



Citizens for Humphrey-Muskie

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News Release

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SEPTEMBER 9, 1968

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHRY FOR CAMPAIGN KICKOFF
RALLY AT JOHN F. KENNEDY PLAZA, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA,
SEPTEMBER 9, 1968

"We have some basic choices to make in America in 1968.

We have choices to make about the direction our country is going to take in the world.

We have choices to make about the kind of America we are going to build right here at home.

The basic choice -- and the one at the heart of my campaign -- is this: Is this to be one America, under God, indivisible with liberty and justice for all?

Or is it to be two, three, or four Americas -- a nation divided against itself black and white...poor and rich...slum and suburb...North and South? The choice in 1968 is this:

Are we going to accept as inevitable the conflict

and hatred which are becoming a part of our everyday life?

Or are we going to stand up together and say: This can be one America. We can make this country work.

That is the choice: between one America and an America of apartheid.

That is the choice: between the America of the old era and the America of the new day.

In 1960 -- and again in 1964 -- the American people asked us to get this country moving.

John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson did get this country moving -- with Medicare ...aid to education ... training for jobs ... and prosperity that has lifted the level of life for every American.

But you know, there is a lesson in history. That lesson is: When people have no hope, they give up. They accept what's wrong . . . and live with it . . . and die with it.

But when people have hope, they will not accept what is wrong.

They want something better.

They want it now.

And they are right.

That is what has been happening in America.

The hopeless now have hope.

Young people are lifting their eyes above tenement fire escapes and rural slums all over the country.

People in the suburbs are asking: Must we be walled off from the people who live in the cities?

People in the cities are asking: Where are the schools, the jobs, the safe neighborhoods that my children need?

How shall we answer these questions?

Shall we let hope become frustration . . . impatience become violence?

Shall we turn things over to those . . . as in Chicago . . . who say they are going to burn this country down and then build things their own way on the ashes?

There aren't many extremists in this Country. And those who listen to them are a minority.

But History is filled with the wreckage created by extremists and willful minorities -- and they all thought they had found the true belief to the exclusion of all others.

If we let the extremists and the haters have their way in America, they can drag all of us down.

But if the rest of us do something about it, they won't have their way.

Dissent, yes. Disorder, no.

We must take their poison out of our air and their violence out of our streets.

I say this nation is willing to pay the price -- in dollars . . . in personal sacrifice . . . and in moral commitment to make this one America, and to do it peacefully.

And that is why I seek to be President of the United States.

There is one candidate this year who bases his very campaign on the idea of apartheid.

There is another candidate who does not do so. But he is openly competing for the same votes as George Wallace -- for the votes of people who want at best to slow things down when it comes to programs that offer the way out of tension and trouble in America.

So we are faced with Third-Party extremism.

And we are faced, in the Republican Party, with the old coalition which prefers to remain silent when it comes to human rights and human opportunity.

I say this election year must bring a national referendum: -- nothing less -- on human rights and human opportunity.

I say:

. . . to all Democrats, loyal and dissenting:

. . . to all Republicans and Independents who share a basic concern about the future of this Country;

. . . to Southerners and Northerners who want one America and one American citizenship -- open to all;

. . . To all Americans who believe in what was begun here in Philadelphia two centuries ago;

Turn away from the old era. Choose the new day.

Turn away from the old era when an American boy who fought in an integrated bunker at Khesanh could come home to a segregated slum in America.

Choose the new day when that boy can come home to a job . . . to training . . . to equality before the law and in his neighborhood.

Turn away from the old era when our cities grew more congested . . . more tense . . . less fit as a place for anyone's child to grow up.

Choose the new day when the American city can be the best our society has to offer -- a place where neighborhoods are once again filled with neighbors . . . where the schools are the best . . . where there is green and open space . . . where our wives and children can be safe.

Turn away from the old era where "separate and equal" really meant "separate and unequal" and where generation after generation in the same family ended up in poverty and welfare.

Choose the new day where every American child -- regardless of his color or his last name or his religion -- can receive the best education in the world . . . where all of us stand "together and equal" -- and proud of it.

Jobs . . . decent housing . . . better schools . . . health care for young and old . . . and a new feeling of unity in this Country - - these are the things I offer in this campaign.

This is the choice I want you to make.

I appeal not to your fears, but to your reason.

I ask you to vote your hopes, not your hates.

