



news release

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For Release Thursday AM's
October 10, 1968

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DC-596

HUMPHREY URGES LIBERALS TO BACK CANDIDATES OF REASON

New York, N.Y., October 9--Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey today urged liberals to "get to work" on his campaign to insure a continuation of the ideals of liberalism.

In a speech to Liberal Party leaders and workers, Mr. Humphrey said, "let's not kid ourselves. We're in the fight of our lives this year." He emphasized that voting for liberal candidates this year is not enough. "To be a liberal," he said, "means not only to vote for, but to work for, candidates who appeal to reason and not to fear, for candidates you can trust."

Mr. Humphrey said that these times are putting "heavier burdens" on liberalism than ever before. He reminded his audience that they had "stood together before in a lot of battles that the faint of heart called hopeless" and had won those battles.

He said that liberals must defend America against the demagogues that today threaten her. Liberals "know that a free society can remain free even when confronting enemies abroad and torn by dissent at home."

Liberalism today means working for peace in Vietnam and a rational nuclear policy; and not only "rejecting, but actively resisting, the extremism of both right and left," he said.

The text of the Vice President's speech is attached:

REMARKS
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
LIBERAL PARTY ACCEPTANCE SPEECH
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
OCTOBER 9, 1968

For Release: Thursday AMs
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About a month ago, I signed a paper in which I formally accepted the nomination of the Liberal Party for the Presidency. Tonight, I am pleased to come before you personally to tell you how proud I am to have it.

I asked for your endorsement openly. I accept it openly.

If I appear to be making an issue of this, it is because New York State this year has witnessed the spectacle of a Republican candidate for President who lacks the courage either to accept or reject the endorsement of the Conservative Party. He simply begged the Conservatives to run a blank space for President so they could conduct a back door romance on Election Day.

I feel no need for any such hanky panky with the Liberal Party. I am here to declare my affection in full public view and to join our names on the ballot in legal wedlock.

Frankly, I don't think I could leave you standing at the church door even if I wanted to. Everyone knows we've been going steady for years.

This is not the kind of shotgun wedding that Strom Thurmond arranged between Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew.

Ours was love at first sight -- from the fight over civil rights and recognition of the independent State of Israel in the forties, through the ugly darkness of the Joe McCarthy period in the fifties, and on through the struggles to handcuff the bomb and rebuild our cities and reconcile our people in the sixties.

I have come here today to set before you my views on the issues of this campaign, on the conduct and the candidates of this campaign, and on what in my judgment it means to be a liberal today. Because you have a right to know what I will do if I am President, and so do all the American people.

The greatest torment of our time is the war in Vietnam.

All three Presidential candidates say they want peace.

But my Republican opponent has remained silent on how to achieve it. The other day he dropped a sly hint that he might be able to accept peace terms that the present Administration could not. But he did not say what those terms might be.

What are they, Mr. Nixon. I again challenge you to debate, to tell the people exactly what you would do about Vietnam if you were President -- and to tell them now.

You of the Liberal Party, and I have spelled out our views. Your Liberal Party plank proposes a further peace initiative by the United States through a cessation of bombing in North Vietnam as "a prelude to productive negotiations."

. . . more

May I pay my respects to your choice of words. A "prelude" is the opening passage of a greater work -- a greater work of peace in Southeast Asia.

I have spelled out how I would stop the bombing as a step toward peace -- a risk fully within our national interest -- and I have laid down my proposals for a cease-fire, for de-Americanization of the war and for free elections in South Vietnam with all factions participating.

That's what I've said I'll do -- and that's what I will do -- if I am President.

Second, beyond Vietnam lies the quest for peace and disarmament.

I believe the next four years may well determine whether or not the world can be saved from nuclear holocaust.

And I believe this is a cause for liberals...who dare -- not for conservatives, who don't.

Nuclear war is almost beyond the human mind. We have come to live with its threat as a nightmare -- horrible -- unwanted -- but somehow unreal. Terrible, yes...but what man, we ask, would unleash it?

Then we hear General LeMay, a candidate for the Vice Presidency of the United States, console us with the remark that after only 20 years the rats are flourishing on Bikini Atol...and only the land crabs are still slightly "hot."

That could be the epitaph of Manhattan Island.

Nuclear War can happen in our times...if we let it. We can prevent it...if we will.

If I am President, America will take the lead in negotiating a halt to the nuclear arms race before it halts humanity.

We have labored hard to write a non-proliferation treaty to stop nuclear weapons from spreading around the world. That treaty is now before the Senate.

Richard Nixon has refused to help ratify it. I call upon the Senate to ratify it -- and to ratify it now -- before the fateful tide in the affairs of men turns, and leaves us stranded.

I urge you to make your voices heard. I urge you to act tonight to save mankind tomorrow.

Third, American liberals are today challenged to show Americans how to live together at peace -- how to rule themselves by reason and compassion -- not by fear and not by violence.

On this issue the three candidates clearly do not agree.

George Corley Wallace simply does not want peace and reconciliation. He generates division and disunity. He tries to catch votes by playing on fear and hate. And I say he is playing a dangerous game -- a game that could tear this country to pieces.

Richard Nixon cloaks that same appeal but he invokes it. And that, too, is a dangerous -- and a tricky -- game.

I do not intend to preside over a nation that slams the door in the face of millions of men and women and children who dwell in misery in black Chicago and white Appalachia, in Spanish Harlem and Mexican California and Western Indian settlements.

Neither do I intend to preside over a nation torn to pieces by violent extremists be they black or white, left or right.

I believe that violence is intolerable but so is injustice. I believe the remedy for violence is justice and not repression. And I deeply believe that we must be one nation or none.

Violence is not the way of liberalism. Violence is the way of the demagogue and the dictator -- whether of the right or the left. Violence is the method of intolerance -- whether of the young rebel or the old reactionary.

Never was the way of liberalism -- of reason, debate, mutual respect -- more needed than today.

The way of liberalism is not to deny manhood to the young, but to welcome them as a challenging and creative force.

It is not to deny bread to the poor, but to bring them into our affluent economy as productive and rewarded men and women.

It is not to deny freedom to the races, but to welcome them as equals into the family of man.

Finally, the line is clearly drawn among the three candidates on a long list of other domestic issues -- social security, education, housing, Medicare, economic growth, and prosperity.

George Corley Wallace has said little about these issues this year, but for 25 years he has opposed everything liberals have fought for.

And so has Richard Milhous Nixon. And you know it. And you know too that you can trust the Democratic Party on these issues -- because its record on them goes back to Franklin D. Roosevelt.

I will not belabor this audience with those issues -- you know them too well. Indeed, you invented most of them.

Rather, I would talk with you a moment further about the conduct and the candidates in this campaign.

Some of you may share with me this year a feeling that we're watching a rerun of an old movie.

Remember when Joe McCarthy vilified Adlai Stevenson openly while Richard Nixon carried on a campaign of insinuation and innuendo?

Well, this year George Corley Wallace is playing to Americans' darkest fears -- and the same Richard Nixon is around again, saying one thing in the North and something else in the South. He's muttering about social justice in the North but reading the crime news to Southern audiences.

Mr. Nixon's pollsters and managers have convinced him that his \$20 million dollar campaign will win the election if only he plays it safe, says nothing, dodges the hard issues, and sends secret messages to all the special interests.

He is taking the American people for granted.

I say the American people cannot and should not be taken for granted.

We are told by a respected columnist that Mr. Nixon has changed, that he can be counted on to make responsible appointments if he is elected President.

Well, he has already made his first appointment -- Spiro T. Agnew.

In the last five years three great American leaders have been assassinated, and one of them was our President and another was running for President. In the last fifty years one President out of three has not completed his term in office.

The most important selection a President makes is the man he picks for his Vice President. For there is one chance in three that that man will become President.

Before the Republican Convention, Mr. Nixon talked about picking all sorts of responsible Republicans, such as Mayor John Lindsay.

But when the chips were down, he yielded to Strom Thurmond and picked Spiro Agnew.

During this campaign he can be counted on to suggest the names of other responsible men he will appoint to Cabinet posts if he is elected President.

But if he were President he would appoint the same kind of men that held him captive at the Convention -- and there isn't a liberal among them -- and you know it.

In a few short weeks Spiro Agnew has managed to insult Americans of Polish and Japanese descent and then to apologize -- to call me "soft on communism" and then to apologize -- to say that Nixon had a "plan" to end the war in Vietnam and then to explain there wasn't any such plan -- now they clamped the lid on him.

But who would stand guard if he were President?

Listen to what Mr. Nixon said about Mr. Agnew: "I was deeply impressed by his tremendous brain power, great courage, and unprejudiced legal mind. He has vigor, imagination, and above all he acts. Under pressure he is one of the best-poised and controlled."

Now listen to what the Washington POST said of Mr. Agnew: "Nixon's decision ...to name Agnew as his running mate may come to be regarded as perhaps the most eccentric political appointment since the Roman Emperor Caligula named his horse a Consul."

And I say: President Agnew...and President LeMay...it could happen...and so before we hear any more talk about the new Nixon's responsible appointments, let columnists carefully consider where President Agnew might lead us.

In this campaign, I have never had to drag Ed Muskie kicking and screaming back into the mainstream of my own campaign -- or into the 20th Century. And, to borrow the language of Madison Avenue, no other Presidential candidate can make that claim.

You know Ed Muskie. You know his liberal voting record in the Senate. You have watched the maturity, the judgment, the wisdom, the candor and dignity with which he has conducted his campaign this fall. And you know that if he should become your President, you could trust him with that great office. And if the American people don't know it, I want you to go out and tell them.

Let's not kid ourselves. We're in the fight of our lives this year, you and I. But we've stood together before in a lot of battles that the faint of heart called hopeless. And we stand together again.

What sustains us, what leads us, is the liberal faith. For we know that the heart of liberalism lies in an awareness of the difficulties of man's condition and the complexities of men's choices...in the tolerance of dissent and diverse opinions ...in the never-ending fight for free debate...in the determination to create conditions to release human energies and promote human fulfillment...in the willingness to try out new ideas, hold fast to old ideals, and defend against the demagogues the land we love.

We know that a free society can remain free even when confronting enemies abroad and torn by dissent at home.

We know that we can give men everywhere a glimpse of hope and peace even in our darkest hours.

Never has a time put heavier burdens on liberalism.

In our foreign policy, I suggest, to be a liberal today means at a minimum to work for peace in Vietnam and for sanity in nuclear policy.

At home, I suggest, to be a liberal today means not only rejecting but actively resisting the extremism of both right and left...the extremism that threatens to tear this country to pieces.

And in this campaign, I suggest, to be a liberal means not only to vote for but to work for candidates who appeal to reason and not to fear, for candidates you can trust.

We can win this election...we will win this election if we truly care what happens to this nation.

So let's get to work.

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ADDRESS BY VICE-PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
AT LIBERAL PARTY ANNUAL DINNER

10/9/68

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Chairman Harrington, and thank you beyond my capacity to properly express myself tonight for your words of praise and encouragement and of support.

There are so many wonderful friends here tonight that the suggestion that my dear friend, Arthur Goldberg, gave to me almost -- I'm afraid is almost going to overtake me and keep me from sticking to what I had planned on saying to you.

How can one help but feel somewhat emotional and sentimental when he sees before him and around him men and women with whom he has been associated and worked all of his adult life. How can I help but feel very much at home, as if I am just a member of the family, when I see to my left and to your right this dear and wonderful friend of mine, David Dubinsky, that stood with me year in and year out.

(Applause)

How can I help but know that I am in the presence of one of the keenest political minds and one of the finest men that I have ever had the chance to know as friend and comatriot, Alex Rose.

(Applause)

And I could go down the roster of names that is in this program and each one of them I could speak kindly of and speak with great admiration and respect.

The toughest audience to speak to, the most difficult, is an audience of friends, people that know you so well, because they know your limitations, they also know your frailties, they know your assets, and they know your strengths.

But I come to you tonight just as a friend and as a fellow liberal, and I come to you tonight as a standard bearer for a great cause, and not only a great office.

I come to you tonight as the standard bearer for peace in this world and justice in this land, and hope for mankind.

(Applause)

That is a very big assignment, and I am well aware of it.

You have helped me grow up and mature as a public man. You have helped me enjoy life with the warmth of your friendship as a private man. And now together I believe we can help each other make America fulfill its dream, fulfill its responsibility, and fulfill its hope.

Well, about a month ago I signed a paper in which I formally accepted the nomination of the Liberal Party for the Presidency, and I was happy to do it. And tonight I am pleased to come before this great audience and to personally tell you how proud I am to have your support and your endorsement, and to be on your ticket.

(Applause)

You know that I came here to your meeting and I asked for your endorsement openly. I wanted it -- not only because of your numbers, but because of your quality and what you stand for, and what you mean.

I ask for the endorsement openly and I accept it openly and proudly. And I am so very honored to know that my name will appear on your ballot, on your ticket.

(Applause)

And I can speak tonight for the Vice Presidential candidate, who cannot be here with us this evening, because he has work to do, and we are dividing up the work. But he would say it even better than I do, and he would say it with the same sincerity and the same amount of friendship.

So on behalf of Edmund Muskie and Hubert H. Humphrey I say thank you, we are honored, and we are going to work so hard that you will be pleased that you even mentioned our names.

It is a wonderful thing to hear the words of Don Harrington, to hear the words of Arthur Goldberg, to even feel that you are just a little bit worthy, just somehow worthy of their words of praise.

I want you to know how those words react upon me. I do not accept them just as praise or even flattery. I accept them as a challenge. They make me want to be worthy of those words. They make me want to do the best that it is humanly possible for me to do.

And, you know, I am one of those people that believes that everybody can do better than he even dreamed that he could do if he just is called upon to do better. And you have called upon me tonight not only to do better -- you have called upon me to do my best. Not only to do my best -- you have called upon me to find whatever there may be inside of me, spirit, soul and body, that is worthy of this Democratic heritage of ours, and worthy of this country.

And I want this audience to know that if I am privileged to be the President of these United States, that I will do everything --

(Shout of "You will be")

-- that I will do everything that I can possibly do to fulfill your hopes for me, more importantly for yourself and your country.

Now, I made a little comment about accepting your nomination. And somebody may think I am making an issue of this. Well, I do, in a sense. It is because New York State this year has witnessed the spectacle of a Republican candidate for President who lacks the courage either to accept or reject the endorsement of the Conservative Party. He simply bade the conservatives to run a blank space for President, so that he could conduct a sort of backdoor romance on election day.

Well, I feel no need for any such political romantic hanky panky with the Liberal Party. I am here to declare my affection, my respect, in full public view, and to join our names on the ballot in legal wedlock.

(Applause)

Frankly, I don't think I could leave you standing at the church door even if I wanted to. Everybody knows we have been going steady for years.

(Applause)

And this is not the kind of shotgun wedding that Preacher Strom Thurmond arranged between Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew.

Yes, you see, our love was at first sight, and we have been at it ever since. In fact, it has been the talk of the town. And now we have made it legal.

(Shout of "Give 'em hell")

May I say that may be too good for them.

(Applause)

Yes, I want to repeat -- it was love at first sight, from the moment the fight over civil rights started, and the recognition of the independent State of Israel in the 1940's; through the ugly darkness of the Joe McCarthy period in the 1950's; and through the struggles to handcuff the bomb and rebuild our cities and reconcile our people in the 1960's.

That is what this love affair has been all about. And it has been a good one, a wholesome one.

(Applause)

So I come here tonight to set before you some of my views on some of the issues of this campaign, and indeed on the conduct of the candidates in the campaign, and on what in my judgment it means to be a liberal today. Because you have a right to know what I will do if I am President.

Therefore, I speak out. And the American people have a right to know what is in my mind and in my heart, and what I will do. For the greatest torment of our time that has literally torn people apart is the war in Vietnam. The best of friends have disagreed. And people who have worked together for decades have had different points of view.

