

FRIDAY PM'S  
MAY 17, 1968

## OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

## REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
MAINE STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION  
MAY 17, 1968

It's a proud thing, here tonight, to be a Democrat -- a  
Maine Democrat...a Minnesota Democrat...a Democrat...1968...U.S.A.

It's a proud thing on the record.

--The record of what this country did under the leadership  
of Franklin Roosevelt and that scrappy little giant --  
84 years old last week -- Harry S. Truman.

--The record of all this country has done these past seven  
years under the leadership of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon  
B. Johnson.

--The record of what Ed Muskie has done -- and Bill Hathaway --  
and Peter Kyros -- and Governor Kenneth Curtis.

But no Democrat worth the Party's name has ever stood on  
his -- or anybody else's -- record. That's why we're Democrats!  
Records are for running on...not standing on.

The record of these past seven years -- the record of  
America under Democratic leadership...is a record of greater  
advance than ever before in the history of this country.

I don't mean just in terms of gross national product. I  
mean in terms of the quality and the equality of human opportunity.  
I mean that more people have more chance to get more out of life...  
and that part of the reason is that most of them had the good  
sense to be Democrats.

Yes, we are going to run on the record -- and that means  
changing things as much as that record changed them.

This is what I read in the Maine Democratic Draft Platform  
for 1968.

That platform is not an indictment of Maine...or of America... drawn up by the dissident and the disenchanted.

This is no time -- and there is no excuse -- for anybody tearing America down to build himself up.

That platform is nevertheless a statement of deep concern about all there is that America has to do -- and do quickly.

But it is a statement, too, of quiet but complete faith in our capacity to meet every element of our concern. The great, presiding fact in this country today is that nothing -- nothing -- is needed to meet every internal demand upon us except our decision to do it.

Your platform is a statement of principle...but it is equally a program for action...for getting high sounding words down to the hardest kind of work.

That platform is a statement of tough-minded optimism.

That's my idea of a Democrat: a tough minded optimist.

You speak, responsibly and constructively, that America's policy in Vietnam seeks peace...and equally the enabling of other people "to pursue freely their own political and economic destinies."

You reaffirm "support of our government" and at the same time welcome "free and open discussion of our Government's policies in Vietnam."

This is right. Our strength is no greater than our unity -- but part of our unity is that dissent never be confused with disloyalty.

I add this:

One day the war in Vietnam will come to an end.

Even tonight we hope -- yes, even as we guard against hope -- that a step is being taken in Paris toward peace.

We know that at that conference table the archangels of war still sit close at the negotiators' elbow. But there hover above that table...so that the room is crowded with them...the heavenly hosts of mankind's supreme hope...which is for Peace.

At some point the counsellors of death are going to be driven out and the angels of life will come quietly to help write the peace.

What will we do with that victory of peace? Are we ready to win not only the war but the peace?

I urge it upon you that it is time right now to plan...to prepare..to get ready for what comes after Vietnam.

It must not happen again as it did in 1954 -- after Korea -- that the meaning of peace in the world is recession and retreat in America.

It must not happen that a cease-fire order in Vietnam means a cease-work order in the factories in America.

It must not happen...it cannot happen...that young men who fought from an integrated bunker in Khe Sanh come back to live in a segregated slum.

It must not happen this time that we win a war against war in the world...and then fall back in the wars against poverty and ignorance and despair at home.

These things must not happen...and they are not going to happen.

That's what this election is about.

That's what being an American is about.

That's what being a Democrat is about.

Now is the time to draw our blue-prints for peace...to plan...to marshall the spirit for peace even as we have had to mobilize our forces for war.

We can keep our economy growing -- always growing -- if we plan now.

We can train every unskilled worker and help find him a job.

We can give every American child a first-class education -- from pre-school right on up -- and cut the cost of college.

We can build the millions of homes we need -- modern, safe, clean, decent homes.

We can make our transportation systems work.

We can bring full parity of opportunity to rural America... give Americans a meaningful choice about where they live...in neighborhoods where people are neighbors...our own other selves.

Most of all we can and we must re-establish the integrity of the individual in a time of bigness...and make the future a Time for Man.

I mean a time of rekindling the meaning of being involved as an individual in the life of the nation...of giving every person a chance to take part in all that is going on.

A Time for Man is a time for people to test their new strength...to affirm their personal role in a world of machines and systems.

It is time to adjust life in this marvelous land upward to human scale -- so we can feel as people the sense of growth we have shared as a nation.

A Time for Man means measuring everything we do...not by the law of averages...but by the law that people are created to be equal...for a Time for Man means a time for every man -- every woman -- every child.

A Time for Man means making a sensible political question... that can be decided...answered...out of the intangible but central issue of keeping the individual above every institution -- so that humanity is not a back-wash of progress...but its bow wave.

My fellow Democrats, we are a concerned nation today.

But we are not confused. We know our course...and our priorities.

We are discontent...restless...not satisfied.

But we know our weaknesses. This is part of our strength.

The rest of it is that we know it is within our capacity now... our competence...our power...to make this in truth...and for the first time...the Time of Man.

And -- because we believe this -- and believe in doing this -- a time for Democrats.

REMARKS Chr Childs

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
MAINE STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

Rev clergy

AUGUSTA, MAINE

MAY 17, 1968

George - Sally  
Chairman Mr Mitchell  
Mrs Dubord (Dick + Olga)  
Mrs Broderick  
Ang + Dick

Ken Kelly  
Gov Mr Curtis  
Sen John Muskie  
Cong Mr Hathaway  
Cong Keyser (also)  
+ Peter + Steve

alfred Black - 93  
Not in Release  
Camden

I like your  
sign

I appreciated your invitation . . . some time ago . . .  
to come here to join you in your Convention.

all of them!

↳ But you asked for a Vice President --  
and ended up with a candidate.

asked as VP  
arrived  
as candidate

I have worried some about this . . . but not  
much. Changing Ed Muskie's favorite story just a  
little, I'm not going to get in the position of that  
Presidential candidate who was driving from Portland to  
Washington. He came to a fork in the road . . .

(Disagree - Don't belong to any organized Party - I'm a Democrat!!!)  
- Will Rogers -

with two signs ... one pointing each way ... but  
both marked "All Points South." Wondering how to

proceed, he pulled into the filling station and asked

the attendant: ~~"Does it make any difference how I~~ *How Do I*

get to Washington?" He got his answer ... Maine

style ... right to the point: "Anybody <sup>who</sup> has to ask ...

shouldn't be runnin'."

↳ Well, I'm runnin'!

↳ And not askin'!

↳ The question tonight isn't which candidate  
gets to Washington. It's which Party gets there ...

~~and wherever else Democrats are going ... and we~~

don't need any advice about that. We're going -- and we are  
period! Setting there.