I ask you to join me — with faith in the essential greatness of this country — in building America so strong and so free that no one will ever be able to tear it down.

I ask your help."

✓ Mayor Tate
✓ Sen Clark
✓ Cong Green

Joey Bishop
Philadelphia's
most recent
gift to the
nation

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

CAMPAIGN KICKOFF RALLY

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

SEPTEMBER 9, 1968

(Not In Release)

M.H.O.

Joe
King!
Chitrenothop:
over 700,000

Every time I come to Philadelphia -- which my wife tells me
is more often than I come home to Minnesota -- I am amazed by
the transformation that has taken place.

The old has become new -- the damaged has been repaired --
and promise is being fulfilled.

When I came here to dedicate the Municipal Services Building
~~across the way~~, this plaza was not even here. And when I come here
again, I know that Jim Tate will still be showing us how a city can be
reborn.

||

↳ You have a great record here and a great future here in Philadelphia.

↳ You need look no farther than this plaza -- than the Penn Center (~~on speaker's right - omit in release~~) replacing the Old Chinese Wall and the railroad tracks -- to know what you have done -- what we have done -- and what we can continue to do together.

↳ This is our record -- and we Democrats are proud to stand on it.

↳ We are going to do more -- much more! That goes for Jim Tate in City Hall, Joe Clark in the Senate, and these five concerned and hard-working Congressmen who are here with us today. Bill Green, Bill Barrett, Jim Byrne, Bob Nix and Josh Eilberg. / These are men who know what it takes to rebuild a city. And they are going to do the job.

(Begin Release)

↳ We have some basic choices to make in America in 1968.

↳ We have choices to make about the direction our country is going to take in the world.

↳ We have choices to make about the kind of America we are going to build right here at home.

↳ The basic choice -- and the one at the heart of my campaign -- is this: Is this to be one America, under God, indivisible with liberty and justice for all?

↳ The Choice!

↳ Or is it to be two, three, or four Americas -- a nation divided against itself black and white . . . poor and rich . . .

slum and suburb . . . North and South? The choice in 1968 is this: Are we going to accept as inevitable the conflict and hatred which are becoming a part of our everyday life?

↳ Or are we going to stand up together and say: This can be one America. We can make this country work -- and

make it a home of freedom and opportunity for all Americans.

↳ That is the choice: Between one America and an America of apartheid. — separation.

↳ That is the choice: Between the America of the Old Era and the America of the New Day.

↳ In 1960 -- and again in 1964 -- the American people asked us to get this country moving.

↳ John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson did get this country moving -- with Medicare. . . aid to education. . . training for jobs. . . and prosperity that has lifted the level of life for every American.

But you know, there is a lesson in history. ~~That~~ ~~lesson is~~ When people have no hope, they give up! They accept what's wrong. . . and live with it. . . and die with it.

↳ But when people have hope, they will not accept what is wrong.

They want something better.

↳ They want it now. !

And they are right.

That is what ~~has been~~ happening in America.

The hopeless now have hope.

↳ Young people are lifting their eyes above tenement fire escapes and rural slums all over the country.

↳ People in the suburbs are asking: Must we be walled off from the people who live in the cities?

↳ People in the cities are asking: Where are the schools, the jobs, the safe neighborhoods that my children need?

↳ How shall we answer these questions?

Shall we let hope become frustration. . . impatience become violence?

↳ Shall we turn things over to those -- as in Chicago last week -- who say they are going to burn this country down and then build things their own way on the ashes?

↳ There aren't many extremists in this country. And those who listen to them are a minority.

↳ ~~But history is filled with the wreckage created by extremists and wilful minorities -- and they all thought they had found the True Belief to the exclusion of all others.~~

↳ If we let the extremists and the haters have their way in America, they can drag all of us down.

↳ But if the rest of us do something about it, they won't have their way.

↳ Dissent, yes. Disorder, no. !

~~We must take their poison out of our air and their violence out of our streets.~~

↳ I say this nation is willing to pay the price -- in dollars . . . in personal sacrifice. . . . and in moral commitment to make this one America, and to do it peacefully.

↳ And that is why I seek to be President of the United States.

↳ There is one candidate this year who bases his very campaign on the idea of ~~apartheid~~. *Separatism & Segregation*

↳ There is another candidate who does not do so. But he is openly competing for the same votes as George Wallace -- for the votes of people who want at best to slow things down when it comes to programs that offer the way out of tension and trouble in America.