Now, all three Presidential candidates say they want peace. That is reassuring.

But the Republican candidate has remained silent on how he plans

to achieve it, except for one thing. He says he has a plan. But he refuses to reveal it.

The other day he dropped a sly hint that he might be willing to accept peace terms that the Administration could not. But then he did not say what those terms might be.

So I must say tonight once again -- what are they, Mr. Nixon, what is your plan to end this war. Lives are being lost. Treasure is being consumed. The ugliness and the terrible despair of war grips us. And if any man has a plan that will bring instant peace, and if anyone has an idea of the terms that he would accept, then I say that he has an obligation to rise above partisanship or personal favor and to present it to the American people and to the President of the United States.

(Applause)

So I once again challenge the Republican nominee to tell the people exactly what he would do about Vietnam if he were President that is not now being done, and to tell them now.

Now, you of the Liberal Party and I have had some words about this matter, and I have tried to spell out my views, first in a session of the Executive Council, or the Executive Committee of this Party, and from many a platform.

Your Liberal plank proposes a further peace initiative by the United States through a cessation of bombing in North Vietnam as, and I quote it now -- "a prelude to productive negotiations".

I want tonight to pay my respects to your choice of words. A prelude is the opening passage of greater work, a greater work of peace in Southeast Asia -- letting us know that there is more to it than one act, or one event.

Now, I have spelled out how I would stop the bombing as a step towards peace. And I have wrestled with this problem as few others -- or let me say as others. Because I occupy a very difficult and unique role, as Vice-President and as candidate. And I have made it clear that as Vice-President I do not make the decisions for this country. I do not back away from them. But there is only one President at a time, one voice. And the voice at the negotiating table or the policy there is of the President. And I spoke to you and to the rest of the American people as candidate, as leader of my party, as to what I would do if elected President of the United States after January 20, 1969.

During these years that I have served as Vice-President, I have felt that one of my obligations was to be loyal once the decision was made. Vice-Presidents have very little authority, very little power, and quite a bit of responsibility.

The processes of decision making in this government are not by vote in the Security Council or even the Cabinet. They are by advice, by counsel in and out of government to a President. And then the President must accept that awesome responsibility.

As Harry Truman said "The buck stops here". As Abraham Lincoln once said, "There are eight ways and one year - the years have it".

I think that tells the story.

The distinguished former Ambassador to the United Nations has been an advisor to Presidents -- not one, but several -- and I am sure he would be the first to say that the decisions that are to be made and the responsibilities to be carried are those of the President of the United States. Those will be my responsibilities with your help. And I want you to know what I have said and what I believe and what I would do.

So I spelled out how I would stop the bombing as a step towards peace, a risk fully within our national interest, as Hanoi showed good faith. And I have laid down my proposals for a cease fire, for a de-Americanization of the war, the reduction of our forces, and for free elections in South Vietnam, with all factions participating.

What I said is that when I become your President, the highest priority and the first will be to find a way through every creative idea that we can bring forth, through every means that is honorable

and decent, to bring this tragic and costly conflict to an end and to bring our men and resources home.

(Applause)

And I have made it clear that just as we take risks on the battlefield, we must be willing to take risks for peace. I am willing.

Now, that is what I said I will do. And that is what I will do if I am President and when I am President. And I wanted you to know it.

Now, beyond Vietnam is the larger quest for peace and for arms control and disarmament. This is the central issue -- it is to this that Mr. Harrington referred.

This world of ours is living in a most dangerous period. Only a short time ago we thought possibly it was less dangerous. Then once again in Eastern Europe we saw what we hoped would never ever happen again. As the breezes of some liberty and freedom were crossing that countryside, they were suddenly stifled, and the forces of emancipation and liberty were once again tromped upon. We didn't think it might happen, but it did -- showing again the unpredictability of our times, the uncertainty in which we live, the dangers that face us.

I believe that the next four years may well determine whether or not the world can be saved from a nuclear holocaust.

I know as I stand before you that in the next four years the great powers of this world are going to make decisions yes or no on a massive new arms race. This I know.

There are people in this country today calling for great new expenditures in the most sophisticated type of weaponry, and there is a hard-line crowd in the Kremlin that is doing the same thing. And we see the arms race starting once again the spiral up and up, with all of its impending danger, and all of its incredible costs.

I believe that this is a cause for liberals who dare -- who dare to try to stop it, and not for conservatives who do not dare.

A nuclear war is almost beyond the human mind or the comprehension of the human mind.

A very primitive weapon 23 years ago wiped out a whole city -- an experimental weapon.

I shall not detail tonight what I did only recently in an address in Washington to the United Press International, of the weaponry that we and the Soviet Union have. Let me just put it this way. We have so much that the first nuclear exchange would claim not less than 240 million dead by the most conservative estimates.

The over-kill possibilities are almost too frightening to even speak of.

But we have come to live with this threat as a nightmare -- horrible, unwanted, and somehow unreal.

Winston Churchill called it the balance of terror.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we ought to have arrived at a time in our thought, in our actions, where we realized that something called a balance of terror as the safeguard for peace is all too fragile, all too uncertain, all too dangerous.

We have to ask ourselves what man, what action could unleash it.

And then we hear General LeMay, a candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States, console us with the remark that after only twenty years the rats are flourishing on Bikini, and only land crabs are still slightly hot. All other life gone -- life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness has no meaning in that kind of a world. It isn't even survival -- a land crab coming out from under a rock, and only slightly radioactively hot twenty years after a test explosion of a small thermonuclear weapon.

I am going to drive this point home to the American people, because we have become so accustomed to living with these fantastic weapons of destruction that we have lost their meaning in our lives.

And yet only five years ago, a little over five years ago, a President had to make the frightful decision to tell the Soviet

leader, then Mr. Khrushchev, to get his nuclear missiles out of Cuba. And this nation stood, as Arthur Goldberg could tell you, so close to total nuclear war, that even the thought of it stands you in fear and trepidation, even tonight.

Well, when you hear what General LeMay had to say -- I am reminded that the same could be the epitaph for Manhattan Island -- it could be.

Nuclear war can happen in our lives if we let it. We can prevent it, too, if we will. But if we let it drift, if there is no total commitment to putting this weapon under man's control, it will control man, and then destroy him.

Now, if I am your President -- and by the way, I have worked many years in this business of arms control and disarmament -- this is not something that I suddenly grasped hold of to find an issue. I started this, my dear friends, fifteen years ago, when it was mighty unpopular, and when there were very few people that would stand with you -- when Mr. Nixon called the nuclear test ban treaty that was advocated in 1956 by Adlai Stevenson and Hubert Humphrey a cruel hoax. I have not forgotten it, and he has not forgotten it, either, because he meant it then and he has not changed his mind since.

(Applause)

If I am your President, America will take the lead in negotiating to the best of our ability a halt to the nuclear arms race before it halts humanity.

(Applause)

And I have spelled out how I think we might do it.

I am not content to have my country known as the richest country in the world. I am not content to have our country known as the strongest country in the world. I want my country to be known as the most moral and just country in the world.

(Applause)

And with a new sense of morality, plus the wealth that is ours, out of this fabulous economy, plus the strength that is ours, out of the people that feel a part of the community, with that new morality, ladies and gentlemen, we can have what I have said is a new day -- we can.

It seems to me as if somehow or another the life spark has sort of run out of that early idealism after World War II. And that is why I have said we need a total reassessment of where we are, what we stand for, what are our priorities, what are our commitments, what is in our national interest, what does the future mean, what can we do about it.

This is the change, if there is any change, that is needed in this country. And a new President must be more than just a new body -- he must have a new concept of the purpose of this nation, and he must understand above all that the future belongs, not to the mighty alone, but to the just and to the decent and to the humane.

(Applause)

Now, we have labored for several years -- and here is one of the statesmen that labored in the vineyards of peace -- Arthur Goldberg.

(Applause)

Yes, he deserves that, and then some.

(Applause)

He has labored hard to write what is technically known as a nuclear non-proliferation treaty. ; in layman's language, a treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons around this world and the technology that makes possible the building of nuclear weapons.

This is the most significant treaty since World War II in the building blocks of peace. I had a little hand in it. Arthur Goldberg had a great hand in it. Your President worked on it. We Americans gave it the initiative. And there it is before the United States Senate -- already signed by eighty nations.

Richard Nixon has said he is for the treaty -- but not now.

And I say from this platform that if he would say to the Republican leadership and to his friends in the Senate now that he wants that treaty in the name of humanity, in the name of peace, in the name of life, in the name of all that is decent, to be ratified, that treaty could be ratified by the United States Senate this year.

(Applause)

I urge you tonight to make your voices heard. I urge you to act tonight to save mankind tomorrow.

You know, we have missed signing treaties before. I have always felt that there was some guilt on us by our refusal to sign, to be a part of the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations. I always had felt unclear about this as an American. And if we fail at this time on this non-proliferation treaty, then the shame of generations will be upon the American people. We cannot afford to have this go by.

(Applause)

Now, there is a third matter that I see of paramount importance. And American liberals today are challenged to show Americans how to live together in peace and in self respect and in harmony, how to rule themselves by reason and compassion, and not by fear and not by violence.

On this issue, the candidates clearly do not agree.

George Corley Wallace simply does not want genuine domestic peace and reconciliation. He generates division and disunity, he tries to catch votes by playing on fear and hate. And I say, as I said in the South and the North, with the same message, in Jacksonville, Florida and in San Francisco, California, and here in New York -- I say he is playing a dangerous, dirty game, and a game that could tear this country to pieces.

Now, the Republican nominee -- well, he cloaks that same appeal in a little better wrapping. But he invokes it. And that, too, is dangerous, and it is tricky, and it is wrong.

Now, I do not intend to preside over a nation that slams the door in the face of millions of men and women and children who dwell in misery, in black Chicago or white Appalachia, or in Spanish Harlem, or Mexican California, or Western Indian settlements. That is not America. That is what we are trying to change in America. And I am not going to be a President of repression. I want to be a President of inspiration and of hope.

Neither do I intend to preside over a nation torn to pieces by violent extremists, be they black or white, left or right.

I believe that violence is intolerable, but I also believe so is injustice. And I believe that the remedy for violence is not only to subdue it, but it is justice, and not repression.

(Applause)

And I believe that we must have one nation or none.

Now, we would just as well face the hard realities.

We are going to make a fateful decision in this year of 1968.

This great America has been going through incredible social and economic change. Some people want to stop it. Some people have tried to stop it by attacking our courts, that have really been the guardians of our liberties. Some people want to stop it by winning congressional elections and putting into power once again the forces of reaction. Some people want to stop it by double talk, by indecisiveness. They just want to stop it.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have let loose in this country a powerful force for good. We have permitted, through our own action, and helped through our own action, to bring millions of people out of the darkness of the slums, out of the despair of poverty, out of the awesome terribleness of not being wanted or needed. And I do not want to have my work and my words thwart those great hopes of millions of people. I want to be a President that opens America to Americans.

(Applause)

And I know that we can do it.

Violence is not the way of liberalism, and violence is the way of the demagogue and the dictator. It is the method of intolerance - whether it is the young rebel or the old reactionary.

Never was the way of liberalism, of reason and of debate and of discussion and honest dissent and mutual respect more needed than today.

The way of liberalism is not to deny manhood to the young, but to welcome them as challenging and a creative force. And that next President must understand the young and must understand their yearnings, must understand it when they cry out for peace, that they mean it, that when they cry out against social injustice, that they mean it.

It is not enough just to look at them and wave at them. It is enough only to sit with them and listen to them and work with them, and hope to understand them, and finally come to a mutual understanding

(Applause)

And it is not enough to deny bread to the poor, but to bring them into our affluent economy as productive and rewarding men and women.

It is not to deny freedom to the racist, but welcome them as equals into the family of man.

This is what liberalism means.

Finally, the line is clearly drawn among the three candidates on a long list of domestic issues, and I shall not burden you with them tonight -- you know them -- from social security to education, to our city crisis, to housing, economic growth, medicare, our economy. You know them. And there are differences between the candidates.

The third party candidate has said little or nothing about these issues, but for twenty-five years he has opposed everything that liberals have fought for. And I must warn this audience that if that candidacy can get twenty per cent of the American vote, that is a danger sign in this country -- make no mistake about, don't laugh it off. If that kind of an appeal to fear and bigotry and hate and discrimination and passion and emotion can attract one-fifth of the American electorate, this country is in danger and in trouble.

And that is why we have to fight back. And that is why I speak as I do.

(Applause)

Yes, I say he has opposed everything we have fought for.

But so has Richard Milhouse Nixon -- and you know it. And you know, too, that you can trust this Democratic ticket on these issues because its record on them goes back to people that you helped elect -- to Franklin Roosevelt, and to the greats, to Harry Truman, to that beloved Adlai Stevenson, and to that gallant John Kennedy, and to much-abused President Lyndon Johnson.

(Applause)

Now, I won't belabor you with these issues. You know them too well. In fact, frankly you invented most of them.

Rather I would like to talk with you in the remaining moments about the conduct of the candidates in this campaign.

Some of you may share with me this year a feeling that you are watching a re-run of an old movie. Every once in a while I get that feeling myself.

Remember when Joe McCarthy villified Adlai Stevenson openly, while Richard Nixon carried on a campaign of insinuation and innuendo sort of from the sidelines. Well, this year George Corley Wallace is playing to America's darkest fears. He makes the open attack. The same Mr. Nixon is around again, saying one thing in the North and something else in the South. He is whispering something about social justice out in the Midwest and up in the North but reading the crime news reports to Southern audiences.

He stood aside from or quietly joined the outrageous attacks upon Mr. Justice Fortas.

Mr. Nixon's pollsters and managers have convinced him that his more than 20 million dollar media campaign will win the election, if he only plays it safe, saying nothing, dodges the hard issues, and

sends secret messages to the special interest, and he sent one not long ago to this city, right down to some of the mutual funds on Wall Street. I know that he is interested in protecting them. I am interested in protecting you.

(Applause)

I can remember another campaign something like this. It is not identical, but it has some similarity -- when there was another man who was playing it cool and confident. And I remember the reports, that everything was so well organized, well grooved, everything was going smoothly, the crowds were big, the applause was there, and all the columnists and reports said it was a perfectly organized campaign.

And I remember that that same man started picking his cabinet -- even, might I say, buying airplanes for when he might become President. And, you know, he acted and played President so long, that by the time the election came, people thought it was time for a change, and they elected Harry Truman.

(Applause)

Well, I want to say I think the same thing is happening right now.

(Applause)

We are told by a respected columnist that Mr. Nixon has changed. I don't want to argue about that. The question is -- for the good or not. And that he can be counted on to make responsible appointments if he is elected President.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, the most important recommendation that a candidate for President makes is the first recommendation that he makes to his own party in convention. Well, Mr. Nixon has already made his first appointment -- Spiro T. Agnew.

In the last five years three great American leaders have been assassinated -- one of them was your President, another was running for President. In the last fifty years, my fellow Americans, one President out of three has not completed his term in office -- one out of three.

Ladies and gentlemen, the man that is on that second spot, as we say, is important, particularly in this day and age -- when the Presidential finger is on the nuclear trigger, when the office of the President is invested with such incredible power by precedent and by statute -- the most important selection a President makes is the man that he picks for his Vice-President. And I have read a great deal about the fact that Hubert Humphrey doesn't pick good men. Well, let me tell you, my good friends, I picked a man that you can be proud of, and it was my first and only appointment.

(Applause)

And I didn't have anybody shoving or pushing. I didn't have to make any deals.

I repeat -- there is one chance in three that that man will become President, on the law of averages for the last half century.

Before the Republican convention Mr. Nixon talked about picking all sorts of responsible Republicans, such as Mayor John Lindsay.

(Applause)

He was talked of.

But when the chips were down, when the chips were down, he went in the back room to see Strom Thurmond, and he picked Spiro Agnew.

