world. Nothing could be
more hideous or irresponsible than the decision to use total
force in Vietnam regardless of consequences.

v Let me tell you why.

The United States has pledged itself to preventing the
defeat of the South Vietnam government. The Soviet Union and
Communist China are each committed, for different reasons,
to preventing the defeat of North Vietnam. Therefore, any
attempt to go all the way in Vietnam--~~by~~ either side--will
without question bring the major powers in direct conflict

with each other.

What does this leave? It leaves only one rational and responsible alternative -- and this is to end the war through negotiations.

Naturally, negotiations will be difficult. They may be prolonged. Attempts will be made to achieve through delaying tactics or obstructionism what could not be won on the battlefield.

Yet, with all its difficulties and drawbacks, I believe there is no rational choice before us except to proceed with negotiations as the only responsible way to end the war.

The hazards of exhaustion around the negotiating table may be great but they are not nearly so great as the pain of dying or the pain of hot lead in a human body or the pain of being homeless in your own country.

I don't think we should enter negotiations in a mood of fatigue, defeat, or despair. We ought to approach the negotiations with determination and a spirit of thanksgiving for the opportunity to save lives and with the energy to see the talks through to a successful conclusion.

One of the great difficulties, of course, in negotiations is that, according to present plans, no third party will be at the table -- a third party who can insist on fixed rules for discussion and debate, who can rule out irrelevant or obstructionist proposals or tactics, and who can insist that both parties stick to the essential

purpose of the meetings.

The need for an objective third party is one of the central lessons we have learned from human experience. We accept the importance ^{and} of ~~max~~ need for this principle in almost everything we do--all the way from labor-industry arbitration to courts of law.

I believe, therefore, that we should propose in good faith ^{the} to North Vietnam government that a third party be called into [^] the negotiations and be given a reasonable degree of authority ^{both sides} to keep ~~them~~ on the track. The obvious choice would seem to be Secretary-General U Thant, of the United Nations. If this suggestion is unacceptable, we ought to try to involve a representative of the ^{World} Court.

The same is true of the choice for a site for the negotiations. It would be one of history's greatest tragedies

if the killing had to go on in Vietnam because both sides were unable to agree on a place for the talks. Here, too,

I believe we should say that we would be willing to meet at any place designated by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

The important thing here is to get started on talks and stick with ^{them} ~~it~~ until we can achieve our goal of stability, safety, and self-determination for the people of Vietnam.

Let us ^{now} look beyond Vietnam to all the trouble zones ~~and~~ ~~situations~~ throughout the world.

There is first of all the perilous situation in the Middle East. Large-scale fighting has stopped but there is no peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors.

The division of Germany between East and West and the existence of Berlin as an island--this is too combustible for the health of Europe or the world.

In Africa, war or threat of war ^{exists} ~~threaten~~ in half a dozen places.

Now one fact rises above all these highly ^{inflammable} ~~flammable~~ situations.

That fact is that no single nation is strong enough or rich enough or wise enough to act as the world's policeman.

The United States could bankrupt itself by trying to run all over the world with armed forces and weapons attempting to

keep the peace.

I believe the time has come to recognize that the world's ^{best and only} ~~main~~ chance for peace ^{is tied to} ~~depends on~~ a fully developed United Nations.

The biggest single problem in a nuclear age is war.

Unless we solve the problem of war, there can be only temporary solutions to all other problems.

I have always believed that the strongest single emphasis in the foreign policy of the United States should be on the need to bring law and the institutions of law to bear on the relations among nations.

National independence is possible only through world interdependence.

The effort to substitute law for force in dealings among nations is the greatest single challenge in human history.

I want it to be known now that in everything I do I will attach the highest urgency to peace -- enduring peace with justice.

I will seek peace not just by extolling the virtues of peace but by working as hard as I can for the principles of

peace.

These principles, I believe, call for the fullest possible strengthening of the United Nations.

In fact, I do not believe that the human race will be secure until the United Nations has effective and responsible authority --

authority to protect nations -- all nations -- against assault

or outside intervention;

authority to underwrite the independence of nations;

authority to meet common dangers and advance common needs.

What alternative do we have? What alternative does anyone have?

Armaments by themselves cannot provide security.

The United States just by itself has enough destructive power to demolish any enemy or combination of enemies at least fifty times over.

The Soviet Union has enough nuclear force at its disposal to destroy any of its enemies a dozen or more times over.

Yet neither nation feels adequately secure.

The security of our people -- indeed, the security of all the world's peoples -- depends today not on the accumulation of force but on the control of force.

Accidents or miscalculations at the command posts could bring untold horror and agony to all those now alive.

That is why we all have to bring ourselves up to date in our thinking.

President Kennedy was absolutely right when he said that mankind must put an end to the arms race or the arms race will put an end to the human race.

I want to end the arms race in the only way it can be ended -- by giving the United Nations the adequate means for

underwriting world security.

Today, there are more than 12,000 pounds of destructive force--in reserve -- in TNT equivalent -- for every man, woman, and child in the world.

We don't have 12,000 pounds of food in reserve for every human being--or 12,000 pounds of medicine or schoolbooks or anything else.

The world will be out of balance and man will be out of joint until we get our values straightened out and put our main efforts and energies where they ought to be.

My fellow Americans--most of the problems confronting us are world problems.

War and peace is a world problem.

Racial discrimination is a world problem.

of Too many people and too little food is a world problem.

Pollution of air and water and soil is basically a world problem.

The de-humanization of man by his machines is a world problem.

We cannot meet these world problems just on a national basis. We can ~~only~~ ^{*fully only*} meet them _A on a world basis.

That is why we need a strong United Nations. That is why the machinery of law and order must be built into the United Nations.

Let me give another example.

After the fighting broke out between Israel and the Arab states last summer, everyone turned to the United Nations.

Everyone always turns to the United Nations after
the damage is done.

I say ~~let us~~ ^{let us} turn to the United Nations in time to
prevent the crisis ^{or war.} Let's all turn to it--all people--

and give it the responsible and effective means to do the
work it has to do to deal with the basic causes of ~~war~~ ^{conflict}.

I recognize all the difficulties in the way of creating
effective world law.

But there is energy just in the pursuit of great ideas.

There is also a large degree of national security in the
definition and pursuit of great goals--no matter how seemingly
difficult.

The world and everything in it belongs to the race of
the living.

I pledge myself to do everything I can to make the ~~our~~
world congenial for human life and safe for human life.

I pledge myself to work for the kind of world in which
it will not be necessary for a man to kill or be killed.

Life is sacred. Life is fragile. It ~~deserves~~ ^{deserves} to be handled
with care and treated with infinite respect.

These were the ideas that animated the man who created
this nation. These are the ideas that can bring peace and
dignity to our world in our time.



Minnesota Historical Society

Copyright in this digital version belongs to the Minnesota Historical Society and its content may not be copied without the copyright holder's express written permission. Users may print, download, link to, or email content, however, for individual use.

To request permission for commercial or educational use, please contact the Minnesota Historical Society.



www.mnhs.org