↳ So we are faced with third-party extremism. !

↳ And we are faced, in the Republican Party, with the old coalition which prefers to remain silent when it comes to human rights and human opportunity.

↳ I say this election year must bring a national referendum -- ~~nothing less~~ -- on human rights and human opportunity.

I say:

Regular
... To all Democrats, ~~loyal~~ and dissenting;

... To all Republicans and independents who share a basic concern about the future of this country;

. . . To Southerners and Northerners who want one
America and one American citizenship -- open to all;

. . . To all Americans who believe in what was begun
here in Philadelphia two centuries ago:

Turn away from the Old Era. Choose the New Day. !

↳ Turn away from the Old Era when an American ~~boy~~ *soldier*
who fought in an integrated bunker at Khesanh could come
home to a segregated slum in America.

↳ Choose the New Day when that ~~boy~~ *man* can come home to
a job. . . to training. . . to equality before the law and in
his neighborhood.

↳ Turn away from the Old Era when our cities grew more
congested. . . more tense. . . less fit as a place for anyone's
child to grow up.

↳ Choose the New Day when the American city can be the
best our society has to offer -- a place where neighborhoods are

once again filled with neighbors. . . where the schools are the best. . . where there is green and open space. . . where our wives and children can be safe.

↳ Turn away from the Old Era where "separate and equal" really meant "separate and unequal" and where generation after generation in the same family ended up in poverty and welfare.

↳ Choose the New Day where every American child -- regardless of his color or his last name or his religion -- can receive the best education in the world. . . where all of us stand "together and equal" -- and proud of it.

yes Jobs. . . decent housing. . . better schools. . . health care for young and old. . . and a new feeling of unity in this country -- these are the things I offer in this campaign.

↳ This is the choice I want you to make.

↳ I appeal not to your fears, but to your reason.

↳ I ask you to vote your hopes, not your hates.

Hopes, not Hates

↳ I ask you to join me -- with faith in the essential
greatness of this country -- in building America so strong and
so free that no one will ever be able to tear it down.

I ask your help.

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STATEMENT OF

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

- - -

JFK Plaza
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Monday, September 9, 1968
12:40 p.m.

Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you,
Congressman Green. Thank you for-- thank you for a
wonderful, generous introduction and thank you for bringing me
to your city today to see this amazing crowd, one that will live
in my memory as the crowd that wants us on the road to the
White House from Philadelphia to Washington.

(Applause)

That is the way this country got started and that
is the way this country is going to move forward. May I
just take a moment to pay my respects to a great United States
Senator, a friend of mine for many years, a former Mayor
of the City of Philadelphia, and a man who works for peace
and progress at home and abroad, the man that will be
elected United States Senator from Pennsylvania, re-elected,
Joseph Clark.

(Applause)

And, Mr. Mayor, it is always good to be with
you in your city, but today I think we all take second place.
It is one thing to run for President, it is another to be
Mayor of a great city. It is yet another to be a Congressman
of great distinction. It is yet another to be a great
United States Senator but Joey Bishop has been running for King.

1 fiscal le (Laughter) (Applause) Washington, Congressmen that
 2 for And I will tell you, Joey, if you make it, just
 3 make me your Prime Minister. thing. You have replaced --

4 (Laughter)

5 Joey Bishop has earned the love and the affection
 6 of millions and I want to pay him my respects today for what
 7 he has done here for the Children's Hospital in Philadelphia
 8 in this tremendous telethon that he has launched. old

9 (Applause)

10 And by the way, for all of you that come to these
 11 gatherings and say, well, I don't know about that fellow,
 12 may I ask you to resolve your doubts about me when you
 13 see my wife, Mrs. Humphrey, Muriel, stand up, Muriel.

14 (Applause) of progress, and with men like Bill

15 And Jim Tate, just in case you think you got elected
 16 strictly on merit, I want everybody to see Mrs. Tate, too,
 17 and you will see what happened, Pennsylvania and we will

18 things (Applause) this country.

19 and King Bishop, I like Queen Bishop, too.