A You know, I want to remind you, my dear friends, there is a difference. The man that left the Democratic convention and saw the exit sign when I came in 1948 is the man that saw the entrance sign at Miami and came in with Mr. Nixon, the man that left me came in with him.

Now you see who is looking to the future.

During this campaign he can be counted on to suggest the names

of other responsible men that he will appoint to cabinet posts if he is elected President. I have been reading about all these important liberals that are going to be in that Nixon cabinet. But if he were President, he would appoint the same kind of men that held him captive in the convention, and there isn't a liberal among them, and you know -- and let's start leveling with the people he about it.

(Applause)

Listen to what Mr. Nixon said about Mr. Agnew. He said:

"I was deeply impressed with his tremendous brain power, his great courage and his unprejudiced legal mind. He has a big imagination, above all he acts and under pressure he is one of the best poised and controlled".

Now listen to what the Washington Post said.

"Mr. Nixon's decision to name Agnew as a running mate may come to be regarded as perhaps the most eccentric political appointment since the Roman Emperor Caligula named his horse a Consul."

I wish I didn't have to say it. Really -- I really wish I didn't. Because I happen to know the gentleman I speak of, and he is a nice man. And he is. But when you think of Presidents, I want you to think -- I want you to think, as I say -- President Agnew, President LaMay.

And, ladies and gentlemen, it is not impossible. You have no right to play with the country's destiny like that. I know you are not going to.

But we have got to go on out and talk to the people about this. It could happen.

And so before we hear any more talk about Mr. Nixon's responsible appointments -- and they are in the paper every day -- let the columnists carefully consider where President Agnew might lead us.

Now, I have never had to drag Ed Muskie kicking and screaming back in the mainstream of my own campaign, or even into the twentieth century. He is there.

(Applause)

And in the language of Madison Avenue, no other Presidential candidate can make that claim.

Why even Wallace is explaining his Vice-Presidential candidate.

You know Senator Ed Muskie. You know his liberal voting record in the Senate. You knew him as Governor. You watched the maturity, the judgment, the wisdom, the candor and the dignity with which he has conducted his campaign this fall. And you know that if he should become your President, you could trust him with that great office and know that a great man was in charge.

(Applause)

I want you to go out and tell the people about this.

I said the other day that I felt like the Lone Ranger -- except my family has been campaigning. Finally we have gotten some people excited about this campaign.

But this is not my election. This is yours and mine.

This will not be my defeat. I have had defeats before and have been able to overcome them.

But America cannot afford a defeat. It cannot afford to step back. It cannot afford to stand still. It cannot afford to close its eyes and its heart to the needs of its people. And that is what this election is about.

(Applause)

So let's quit kidding ourselves. We are in the fight of our lives. We are outgunned, and we are out-financed. And for the moment we are behind.

But I want to warn Mr. Nixon -- if he hears some steps behind him and he turns around and looks, I am going to pass him on the inside coming into the home stretch.

(Applause)

So four weeks from yesterday --today -- four weeks from this Wednesday, the United States will have a new President Elect. It probably will not be --

(Shout of "Hubert Humphrey's the man")

I didn't plant him in the audience, honestly I didn't. I like it, but I didn't plan it. It is not my idea.

It will have a new President Elect. It probably will not be George Corley Wallace. It could be Richard Milhouse Nixon.

I myself have pursued impossible dreams. I have pursued them before. And I am possibly pursuing one again.

But I hope that last year's dreamers will take up today's realities -- lest their impossible dream turn into a quite possible nightmare of George Corley Wallace or Richard Milhouse Nixon.

And what sustains us and what must lead us is the liberal faith -- for we know that the heart of liberalism lies in the awareness of the difficulties of man's condition and the complexities of men's choices, in the tolerance of dissent and diverse opinion, in the never-ending fight for free debate, in the determination to create conditions to release human energies and promote human fulfillment, and in the willingness to try out new ideas, hold fast to old ideals, and defense against the demagogues the land that we love.

We know that a free society can remain free even when confronting enemies abroad and torn by dissent at home. We know that we can give men everywhere a glimpse of hope and peace, even in our darkest hours.

Never has a time put heavier burdens on liberalism.

In our foreign policy to be a liberal today means at a minimum to work for peace in Vietnam and for sanity in the arms and nuclear policy.

At home I suggest to be a liberal today means not only rejecting, but actively resisting the extremism of both the right and the left, the extremism that threatens to tear this country to shreds and to pieces.

And in this campaign I suggest to be a liberal means not only to vote, but to work, to speak, to do everything you can for candidates who appeal to reason and not to fear, for candidates that you can trust.

We can win this election from this room tonight, and we will win this election if we truly care what happens to this nation.

So let's get to work and win it.

(Applause).

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

LIBERAL PARTY ACCEPTANCE SPEECH

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

OCTOBER 9, 1968

↳ About a month ago, I signed a paper in which I formally
accepted the nomination of the Liberal Party for the Presidency.

↳ Tonight, I am pleased to come before you personally to tell you
how proud I am to have it.

↳ I asked for your endorsement openly. I accept it openly *and*
Proudly.

↳ If I appear to be making an issue of this, it is because New York State this year has witnessed the spectacle of a Republican candidate for President who lacks the courage either to accept or reject the endorsement of the Conservative Party. He simply begged the Conservatives to run a blank space for President so they could conduct a back door romance on Election Day.

↳ I feel no need for any such hanky panky with the Liberal Party. I am here to declare my affection in full public view and to join our names on the ballot in legal wedlock.

↳ Frankly, I don't think I could leave you standing at the church door even if I wanted to. Everyone knows we've been going steady for years.

↳ This is not the kind of shotgun wedding that Strom Thurmond arranged between Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew.

↳ Ours was love at first sight -- from the fight over civil rights and recognition of the independent State of Israel in the forties, through the ugly darkness of the Joe McCarthy period in the fifties, and on through the struggles to handcuff the bomb and rebuild our cities and reconcile our people in the sixties.

↳ I have come here today to set before you my views on the issues of this campaign, on the conduct and the candidates of this campaign, and on what in my judgment it means to be a liberal today. Because you have a right to know what I will do if I am President, and so do all the American people.

↳ The greatest torment of ^{our} time is the war in Vietnam.

↳ All three Presidential candidates say they want peace.

↳ But my Republican opponent has remained silent on how to achieve it. The other day he dropped a sly hint that he might be able to accept peace terms that the present Administration could not. But he did not say what those terms might be.

↳ What are they, Mr. Nixon? I again challenge you to tell the people exactly what you would do about Vietnam if you were President -- and to tell them now. A Plan - *yet Agnew knew of none -*

↳ You of the Liberal Party, and I have spelled out our views. Your Liberal Party plank proposes a further peace initiative by the United States through a cessation of bombing in North Vietnam as "a prelude to productive negotiations."

Keep up the Suspense!

↳ May I pay my respects to your choice of words. A "prelude" is the opening passage of a greater work -- a greater work of peace in Southeast Asia.

↳ I have spelled out how I would stop the bombing as a
step toward peace -- a risk fully within our national interest -- as Hanoi
showed good faith —
and I have laid down my proposals for a cease-fire, for de-
Americanization of the war and for free elections in South
Vietnam with all factions participating.

↳ That's what I've said I'll do -- and that's what I will do --
if I am President. *o Peace*

↳ Second, beyond Vietnam lies the quest for peace and
disarmament.

↳ I believe the next four years may well determine whether or
not the world can be saved from nuclear holocaust.

↳ And I believe this is a cause for liberals ... who dare --
not for conservatives, who don't.

↳ Nuclear war is almost beyond the human mind. ↳ We have
come to live with its threat as a nightmare -- horrible -- unwanted --
but somehow unreal. Terrible, yes ... but what man, we ask, would
unleash it?

*"Balance of Terror"
not acceptable for the future*

↳ Then we hear General LeMay, a candidate for the Vice Presidency of the United States, console us with the remark

that after only 20 years the rats are flourishing on Bikini

Atol ... and only the land crabs are still slightly "hot."

↳ That could be the epitaph of Manhattan Island.

↳ Nuclear War can happen in our times ... if we let it. We can prevent it ... if we will.

↳ If I am President, America will take the lead in negotiating a halt to the nuclear arms race before it halts humanity.

Muslim

↳ We have labored hard to write a non-proliferation treaty to stop nuclear weapons from spreading around the world. That treaty is now before the Senate.

↳ Richard Nixon has refused to help ratify it. I call upon the Senate to ratify it -- and to ratify it now -- before the fateful tide in the affairs of men turns, and leaves us stranded.

Test Ban Treaty - Cruel Hoax Said
mya

I urge you to make your voices heard. I urge you to act tonight to save mankind tomorrow.

Third, American liberals are today challenged to show Americans how to live together at peace -- how to rule themselves by reason and compassion -- not by fear and not by violence.

On this issue the three candidates clearly do not agree.

George Corley Wallace simply does not want peace and reconciliation. He generates division and disunity. He tries to catch votes by playing on fear and hate. And I say he is playing a dangerous game -- a game that could tear this country to pieces.

Richard Nixon cloaks that same appeal but he invokes it. And that, too, is a dangerous -- and a tricky -- game.

I do not intend to preside over a nation that slams the door in the face of millions of men and women and children who dwell in misery in black Chicago and White Appalachia, in Spanish Harlem and Mexican California and Western Indian settlements.

Neither do I intend to preside over a nation torn to pieces by violent extremists be they black or white, left or right.

I believe that violence is intolerable but so is injustice.

I believe the remedy for violence is justice and not repression.

And I deeply believe that we must be one nation or none.

Violence is not the way of liberalism. Violence is the way of the demagogue and the dictator -- whether of the right or the left. Violence is the method of intolerance -- whether of the young rebel or the old reactionary.

Never was the way of liberalism -- of reason, debate, mutual respect -- more needed than today.

The way of liberalism is not to deny manhood to the young, but to welcome them as a challenging and creative force.

It is not to deny bread to the poor, but to bring them into our affluent economy as productive and rewarded men and women.

Opportunity

Zhu
Yang

↳ It is not to deny freedom to the races, but to welcome them as equals into the family of man.

↳ Finally, the line is clearly drawn among the three candidates on a long list of other domestic issues -- social security, education, housing, Medicare, economic growth, and prosperity.

↳ George Corley Wallace has said little about these issues this year, but for 25 years he has opposed everything liberals have fought for.

↳ And so has Richard Milhous Nixon. And you know it!

↳ And you know too that you can trust the Democratic Party on these issues -- because its record on them goes back to

Franklin D. Roosevelt. — ~~Truman~~ — ~~Stevenson~~ — ~~Kennedy~~ + Johnson

∟ I will not belabor this audience with those issues -- you know them too well. ∟ Indeed, you invented most of them. |

∟ Rather, I would talk with you a moment further about the conduct and the candidates in this campaign.

∟ Some of you may share with me this year a feeling that we're watching a rerun of an old movie.

∟ Remember when Joe McCarthy vilified Adlai Stevenson openly while Richard Nixon carried on a campaign of insinuation and innuendo?

∟ Well, this year George Corley Wallace is playing to Americans' darkest fears -- and the same Richard Nixon is around again, saying one thing in the North and something else in the South.

∟ He's muttering about social justice in the North but reading the crime news to Southern audiences.

↳ He's ~~standing~~ ^{stood} standing aside from -- or quietly joined -- the outrageous attacks on Mr. Justice Fortas.

↳ Mr. Nixon's pollsters and managers have convinced him more than that his \$20 million dollar campaign will win the election if only he plays it safe, says nothing, dodges the hard issues, and sends secret messages to all the special interests.

↳ He is taking the American people for granted.

↳ I say the American people cannot and should not be taken for granted.

↳ We are told by a respected columnist that Mr. Nixon has changed, that he can be counted on to make responsible appointments if he is elected President.

↳ Well, he has already made his first appointment -- Spiro T. Agnew.

↳ In the last five years, three great American leaders have been assassinated, and one of them was our President and another was running for President. In the last fifty years one President out of three has not completed his term in office.

↳ The most important selection a President makes is the man he picks for his Vice President. For there is one chance in three that that man will become President.

↳ Before the Republican Convention, Mr. Nixon talked about picking all sorts of responsible Republicans, such as Mayor John Lindsay.

↳ But when the chips were down, he yielded to Strom Thurmond and picked Spiro Agnew.

↳ During this campaign he can be counted on to suggest the names of other responsible men he will appoint to Cabinet posts if he is elected President.

↳ But if he were President he would appoint the same kind of men that held him captive at the Convention -- and there isn't a liberal among them -- and you know it. !

↳ In a few short weeks Spiro Agnew has managed to insult Americans of Polish and Japanese descent and then to apologize -- to call me "soft on communism" and then to apologize -- to say that Nixon had a "plan" to end the war in Vietnam and then to explain there wasn't any such plan -- now they clamped the lid on him.

↳ But who would stand guard if he were President?

↳ Listen to what Mr. Nixon said about Mr. Agnew: "I was deeply impressed by his tremendous brain power, great courage, and unprejudiced legal mind. He has vigor, imagination, and above all he acts. Under pressure he is one of the best-poised and controlled."

↳ Now listen to what the Washington POST said of Mr. Agnew: "Nixon's decision ... to name Agnew as his running mate may come to be regarded as perhaps the most eccentric political appointment since the Roman Emperor Caligula named his horse a Consul."

↳ And I say: President Agnew ... and President LeMay ... it could happen ... and so before we hear any more talk about the new Nixon's responsible appointments, let columnists carefully consider where President Agnew might lead us.

∟ In this campaign, I have never had to drag Ed Muskie kicking and screaming back into the mainstream of my own campaign -- or into the 20th Century. ∟ And, to borrow the language of Madison Avenue, no other Presidential candidate can make that claim.

∟ You know Ed Muskie. You know his liberal voting record in the Senate. You have watched the maturity, the judgment, the wisdom, the candor and dignity with which he has conducted his campaign this fall. ∟ And you know that if he should become your President, you could trust him with that great office. And if the American people don't know it, I want you to go out and tell them.

∟ Let's not kid ourselves. We're in the fight of our lives this year, you and I. ∟ But we've stood together before in a lot of battles that the faint of heart called hopeless. And we stand together again.

Some of our liberal friends said they saw no reason to unite a year ago, and see no reason to unite today.

↳ But the politics of a year ago is not the politics of today.

↳ A year ago, we liberals were engaged in a great debate.

↳ Now we have resolved that debate. Now we confront our common adversaries --- the same old Nixon, the same old Wallace.

Four weeks from the American people will have to choose one man to be the President of us all.

Four weeks from today, the United States will have a new President-Elect.

It probably will not be George Corley Wallace.

It could be Richard Milhous Nixon.

I, myself, have pursued impossible dreams.

↳ But I hope that last year's dreamers will take up today's realities --- lest their impossible dream turn into a quite possible nightmare -- George Corley Wallace or Richard Milhous Nixon.

↳ What sustains us, what ^{must} lead us, is the liberal faith.
For we know that the heart of liberalism lies in an awareness
of the difficulties of man's condition and the complexities of
men's choices ... in the tolerance of dissent and diverse
opinions ... in the never-ending fight for free debate ... in
the determination to create conditions to release human energies
and promote human fulfillment. . . in the willingness to try
out new ideas, hold fast to old ideals, and defend against the
demagogues the land we love.

We know that a free society can remain free even when
confronting enemies abroad and torn by dissent at home.

We know that we can give men everywhere a glimpse of hope and peace even in our darkest hours.

Never has a time put heavier burdens on liberalism.

In our foreign policy, I suggest, to be a liberal today means at a minimum to work for peace in Vietnam and for sanity in nuclear policy.

At home, I suggest, to be a liberal today means not only rejecting but actively resisting the extremism of both right and left ... the extremism that threatens to tear this country to pieces.