*The Question*

ⓧ *I'm speaking for all our  
Democrats (if any fall in  
the Polls, its my fault)*



It's a proud thing to be a Democrat on  
~~the basis of the record~~  
~~the record~~

-- The record of what this country did under  
the leadership of Franklin Roosevelt and  
that scrappy little giant -- 84 years old  
last week -- Harry S. Truman!

-- The record of all this country has done  
these past seven years under the leadership  
of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

-- The record of what Ed Muskie has done --  
and Bill Hathaway -- and Peter Kyros --  
and Governor Kenneth Curtis.

④ L But no Democrat worthy <sup>of</sup> the party's name has  
ever stood on his -- or anybody else's record. That's  
why we're Democrats!

L Records are for running on ... not standing on!  
~~Records are to be built on~~  
~~not to lean on.~~ build on  
Not to Lean on!

# And We are Builders

↳ The record of these past seven years -- the record of America under Democratic leadership -- is a record of greater advance than ever before in the history of this country.

Great Record

↳ I don't mean just in terms of gross national product. I mean in terms of the quality and the equality of human opportunity. I mean that more people have more chance to get more out of life ... and that part of the reason is that ~~most of them had the good sense to be Democrats.~~

\$

opportunity

↳ Yes, we are going to run on the record -- and that means changing things as much as that record changed them.

change

↳ This is what I read in the Maine Democratic draft Platform for 1968.

Party

That platform is not an indictment of Maine ...  
or of America ... drawn up by the dissident and the  
disenchanted.

This is no time -- and there is no excuse --  
for anybody tearing America down to build himself up.

That platform is nevertheless a statement of  
deep concern about all there is that America has to  
do -- and do quickly.

Concern  
we all  
are.

But it is a statement, too, of quiet but  
complete faith in our capacity to meet every element of  
our concern. The great, presiding fact in this country  
today is that ~~nothing~~ all that ~~nothing~~ -- is needed to meet  
every internal demand ~~upon us~~ upon ~~except~~ our decision  
to do it.

We  
can  
Do

Your platform is a statement of principle ...  
but it is equally a program for action ... ~~for getting high~~  
~~sounding words down to the~~ hardest kind of work.

Principle  
Action

*Your*

That platform is a statement of tough-minded optimism.

That's my idea of a Democrat: a tough-minded optimist.

You speak, in your platform, of the over-riding issue of peace.

*Peace*

You recognize, responsibly and constructively, that America's policy in Vietnam seeks peace ... and equally the enabling of other people "to pursue freely their own political and economic destinies."

*Much*

You reaffirm "support of our government" and at the same time welcome "free and open discussion of our government's policies in Vietnam."

This is right. Our strength is no greater than our unity -- but part of our unity is that dissent <sup>*responsible*</sup> never be confused with disloyalty.

# Viet War over -8

I add this:

↳ One day the war in Vietnam will come to an end.

↳ Even tonight we hope -- yes, even as we

guard against hope -- that a step is being taken in

Paris toward peace.

↳ What will we do with that victory of peace?

Are we ready to win not only the war but the peace?

↳ ~~I urge it upon you that~~ it is time right now

to plan ... to prepare ... to get ready ... for what comes after Vietnam.

↳ It must not happen again as it did in 1954 --

after Korea -- that the meaning of peace in the world

is recession and retreat in America.

↳ It must not happen that a cease-fire order

in Vietnam means a cease-work order in the factories

in America.

Victory  
Peace?

after  
Viet

Korea

It must not happen ... it cannot happen ...  
that young men who fought from an integrated bunker  
in Khe Sanh come back to live in a segregated slum *in America.*

*Z* It must not happen this time that we win a  
war against ~~war~~ *Aggression* in the world ... and then fall back  
in the wars against poverty and ignorance and despair  
at home.

*NO* *Z* These things must not happen ... and they  
are not going to happen. *!*

*Z* That's what this election is about.

*Z* That's what being an American is about.

*Z* That's what being a Democrat is about.

*SO* *Z* Now is the time to draw our blueprints  
for peace ... to plan ... to marshall the spirit for  
peace even as we have had to mobilize our forces for war.

We can keep our economy growing -- ~~always~~  
~~growing~~ -- if we plan now. *and we must.*

↳ We can train every unskilled worker and help find him a job.

↳ We can give every American child a first-class education -- from pre-school right on up -- and cut the cost of college.

↳ We can build the millions of homes we need -- modern, safe, clean, decent homes.

↳ We can make our transportation systems work.

↳ We can bring full parity of opportunity to rural America ... give Americans a meaningful choice about where they live ... in neighborhoods where people are neighbors, not strangers.

↳ Most of all we can and we must re-establish the integrity of the individual in a time of bigness ... and make the future a Time for Man.

*Rural America*

(X) 9

*A Time for Man*

John Adams:

"The spirit of public happiness -- a spirit which is reflected in the life (of a people), in participation of public discussion and public action. This spirit of public happiness is a joy in American citizenship, in self-government, in self-control, in self-discipline, in dedication."

This is the Spirit of Public Happiness  
that inspired our forefathers -  
that has seen this Country  
through its most different  
times. Those who find fault  
with that Spirit fail to  
understand the real strength  
of our people. ~~They~~  
To do so, is to mis-read  
America & to sell our Country  
Short.

I mean a time of rekindling the meaning of  
being involved as an individual in the life of the nation . . .

of giving every person a chance to take part in all that  
is going on. Every man has chance! This is what

A Time for Man is a time for people to test  
their new strength . . . to affirm their personal role  
in a world of machines and systems.

It is time to adjust life in this marvelous  
land upward to human scale -- so we can feel as people  
the sense of growth we have shared as a nation.

A Time for Man means measuring everything  
we do . . . not by the law of averages... but by the law  
that people are individuals with soul and a body  
~~created to be equal~~ . . . ~~for~~ a Time for Man  
means a time for every man -- every woman -- every child.

and those who ~~take~~ find  
fault in this kind  
of Public Happiness —  
~~The Spirit of the~~ The kind  
of Happiness in American  
Citizenship that this Country  
has always had, ~~but~~  
would be well advised  
to take another look  
at <sup>their</sup> history & themselves,

A Time for Man means making a sensible political question ... that can be decided ... answered ... out of the intangible but central issue of keeping the individual above every institution -- so that humanity is not a back-wash of progress ... but its bow wave.

My fellow Democrats, we are a concerned nation today.

But we are not confused. We know our course ... and our priorities.

We are discontent ... restless ... not satisfied.

But we know our weaknesses. This is part of our strength. *and we know our strength*

The rest of it is that we know it is within our capacity now ... our competence ... our power ... to make this in truth ... and for the first time ... the Time of Man. *This is our testament to the future.*

And -- because we believe this -- and believe in doing this <sup>*it is*</sup> a time for Democrats.