20 (Applause) an optimist about our country and I

21 Well, my friends, every time I come to Philadelphia,
 22 and it is very often -- in fact, Mrs. Humphrey tells me I
 23 come here more often than I come home -- I see a tremendous
 24 transformation in this city. Look at this amazing Penn in
 25 Center. Look at this great new municipal building here.
 Look at what this place was only a few years ago, and think
 about what it means today. This shows that we can do things
 in our country. It shows that when you have leadership at

1 a local level, leadership in Washington, Congressmen that
2 fight for your community, Senators that speak up for your
3 country, you can do almost anything. You have replaced --

4 (Applause)

5 You have replaced the old Chinese Wall and the railroad
6 tracks and you haveshown that you can build a whole new
7 city and thatis exactly what we are going to do all across
8 this country in the next four years, rebuild our old
9 cities.

10 (Applause)

11 With men like Joe Clark in the Senate, and I
12 will tell you there is none better, none better,

13 (Applause)

14 a man of peace, a man of progress, and with men like Bill
15 Green and Bill Barrett and Jim Byrne and Bob Nix and
16 Josh Eilberg in the House of Representatives, you will get
17 things done here in the State of Pennsylvania and we will
18 get things done in this country.

19 (Applause)

20 Yes, I am an optimist about our country and I
21 am an optimist about the world in which we live because I
22 think thepeople in this worldand in this country not only
23 want to survive, I think they want to have what the Founding
24 Fathers proclaimed right here in the City of Philadelphia
25 on the birth ofour republic. I think every one of us
want those great God given inalienable rights of life,
life that is protected, life that is secure, of liberty,
not license, but of liberty for each and every one, and of the

1 pursuit of a better life and as they put it, the pursuit
2 of happiness. Those goals were not for our forefathers alone.
3 Those goals are for those of us of this generation and
4 yet generations unborn. Those goals are the American revolution
5 stated simply and that American revolution belongs not
6 to us alone but it belongs to all of humanity. We have
7 some basic choices to make in this year 1968 and I want to
8 talk to you about them. What direction will our country
9 take in the world? Will it be the direction that Mr. Nixon
10 talked about yesterday when he said to you and to me that he
11 had doubts as to whether or not we should stop the nuclear
12 arms race and called upon the Congress to hesitate in the
13 adoption and the ratification of a treaty that would
14 prevent the spread of nuclear weapons? Is that the kind
15 of a world we want? I think not. No, my friends, we are
16 going to pursue and may I say to every person that carries
17 a peace sign, may I say to everyone that says stop this war,
18 I say to you that if I am elected your President, I will
19 literally give my life for the peace of this world and for
20 the peace of mankind.

19 (Applause)

20 Yes, we have some choices to make here at home, the
21 kind of an America that we are going to build right here at
22 home, and that basic choice and theme at the heart of
23 my campaign is this. Is this to be one America? Is this to
24 be one America under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice
25 for all? Or is it to be --

25 (Applause)

1 -- three or four Americas, a nation divided against itself,
2 black and white, poor and rich, slum and suburb, north and
3 south? The choice in 1968 is simply this. Are we going to
4 accept as inevitable the conflict and the hatred which
5 are becoming a part of our every day life or my fellow
6 Americans, are we going to stand up together as one people
7 and say that this can be one America, one family, one
8 community, and that we can make this country work for every
9 man, woman and child regardless of race, color or creed.

9 (Applause)

10 Yes, my friends. The angry voices that seek to
11 divide us, they must not be listened to. The haters and
12 those that would divide us do not speak the heart of
13 America. We have a choice between one America and an
14 America of apartheid or separatism. We have a choice between
15 the America of the old era or the America of a new day.
16 In 1960 and again in 1964 the American people asked us to
17 get this country moving again and this plaza today is named
18 after that young man, brilliant and courageous, that reminded
19 us that peace and freedom are not cheap and that we are
20 destined to live the balance of our lives in danger and
21 peril and challenge. John Kennedy saw the realities but he
22 was not afraid.

21 (Applause)

22 And my friends, I see the realities, too, and I
23 am not afraid. And America sees the realities today and the
24 American people are not afraid and we will rebuke those
25 voices that seek to divide us and frighten us, will we not?

1 (Applause)

2 We know the lessons of history. When people have
3 no hope they give up. They accept what is wrong and they
4 live with it and die with it, but when people have hope,
5 they will not accept what is wrong and the people today have
6 hope and they want something better and they want it now
7 and they are right, and I am going to help them get it now
8 if you will permit me to be your President.