And in this campaign, I suggest, to be a liberal means not only to vote for but to work for candidates who appeal to reason and not to fear, for candidates you can trust.

We can win this election ... we will win this election if we truly care what happens to this nation.

So let's get to work.

#

ABOUT TO SEND TEXT OF LIBERAL PARTY ACCEPTANCE SPEECH FOR
TONIGHT.
ARE YOU READY TO RECEIVE?

DEM FOR HHH DC

NYS HHH MUSKIE
DEM FOR HHH DC

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUPXXX HUMPHREY
LIBERAL PARTY ACCEPTANCE SPEECH
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
OCTOBER 9, 1968

ABOUT A MONTH AGO, I SIGNED A PAPER IN WHICH I FORMALLY
ACCEPTED THE NOMINATION OF THE LIBERAL PARTY FOR THE PRESIEXXX
PRESIDENCY. TONIGHT, I AM PLEASED TO COME BEFORE YOU PERSONALLY
TO TELL YOU HOW PROUD I AM TO HAVE IT.

I ASKED FOR YOUR ENDORSEMENT OPENLY. I ACCEP IT OPENLY.

IF I APPEAR TO BE MAKING AN ISSUE OF THIS, IT IS BECAUSE NEW
YORK STATE THIS YEAR HAS WITNESSED THE SPECTACLE OF A REPUBLICAN
CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT WHO LACKS THE COURAGE EITHER TO ACCEPT OR
REJECT THE ENDORSEMENT OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY. HE SIMPLY BEGGED
THE CONSERVATIVES TO RUN A BLANK SPACE FOR PRESIDENT SO THEY COULD
CONDUCT A BACK DOOR ROMANCE ON ELECTIO N DAY.

I FEEL NO NEED FOR ANY SUCH HANKY PANKY WITH THE LIBERAL PARTY.
I AM HERE TO DECLARE MY AFFECTION IN FULL PUBLIC VIEW AND TO JOIN
OUR NAMES ON THE BALLOT IN LEGAL WEDLOCK.

FRANKLY, I DON'T THINK I COULD LEAVE YOU STANDING AT THE CHURCH
DOOR EVEN IF I WANTED TO . EVERYONE KNOWS WE'VE BEEN GOING STEADY
FOR YEARS.

THIS IS NOT THE KIND OF SHOTGUN WEDDING THAT STROM THURMOND
ARRANGED BETWEEN RICHARD NIXON AND SPIRO AGNEW.

OUR S WAS LOVE AT FIRST SIGHT -- FROM THE FIGHT OVER CILXXX
CIVIL RIGHTS AND RECOGNITION OF THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF ISRAEL IN
THE FORTIES, THROUGH THE UGLY DARKNESS OF THE JOE MCCARTHY PERIOD IN
THE FIFTIES, AND ON THROUGH THE STRUGGLES TO HANDCUFF THE BOMB AND
REBUILD OUR CITIES AND RECONCILE OUR PEOPLE IN THE SIXTIES.

I HAVE COME HERE TODAY TO SET BEFORE YOU MY VIEWS ON THE ISSUES OF THIS CAMPAIGN, ON THE CONDUCT OF THE XXX AND THE CANDIDATES OF THIS CAMPAIGN, AND ON WHAT IN MY JUDGMENT IT MEANS TO BE A LIBERAL TODAY. BECAUSE YOU AXXX HAVE A RIGHT TO KNOW WHAT I WILL DO IF I AM PRESIDENT, AND SO DO ALL THE AMETIXXX AMERICAN PEOPLE.

MORE COMING.....

THE GREATEST TORMENT OF OUR TIME IS THE WAR IN VIETNAM.

ALL THREE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES SAY THEY WANT PEACE.

BUT MY REPUBLICAN OPPONENT HAS REMAINED SILXXX SILENT ON HOW TO ACHIEVE IT. THE OTHER DAY HE DROPPED A SLY HINT THAT HE MIGHT BE ABLE TO ACCEP T PEACE TERMS THAT THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION COULD NOT. BUT HE DID NOT SAY WHAT THOSE TERMS MIGHT BE.

WHAT ARE THEY, MR. NIXON? I AGAIN CHALLENGE YOU TO DEBATE, TO TELL THE PEOPLE EXACTLY WHAT YOU WOULD DO ABOUT VIETNAM IF YOU WERE PRESIDENT -- AND TO TELL THEM NOW. (ULINE NOW)

YOU OF THE LIBERAL PARTY, AND I HAVE SPELLED OUT OUR VIEWS.

YOUR LIBERAL PARTY PLANK PROPOSES A FURTHER PEACE INITIATIVE BY THE UNITED STATES THROUGH A CESSATION OF BOMBING IN NORTH VIETNAM AS "A PRELUDE TO PRODUCTIVE NEGOTIATIONS."

MAY I PATXXX PAY MY RESPECTS TO YOUR CHOICE OF WORDS. A "PRELUDE" IS THE OPPXXX OPENING PASSAGE OF A GREATER WORK -- A GREATER WORK OF PEACE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

I HAVE SPELLED OUT HOW I WOULD STOP THE BOMBING AS A STEP TOWARD PEACE -- A RISK FULLY WITHIN OUR ATIONAL INTEREST -- AND I HAVE LAID DOWN MY PROPOSALS FOR A CEASE-FIRE, FOR DE-AMERICANIZATION OF THE WAR AND FOR FREE ELECTIONS IN SOUTH VIETNAM WITH ALL FACTIONS PARTICIPATING.

THAT'S WHAT I'VE SAID I'LL DO -- AND THAT'S WHAT I WILL DO -- IF I AM PRESIDENT.

SECOND, BEYOND VIETAXXX VIETNAM LIES THE QUEST FOR PEACE AND DISARMSXXX DISARMAMENT.

I BELIEVE THE NEXT FOUR YEARS MAY WELL DETERMINE WHEHER OR NOT THE WORLD CAN BE SAVED FROM NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST.

AND I BELIEVE THIS IS A CAUSE FOR LIBERALS ... WHO DARE -- NOT FOR CONSERVATIVES , WHO DON'T.

NUCLEAR WAR IS ALMOST BEYOND THE HUMAN MIND. WE HAVE COME TO LIVE WITH ITS THREAT AS A NIGHTMARE -- HORRIBLE -- UNWANTED -- BUT SOMEHOW UNREAL. TERRIBLE, YES ... BUT WHAT MAN, WE ASK, WOULD UNLEASH IT?

THEN WE HEAR GENERAL LEMAY, A CANDIDATE FOR THE VICE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES, CONSOLE US WITH THE REMARK THAT AFTER ONLY 20 YEARS, THE RATS ARE FLOURISHING ON BIKINI ATOL ... AND ONLY THE LAND CRABS ARE STILL SLIGHTLY "HOT."

THAT COULD BE THE EPITAPH OF MANHATTAN ISLAND.

NUCLEAR WAR CAN (ULINE CAN) HAPPEN IN OUR TIMES ... IF WE LET IT. WE CAN PREVENT IT ... IF WE WILL.

IF I AM PRESIDENT, AMERICA WILL TAKE THE LEAD IN NEGOTIATING A HALT TO THENUCLEAR WAXXX ARMS RACE BEFORE IT HALTS HUMANITY.

WE HAVE LABORED HARD TO WRITE A NON-PROLIFERATION TREAT TO STOP NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM SPREADING AROUND THE WORLD. THAT TREATY IS NOW BEFORE THE SENATE.

RICHARD NIXON HAS REFUSED TO HELP RATIFY IT. I CALL UPON THE SENATE TO RATIFY IT -- AND TO RATIFY IT NOW (ULINE NOW) -- BEFORE THE FATEFUL TIDE IN THE AFFAIRS OF MEN TURNS, AND LEAVES US STRANDED.

I URGE YOU TO MAKE YOUR VOICES HEARD. I URGE YOU TO ACT TONIGHT TO SAVE MANKIND TOMORROW.

THIRD, AMERICAN LIBERALS ARE TODAY CHALLENGED TO SHOW AMERICANS HOW TO LIVE TOGETHER AT PEACE -- HOW TO RULE THEMSELVES BY REASON AND COMPASSION -- NOT BY FEAR AND NOT BY VIOLENCE.

ON THIS ISSUE THE THREE CANDIDATES CLEARLY DO NOT AGREE.

GEORGE CORLEY WALLACE SIMPLY DOES NOT WANT PEACE AND RECONCILIATION EXXX HE GENERATES DIVISION AND DISUNITY . TXXX HE TRIES TO CATCH VOTES BY PLAYING ON FEAR AND HATE. AND I SAY HE IS PLAYING A DANGEROUS GAME -- A GAME THAT COULD TEAR THIS COUNTRY TO PIECES.

RICHARD NIXON CLOAKS THAT SAME APPEAL BUT E INVOKES IT. AND THAT, TOO, IS A DANGEROUS -- AND A TRICKY -- GAME. (THE E ABOVE IS HE)

I DO NOT INEXXX INTEND TO PRESIDE OVER A NATION THAT SLAMS THE DOOR IN THE FACE OF MILLIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN AND CHILDREN WHO DWELL IN MISERY IN BLACK CHICAGO AND WHITE APPALACHIA, IN SPANISH HARLEM AND MEXICAN CALIFORNIA AND WEWXXX WESTERN INDIAN SETTLEMENTS.

NEITHER DO I INTEND TO PRESIDE OVER A NATION TORN TO PIECES BY VIOLENT EXTREMISTS BE THEY BLACK OR WHITE, LEFT OR RIGHT.

I BELIEVE THAT VIOLENCE IS INTOLERABLE BUT SO IS INJUSTICE. I BELIEVE THE REMEDY FOR VIOLENCE IS JUSTICE AND NOT REPRESSION. AND I DEEPLY BELIEVE THAT WE MUST BE ONE NATION OR NONE.

VIOLENCE IS NOT THE WAY OF LIBERALISM. VIOLENCE IS THE WAY OF THE DAMAGOGUE AND THE DICTATOR -- WHETHER OF THE RIGHT OR THE LEFT. VIOLENCE IS THE METHOD OF INTOLERANCE -- WHETHER OF THE YONGXXX YOUNG REBEL OR THE OLD REACTIOARY.

NEVER WAS THE WAY OF LIBERALISM -- OF REASON, DEBATE, MUTUAL RESPECT -- MORE NEEEXXX NEEDED THAN TODAY.

THE WAY OF LIBERALISM IS NOT TO DENY MANHOOD TO THE YONG, BU BUT TO WELCOME THEM AS A CHALLENGING AND CREATIVE FORCE.

IT IS NOT TO DENY BREAD TO THE POOR, BUT TO BRING THEM INTO OUR AFFLUENT AXXX ECONOMY AS PRODUCTIVE AND REWARDED MEN AND WOMEN.

IT IS NOT TO EXXX DENY FREEDOM TO THE RACES, BUT TO WELCOME THEM AS EQUALS INTO THE FAMILY OF MAN.

FINALLY, THE LINE IS CLEARLY DRAWN AMONG THE THREE CANDIDATES ON A LONG LIST OF OTHER DOMESTIC ISSUES -- SOCIAL SECURITY, EDUCATION, HOUSING, MEDICARE, ECONOMIC GROWTH, AND PROSPERITY.

GEORGE CORELY WALLACE HAS SAID LITTLE ABOUT THESE ISSUES TI ? YEAR, BUT FOR 25 YEARS HE HAS OPPOSED EVERYTHING LIBERALS HAVE FOUGHT FOR.

AND SO HAS RICHARD MILHOUS MXXX NIXON. AND YO KXXX --- AND YOU KNOW IT. AND YOU KNOW TOO THAT YOU CAN TRUST THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ON THESE ISSUES -- BECAUSE ITS RECORD ON THEM GOES BACK TO FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

I WILL NOT BELABOR THIS AUDIENCE WITH THOSE ISSUES -- YOU KNOW TEM TOO WELL. INDEED, YOU INVENTED MOST OF THEM.

IXXX RATHER, I WOULD TALK WITH YOU A MOMENT FURTHER AOUT THE (THAT WAS ABOUT THE) CONDUCT AND THE CANDIDATES IN THIS CAMPAIGN.

SOME OF TXXX YOU MAY SHARE WITH ME THIS YEAR A FEELING THAAAT WE'RE WATCHING A RERUN OF AN OLD MOVIE.

REMEMBER WHEN JOE MCCARTHY VILIFIED ADLAI STEVENSON OPENLY WHILE RICHARD NIXON CARRIED ON A CAMPAIGN OF INSINUATION AND INNUENDO?

MORE

WHXXX WELL, THIS YEAR GEORGE CORLEY WALLACE IS PLAYING TO AMERICA'S DARKEST FEARS -- AND THE SAME RICHARD NIXON IS AROUND AGAIN, SAYING ONE THING IN THE NORTH AND SOMETHING ELSE IN THE SOUTH.

HE'S MUTTERING ABOUT SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE NORTH BUT READING THE CRIME NEWS TO SOUTHERN SAUDIENCES.

MORE -- MANUALLY

MR. NIXON'S POLLSTERS AND MANAGERS HAVE CONVINCED HIM THAT HIS MORE THAN \$20 MILLION DOLLAR CAMPAIGN WILL WIN THE ELECTION OXXX IF ONLY HE PLAYS IT SAFE, SAYS NOTHING, DODGES THE HARD ISSUES, AND SENDS SECRET MESSAGES TO ALL THE SPECIAL INTERESTS.

HE IS TAKING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR GRANTED.

I SAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CANNOT AND SHOULD NOT BE TSXXX TAKEN FOR GRANTED.

W ARE TOLD BY A RESOECTED CIKXXXX RESPECTED COLUMNIST THAT MR. NIXON HAS CHANGED, THAT HE CAN BE COUNTED ON TO MAKE RESPONSIBLE APPOINTMENTS IF HE IS ELECTED PRESIDENT.

WELL, HE HAS ALREADY MADE HIS FIRST APPOINTMENT -- SPIRO T. AGNEW.

IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS THREE GREAT AMERICAN LEADERS HAVE BEEN ASSASSINATED, ONE OF THEM WAS OUR PRESIDENT AND ANOTHER WAS RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT. IN THE LAST FIFTY YEARS ONE PRESIDENT OUT OF THREE HAS NOT COMPLETDXXX OXXX COMPLETED HIS TERM IN OFFICE.

BEFOREXXXXX (WILL START AGAIN)

THE MOST IMPORTANT SELECTION A PRESIDENT MAKES IS THE MAN HE PICKS FOR HIS VICE PRESIDENT. FOR THERE IS ONE CHANCE IN THREE THAT THAT MAN WILL BECOME PRESIDENT.

BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION, MR. NIXON TALKED ABOUT PICKING AL ALL SORTS OF RESPONSIBLE REPUBLICANS, SUCH AS MAYOR JOHN LINDSAY.

BUT WHEN THE CHIPS WERE DOWN, HE YIELDED TO STROM THURMN THURMOND AND PICKED SPIRO AGNEW.

DURING THIS CAMPAIGN, HE CAN BE COUNTED ON TO SUGGEST THE NAMES OF OTHER RESPONSIBLE MEN HE WILL APPOINT TO CABINET POSTS IF HE IS ELECTED PRESIDENT.

BUT IF HE WERE PRESIDENT HE WOULD APPOINT THE SAME KIND OF MEN THAT HELD HIM CAPTIVE AT THE CONVENTION -- AND THERE ISN'T A LIBERAL AMONG THEM -- AND YOU KNOW IT.

IN A FEW SHORT WEEKS SPIRO AGNEW HAS MANAGED TO INSULT AMERICANS OF POLISH AND JAPANESE DESCENT AND THEN TO APOLOGIZE -- TO CALL ME "SOFT ON COMMUNISM" AND THEN TO APOLOGIZE -- TO SAY THAT NIXON HAD A "PLAN" TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM AND THEN TO EXPLAIN THERE WASN'T ANY SUCH PLAN -- NOW THEY CAXXX CLAMPED THE LID ON HIM.