R E M A R K S

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

MAINE STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

State Armory, Augusta, Maine, May 17, 1968. Introductory  
Remarks by Senator Edmund S. Muskie.

SENATOR MUSKIE: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice President, Governor Curtis, Congressman Hathaway, Congressman Kyros, distinguished Democrats in this great armory: (Applause) May I say, first of all, how delighted I am to be back home. (Applause) I can't help contrasting this State Convention with the last State Convention which was held in this Capitol City in 1948. I think it would have taken at least two dozen gatherings of the size we had then to match this one tonight. There are two things that impress me about this gathering tonight: First of all, that it is large enough to make a lot of noise and, secondly, that it represents a party which is large enough to disagree. (Applause) We couldn't afford disagreement in 1948 and win. This year we can afford it, we are disagreeing, and still we will win. (Applause) It isn't my function tonight to make a speech, but rather to present a distinguished American, and I must say that I have the job of walking on eggs as I do that. How does one present a man like Hubert Humphrey to an audience of friends? The best way that occurs to me is to present him as a man who is a natural friend to people wherever they are. (Applause)

I have known Hubert Humphrey personally for ten years. I have known him as a colleague in the Senate, as Vice President of the United States but, above all, as a man who inspires confidence, a man whom I have learned to

trust, a man who trusts others, a man who never lets you down. He has been described as the most creative legislator in the recent history of the United States Senate. (Applause) This creativity, which is unchallenged and unmatched in my experience in the Senate, springs out of two outstanding qualities. The first quality is a deep-seated outgoing, warm-hearted compassion for people. (Applause) The second quality is the courage to respond to and do something about the problems of people. (Applause) I have never met anyone who couldn't instantly respond to and like the Vice President, and I have never met anyone to whom he could not respond and like. (Applause) He is a man who understands people, he is a man who knows how to communicate with them and who communicate with him.

His record really needs no embellishment by me. Of the many years he has given to public life he has displayed a capacity for growth; a capacity to reach out beyond himself and to measure up to whatever demands are placed upon him. As a result I think he has developed outstanding qualities of leadership. (Applause) It is the kind of leadership which our country needs in times like these, because it is rooted in a deep trust and confidence in people and the democratic process, and ability to work with it and ability to make it produce. (Applause) So, my good friends of the Democratic Party in Maine, my good friends of Maine,

I am proud tonight to be in a position to present to you a deep, good personal friend but, above all, a great and distinguished American who can measure up to any challenge that the American people choose to place in his hands.

(Applause)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you. Thank you, Senator Muskie. Thank you very much for a most generous introduction. I couldn't help but feel as I sat here and listened to you I can hardly wait to hear what I am going to say; you made me feel so good. (Laughter)

Chairman Childs, Chairman Mitchell, George and Sally; National Committeeman Dubord and wife, Dick and Evelyn; National Committeewoman, this very lovely National Committeewoman you have and Mr. Broderick, Faye and Dick; Governor and Mrs. Curtis, Ken and Polly; Congressman and Mrs. Hathaway, Bill and Mary; Congressman Kyros, Peter and his wife, Alice, who couldn't be here tonight; and two of the most wonderful people I have ever known in my life, Ed and Jane Muskie; and to put the blessing on all of you, Reverend Clergy: (Applause) I look down here in this front row, just to show you how much optimism and confidence we Democrats have, I see a dear old gentleman, Alfred Black, 93 years of age. Alfred, stand up, please. (Applause) Alfred, they tell me that on occasion you have voted Republican. (Laughter) Well, I want to tell you that

I am praying we have picked this time because things are going to be better, I will have to tell you a story about my mother. You know, when I was a boy my dad used to scold me once in a while when I would get a little sassy with mother. He brought his sons up to respect their mother. He thought they ought to amount to that much, at least. And I remember one time when I was a chap of about ten or twelve years of age that I had gotten rather sassy with mother, and dad came home and he performed the manful art of dicipline, and it had some effect in several places. After that had all taken place, he straightened me up and said "Son, I am going to tell you something: the woman you have just abused and insulted is my wife and my sweetheart; she happens to be your mother. She is a wonderful woman and I want you to treat her with respect. She has only one weakness; she is politically unreliable." (Applause) Every once in a while we do slip from grace, you will notice, and we get a little bit politically unreliable, but there isn't anyone in this hall tonight that is politically unreliable. There are some of you that are politically disagreed, but you are not disagreeable; I want you to know that. How good it is to see you. (Applause)

I like all your signs here tonight, all of them. (Applause) Of course, there are some that I like better than others. (Laughter) But I like them all. And since the other seekers

of this high post, except Muskie and Humphrey - we are the only two that are here, I am going to speak for all of them tonight. (Laughter) This may end a couple of them, but I am going to speak for all of them. (Applause) So, Governor, Senator and Congressmen, when you invited me to come up here to join you at your convention you invited me to come up as Vice President, but I fooled you, and me too, because I come up here tonight as a candidate. (Applause) And Vice President too; you can't get rid of me that way. Whether you like it or not, dear friends, I will be with you until high noon January 20, 1969. (Applause) My contract for this job runs out on that date, but I am subject to renegotiation. (Laughter-Applause) The seniority clause in my contract is not very good, you know. (Laughter) Well, I was a little worried about this new role that I find myself in, but not much, to be frank about it. Ed Muskie tells us a story down there in Washington that I thought I would just revise a bit here. You see, I am not going to get into the position of that Presidential candidate who they tell me was up here some years ago driving, hopefully, from Portland to Washington. He came to a fork in the road and it had two signs, one pointing each way, but both marked "All points south." Wondering how to proceed, this candidate pulled into the local filling station and asked the attendant "How do I get to Washington?"

This typically Maine filling station attendant pulled himself up to about Ed Muskie's height and he got right to the point and he said "Listen, anybody who has to ask that question shouldn't be running." (Laughter-Applause) Well, I want you to know I know how to get from Portland to Washington, and I am running, and I am not asking-- (Applause) because everybody else is running too, and they know how to get from Portland to Washington. We are going to keep equal time here tonight. So, whatever you like, you contribute to your favorite candidate, and whatever you don't like, why, just blame it onto one of us that isn't being mentioned at the moment.