8 (Applause)

9 Yes, my friends. The hopeless now have hope.
10 Young people are lifting their eyes above the tenement
11 fire escapes and the rural slums all over America and
12 people in the suburbs are asking, must we be walled off from
13 the people who live in the cities? And people in the cities
14 are asking where are the schools, the jobs, the neighborhoods,
15 that my children need? How shall we answer those questions?
16 Well, my friends, you can't answer them by the kind of clack
17 and noise that you hear here today. You answer it by
18 reason, you answer it by action.

18 (Applause)

19 Shall we let hope become frustration, impatience
20 become violence? Shall we turn things over to those --
21 shall we turn things over to those who say they are going to
22 burn this country down and then build things up their own
23 way? I think not. There aren't many extremists in America,
24 not many at all. They are loud but they are few. And
25 those who listen to them are a minority, and if we let the
extremists and the haters have their way in America, we will

1 they will drag us all down, but we don't intend to let
2 them have their way.

3 (Applause)

4 Dissent, yes. Dissent, yes. Disorder, no.

5 (Applause)

6 I say that this nation is willing to pay the
7 price in dollars, in sacrifice, in moral commitment, to make
8 the one America, to make it a reality, and to do it peace-
9 fully, and that is why I seek to lead this nation, to lead
10 it in peace, to lead it in justice, to lead it in hope, to
11 lead it in opportunity for every American across this land.

12 (Applause)

13 Now, there is one candidate this year who bases
14 his entire campaign on the idea of separatism and segregation.
15 There is another candidate who does not do so. But, he
16 is openly competing for the same votes as George Wallace, for
17 the votes of people who at best seek to slow things down
18 when it comes to programs that offer a way out of tension
19 and trouble in America. So, we are faced on the one hand
20 with third party extremism and we are faced on the
21 other in the Republican party with the age-old coalition of
22 the conservative Republican and the Dixiecrats, the Nixons
23 and the Strom Thurmonds who prefer to remain silent when it
24 comes to human rights and human opportunity. I say that
25 this national election must be a referendum on your part
and mine, on human dignity, on human rights and human
opportunities. That is what we are going to be voting for
on this election day.

1 (Applause)

2 So, I say to all Americans, Republicans and
3 Democrats, regular Democrats and dissenting Democrats, and
4 independents, to southerners and northerners who want one
5 America and one citizenship, to all Americans who believe
6 in what was begun here in Philadelphia two centuries ago,
7 I say to you, turn away from the old era. Choose a new day.
8 Turn away from the old era when an American soldier can live
9 in an integrated barracks overseas but was sent back home to
10 live in a segregated neighborhood. That is not good enough
11 for America.

11 (Applause)

12 I say choose the new day when the man can come home to a job,
13 to training, to education, to equality before the law, and
14 live at peace in his neighborhood. Turn away from the old
15 era when our cities grew tired and congested and more tense.
16 Choose the new day when the American city can be the best
17 that our society has to offer, a place where neighborhoods
18 are once again filled with neighbors, where schools are the
19 best, where there is green and open space, and where our wives
20 and children can be safe. Turn away from the old era where
21 separate and equal meant separate and unequal and where
22 generation after generation, the same family, ended up on
23 poverty and in welfare. Choose the new day, my fellow
24 Americans, where every American child regardless of his color
25 or his last name or his religion can receive the best
education in the world and where all of us can stand
together, proud together, free and equal as Americans.

(Applause)

My friends, I have come here to Philadelphia to state my case of an America that is joined together as one family, as an America that has faith in its future. I appeal not to your fears and I appeal not to your hates and not to your emotions nor do I appeal to the chance of those who chant as if they had learned it by rote but think not. I appeal to thinking people.

(Applause)

I appeal not to your fears. I appeal to your reason, my fellow Americans, intelligent, sensible fellow Americans. I ask you to vote your hopes, not your hates. I ask you to join me with faith in the essential greatness and goodness of this country because it is a great country and my fellow Americans, let's never be ashamed to stand up and say I love my America for all that it is.

(Applause)

And, I ask your help. I ask your help, my friends, to help us build an America so strong and so free that no one will ever be able to tear it down. I ask you to help me build an America that will offer hope not only to our own people but will offer hope to people all over the world. That is this campaign. That is my program.

Thank you very much.