BUT WHO WOULD STAND GUARD IF HE WERE PRESIDENT?

LISTEN TO WHAT MR. NIXON SAID ABOUT MR AGNEW: " I WAS DEEPLY IMPRESSED BY HIS TREMENDOUS BRAIN POWER, GREAT COURAGE, AND UN-PREJUDICED LEGAL MIND. HE HAS VIGOR, IMAGINATIO,N, AND ABOVE ALL, HE ACTS. UNDER PRESSURE HE IS ONE OF THE BEST-POISED AND CONTROLLED."

NOW LISTEN TO WHAT THE WASHINGTON POST SAID OF MR. AGNEW: "NIXON'S DECISION ... TO NAME AGNEW AS HIS RUNNING MATE MAY COME TO BE REGARDED AS PERHAPS THE MOST ECCENTRI C POLITICAL APPOINTMENT SINCE THE ROMAN EMPEROR CALIGULA NAMED HIS HORSE A CONSUL."

AND I SAY: PRESIDENT (ULINE) AGNEW ... AND PRESIDENT (ULINE) LEMAY ... IT COULD HAPPEN ... AND SO BEFORE WE HEAR ANY MORE TALK ABOUT THE NEW NIXON'S RESPONSIBLE APPOINTMENTS, LET COLUMNISTS CAREFULLY CONSIDER WHERE PRESIDENT AGNEW MIGHT LEAD US.

IN THIS CAMPAIGN, I HAVE NEVER HAD TO DRAG ED MUSKIE KICKING AND SCREAMING BACK INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF MY OWN CAMPAGXXX CAMPAIGN -- OR INTO THE 20TH CENTURY. AND, TO BORROW THE LANGUAGE OF MADISON AVENUE, NO OTHER PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE CAN MAKE THAT CLIAM.

YOU KNOW ED MUSKIE. YOU KNOW HIS LIBERAL VOTING RECORD IN THE SENATE. YOU HAVE WATCHED TEXXX THE MATURITY, THE JUDGMENT, THE WISDOM, THE CANDOR AND DIGNITY WITH WHICH HE HAS CONDUCTED HIS CAMPAIGN THIS FALL. AND YOU KNOW THAT IF HE SHOULD BECOME YOUR OXXX PRESIDENT, YOU COULD TRUST HIM WITH THAT GREAT OFFICE. AND IF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DON'T KNOW IT, I WANT YOU TO GO OUT AND TELL THEM.

LET'S NOT KID OURSELVES. WE'RE IN THE FIGHT OF OUR LIVES THIS YEAR, YOU AND I. BUT WE'VE STOOD TOGETHER BEFORE IN A LOT OF BATTLES THAT THE FAINT OF HEART CALLED HOPELESS. AND WE STAND TOGETHER AGAIN.

WHAT SUSTAINS US, WHAT LEADS US, IS THE LIBERAL FAITH. FOR WE KNOW THAT THE HEART OF LIBERALISM LIES IN AN AWARENESS OF THE DIFFICULTIES OF MAN'S CONDITION AND THE COMPLEXITIES OF MEN'S CHOICES ... IN THE TOLERANCE OF DISSENT AND DIVERSE OPINIONS ... IN THE NEVER-ENDING FIGHT FOR FREE DEAXXX DEBATE ... IN THE DETERMINATION TO CREATE CONDITIONS TO RELEASE HUMAN ENERGIES AND PROMOTE HUMAN FULFILLMENT ... IN THE WILLINGNESS TO TRY OUT NEW IDEAS, HOLD FAST TO OLD IDEALS, AND DEFEND AGAINST THE DEMAGOGUES THE LAND WE LOVE.

WE KNOW THAT A FREE SOCIETY CAN REMAIN FREE EVEN WHEN CONFRONTING ENEMIES ABROAD AND TORN BY DISSENT AT HOME.

WE KNOW THAT WE CAN GIVE MEN EVERYWHERE A GLIMPSE OF HOPE AND PEACE EVEN IN OUR DARKEST HOURS.

NEVER HAS A TIME PUT HEAVIER BURDENS ON LIBERALISM.

IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY, I SUGGEST, TO BE A LIBERAL TODAY MEANS AT A MINIMUM WXXX TO WOXXX WORK FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM AND FOR SANITY IN NUCLEAR POLICY.

AT HOME, I SUGGEST, TO BE A LIBERAL, TODAY MEANS NOT ONLY REJECTING BUT ACTIVELY RESISTING THE EXTREMISM OF BOTH RIGHT AND LEFT ... THE EXTREMISM THAT THREATENS TO TEAR THIS COUNTRY TO PIECES.

AND IN THIS CAMPAIGN, I SUGGEST, TO BE A LIBERAL MEANS NOT ONLY TO VOTE FOR BUT TO WORK FOR CANDIDATES WHO APPEAL TO REASON AND NOT TO FEAR , FOR CANDIDATES YOU CAN TRUST.

WE CAN(ULINE CAN) WIN THIS ELECTION ... WE WILL (ULINE WILL) WIN THIS ELECTION IF WE TRULY CARE WHAT HAPPENS TO THIS NATION.

SO LET'S GET TO WORK

###

About a month ago, I signed a paper in which I formally accepted the nomination of the Liberal Party for the Presidency.

Tonight, I am pleased to come before you personally to tell you that I am proud to accept your nomination.

I asked for your endorsement openly. I accept it openly.

If I appear to be making an issue out of this, it is due to the fact that New York State this year was treated to the unusual spectacle of a Republican candidate for President who lacks the courage either to accept or reject the endorsement of the Conservative Party, and therefore, begged the Conservatives to run a blank space for President so that they might conduct a back door romance with Poor Richard on Election Day.

I feel no need for any such hanky panky with the Liberal Party. I am here to declare my affection in full public view and to join our names on the ballot in legal wedlock.

Frankly, I don't think I could disown you--even if I wanted to. We have been seen going around together for too many years.

We were together in the forties, fighting for Civil Rights, and for full employment, and for the recognition of the independent State of Israel, united behind that scrappy battler, our own Harry S. Truman.

We were together in the fifties, fighting for higher minimum wages, for Social Security, for low and middle income housing, for aid to education, for scholarships. And we were together in the great campaigns that gave a new tone and a new horizon to the politics of America, behind the leadership of Adlai Stevenson.

We were together in the 1960's, battling for Medicare, for new advances in Civil Rights, for a ban on atom bomb testing, for disarmament, for consumer protection, for Headstarts, for youth opportunity programs, for model cities. We served--and served well--for our own common cause under the leadership of JFK and LBJ.

Yes, we have walked together for many good years, in many an uphill fight. And we won as we shall win again.

I do wish I could take you across the land with me now as I travel from coast to coast. When a few of the less informed ask me what I have done in the liberal cause since the 1940's , I wish you could be with me to answer--to tell of what we have accomplished together in the 1950's and the 1960's--and, yes, to tell them of our purposes and proposals for a liberal and a democratic America in the 1970's.

I am proud to stand here tonight because you bear witness, you bear living witness, to the crusades we have fought and will continue to fight side by side in the spirit of American liberalism.

In your party, you have a Chairman who has given his life to liberalism, especially to the cause of peace, as the founder and leader of movements in this country over many years. I refer to the Reverend Dr. Donald Harrington.

We have worked for peace together for many decades. At your State Committee meeting, where I was honored by your nomination, Dr Harrington stated that, of the Presidential candidates, he placed his trust in me as the man who could best put together the "pieces of the peace puzzle".

I am here to express my appreciation of the confidence Dr. Harrington and your party has placed in me.

I am also here to make an irreversible and total commitment-- to do all I can as a human being, and, if elected as President of the United States, to justify the confidence you have placed in me as a man dedicated to the cause of peace.

I am also aware of the platform plank of the Liberal Party on the subject of Vietnam, in which you propose a further peace initiative by the United States through a cessation of bombing in North Vietnam as "a prelude to productive negotiations".

It is my profoundest hope that by January 20th, when a new President is inaugurated, such "productive negotiations" will be well under way.

If they are not, however, I pledge to you--and to the nation--to try and to test any and all possible initiatives that may serve as a "prelude to productive negotiations", including the cessation of bombing.

May I also pay my respects to your choice of words, when you speak of the bombing cessation as a "prelude to productive negotiations". A "prelude" is the opening passage of a greater work. An end to bombing of the North ~~wh~~ould be the opening note of a peace symphony in Southeast Asia.

And I propose to sound that opening note.

I propose to sound that first note with the profoundest hope and desire that North Vietnam will understand that this is the "prelude" to a further harmony. It is time to end the painful screech of discord.

Yes, I propose to sound the first note. I propose to look deeply into the eyes of Hanoi, and to do so personally, if the circumstances permit, for that responsive flicker of understanding that will allow us to go beyond the cessation of bombing to further steps that will de-escalate this conflict.

As President of the United States, I believe that it will be my mandate, in view of the American people's desire for peace, to take this initiative to advance "productive negotiations". I also believe that as President of the United States, many of whose finest sons are in the field in Vietnam, it is also my duty to protect the lives of our troops.

I believe this nation is strong enough and great enough to halt the bombing while providing the necessary military protection for our fighting men.

I shall do nothing to endanger our troops. I shall do nothing to encourage Hanoi to escalate the war. I shall do **everything** to lessen the danger, to encourage the peace, and to

de-escalate the conflict.

I will ask all this nation, and I will ask all the peoples, of the world to seize upon this moment to exert every moral effort to turn our "prelude" into a lasting peace.

In the liberal credo, we do not fear what is "new" if it is good.

In this campaign, I am confronted by two opponents: one of whom is opposed to anything new, and the other of whom will favor some things that are new, but--not now.

It is the essence of liberalism that we change with changing times. To live in the past is to perish with the past.

The situation in Southeast Asia has changed, as has the situation in the world. We have new strength--enough strength to afford a new push for peace.

I believe that the American people want a President who goes beyond our yesterdays to our tomorrows.

In facing that tomorrow, there is a world wide threat that is greater by far than our agonizing involvement in Asia. I refer to the atom bomb, the Damocles sword that hangs by a thread over the head of mankind.

I say we must halt the bomb before the bomb halts humanity.

We have labored hard to write a non-proliferation treaty. In plain English, that difficult word "non proliferation" means that we want to stop the spread of the atom bomb. We have such a treaty,

and I call upon the Senate of the United States to ratify that treaty--NOW.

I call for the ratification of that treaty now, although I am keenly aware of the tensions that exist in the world. Indeed, I call for the ratification precisely because there are tensions in the world.

If there were no tensions, there would be no need for treaties. If all men and all nations lived in an atmosphere of total trust and goodwill, there would have been no need for a ban on atom testing, and no need for a treaty to stop the spread of the bomb.

Precisely because there are tensions, we must move immediately to check the dangers arising from such tensions.

We dare not allow our immediate concern with Vietnam to obscure the far greater threat of atom spread.

I call upon every American, regardless of his position on Vietnam, to join with me in calling for the ratification of the non-proliferation treaty--and to do it NOW.

I urge you to make your voices heard. I urge you to write to your Senators now. I urge you to act tonight to save the life of mankind tomorrow.

We must, however, go beyond a settlement in Vietnam and beyond an atom bomb treaty to find the lasting peace we seek--both in the world and at home.

We must de-escalate violence everywhere--in the far off fields, and in our nearby neighborhoods.

Violence is not the way of liberalism. Violence is the

voice of the demagogue and the dictator--whether of the right or the left. Violence is the method of intolerance--whether of the young rebel or the old reactionary.

Never was the way of liberalism--of tolerance, reason and democracy--more relevant than at this moment when the world is torn with conflict. The tensions are world wide--in universities as far apart as Mexico City and Peking, in spots as far apart as our dark ghettos or Biafra, in continents as far apart as South America and Asia.

The fact that violent confrontation is so wide-spread is little consolation. The universality of conflict merely alerts us to the tremendous dimensions of the problem. It also prompts us to ask why--why is the world in such ferment today?

In the years since the end of the second World War, the earth has resounded with an explosion of expectations.

The most numerous generation of young people this century has ever seen seeks expression for its ideas and ideals. The poor of the earth reach out for a share of the goods that modern science can make available. And the darker races of the world seek a recognition of their God-given dignity.

Combined and simultaneously, these strivings of the young, the poor and the oppressed, compose an awesome explosion of expectations.

The way of liberalism is not to deny manhood to the young, but to welcome them into the democratic process as a challenging and creative force.

It is not to deny bread to the poor, but to welcome them into our economy as productive and rewarded men and women.

It is not to deny freedom to the dark races, but to welcome them as equals into the family of nations.

The way of liberalism is not to deny human rights to anyone, but to develop the talents of everyone.

In eras of troublesome transition such as that through which the world is now passing, there are those who seek to turn aspirations into anger, to turn hope into hate, to whip up fury and fear. These are the demagogues who seek a government over the people, instead of democrats, who seek a government of the people.

In such troubled times, it is well to recall the tenets of freemen.

We believe in freedom of speech, freedom to meet, freedom to vote. The government that denies these is a dictatorship. The mob that denies these is in dress rehearsal for dictatorship.

Liberalism has as little use for a demagogue who would run down protesters with his car as it has for demonstrators who would shout down a speaker with their bullhorns. Both are enemies of freedom--and neither deserves the support of freemen.

Tyranny and anarchy have a common philosophy: neither one has any respect for the rights of others. Each is a law unto itself, imposing its will by the force of its fist. Liberalism begins with a respect for the rights of every man--and for the rule of law in human relations.

In these troubled times, I say: Beware! We have been through such times before.

After the first World War, Europe was in turmoil. And out of that trouble arose dictatorships of the left and of the right.

Following the great depression, Europe was once more in turmoil, and out of that arose the most monstrous tyranny of our times.

Beware. Beware those who excite fear to exploit fear. Beware the charlatan who has no prescription for reform and peddles the club as a cure. Beware the seller of simple solutions.

Yes, beware those who have all the answers and also those who offer no answers.

The challenges of our times can not be met with delay and dalliance and canned commercials. The challenge of Vietnam cannot be met by a man who has no answer or who, even worse, claims he has an answer, but that he ain't talking. The challenge of the atom bomb can not be met by a man who says he would like a treaty, but not now. The challenge of Civil Rights can not be met by a man who is happy with a Supreme Court ruling so long as it is not enforced. The challenge of crime can not be met by a man who believes in the conviction of the criminal--as we all do--but does not believe in ending the causes of crime--as we all ought ~~to~~. The challenge of rising taxes can not be met by a man who believes in granting every loophole to millionaires, but denies a few pennies of tax relief to the needier millions. The challenge of poverty can not be met by a man who, in his incredible contempt for the agricultural workers of our Southwest, calls in the cameraman to photograph Richard Nixon gulping a bunch of grapes.

In a world of tensions, this candidate can only tighten the tensions. He may preach order, but his program would promote disorder.

America cannot afford Richard Nixon. He would cost too much--too much in poverty and crime, in wasted manpower and in wasted talent, in civil strife. And in his refusal ~~to back the~~ to back the bomb treaty, he could cost all humanity its life.

His big ideas for his multi-million dollar campaign may be a delight for Madison Avenue, but his tiny ideas for the millions of Americans would be a disaster for the rest of this nation.

Of course, my worthy opponent disagrees with me and says that America can not afford a Hubert Humphrey. He says that if all my proposals before Congress had been accepted, it would have cost the American people another 100 billion dollars.

I must confess that I did not total the amount as did my opponent. But very few would question Mr. Nixon's capacity for calculating.

By his figures, over fifteen years the total would come down to about six and a half billion a year, or about 3 per cent of our present budget. You see, I can do simple arithmetic.

Now what would I have done with that money.