Now, the question tonight, however, isn't "Which candidate gets to Washington?" You will get to that in due time, and I may do a little proselyting here right after the meeting. It isn't a question of which candidate gets there. The question is "Which party is going to get there?" And I don't think we need any advice about that, do you? (Applause) But I do understand that some of you Democrats up here in Maine have been getting a little outside advice recently about how small states like Maine and Minnesota - we are sort of in the same longitude and latitude, or something or other, they say - how those small states like Maine and Minnesota can keep from being cute, or from being the tail that wags the dog. Well, in

speaking for myself, I don't have any such advice for you. (Applause) I happen to think you Democrats in Maine know how to handle your political events as you would like to, and I am going to leave it all up to you to decide what you want to do. I am glad they turned those lights back on because I was just going to say something for my friends, McCarthy and Kennedy, and they turned them off on me. (Laughter) I don't know why everybody wants to leave the Senate. I just tell them it is not that happy; you ought to stay there. But it is true, if anybody around here is thinking about this favorite son business, well, I hope you won't mind me saying just a word, being somebody from Minnesota who is just passing through, saying that one of his favorite sons and Senators is the man who walked in this hall with me tonight, Ed Muskie of Maine. (Applause)

You surely know how to send a great congressional delegation down there, you Democrats. I can brag on all these fellows up here. I just want to tell you that you have done well by yourselves, by your State and by your Nation. And I want to say to Governor Curtis that I have been privileged to enjoy your friendship and I am very proud to be in your State. So, just keep electing Democrats up here, will you? We like that. (Applause)

Ed, just keep looking at those signs out there; don't they look pretty? (Laughter)

Now, let me get down to the plan of battle. We have gathered together here tonight; my goodness, isn't this wonderful. Isn't it wonderful? Do you realize what you have done? There will be Republicans that will have to take tranquilizers for three months to get over this. (Applause) You ought not to do this. You ought to break it up in small meetings so that you don't give them such a shock. But as long as you are doing it early they may be able to overcome it by sometime in January; they will never make it by November, I can tell you that. (Applause)

It is a proud thing, a proud thing, here tonight to be a Democrat. I am just plain proud to be a plain ordinary Democrat. (Applause) I know how proud you must be to be a Maine Democrat, because I am proud to be a Minnesota Democrat. I am proud to be a Democrat in 1968, U.S.A. (Applause) And it is a proud thing to be a Democrat and look at the record. Sometimes, my dear friends, I think we get so accustomed to our party being in power that we forget to look at the record. Maybe I ought to give you a little advice after we look at that record, and I believe I will.

Let's take a look at the record of what your country did. "Did," now I say. Oh, I can hear them coming now, they are going to say "Humphrey is going to talk about the yesterdays." Well, they are not bad to talk about once

in a while, except those Republican years. We don't have to worry about that because we are going to talk a little bit about the tomorrows. That will leave a lot of people out, but we are going to talk about the tomorrows. I am proud of the record of what this country did under the leadership of Franklin Roosevelt and that scrappy little giant, 84 years old last week, Harry S. Truman. (Applause) And I am proud of the record of all this country has done. I am proud, so proud, of these past seven years under the leadership, first, of John F. Kennedy and then Lyndon B. Johnson. (Applause) And I am proud, my friends, to have been a part of both those administrations, as Majority Whip for President Kennedy and the Vice President of the United States for Lyndon Johnson. (Applause) I am proud of the record of what Ed Muskie has done, and Bill Hathaway, and Peter Kyros and Governor Kenneth Curtis. I am proud of what they have all done. (Applause) And I am proud enough of it not to go around and tear it down. And I am proud enough of it not to go around pretending that it didn't amount to anything. You are not going to win elections if you spend time working each other over, arguing that nothing was done under the leadership of these men I am talking about to you. That was a great record and you should stick with it. (Applause) Remember, if you put arsenic in the well you may have to dip your own cup in

it, and it doesn't taste good. And you can always rely on the Republicans to poison the well for you. Why help them? But no Democrat, no Democrat worthy of his party's name, has ever stood on his or anybody else's record. We don't stand on it; that is why we are Democrats. Records are made for running on; not standing on. Records are made to build on, not lean on. And we plan on building on and running on records, and not standing on them. (Applause) But you don't have to prove that your father was no good to make the son look good. You don't have to go around and say that your family didn't amount to anything to make yourself look good. And I don't intend to run around this country pretending that Lyndon Baines Johnson did nothing for America in order to make Hubert Humphrey look good. (Applause)

I will never forget the day that Lyndon Johnson took over the Presidency of this country after the tragic death of John Kennedy. He didn't repudiate the record of the man who preceded him. He said "Let us continue." And he called the leaders of the party, including Ed Muskie, to his home and to the office, the then Vice Presidential office, and he said "Gentlemen of the Senate and the House: I want to build on the record of our fallen leader. I want to continue to carry out the program that this fallen President would have carried out. I want to build on the record of John

Kennedy," said Lyndon Johnson. (Applause) I say to every person in this audience, no matter what banner you carry, I suggest that if Lyndon Johnson could say "Let us continue and to build on the record of John Kennedy," that he set a good standard for all of us. Let us continue and build on the record of Kennedy and Johnson since 1961. (Applause) You are not going to be able to run away from it anyhow. It is your record. You elected them and you better make it look good, because it is good. The Republicans are never going to let you run away from a single weakness in that record. And I suggest that you start to emphasize the positive or you are going to get yourself positively kicked out of office, every last one of us. (Applause)

Plain talk is needed. I don't think we have to build up our own candidacy by tearing down our own President and our own party, and I have no intention to do so. (Applause) The record of these past seven years, and it has been a package of seven years, first the record of the Kennedy and Johnson Administration, and then the record of the Johnson - Humphrey Administration - and I am proud to be a part of that Administration - the record of these past years of Democratic leadership, is a record of greater advance than ever before in the history of this country. And the history of this country will so record it to be. (Applause) I don't mean just in terms of gross national

product, even though that is quite a record too, I mean in terms of quality. I mean in terms of equality of human opportunity. I mean in terms of education, of health. I mean in terms of care for the aged. I mean in terms of Project Headstart for the youngsters, Project Upward-Bound for high school students, Project Vista, projects of work and study, projects of manpower training and development. Ladies and gentlemen, as I speak to you tonight, 1,500,000 unemployed are in training for jobs. Five years ago there were only 10,000 in training. Opportunities, and let's not sell it short. We have invested more in federal aid to education in the last four years than the preceding 100. We have put more money into senior citizens' housing in the last four years than in the previous 200. We have provided hospital and medical care for senior citizens in the last year to the tune of five and a half million. If we had done nothing else, we deserve some commendation and praise at least from fellow Democrats. (Applause)

Somebody says we have to be creative. How do you think that happened? I will say it was creative. New ideas, constantly new ideas. New ideas to help control the pollution of your streams and the pollution of the air. New ideas to help the kids get out of poverty. New ideas to take a little four-year old and give him a chance to learn. New ideas to take the hard-core unemployed and

employ them in private industry and get them off relief. New ideas, for the first time in the history of this country, to care for the mentally retarded and see if you couldn't do something about it. (Applause) I think it is a good idea. (Applause)

And tonight I draw the line on those who go about this nation saying that all we have done is talk of the past. We not only plan for today, we plan for tomorrow. And if we are given a chance we can lead this country into a better tomorrow, and you know it in this group tonight. (Applause)

I submit to this audience that under any fair jury we have given more people a chance to make something out of their lives, to get more out of their life, in this country in these past seven years, starting with the program of John Kennedy and continuing with the program of Lyndon Johnson, than any other time in our history. We haven't settled for Social Security alone, even though that was a big improvement, we have opened up the doors of social opportunity for millions and millions of people in this country that never before had a chance. I am proud of that record and I am here to speak of it. (Applause)

So, we are going to run on the record, and not stand on it. That means changing things as much as that record changed them. That record has changed a lot of things. It changed it so that grandpa and grandma doesn't have

to be on relief supplement to get a decent hospital and a good doctor. It changed it so that a boy or a girl that never had a break can go to a decent school. What more can you do than to try to be helpful to the lives of our people?

I have read the Draft Platform of your Party here, and I want to commend you, the suggestions and the resolutions that you will undoubtedly act upon. That platform is not an indictment of Maine or America, and it wasn't drawn up by the dissident and the disenchanting.

I happen to think that this is not time and there is no excuse for anybody tearing down America in order to build himself up, and I will have no part of it. (Applause)

That platform, your platform, your resolutions, is a statement of deep concern about all there is that America has to do and do it quickly. Nobody has a monopoly on concern, not even Democrats. Independants and Republicans are concerned too. Americans are concerned. The difference is whether you translate that concern from wringing your hands, translate it into action. And we are a concerned party with action. We want to get on with the job and do it quickly. And your draft statement is one of quite complete faith in our capacity to meet any element of our concern. The great deciding fact in this country today is that all that is needed to meet every internal requirement

of this nation is our decision to do it. We have the capacity, we have the resources, we have the will, we have the know-how, we have the science, we have the technology. The only question is do we have the will to get on with the job. I think we have, we must have.

(Applause)

So, your platform statement calls for action. A great priest once said that the purpose of knowledge is action. Now, we know what is wrong. We don't need to go out and get another Ph. D. Degree to find out what is wrong in Maine or in America. We have many people telling us every day what is wrong. Our question is to do what is right about what is wrong, and to find out what is right and how to do it the right way. There are many different views about that, and that is why we have discussions, dialogue, debate and dissent. Your platform is a statement of tough-minded optimism, and that is my idea of a Democrat: a tough-minded, warm-hearted optimist. That is why we say we are a party that cares, and that is why the American people have made us a party that governs.

Remember this, my fellow Democrats, we are the governing party in Maine, in the United States of America. We cannot afford the luxury of cheap demagoguery or false promises. We are on the spot, and we have the responsibility to this country for leadership. And if we fail to fulfill that

responsibility responsibly we will be denied the opportunity for leadership. But if we fulfill that responsibility with reason and restraint, and with action and response, we will be given the opportunity in Maine and Minnesota, all across this land, to have the responsibility for leadership and for governing this great Republic. That is what the election is all about. (Applause)

You speak in your platform of the overriding issue of peace. And you recognize, responsibly and constructively, that America's policy in Southeast Asia and Vietnam seeks peace. And equally you recognize the enabling of other people - and I quote your own resolutions - "to pursue freely their own political and economic destinies." You go on to reaffirm your support of our government and at the same time welcome free and open discussion of our government's policies in Vietnam and elsewhere. That is exactly the way it ought to be; that is right, because our strength is no greater than our unity. But part of our unity is the right of responsible dissent, never to be confused with disloyalty, and let's make it perfectly clear that we can have it that way. (Applause)

Yes, my fellow Americans, we do not ask for unanimity. We ask for a unity that is based on respect for the other fellow's point of view. Nothing can cheapen our democracy more than intolerance. How can we all be sure we are so

right? We need to discuss it and debate it and then, when we come to a majority decision, to support it. Then, if you disagree with the majority decision, to seek through the democratic process to change that majority decision in the legal, non-violent, peaceful way. That is the way this country has been built. That is the way democracy grows. It doesn't grow with one smash miracle. It grows step by step, day by day, year by year, decade by decade. And may I say that the concept of freedom in this country has not withered; it has flourished. More people today sense the meaning of individuality and freedom and emancipation in this country than ever before in the history of this land. And I am proud and happy to be alive at a time when my country stands in the world for freedom of discussion, for freedom of people who say "We shall overcome," or people who can stand up and say "Freedom now for me and for you." I am proud to be alive at this time. (Applause)

I add this: One day, and prayerfully and hopefully in the not too distant future, this tragic war - and all wars are tragic - that this tragic war in Vietnam will come to an end. That is what we are trying to do now. Even tonight we hope - yes, even as we guard against hope - that a step is being taken in Paris toward peace. Your President made the supreme political sacrifice to promote this cause

of peace. He was one of the casualties of this war. (Applause) That is right, one of the casualties of this war. Every President has five great responsibilities. He is the Chief of State, he is the Chief Executive Officer, the Chief Spokesman on Foreign Policy, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, and the head of his party, the chief political officer of his party. President Lyndon Johnson sacrificed that last responsibility and that last opportunity on March 31, 1968 for the supreme cause of peace. He went before you and me, and he went before the whole world, and said "I want to devote all of my time, all of my energies, all of what I have, for one purpose: to try to find an honorable, realistic, genuine, enduring peace in Southeast Asia." And he then went and said those words that many an American was not prepared for, even his sharpest critics, he said "I will not seek the nomination of my party nor will I accept it," which was only his way of saying that this part of his life he had given up - it had been taken from him - so that he could give all that he has to this cause. Well, I am his Vice President, and I want to do nothing or say nothing that will in any way impede that total effort. I want to give my President the benefit of the doubt. I want to give my country the benefit of the doubt. I want the world to know that we stand behind our President and our country in that conference at Paris. I want them to know

we are walking the extra mile. (Applause) And, as I said, peace will come. When? I do not know, but like all wars, there is a day that it ends.

The question is what will you do with the victory of peace? This is the all-important question. Are we ready to win not only the war but the peace? We have sacrificed some peaces before, you know, at the end of World War I. I think it is time right now to plan at this convention to prepare, to get ready, for what comes after Vietnam. I will tell you why. The year that Ed Muskie was elected Governor of this State I was serving in the United States Senate, and the war in Korea came to an end. More men were in Korea than are now in Vietnam. More money was being spent in Korea than now is expended in Vietnam. And the war ended. There were illiterates in our land, there were sick in America, there were more poor then than there are now, there were hovels and slums in our cities, there was poverty in our rural countryside, there were children who had never sat foot in a school, there were schools that were segregated, totally segregated, and the war came to an end. Peace. What did we do with it? We threw it out the window, if we did anything at all. The only thing the Congress of the United States did was to reduce the taxes and forget about education, forget about health, forget about housing, forget about America. It

could happen again if we make the same tragic mistakes that have been made in the past.