I would have built homes where we rat holes. I would have built schools where now we have fire-traps. I would have researched cures for diseases that now kill hundreds of thousands. I would have trained the untrained whose lives are now wasted. I would have built hospitals for those who now are bedded in halls and

basements, while the paint and plaster crumble around them. I would have spurred new industry to create new jobs. I would have established day care centers for mothers. I would have invested in America's greatest resources: I would have invested in people.

I would have enriched America--to increase our income, to strengthen our tax base, to bring new billions to our treasury without raising tax rates.

And, yes, I would have done one more thing: I would have insisted that those privileged groups in American society who have been excused by Mr. Nixon and his colleagues from carrying their fair share of the tax load in our democracy, join with the rest of us in paying the bill, in meeting the budget of peace and freedom.

And in doing this, I do believe that I would have eased some of the tension in our land today.

And, if elected, I intend to do precisely that.

There's a big difference this year. Your vote in November can make that difference.

But I ask for more than your vote, my fellow Americans. I ask for your voice. I ask you to sound off.

Where men sow fear, I ask you to sow faith. Where men spit hate, I ask you to speak hope. I ask that your voice be the "prelude"--the prelude to peace and plenty--here, and in the world.

Bennet Draft #2
(over, Tyle)

Liberal Party
(about 14 pp.)

About a month ago, I signed a paper in which I formally accepted the nomination of the Liberal Party for the Presidency. Tonight, I am pleased to come before you personally to tell you ~~how proud I am to have~~ *that I am proud* ~~to accept your nomination~~ *to accept your nomination*.

I asked for your endorsement openly. I accept it openly.

If I appear to be making an issue out of this, it is because New York State this year has witnessed the unusual spectacle of a Republican candidate for President who lacks the courage either to accept or reject the endorsement of the Conservative Party. He simply begged the Conservatives to run a blank space for President so that they might conduct a back door romance with Poor Richard on Election Day.

I feel no need for any such hanky panky with the Liberal Party.

I am here to declare my affection in full public view and to join our names on the ballot in legal wedlock.

Frankly, I don't think I could disown you -- even if I wanted to.

We have been seen going around together for too many years.

* * *

I am here tonight to offer you what leadership I can in an
time of
unprecedented testing for American liberalism.

When I was honored by your nomination, Dr. Donald Harrington --
~~Dr. Donald Harrington~~
one of our great leaders in the cause of peace -- called me the man who
could best put together the "pieces of the peace puzzle."

I want to express my special appreciation for his confidence. and
the way to a more peaceful
~~the way to a more peaceful~~
yours.

[Signature]
And, I want to re-state my irreversible and total commitment to
do all I can to justify it.

I have spoken to the nation on the question of peace in Vietnam. I
have said what I believe statesmanship -- not partisanship -- demanded.
I believe we can have a lasting peace in Southeast Asia. And, if elected,
I intend to get it.

But we must also start now to press the quest for peace beyond the
~~agonizing conflict~~ agonizing conflict in Vietnam. I believe the next four

years may well determine whether or not the world can be saved from nuclear holocaust. } And I believe this is a cause for liberals ... who dare -- not for Conservatives, who don't.

Nuclear war is hard for the human mind to comprehend. We have come to live with the threat of it as a nightmare -- horrible ... unwanted ... but somehow unreal. Terrible, yes ... but what man, we ask, would unleash it?

General S. ...
Then we hear a candidate for the Vice Presidency of the United States *console us with the* casually remark that after only 20 years the rats are flourishing on Bikini

Atol ... and only the land crabs are still slightly "hot."

That could easily be the epitaph of Manhattan Island.

Nuclear War can happen in our times ... if we let it. We can prevent it ... if we will.

If I become President, America will take the lead in negotiating an end to the nuclear arms race before it halts humanity.

We have labored hard to write a non-proliferation treaty to keep atomic weapons out of the hands of the Castros and Nassers of the world that is now before the Senate. I call upon the Senate to ratify it before that fateful tide in the affairs of men turns, and leaves us stranded.

If we let this treaty die, our limited momentum in the direction of disarmament will surely be lost.

"How beautiful upon the mountain are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace." (Isaiah)

That is America's proper role in the world. Let us now fulfill it.

* * *

There is another great challenge before American liberals today -- ^{show} ~~to demonstrate~~ ^{how to} to prove once again that men can rule themselves by reason and compromise... rather than passion and violence.

Never ^{has} was the way of liberalism -- of tolerance, reason and democracy -- ^{been} more relevant than at this moment when the world is torn with conflict. The tensions are world wide -- in universities as far apart as Mexico City and Peking, in communities as far apart as our ghettos and Biafra.

Why? Because the largest generation of young people the world has ever seen seeks expression for its ideas and ideals. Because the poor of the earth reach out for a share of the goods that modern science can make available ... Because oppressed peoples seek recognition of their God-given dignity, while others would keep them down.

I know -- by reason and by faith -- that
^ Liberalism offers the only answer.

Liberalism does not deny manhood to the young, but welcomes them as a creative force in the democratic process.

It does
We do not deny bread to the poor, but help them earn it.

It does
~~We do~~ not deny human rights to anyone, but develop the talents of everyone.

Today, in America, fundamentals
But at the same time, the rudiments of our liberal society --

law ... free institutions ... free debate ... compromise -- are threatened.

There are those who would maliciously turn aspirations into anger, to turn hope into hate, to whip up fury and fear. These are the demagogues who seek a government over the people, instead of democrats who seek a government of the people.

After the first World War, Europe was in turmoil. And out of that trouble arose dictatorships of the left and of the right. Following the Great Depression, Europe was once more in turmoil, and out of that arose the most monstrous tyranny of our times.

And I say to you that a Republican recession -- a few million unemployed in the charged atmosphere of our times -- could produce such turmoil here.

Beware. Beware those who excite fear to exploit fear.

Beware the charlatan who has no prescription for reform and peddles
the club as a cure. Beware the seller of simple solutions.

Yes, beware those who have all the answers and also those who
offer no answers.

Let me be blunt.

General LeMay likes George Wallace because he will stand up on his hind legs and say what he thinks. Without embracing the General's metaphore, I believe he is essentially correct.

The American people know what they would be getting in George Wallace--and in the last analysis I don't think they will want it.

I believe our democracy is strong enough to deal with the enemy it knows.

But what about Mr. Nixon?

What most Americans know about Mr. Nixon today is what Madison Avenue wants them to know--and unfortunately our Truth-in Packaging legislation doesn't apply to candidates.

He hasn't Met the Press...or Faced the Nation...or heard the Issues and ^{given} promised Answers in two years. Instead, he is using gigantic financial resources to pay for his own

contrived question and answer shows, a hollow parody of what has become an institution of our democracy...a calculated delusion.

How are the people to judge?

What are his policies?

More important, what are his principles?

On August 8, Mr. Nixon resigned from several exclusive -- that means segregated -- private clubs. Why?

Here is how he put it: "In view of my nomination for the Presidency of the United States, I believe it appropriate that I disassociate myself from all organizations and activities not related to the commitment I have undertaken..." Why does it take the nomination of his party to cause Mr. Nixon to resign from such restricted institutions, as the ^{Baltimore} Baltimore Country Club, having enjoyed its comforts for the preceding several years? Can a President's private principles be distinct from his public principles?

What about the people he will bring with him into

government? Mr. Agnew will be a heartbeat away from the Presidency -- and Strom Thurmond perhaps somewhat closer.

What will this mean when it comes time to select an Attorney General...Supreme Court Justices...or Federal Judges?

Who will be the U. S. Attorneys charged with enforcing Civil Rights statutes?

Will the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission be active or passive?

How will his debt to Strom Thurmond be repaid?

And what about the very institutions to which our freedom is moored?

What does it mean when a candidate for the Presidency attacks the courts...when he is for a law...but won't enforce it?

Last week Mr. Nixon charged that the Securities Exchange Commission is a political tool, which it is not, and then promised to pull some of its teeth--although it protects

the interests of 25 million investors and honest brokers

as well.

*None of Mr. Nixon's top administrative policy advisers
who released the secret letters -- is allowed to speak
who evidently opposes government regulation of any and all kinds.*

What happens to the average man--the man who is not on Mr. Nixon's private mailing list of special interests-- when the regulatory agencies, the courts...the laws themselves...are quietly put on the block for political expediency?

I am not questioning Mr. Nixon's ethics. I am wondering about his peculiar style of campaigning...and what it is likely to do to the things we have fought a generation to achieve.

If there is uncertainty in our society now, what will it be like when the wraps come off and the people discover they've bought something different from what they bargained for?

I just don't think America can afford a Brand X candidate in 1968.

As to the issues themselves, I do not believe

the challenges of our times can be met with delay and dalliance and canned commercials.

The challenge of Vietnam cannot be met by a man who has no answer...or who, even worse, claims he has an answer, but won't talk.

The challenge of the atom bomb cannot be met by a man who says he would like a non-proliferation treaty, but not now.

The challenge of Civil Rights cannot be met by a man who is happy with a Supreme Court ruling so long as it is not enforced and stumps the South with the Senate's most extreme opponent of human rights.

The challenge of crime cannot be met by a man who believes in the conviction of the criminal--as we all do== but would rather pay for new airports than better law enforcement.

The challenge of rising taxes cannot be met by a man who believes in granting every loophole to millionaires,

but denies a few pennies of tax relief to the millions.

The challenge of poverty cannot be met by a man, who in his incredible contempt for the agricultural workers of our Southwest, calls in the photographer to record Richard Nixon gulping a bunch of grapes.

America cannot risk Richard Nixon. He would cost too much--too much in poverty and crime, in wasted manpower and in wasted talent, in civil strife, and in fatal delay when it comes to peace.

Of course, Mr. Nixon says America cannot afford a Hubert Humphrey. He says that if all my proposals to Congress while I was in the Senate had been accepted, it would have cost the American people another \$100 billion.

I must confess that I have never added it all up. But if he is right, the additional amount would have averaged out to about a whopping 3 percent of our present budget annually over 15 years.

Now what would I have done with that money?

I would have built more homes where we have rat holes.

I would have built more schools where we now have
fire-traps.

I would have researched cures for more diseases
that now kill hundreds of thousands.

I would have trained more of the untrained whose
. lives are now wasted.

I would have built more hospitals for those who
are now bedded in halls and basements, while the paint and
plaster crumble around them. I would have established
day care centers for mothers.

I would have invested in America's greatest resources:
I would have invested in people.

I would have enriched America--to increase our
income, to strengthen our tax base, to bring new billions
to our treasury without raising tax rates.

And, yes, I would have done one more thing: I
would have insisted that those privileged groups in American

society who have been excused by Mr. Nixon and his colleagues from carrying their fair share of the tax load in our democracy, join with the rest of us in paying the bill, in meeting the budget of peace and freedom.

And I believe I would have eased some of the tension in our land today.

And, if elected, I intend to do all these things-- and more.

There's a big difference this year. I believe it is a fateful difference. Your vote in November can make that difference.

But I ask for more than your vote, my fellow Americans. I ask for your voice. I ask you to sound off.

Where men sow fear, I ask you to sow faith. Where men spit hate, I ask you to speak hope.

And I think you will be heard.

I have campaigned this fall in every section of the country.

People are concerned. Some are angry. A few have moved beyond dissent to disruption.

But that basic courage and instinct for fair play that have made America great still flourish. I have drawn strength from it. So will you.

The energy is there for a new wave of grass-roots liberalism in America. I ask your help to use it.

well

NYS HHH MUSKIE

DEM FOR HHH DC
DID YOU GET LAST MESSAGE OK?

HERE IS ANOTHRR FO VP'S PARTY

DEM FOR HHH DC
PLS PASS TO TED VAN DYK
FROM JOHN STEWART

POSSIBLE INSERT FO R LIBERAL PARTY ADDRESS TONIGHT...

LAST NIGHT, WHILE MOST OF US WERE SLEEPING, DEMOCRACY...
FREE SPEECH...WERE BEING PLOWED UNDER ON CAPITOL HILL.

THROUGHOUT THE NIGH, MR. NIXON'S REPUBLICAN HENCHMENT IN THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES RESORTED TO THE CHEAPEST FORM OF POLITICAL
SKULDUGGERY TO PRVXXX PREVENT A DEBATE --YES, A DEBATE
(SHOULD BE -- YES, EVEN A DEBATE) --(ULINE DEBATE) ON THE
RESOLUTION THAT WORL PERMIT JR.XXX MR. NIXON AND ME TO GO BEFORE
THE TELEVISION CAMERAS, TOGETHER, AND PRESENT OUR VIEWS TO THE
AXXX NATION.

DELAYING TACTICES WERE USED TO PRREVENT A DEBATE IN THE HOUSE;
--AND THEWHOLE THING WAS ONXX DONE TO PREVENT A DEBATE BEFORE THE
NATION.

LET US MAKE NO MISTAKE: THIS IS THEPOLITICS O F OBSTRUCTION
(ULINE OBSTRUCTION)...THE TACTICS THAT FOR SOMANY YEARS DESTROYED
CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS IN THE SENATE.

--TACTICS THAT WERE USED IN STROM THURMOND'S VENDETTA AGAINST
MR. JUSTICE FORTAS;

--AND NOW THEY ARE UEDXXX USED AGAINST OUR MOST PRECIOUS
HERITAGE --FREE SPEECH ITSELF.

WE HAVE SEEN WHAT HAPPENS IN COUNTRIES WHREXXX WHERE THIS
ABUSE OF THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS IS CONDONED:

--WE KNOW WHAT HAPPENS WHEN FRAGILE DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS ARE
ABUSED BY A WILLFUL FEW -- EITHER IN THE STREETS OR IN A
LEGISLATURE.

WILL WE LET A FEW MEN TRAMPLE ON OUR (ULINE) RIGHT OF FREE

D

RR

SPEECH JUST TO WIN AN ELECTION?

I SAY NO (ULINE). AND I THINK THAT YOU AGREE WITH ME.

END MESSAGE.

IS THRE ANYONE THERE?

DEM FOR HHH DC
7108229210.

~~Read~~ ~~to~~ NYC - possible Liberal Party
insert ~~Read to Gloria~~
10/11
Waldorf 4:30
212/855-3000

insert liberal party

Some of our liberal friends say they see no reason to unite a year ago and see no reason to unite today.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

But the politics of a year ago is not the politics of today.

A year ago we liberals were engaged in a great debate.

Now we have resolved that debate. Now we confront our common adversaries---the same old Nixon, the same old Wallace.

Four weeks from ~~now~~ ^{now} the American people will have ~~to~~ to choose one man to be the President of us all.

Four weeks from today the United States will have a new President-elect.

It ^{probably} will not be George Corley Wallace.

It could be Richard Milhous Nixon.

Could it be George Corley Wallace? ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

I think not---but who can say?

Could it be Richard Milhous Nixon? The pollsters say ~~x~~ tell us yes.

Could it be

I do not think that those who pursued an impossible dream

I myself have pursued impossible dreams.

But I hope that last year's dreamers will take up to today's realities---lest their ~~impossible~~ impossible dream turn into a quite possible nightmare---George Corley Wallace or Richard Milhous Nixon.

374 ✓



THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1100 17th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Amble

October 7, 1968

MEMORANDUM TO THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN BARTLOW MARTIN

RE: LIBERAL PARTY SPEECH

I understand the Liberal Party is, like everything else, split on Vietnam. You may be urged to praise Donald Harrington, the chairman of the Party, and tie him to his work for peace. This would be a mistake. Harrington leads the doves. The hawks would resent it.

You should: (a) praise Harrington only when you respond to your introduction and only as a lifelong champion of liberal causes and (b) ~~on vietnam stick to your own position and get off it fast.~~

We are advised by _____ that you should mention the Liberal Party plank on Viet Nam.

JBM/vw

Attachment

Tyler



LIBERAL PARTY

DRAFT # 3 (Tyler-Bennet-Martin)

About a month ago, I signed a paper in which I formally accepted the nomination of the Liberal Party for the Presidency. Tonight, I am pleased to come before you personally to tell you how proud I am to have it.