Political leadership is what is going to count, the will of the American people. And whatever may happen in this campaign, I intend to take this message to the American people: prepare for the day of victory, prepare for the day of peace, prepare for what we are going to do when and if - not if, because it will come - when that day of peace comes. People are crying out today for more for their cities, people are crying out for more for the poor, and they should. Our cities are facing a terrible crises. There is more poverty in rural American than there is in urban America. There are more white people that are poor than black people. Poverty knows no race or region. Poverty knows no area. It is all over this land to a degree; fortunately to a modest degree. But it makes it all the worse when so many of us are so well off that a few of us can be in such misery. So, the question before this assembly, the question before every concerned American, the question before every decent citizen, is what will you do with the victory of peace? Will it be recession and retreat? Well, I will tell you, it is up to you. I must say to you that it must not happen that a cease-fire order in Vietnam means a cease-work order in the factories in America. That is what happened the last time.

I have met some textile workers while I have been here. The last time there was peace in Korea you lost your job, because American Government and American industry did not prepare for the victory of peace.

I call upon you as citizens, as Democrats and as public officials to prepare America for the day that peace comes, to divert these resources that we have put into war into our schools and our cities and our farm families, into the health of the American people. This is what I am talking about. (Applause)

It must not happen, friends, and I tell you it cannot happen, that young men who fought from an integrated bunker in Khe Sanh come back to live in a segregated slum in America. You are not going to get by with it, my friends. (Applause) It must not happen this time, that we win a war against aggression in the world and then fall back, retreat, in the wars against poverty and ignorance and despair at home. I want to think ahead, but I don't think you think very far ahead when all you can do is complain about the yesterdays. The only way I know to think ahead is to learn from the lessons of yesterday, and then direct your thinking to a new horizon, a new vision, about the kind of a new democracy that we want for the American people. That is what we have got to do between now and November if we expect to be worthy of

a victory that can follow our efforts. (Applause)

That is what this election is all about. That is what being an American is all about. And that is what being a Democrat is all about. Now is the time to draw our blueprints for peace, to plan ahead, to marshall the spirit for peace, even as we have had to mobilize our forces for war. I say to you that we can keep this economy growing, and we must, or there will be no victory in peace. I say that we can train every unskilled worker and we can help him find a job. We can give every American child a first-class education, from pre-grade school right on up. We can cut the cost of college so that some of the less fortunate can have their opportunity. We can build millions and millions of homes that we need that are modern and safe and clean. And we can make our transportation systems work. We can bring full parity of opportunity to rural America, giving Americans a meaningful choice about where they want to live, making the smaller towns in Maine and Minnesota modern, safe, sanitary, thriving communities, with good schools, hospitals and doctors, so that young people and older people alike do not feel compelled to rush off to the big metropolitan areas, the already overcrowded and overburdened cities. (Applause)

Most of all, my friends, we can and we must - and this is the point that I think is bothering people all through

this land - we can and we must re-establish the integrity of the individual in a time of bigness when he feels lost and everything is big, big government, big business, big labor, big universities, massive traffic jams. He is lost, he feels sat upon. I think we can make the future what it ought to be, the time for man; not the time for the system, the time for man. And I mean a time for the rekindling the meaning of being involved as an individual in the life of this nation, of giving every person a chance to take part in all that is going on. This is what we mean by government of the people, by the people. Not just government for the people; that day is all over. When a few of us can sit in high and mighty places and dish out the benefits as we see fit, that kind of paternalism has no place today in modern America. Government by consent of the governed must include more and more of those who give their consent. That means participation; every man his right to live and work, every man his chance.

Now, Hubert Humphrey has spoken of this for many platforms, and I have spoken of it as the spirit of happiness that should grip this land, and I would spurn those who have rejoined it. Let me define for you once again what I mean and what I said. One of the founding fathers of this Republic, the second President of these United States, no radical, a rather conservative man, who in his senior and

his twilight years became the fast and close friend of Thomas Jefferson, who in his youth was the political antagonist and opponent of Thomas Jefferson, I refer to John Adams. Listen to these words, my contemporaries. A man that fought the Revolution, a man who understood the trials and the tribulations of a nation being born, a man who knew what it was to face hovel, and spoke at a time when America was in great trouble, more trouble than it has ever had since, John Adams said "The spirit of public happiness had gripped the American countenance, even before the Revolution was won." He said "It is a spirit which is reflected in the life of a people in the participation of public discussion and public action." And now let these words be seared into your sole: "The spirit of public happiness," said Adams, "is a joy in an American citizenship, in self-government, in self-control, in self-dicipline, in dedication."

I think Adams was right. This is the spirit of public happiness that inspired our forefathers in the darkest days of the birth of our Republic. This is the spirit that has seen this country through its most difficult times. And those who find fault with that spirit fail to understand the real meaning of America, the real strength of our people, and to do so is to misread America and to sell our country short. Yes, I think this country has the spirit of public

happiness. Enjoy an American citizenship. I have it. Don't you? Aren't you proud to be a citizen? (Applause) A joy in self-government, in self-control, in self-discipline, in determination and dedication, this is what this country needs today; self-control, self-discipline, a joy in our citizenship, self-government for more and more people, and it adds up to John Adams's definition of the spirit of public happiness. That is what Hubert Humphrey talks about, what he believes in, and will continue to talk about until November 5, 1968. (Applause)

Yes, my friends, it is a time for man, for people to test their new strength, to affirm their personal role in a world of machines and systems. A time for man means measuring everything we do, not by the law of averages, but by the law that people are individuals with souls and minds and bodies. A time for man means a time for every man, every woman and every child. A time for man means making a sensible political question, that can be decided, answered, out of the intangible but central issue of keeping the individual above the institution so that humanity is not a backwash of progress, but its bow wave.

My fellow Democrats, we are a concerned nation today. But we are not lost, we are not confused. We are a nation in ferment, in change, which is the very symbol of growth itself. We know our course, and I think we know our

priorities, unless voices mislead us. We are, of course, discontent at times and we are restless, and never satisfied, nor should we ever be, but we know our weaknesses, and this is part of our strength. And I call upon my fellow Americans, not only to add up the sum total of our weaknesses, but I call upon you to add up the sum total of our strengths, and I ask you to have the faith in this country that we ought to have from its history and our heritage. I ask you as Democrats to have greater faith in the future. I ask you to remember what Franklin Roosevelt said, which is apropos for our time, "All we have to fear is fear itself."

Therefore, let us buckle down to the task. The task of doing what? Of building this new democracy that has a place for you and for me, that has a room for our neighbor, that has a door that is open to every person, regardless of race, color or creed. The new democracy can set an example, not only for ourselves, but it can set an example for a troubled world. America is the last best hope of earth, I believe it, and I am going to stand for it and talk about it. (Applause) And let's go out and win this election. Thank you very much.