I asked for your endorsement openly. I accept it openly.

If I appear to be making an issue of this, it is because New York State this year has witnessed the spectacle of a Republican candidate for President who lacks the courage either to accept or reject the endorsement of the Conservative Party. He simply begged the Conservatives to run a blank space for President so they could conduct a back door romance on Election Day.

I feel no need for any such hanky panky with the Liberal Party. I am here to declare my affection in full public view and to join our names on the ballot in legal wedlock.

Frankly, I don't think I could leave you standing at the church door even if I wanted to. Everyone knows we ~~have~~^{you} been going steady for years.

This is not the kind of shotgun wedding that Strom Thurmond arranged between Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew.

Ours was love at first sight - - from the fight over civil rights and recognition of the independent State of Israel in the forties, through the ugly darkness of the Joe McCarthy period in the fifties, and on through the struggles to handcuff the bomb and rebuild our cities and reconcile our people in the sixties.

Some of you may share with me this year a sense of dejavu, a feeling that we're watching a rerun of an old movie.

Remember when Joe McCarthy vilified Adlai Stevenson openly while Richard Nixon carried on a campaign of fear and insinuation and innuendo?

Well, this year George Corley Wallace is playing to our darkest fears and threatening to run over dissenters with an automobile -- and the same Richard Nixon is around again, saying one thing in the North and something else in the South, muttering about social justice in the North but reading the crime news to Southern audiences, promising Southerners that when he appointed Justices to the Supreme Court -- "and maybe a Chief Justice", as he put it -- he would select men who were "strict constructionists." He joined the ugly ^{attack} on Justice Fortas; the first such fight since the first Jew, Mr. Justice Brandeis, was appointed ^{to the high court} in 1916.

He has ducked the major issues or used code words for them, refused to debate them openly, played on the people's fears but not said what he would do about them.

Remember 1960, when John F. Kennedy was trying to get this country moving again and Richard Nixon was bragging about a kitchen debate? Well, Richard Nixon is around again, standing silent on Vietnam and blocking the ratification of the treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons.

And I say that this is no way to conduct a campaign for the Presidency of the United States.

I say it's time that George Corley Wallace and Richard Milhous Nixon learned what the Presidency is all about.

And I say there is no new Richard Nixon -- just the same old Nixon ~~that you and I have known before~~ and ~~that we have defeated before.~~

I have come here today to set before you briefly my views on the issues of this campaign, on the conduct and the candidates of this

campaign, and on what in my judgment it means to be a liberal today. Because you have a right to know what I will do if I am President. and so do all the American people.

The greatest torment of our people today is the war in Vietnam. All three Presidential candidates say they want peace.

But my Republican opponent has remained ~~unusually~~ silent on how to achieve ^{it.} The other day he dropped a sly hint that he might be able to accept peace terms that the present administration could not. ^{What are they, Mr. Nixon?} But he did not say what those terms might be. I again challenge ~~you~~ you ~~to~~ you ~~debate~~ to debate, to tell the people ^{exactly} what ~~you~~ you would do about Vietnam if ~~you~~ you were elected President---and to tell them now.

George Corley Wallace has said he would seek military ^{victory} and he put a bomber general on his ticket to prove it. This is a dangerous course that could lead to national disaster.

You ~~and I~~ ^{of the Liberal Party} and I have spelled out our views. Your Liberal Party plank proposes a further peace initiative by the United States through a cessation of bombing in North Vietnam as "a prelude to productive negotiations".

~~It is my most profound hope that by January 20 such productive negotiations will be well under way.~~

~~If they are not, I pledge to you---add to the nation---to order an end to the bombing of~~

May I pay my respects to your choice of words. A "prelude" is the opening passage of a greater work. An end to bombing of the North would be the opening note of a peace symphony in Southeast Asia.

4
✓
I propose to sound that opening note.

~~It is my most profound hope that by January 20, productive negotiations will be well under way.~~

~~If they are not, however, I pledge to you and to the nation that ~~X~~ ~~as President I will order an end to the bombing of North Vietnam as the first step toward achieving an honorable negotiated peace~~~~

I have spelled out how I would stop the bombing as a step toward peace---a risk fully within our national interest---and I have laid down my proposals for a cease-fire, for de-Americanization of the war, and for free elections in South Viet Nam with all factions participating.

That's what I've said I'll do---and that's what I will do---if I am President. And with your help, I will be.

Second, beyond Vietnam lies the quest for peace and disarmament.

I believe the next four years may well determine whether or not the world can be saved from nuclear holocaust.

And I believe this is a cause for liberals . . . who dare -- not for conservatives, who don't.

Nuclear war is almost beyond the human mind. We have come to live with its threat as a nightmare - - horrible - - unwanted - - but somehow unreal. Terrible, yes . . . but what man, we ask, would unleash it?

4A



Then we hear General LeMay, a candidate for the Vice Presidency of the United States, console us with the remark that after only 20 years the rats are flourishing on Bikini Atol . . . and only the land crabs are still slightly "hot."

That could be the epitaph of Manhattan Island.

Nuclear War can happen in our times . . . if we let it. We can prevent it. . . if we will.

If I am President, America will take the lead in negotiating ~~an~~ ^a halt ~~end~~ to the nuclear arms race before it halts humanity.

We have labored hard to write a non-proliferation treaty to stop nuclear weapons from spreading around the world. That treaty is now before the Sneate. Richard Nixon has refused to help ratify it. I call upon the Senate to ratify it -- and to ratify it now -- before that fateful tide in the affairs of men turns, and leaves us stranded.

If we let this treaty die, we stand to lose our ^{fragile} ~~limited~~ momentum in the direction of disarmament.

I am aware of the tensions that exist in the world and that some use as an excuse not to ratify the treaty.

I call for ratification precisely because there are tensions in the world. If there were no tensions, there would be no need for treaties.

I urge you to make your voices heard. I urge you to act tonight to save the life of mankind tomorrow.

~~"How beautiful upon the mountain are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace." (Isaiah)~~

~~That is America's proper role in the world. Let us now fulfill it.~~

Third, there is another great challenge before American liberals today -- ^{to} show Americans how to live together at peace -- how to rule themselves by reason and compassion -- not by fear and not by violence.

On this issue the three candidates clearly do not agree.

George Corley Wallace simply does not want peace and reconciliation. He wants division and disunity. He tries to catch votes by playing on fear and hate. And I say he is playing a dangerous game - - a game

that could tear this country to pieces.

Richard Nixon cloaks that same appeal but he invokes it. And that, too, is a dangerous -- and a tricky -- game.

I am the only candidate who will urgently work to bring about the peace and reconciliation we need -- who is willing to use the power of the Presidency to achieve it.

I will

Reduce crime by improving the training, pay and equipment of local police -- and I ^{will} intend to speak this out in detail later this week. ~~I do not intend to preside over a nation that slams~~

~~Promote law and order by supporting the independence of the judiciary and doing everything within a President's power to ensure swift, sure and equal justice.~~

~~-- Reduce the anger and frustration that have provoked violent protest by rebuilding our cities with public and private funds, giving every young person the chance to develop to the utmost of his natural abilities, ensuring justice and equal opportunity to all people, and bringing 29 million Americans into full participation in our affluent society.~~

I do not intend to preside over a nation that slams the door in the face of millions of men and women and children who dwell in misery in black Chicago and White Appalachia, in Spanish Harlem and Mexican California and western Indian settlements. Neither do I intend to preside over a nation torn to pieces by violent extremists be they black or white, left or right.

I believe that violence is intolerable but so is injustice. I believe the remedy for violence is justice and not repression. And I deeply believe that we must be one nation or none. ~~The riots in our cities will not end until we end the injustice in the ghettos. We must do it because it is right. And we must do it because riots make life become intolerable for all of us, white and black, rich and poor, city dweller and suburbanite.~~



Violence is not the way of liberalism. Violence is the way of the demagogue and the dictator -- whether of the right or the left. Violence is the method of intolerance -- whether of the young rebel or the old reactionary.

Never was the way of liberalism -- of reason, ^{mutual respect} respect, debate -- more needed than today. In universities from ~~Mexico City to Peking~~ ^{Madrid to Peking} in cities from ~~Paris to our own dark ghettos~~ ^{Paris to our own dark ghettos}, violent ~~confrontation is~~ a daily affair.

~~The largest generation of young people the world has ever seen~~ ^{young} ~~cries out to be heard~~ ^{in history} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~The poor of the earth reach out for their share.~~

~~Liberalism offers the only answer.~~

The way of liberalism is not to deny manhood to the young, but to welcome them ~~into the democratic process~~ as a challenging and creative force.

It is not to deny bread to the poor, but to bring them into our economy as productive and rewarded men and women. ^{affluent}

It is not to deny freedom to the races, but to welcome them as equals into the family of man.

In every era of troubled transition there are those who would mindlessly convert aspirations into anger, hope into hate, and fear into fury. We liberals reject those demagogues. And we call upon the American people to reject them.

Finally, the line is clearly drawn among the three candidates on a long list of other domestic issues -- social security, education, medicare, economic growth and prosperity.

George Corley Wallace has said little about these issues this year, but for 25 years he has opposed everything liberals have fought for. And so has Richard ^{Milhoos} Nixon. And you know it. And you know too that you can trust the Democratic Party on these issues -- because its record on them goes back to Franklin D. Roosevelt.

I will not belabor this audience with those ^{issues} issues -- you know them too well. You invented some of them.



Rather, I would talk with you a moment further about the conduct and the candidates in this campaign.

(pron. day-zha-voe),

Some of you may share with me this year a sense of dejavu, a feeling that we're watching a rerun of an old movie.

Remember when Joe McCarthy vilified Adlai Stevenson openly while Richard Nixon carried on a campaign of ~~fear and~~ insinuation and innuendo?

Well, this year George Corley Wallace is playing to ^{Americans'} our darkest fears ~~and threatening to run over dissenters with an automobile -- and the same Richard Nixon is around again, saying one thing in the North and something else in the South, muttering about social justice in the North but reading the crime news to Southern audiences, promising Southerners that when he appointed Justices to the Supreme Court -- and maybe a Chief Justice", as he put it -- he would select men who were "strict constructionists."~~ He ^{Mr.} joined the ugly attack on Justice Fortas ^{standing aside} the ^{an attack unmatched} first such fight since the first Jew, Mr. Justice Brandeis, ^{to the high court} was appointed in 1916.

from -- or slyly joining --

~~He has ducked the major issues or used code words for them, refused to debate them openly, played on the people's fears but not said what he would do about them.~~

playing tricks with code words,

Remember 1960, when John F. Kennedy was trying to get this country moving again and Richard Nixon was bragging about a kitchen debate? Well, Richard Nixon is around again, ^{dropping hints} ~~standing silent on~~ ^{about} Vietnam, ^{mumbling} ~~blocking the ratification of the treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons.~~

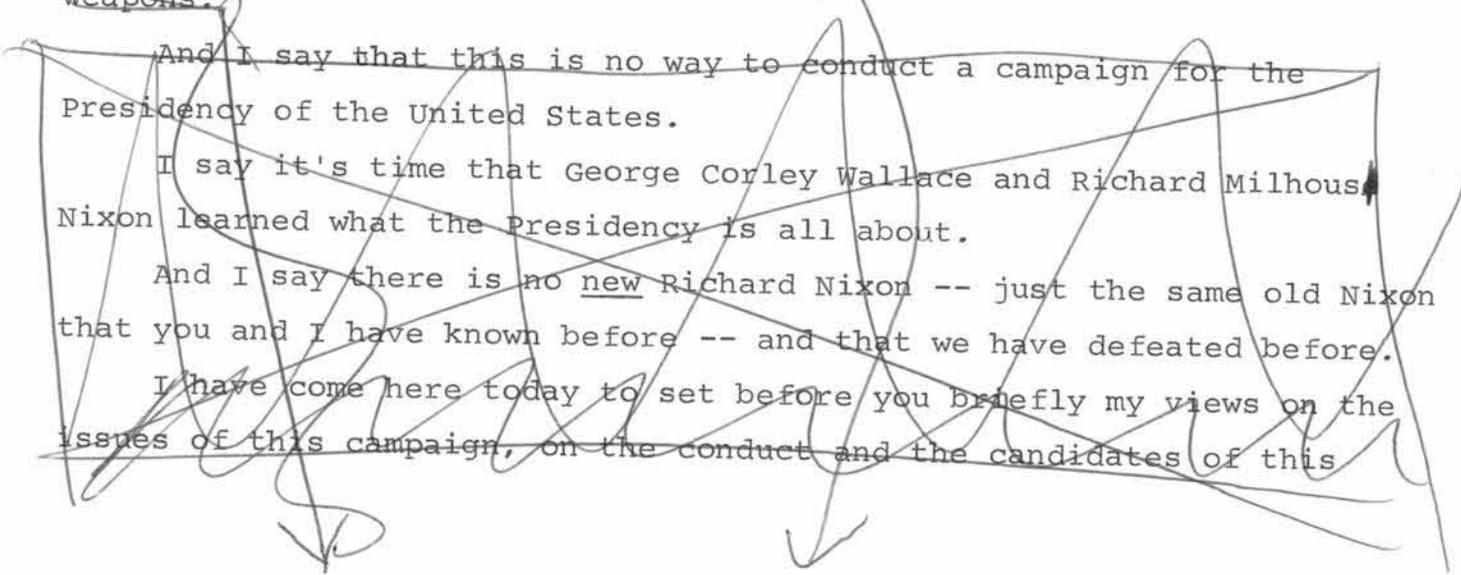
~~about tensions and nuclear~~

~~And I say that this is no way to conduct a campaign for the Presidency of the United States.~~

~~I say it's time that George Corley Wallace and Richard Milhous Nixon learned what the Presidency is all about.~~

~~And I say there is no new Richard Nixon -- just the same old Nixon that you and I have known before -- and that we have defeated before.~~

~~I have come here today to set before you briefly my views on the issues of this campaign, on the conduct and the candidates of this~~



~~His~~ His ^{advertising} plasters and his managers ~~and his~~ have convinced him that his \$20-million dollar ^{dodges the hard issues,} campaign will win the election if only he plays it safe, ~~and~~ says nothing, and tries to look statesmanlike.

He is taking the American people for granted.

I say the American people cannot and should not be taken for granted.

And I say there is no new Richard Nixon---just the same old Nixon that you and I have known before---and that we have defeated before.

Yet now we are told

~~We are told~~ by a respected columnist that Mr. Nixon has changed, that he can be counted on to make ~~good~~ responsible appointments if he is elected President.

Well, he has already made his first appointment -- Spiro Agnew.

One is tempted to treat poor Mr. Agnew as a joke, a man who provides -- if unintentionally -- comic relief in a grim ^{period in history} ~~campaign~~.

But one cannot take any candidate for Vice President of the United States as a joke.

In the last five years three great American leaders have been assassinated, and one of them was our President and another was running for President. In the last 50 years one President out of three has not completed his term in office.

The most important selection a President makes is the man he picks for his Vice President. ^{For there is one chance in three that that man will become President.}

Before the Republican Convention, Mr. Nixon enticed support by talking about picking all sorts of responsible Republicans, such as your own Mayor John Lindsay.

But when the chips were down, he yielded to Strom Thurmond and picked Spiro Agnew.

~~It~~ During this campaign he can be counted on to entice votes by suggesting the names of responsible men he will appoint to cabinet posts if he is elected President.

But if he were President he would appoint the same kind of men that held him captive at the Convention -- and there isn't a liberal among them -- and you know it.

I suppose there never was any hope that Mr. Wallace would choose a responsible running mate.

But who would have dreamed he would pick ^{the incredible General} ~~Curtis~~ LeMay?