\* \* \* \* \*

DRAFT

Janis/Bennet  
Meyers  
May 15, 1968

Maine Democratic Convention

Your great Senator, Ed Muskie, likes to tell about the Presidential candidate who got confused after leaving Portland by a sign which read: "All Points South."

The candidate pulled into a filling station and asked:

"Does it make any difference how I get to Washington?"

And the attendant -- being a Maine native -- replied:

"If you have to ask, you shouldn't be runnin."

I know the Democrats in Maine believe it makes a big difference how the next President of the United States gets elected as well as who he is. I know, because I have read your draft platform.

That document ~~doesn't read like an indictment~~ by the disenchanting and disillusioned.

It reads ~~like a statement of concern~~ ... of faith in America ... and of confidence ... that America can meet its challengers successfully with unified Democratic leadership.

That is the message that will elect Democrats next November.

DRAFT - 2

Let me say that unlike some others who have spoken here recently, I do not hold the view that you are a tail trying to wag a dog or that you are playing a game.

I, for one, would be proud to accept the support of the Maine delegation and I share your conviction that our fellow Americans are ready to take on the task of building the kind of future we want.

At this moment, two closely related events are taking place -- thousands of miles apart -- that may well shape the future course of our efforts.

In Paris, the complex and difficult work of finding a peaceful solution in Vietnam is at last underway.

And in Washington, thousands of poor people are exercising their right of peaceful petition -- expressing, <sup>just</sup> ~~not~~ grievances and calling on their fellow citizens for a full share of American opportunity.

The war in Vietnam will end one day.

We will have resources available for better schools, more job training, a heavier investment in our cities -- national development of every kind ... including the development of our people.

But what will happen after Vietnam?

Recession and retreat, as after Korea? ... three recessions in eight years?

Will rising unemployment rob the hard-core unemployed of their new hope?

Will economic stagnation cost us the savings of peace?

Will we be forced to settle for second-class goals in a first-class country -- just because we weren't ready?

No, we cannot afford a failure of foresight at this point in our history any more than we can afford what has been aptly called the mortal sin of cynicism.

We cannot afford to be a nation that missed its chance.

But it will take unity to succeed.

It will take faith in our Democratic principles.

It will take overwhelming rejection of those who would build themselves up by running America down.

I think we can do it.

We have done more about poverty in the past four years than in the 30 years that went before. Your federal government has invested twice as much in education in the last four years as in the previous hundred.

Our investment in health is now three times what it was in 1964.  
That and much more has meant a better life for every American.

But there is still so much more to be done, especially for and  
with the poor.

And our country is still only half awake to the real meaning of  
poverty.

For too many people, it's still only a bad dream -- about a  
riot in a slum.

I am going to drive this message home hard in this campaign:  
Poverty in this country is not just wrong. It is not just a costly waste  
of human resources.

But it is also unnecessary. It can be eliminated in our time.

We have only to marshall the great human spirit of America in  
order to mobilize fully its infinite <sup>power</sup> resources.

We are probably the only nation in history where the poor -- by  
our standards of living -- are a minority. Let's say so.

We have come a long way. Let's say so.

And we can go the whole way.

DRAFT 5

We can keep our economy booming -- if we plan now.

We can train every unskilled worker and help find him a job.

We can give every American child a first-class education --  
from pre-school right on up.

We can cut the cost of college.

We can build those millions of homes we need -- modern and  
safe, clean decent homes.

We can make our transportation systems work.

We can modernize rural America and give Americans a  
choice about where they live.

We can have neighborhoods where people are neighbors  
and friends, not strangers and enemies.

-- And I think this is vitally important --

Finally, we can reestablish the integrity of the individual in a  
time of bigness.

I think we must dedicate the years ahead as a Time for Man --

Not by limiting the marvels of man's creation, for these must grow.

Not by curtailing creation of wealth, for ours is the earth to make  
our own.

Not by inhibiting the development of new ideals and new ideas,  
for without these there is no growth.

But by rekindling personal involvement. A time for man  
is a time for people to test their new strength ... to affirm their  
personal role in a world of machines and systems.

It is time to adjust life in this marvelous land upward to human  
scale - to feel the sense of growth as people which we have shared as  
a nation.

A Time for Man signifies that we are big enough and wise enough  
to undertake this period now - or <sup>lose</sup> ~~lose~~ the very path our fathers set  
out upon for personal freedom just under 200 years ago.

A Time for Man means a clear and swift end to any arrangement  
where human progress is the back-wash of a system, rather than the  
bow wave.

Above all it means an adjustment of benefits within the system for  
the mass of people who might as well not have been living in America,  
so remote have they been from its rewards.

DRAFT - 7

A Time for Man means escalating the question of the individual and where he stands in relation to his institutions to the rank of a sensible political issue. Democrats should be proud to bring it before the nation - and keep it there.

\* \* \*

My fellow Democrats, we are not a nation lost and confused.

Our way has been clearly marked in our time by four great social inventors: Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.

We have begun our March for Progress -- as a nation and a people. And we have gone a long way.

The only question now is: Do we have the will to complete the journey?

I know I have.

I know you have.

I believe the American people have the will.

And with your help and support, I intend to call it forth.

T. Meyers

Maine Democratic Convention

NOT IN RELEASE

I appreciated your invitation ... some time ago ... to come here to join you in your Convention.

But you asked for a Vice-President -- and ended up with a candidate.

I have worried some about this ... but not much. Changing Ed Muskie's favorite story just a little, I'm not going to get in the position of that Presidential candidate who was driving from Portland to Washington. He came to a fork in the road .. |with two signs ... one pointing each way ... but both marked "All Points South." Wondering how to proceed, he pulled into the filling station and asked the attendant: "Does it make any difference how I get to Washington?" He got his answer ... Maine style ... right to the point: "Anybody has to ask ... shouldn't be runnin'."

Well, I'm runnin'.

And not askin'.

The question tonight isn't which candidate gets to Washington. It's which Party gets there ... and wherever else Democrats are going ... and we don't need any advice about that. We're going -- period!

I understand the Democrats of Maine have been getting a little outside counsel on this recently -- about how small states ... like Maine and Minnesota ... can keep from being "cute" -- or from being "the tail of a dog." I guess I think that how the Democrats of Maine handle their political affairs is pretty much up to the Democrats of Maine.

But if it's true that anybody around here is thinking about this "favorite son" business ... well ... I hope you won't mind somebody from Minnesota ... just passing through ... saying that one of his favorite Senators is Ed Muskie of Maine.

START RELEASE

It's a proud thing ... here tonight ... to be a Democrat -- a Maine Democrat ... a Minnesota Democrat ... a Democrat ... 1968 ... U. S. A.

/It's a proud thing on the record.

-- The record of what this country did under the leadership of Franklin Roosevelt and that scrappy little giant -- 84 years old last week -- Harry S. Truman.

-- The record of all this country has done these past seven years under the leadership of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

-- The record of what Ed Muskie has done -- and  
*Biel*  
~~Dick~~ (CHECK) Hathaway -- and Peter (CHECK)  
Kyros -- and Governor Kenneth Curtis.

But no Democrat worth the Party's name has ever stood  
on his -- or anybody else's -- record. That's why we're Democrats!

Records are for running on ... not standing on.

The record of these past seven years ~~... not the Demo-~~  
~~cratic record ... but the~~ record of America under Democratic  
leadership ... is a record of greater advance than ~~during any~~ *ever before*  
~~other period~~ in the history of this country.

I don't mean just in terms of gross national product. I  
mean in terms of the quality and the equality of human opportunity.

*mean*  
I mean that more people have more chance to get more out of life...  
and that part of the reason is that most of them had the  
by a big margin .. than they did seven years ago.  
*good sense to be Democrats.*

When Democrats say today that we are running on the  
*Yes,* ~~same~~, we are going to run on the record -- ~~and~~ and that  
record of the gains of the last seven years, what we mean is  
means changing ~~things~~ *things* as much as that record changed them -  
that there has to be that much more gain in the next seven years.

*This is what I read in,* *draft*  
I have read the Maine Democratic Platform for 1968. It

puts the past and the present and the future in the right perspective  
... and gives them the right priorities. →

*Doug: please  
check with  
Curtis, is  
He is for Kennedy,  
But include at  
a strong no. says  
he does, please  
and me.*

~~That~~ platform is not an indictment of Maine ... or of America ... drawn up by the dissident and the disenchanteds. This is no time ~~and~~ and there is no excuse ~~for~~ for anybody tearing America down to build himself up.

~~is all its precession of years,~~  
That platform is nevertheless a statement of deep concern about all there is that America has to do -- and do quickly.

But it is a statement, too, of quiet but complete faith in our capacity to meet every element of our concern. The great, presiding fact in this country today is that nothing -- nothing! -- is needed to meet every internal demand upon us except our decision to do it.

<sup>Your</sup> ~~That~~ platform is a statement of principle... <sup>but it is</sup> But it is equally a program <sup>for</sup> of action ... for getting high sounding words down to the hardest kind of work.

(That platform is a statement of tough-minded optimism.  
That's my idea of a Democrat: a tough minded optimist.

~~This country needs to be reminded right now of its strength and its success ... but only so we can use that strength and success to correct our weaknesses and our failures.~~

This country needs to be reminded right now of the things that unite us ... <sup>so we can</sup> ~~but only in order to~~ use our unity to correct the things that could pull us apart.

~~This country needs to be reminded of the satisfaction ... the meaning ... the zest ... there is in what we are doing -- so that we can get on faster with all that still has to be done.~~

~~Your platform is in the great ... authentic ... tradition of a Party that draws proudly on its past ... but only to provide the confidence America needs so much right now for the future.~~

~~You speak ... in your platform ... of the over-riding issue of Peace.~~

~~You recognize ... responsibly and constructively ... that America's policy in Viet Nam seeks peace ... and equally the enabling of other people "to pursue freely their own political and economic destinies."~~

~~You reaffirm "support of our government" and at the same time welcome "free and open discussion of our Government's policies in Viet Nam."~~

~~This is right! Our strength is no greater than our unity -- but part of our unity is that dissent never be confused with disloyalty.~~

| I add this:

One day the war in Viet Nam will come to an end.

Even tonight we hope -- yes, even as we guard against hope -- that a step is being taken in Paris toward ~~Peace~~.

We know that at that conference table the archangels of war still sit close at the negotiators' elbow. But there hover above that table ... so that the room is crowded with them ... the heavenly hosts of mankind's supreme hope ... which is for Peace. And <sup>are going to</sup> at some point the counsellors of death will be driven out and the angels of life will come quietly to help write the peace.

What will we do with that Victory of Peace? Are we ready to win not only the war but the peace?

*I urge it upon you that it*  
 It is time right now to plan ... to prepare ... to get ready for what comes after Viet Nam.

It must not happen <sup>again</sup> ... as it did in 1954 ... after Korea ... that the meaning of peace in the world is recession and retreat in America.

It must not happen that a cease-fire order in Viet Nam means a cease-work order in the factories in America.

It must not happen ... it cannot happen ... that young men who fought from an integrated bunker in Khe Sanh come back to live in a segregated slum, in an American city.

It must not happen this time that we win a war against war in the world ... and then fall back in the wars against poverty and ignorance and despair at home.

These things must not happen .. and they are not going to happen!

That's what this election is about.

That's what being an American is about.

That's what being a Democrat is about.

Now ... ~~now!~~ ... is the time to draw our blue-prints for ~~Peace~~ ... to plan ... to marshal the spirit for ~~Peace~~ even as we have had to mobilize our forces for war.

We can keep our economy growing -- always growing -- if we plan now.

We can train every unskilled worker and help find him a job.

We can give every American child a first-class education -- from pre-school right on up -- and cut the cost of college

We can build the millions of homes we need -- modern, safe, clean, decent homes.

We can make our transportation systems work.

We can bring full parity of opportunity to rural America ... give Americans a meaningful choice about where they live .. in neighborhoods where people are neighbors, ~~not strangers.~~ ~~our own other selves.~~

Most of all we can and we must re-establish the integrity of the individual in a time of bigness ... and make the future a Time for Man.

( I mean a time of rekindling the meaning of being involved as an individual in the life of the Nation ... of giving every person a chance to take part in all that is going on.

A Time for Man is a time for people to test their new strength ... to affirm their personal role in a world of machines and systems.

It is time to adjust life in this marvelous land upward to human scale -- so we can feel as people the sense of growth we have shared as a nation.

A Time for Man means measuring everything we do ... not by the law of averages ... but by the law that people are created to be equal ... for a Time for Man means a time for every man -- every woman -- every child .

( A Time for Man means making a sensible political question ... that can be decided ... answered ... out of the intangible but central issue of keeping the individual above every institution -- so that humanity is not a back-wash of progress ... but <sup>its</sup> ~~its~~ bow wave.

My fellow Democrats, we are a concerned nation today.

But we are not confused! We know our course ... and  
our priorities.

We are discontent ~~and~~ restless ~~and~~ not satisfied.

But we know our weaknesses. This is part of <sup>our</sup> strength.

The rest of it is that we know it is within our capacity  
now ... our competence ... our power ... to make this in truth ...  
and for the first time ... the Time of Man.

And -- because we believe this -- and believe in doing  
this -- a time for Democrats!





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