Between them, Spiro Agnew and ^{General} ~~Curtis~~ LeMay have in a few short weeks managed to insult Americans of Polish and Japanese descent and

then to apologize, to call me "soft on communism" and then to apologize, to say that Nixon ~~had~~^a a "plan" to end the war in Vietnam and then to explain there really wasn't any ^{such} plan, and to say that the nuclear bomb is just another weapon and should be used if necessary in Vietnam.

Listen to what Mr. Nixon said about Mr. Agnew: "I was deeply impressed by his tremendous brain power, great courage, and unprejudiced legal mind. He has vigor, imagination, and above all he acts. Under pressure he is one of the best-poised and controlled."

Now listen to what the Washington Post said of Mr. Agnew: "Nixon's decision . . . to name Agnew as his running mate may come to be regarded as perhaps the most eccentric political appointment since the Roman emperor Caligula named his horse a consul."

stet ~~The Miami Herald has called General LeMay "the ultimate hawk" and said that he and ^{Mr.} Wallace will conduct "the charge of the white Birgade, with every man guaranteed freedom to chose his own cave."~~

And I say: President Agnew . . . President LeMay . . . it could happen, ^{there is a one-third chance} it could happen . . . and so before we hear any more talk about the new Nixon's responsible appointments, let columnists carefully consider where President Agnew might lead us.

In this campaign, I have never had to drag ~~Senator~~ Ed Muskie kicking and screaming back into the mainstream of my own campaign - - or into the 20th Century. And, to borrow the language of Madison Avenue, no other Presidential candidate can make that claim.

You know Ed Muskie. You know his liberal voting record in the Senate. You have watched the maturity, the judgment, the wisdom, the candor and dignity with which he has conducted his campaign this fall. And you know that if he should become your President, you could

trust him with that great office. And if the American people don't know it, I want you to go out and tell them.

Let's not kid ourselves. We're in the fight of our lives this year, you and I. But we've stood together before in a lot of battles that the faint of heart called hopeless. And we stand together again.

What sustains us, what leads us, is the liberal faith. For we know that the heart of liberalism lies in an awareness of the difficulties of man's condition and the complexities of men's choices . . . in the tolerance of dissent and diverse opinions. . . in the never-ending fight for free debate . . . in the determination to create conditions to release human energies and promote human fulfilment. . . in the ~~willingness to try out~~ ^{steadfast faith in willingness to try out} new ideas, ~~hold fast to~~ ^{hold fast to} old ideals, and ~~defend the liberal faith.~~ ^{defend against the demagogues the land we love.}

We know that a free society can remain free even when confronting enemies abroad and torn by dissent at home.

We know that we can give men everywhere a glimpse of hope and peace even in our darkest hours.

Never has a time put heavier burdens on liberalism.

In our foreign policy, ^{I suggest,} to be aliberal today, ~~I suggest,~~ means at a minimum to work for peace in Vietnam and for sanity in nuclear policy.

At home, I suggest, to be a liberal today means not only rejecting but actively resisting the extremism of both right and left. . . the extremism that threatens to tear this country to pieces.

And in this campaign, I suggest, to be a liberal means not only to vote for but to work for candidates who appeal to reason and not to fear, ^{for} candidates ^{you can trust} who speak out and not candidates who stand silent.

I could not be more grateful for your support. I will do everything within my power to justify it, during this campaign and in the White House if I am President.

And I urgently ask your help in the remaining weeks of this campaign.

lud

reading copy done

LIBERAL PARTY

PAGE ONE

Draft #3 (Tyler-Bennet-Martin)

About a month ago, I signed a paper in which I formally accepted the nomination of the Liberal Party for the Presidency. Tonight, I am pleased to come before you personally to tell you how proud I am to have it.

I asked for your endorsement openly. I accept it openly.

If I appear to be making an issue of this, it is because New York State this year has witnessed the spectacle of a Republican candidate for President who lacks the courage either to accept or reject the endorsement of the Conservative Party. He simply begged the Conservatives to run a blank space for President so they could conduct a back door romance on Election Day.

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This is not the kind of shotgun wedding that Strom Thurmond arranged between Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew.

Ours was love at first sight - - from the fight over civil rights and recognition of the independent State of Israel in the forties, through the ugly darkness of the Joe McCarthy period in the fifties, and on through the struggles to handcuff the bomb and rebuild our cities and reconcile our people in the sixties.

The greatest torment of time ~~is~~ today is the war in Vietnam.
All three Presidential candidates say they want peace.

LIBERAL PARTY

PAGE TWO

I have come here today to set before you ~~briefly~~ my views on the issues of this campaign, on the conduct and the candidates of this campaign, and on what in my judgment it means to be a liberal today. Because you have a right to know what I will do if I am President, and so do all the American people.

But my Republican opponent has remained silent on how to achieve it. The other day he dropped a sly hint that he might be able to accept peace terms that the present administration could not. But he did not say what those terms might be. What are they, Mr. Nixon? I again challenge you to debate, to tell the people exactly what you would do about Vietnam if you were President---and to tell them now.

~~George Conley Wallace has said he would seek military victory and he put a bomb general on his ticket to prove it. This is a dangerous course that could lead to national disaster.~~

You of the Liberal Party, and I have spelled out our views. Your Liberal Party plank proposes a further peace initiative by the United States through a cessation of bombing in North Vietnam as "a prelude to productive negotiations."

May I pay my respects to your choice of words. A "prelude" is the opening passage of a greater work. An end to bombing of the North would be the opening note of a peace symphony in Southeast Asia.

~~I spelled out how I would stop the bombing as a step toward peace---a risk fully within our national interest---and I have laid down my proposals for a cease-fire, for de-Americanization of the war, and for free elections in South Vietnam with all factions participating.~~

I have spelled out how I would stop the bombing as a step toward peace---a risk fully within our national interest---and I have laid down my proposals for a cease-fire, for de-Americanization of the war, and for free elections in South Vietnam with all factions participating.

First, how can we end the tragic war in Vietnam?

That's what I've said I'll do---and that's what I will do---if I am President. ~~And with [redacted]~~

Second, beyond Vietnam lies the quest for peace and disarmament.

I believe the next four years may well determine whether or not the world can be saved from nuclear holocaust.

And I believe this is a cause for liberals . . . who dare -- not for conservatives, who don't.

Nuclear war is almost beyond the human mind. We have come to live with its threat as a nightmare -- horrible -- unwanted -- but somehow unreal. Terrible, yes . . . but what man, we ask, would unleash it?

Then we hear General LeMay, a candidate for the Vice Presidency of the United States, console us with the remark that after only 20 years the rats are flourishing on Bikini Atol . . . and only the land crabs are still slightly "hot."

That could be the epitaph of Manhattan Island.

Nuclear War can happen in our times . . . if we let it. We can prevent it . . . if we will.

If I am President, America will take the lead in negotiating a halt to the nuclear arms race before it halts humanity.

⌈ We have labored hard to write a non-proliferation treaty to stop nuclear weapons from spreading around the world. That treaty is now before the Senate. ⌈ Richard Nixon has refused to help ratify it. I call upon the Senate to ratify it -- and to ratify it now -- before that fateful tide in the affairs of men turns, and leaves us stranded.

~~If we let this treaty die, we stand to lose our [redacted]~~
~~in the direction of disarmament~~

~~I am aware of the tensions that exist in the world and that some use as an excuse not to ratify the treaty.~~

~~I call for ratification precisely because there are tensions in the world. If there were no tensions, there would be no need for treaties.~~

I urge you to make your voices heard. I urge you to act tonight to save mankind tomorrow.

Third, ~~there is another great challenge before~~ American liberals *are today challenged* to show Americans how to live together at peace -- how to rule themselves by reason and compassion -- not by fear and not by violence.

On this issue the three candidates clearly do not agree.

George Corley Wallace simply does not want peace and reconciliation. He ~~generates~~ *generates* division and disunity. He tries to catch votes by playing on fear and hate. And I say he is playing a dangerous game -- a game that could tear this country to pieces.

Richard Nixon cloaks that same appeal but he invokes it.

And that, too, is a dangerous -- and a tricky -- game.

~~The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey is the only candidate who will urgently work to bring about the peace and reconciliation we need -- who is willing to use the power of the Presidency to achieve it.~~

~~I will reduce crime by improving the training, pay and equipment of local police -- and I will speak this out in detail later this week.~~

I do not intend to preside over a nation that slams the door in the face of millions of men and women and children who dwell in misery in black Chicago and White Appalachia, in Spanish Harlem and Mexican California and western Indian settlements. Neither do I intend to preside over a nation torn to pieces by violent extremists be they black or

white, left or right.

I believe that violence is intolerable but so is injustice. I believe the remedy for violence is justice and not repression. And I deeply believe that we must be one nation or none.

~~Violence is not the way of liberalism. Violence is the way of the demagogue and the dictator -- whether of the right or the left. Violence is the method of intolerance -- whether of the young rebel or the old reactionary.~~

Never was the way of liberalism -- of reason, debate, mutual respect -- more needed than today.

The way of liberalism is not to deny manhood to the young, but to welcome them as a challenging and creative force.

It is not to deny bread to the poor, but to bring them into our affluent economy as productive and rewarded men and women.

It is not to deny freedom to the races, but to welcome them as equals into the family of man.

~~In every era of troubled transition there are those who would mindlessly convert aspirations into anger, hope into hate, and peace into fury. We liberals reject these demagogues and we call upon the American people to reject them.~~

Finally, the line is clearly drawn among the three candidates on a long list of other domestic issues -- social security, education, medicare, economic growth and prosperity.

George Corley Wallace has said little about these issues this year, but for 25 years he has opposed everything liberals have fought for. And so has Richard Milhous Nixon. And you know it. And you know too

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that you can trust the Democratic Party on these issues -- because its record on them goes back to Franklin D. Roosevelt.

I will not belabor this audience with those issues -- you know them too well. ^{Indeed,} ^{most} You invented ~~some~~ of them.

Rather, I would talk with you a moment further about the conduct and the candidates in this campaign.

Some of you may share with me this year ~~a sense of dejavu, (pronounced day-zhe-woo),~~ a feeling that we're watching a rerun of an old movie.

Remember when Joe McCarthy vilified Adlai Stevenson openly while Richard Nixon carried on a campaign of insinuation and innuendo?

Well, this year George Corley Wallace is playing to Americans' darkest fears -- and the same Richard Nixon is around again, saying one thing in the North and something else in the South, ^{like a} muttering about social justice in the North but reading the crime news to Southern audiences. ^{like a} standing aside from --- or slyly joining --- the ugly attack on Mr. Justice Fortas, an attack unmatched since the first Jew, Mr. Justice Brandei, was appointed to the high court in 1916.

~~Remember 1960, when John F. Kennedy was trying to get this country moving again and Richard Nixon was bragging about a kitchen debate? Well, Richard Nixon is around again, dropping hints about Vietnam, playing tricks with code words, mumbling about tensions and blocking ratification of the nuclear treaty.~~

^{Mr. Nixon's} ~~his~~ pollsters and ~~his~~ managers have convinced him that his \$20-million dollar ~~campaign~~ campaign will win the election if only he plays it safe, says nothing, dodges the hard issues, and ~~tries to look statesmanlike.~~

Blends secret messages to all the special interests.

He is taking the American people for granted.

I say the American people cannot and should not be taken for granted.

~~And I say there is no new Richard Nixon -- just the same old Nixon that you and I have known before -- and that we have defeated before.~~

~~yet now~~ We are told by a respected columnist that Mr. Nixon has changed, that he can be counted on to make responsible appointments if he is elected President.

Well, he has already made his first appointment -- Spiro **T.** Agnew.

One is tempted to treat poor Mr. Agnew as a joke, a man who provides -- if unintentionally -- comic relief in a grim period of history.

But one cannot take any candidate for Vice President of the United States as a joke.

In the last five years three great American leaders have been assassinated, and one of them was our President and another was running for President. In the last 50 years one President out of three has not completed his term in office.

The most important selection a President makes is the man he picks for his Vice President. For there is one chance in three that that man will become President.

Before the Republican Convention, Mr. Nixon ~~enticed support~~ ^{Talked} ~~by talking~~ about picking all sorts of responsible Republicans, such as ~~your son~~ Mayor John Lindsay.

But when the chips were down, he yielded to Strom Thurmond and picked Spiro Agnew.

During this campaign ^{other} he can be counted on to ~~entice votes~~ ^{suggest} ~~by suggesting~~ the names of responsible men he will appoint to

(But who would stand guard if he were President?)

Cabinet posts if he is elected President.

But if he were President he would appoint the same kind of men that held him captive at the Convention -- and there isn't a liberal among them -- and you know it.

~~I suppose there never was any hope that Mr. Wallace would choose a responsible running mate.~~

~~But who would have dreamed he would pick the incredible General LeMay?~~

In a few short weeks
~~Between them, Spiro Agnew and General LeMay have in a few short weeks managed to insult Americans of Polish and Japanese descent and then to apologize to call me "soft on communism" and then to apologize to say that Nixon had a "plan" to end the war in Vietnam and then to explain there really wasn't any such plan -- now they clamped the lid on him. But you just want... he'd become and should be used if necessary in Vietnam.~~

Listen to what Mr. Nixon said about Mr. Agnew: "I was deeply impressed by his tremendous brain power, great courage, and unprejudiced legal mind. He has vigor, imagination, and above all he acts. Under pressure he is one of the best-poised and controlled."

Now listen to what the Washington Post said of Mr. Agnew: "Nixon's decision . . . to name Agnew as his running mate may come to be regarded as perhaps the most eccentric political appointment since the Roman Emperior Caligula named his horse a Consul."

~~The Miami Herald has called General LeMay "the ultimate hawk" and said that he and Mr. Wallace will conduct "the charge of the white Birgade, with every man guaranteed freedom to chose his own cave."~~

And I say: President Agnew . . .and President LeMay . . . it could happen, there is a one-third chance, it could happen . . and so before we hear any more talk about the new Nixon's responsible appointments, let columnists carefully consider where President Agnew might lead us.

In this campaign, I have never had to drag Ed Muskie kicking and screaming back into the mainstream of my own campaign - - or into the 20th Century. And, to borrow the language of Madison Avenue, no other Presidential candidate can make that claim.

You know Ed Muskie. You know his liberal voting record in the Senate. You have watched the maturity, the judgment, the wisdom, the candor and dignity with which he has conducted his campaign this fall. And you know that if he should become your President, you could trust him with that great office. And if the American people don't know it, I want you to go out and tell them.

Let's not kid ourselves. We're in the fight of our lives this year, you and I. But we've stood together before in a lot of battles that the faint of heart called hopeless. And we stand together again.

What sustains us, what leads us, is the liberal faith. For we know that the heart of liberalism lies in an awareness of the difficulties of man's condition and the complexities of men's choices . . . in the tolerance of dissent and diverse opinions . . in the never-ending fight for free debate . . . in the determination to create conditions to release human energies and promote human fulfillment . . . in the willingness to try out new ideas, hold fast to old ideals, and defend against the demagogues the land we love.

We know that a free society can remain free even when confronting enemies abroad and torn by dissent at home.

We know that we can give men everywhere a glimpse of hope and peace even in our darkest hours.

Never has a time put heavier burdens on liberalism.

In our foreign policy, I suggest, to be a liberal today means at a minimum to work for peace in Vietnam and for sanity in nuclear policy.

At home, I suggest, to be a liberal today means not only rejecting but actively resisting the extremism of both right and left . . . the extremism that threatens to tear this country to pieces.

And in this campaign, I suggest, to be a liberal means not only to vote for but to work for candidates who appeal to reason and not to fear, for candidates you can trust.

~~I could not be more grateful for your support. I will do everything within my power to justify it, during this campaign and in the White House if I am President.~~

~~And I urgently ask your help in the remaining weeks of this campaign~~

We can win this election ... we will win this election if we truly care what happens to this ~~the~~ nation.

~~I urgently ask your help in~~

So let's get to work.



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