(Applause)

#

DRAFT

Remarks
Philadelphia

The American people must make a fateful choice in 1968.

There are many issues which concern us.

Most of us, young and old, are deeply concerned about ending the war in Vietnam.

We are concerned about stopping the arms race ... about aggression in Eastern Europe. We are concerned about the quality of life in our cities and on our farms ... about our personal security and that of our democratic institutions.

But there is one issue which dominates all others -- one issue which the American people must consider soberly and without emotion before voting in November: Are we willing to risk becoming a divided nation -- white against black ... poor against rich ...

urbanite against suburbanite ... Northerner against Southerner -- with the attendant hatred, distrust, violence and fear that would ultimately follow.

Make no mistake about it: The choice in 1968 is not further progress versus "go slow" on poverty and human rights. The choice is further progress -- however difficult and, at times frustrating this may be -- versus an irreversable slide toward despair, hatred, division and violence.

The choice is: Are we ready to begin a New Day for all Americans -- or will we return to the Old Era of broken promises and empty dreams.

Twice -- in 1960 and again in 1964 -- you asked the Democrats to get America moving again. And two Democratic Administrations

have answered with job training, education, with a war on poverty, with food stamps, with health care -- all on a scale unprecedented in our history.

After three Republican recessions in the 1950's we have run a full employment, rapid-growth economy which has meant new opportunities for every American, as well as new revenue.

We have yet to bridge the gap between the promise of our society and its performance, but we have given our poor and our minorities new hope that it can, in the end, be closed.

If we now extinguish this new hope, we will start down a slippery slope toward apartheid ... with despair fostering hatred ... violence breeding counter-violence, and extremism feeding extremism.

Once that happens, there will be no turning back -- no chance to change our minds and reverse direction -- four years or eight years from now.

These are the stakes in 1968.

Today strong divisive currents are loose in our society.

Black extremists and white extremists want to partition us into separate nations.

Neo-segregationists -- black and white -- think the answers lie in separate neighborhoods, separate businesses, separate schools.

There are preachers of violence and hatred for its own sake.

The extremists are few in number, and those who heed them are a minority. But a willful minority -- acting in an atmosphere of fear and hatred -- can overwhelm the judgment and intent of the majority. And they can drag the majority down to their level -- with hatred replacing hopes -- with fear driving out faith.

I have spoken before in Philadelphia of freedom and equality in American society as ideals which could crown our achievements as a nation . . . and Americans have responded.

Today I speak of a harsh and immediate reality: We must repudiate those extremists -- black and white -- and move forward toward freedom and equality as one nation. Our hopes of peace and security for ourselves and our children are in the balance.

None of us can afford a compromise on human rights and human opportunity in 1968.

None of us can afford a compact with extremism.

My opponent is no racist -- he is a fair and just man.

But he and the Republican Party have chosen this year to join forces with the most reactionary elements in American society.

This compact was signed and sealed in Miami Beach in full view of the American people.

They have adopted a Southern Strategy very similar to Mr. Goldwater's in 1964 -- and I mean the Old South ... not the new South I mean to win.

They are openly competing with Mr. Wallace for the votes of people who at very best want to put the brakes on our progress toward human dignity.

They have made a calculated decision to ignore the demands of left-out Americans within their own party and in the nation.

The opposition needn't have turned from the road of true justice and opportunity for all.

They could have returned to the tradition of Lincoln.

They could have joined with us in a declaration on human rights and fought this election out on urban issues and foreign policy and agriculture, and much else. I should have welcomed that contest.

But instead we are confronted not only with third-party extremism, but with a Republican-reactionary coalition determined to follow a campaign strategy of silence and evasion on the issue of human rights and opportunity.

Don't rock the boat -- don't make a mistake -- don't take the hard and dangerous course of taking this issue to the people.

I say the future of America cannot be decided on the basis of silence, evasion or soft-peddling the hard choices which today confront the American people.

And so I intend to speak out -- I intend to risk the outcome of this election on the basic decency and strength of the American people.

I intend to make the 1968 Presidential election a national referendum on human rights.

So I say this ...

... to all Democrats, loyal and dissenting,

... to all Republicans who value the future of their nation

... to Southerners and to Northerners who want
to work out the remaining obstacles to one citizenship -- open
to all,

... to all Americans who believe in the noble work
begun here in Philadelphia two centuries ago:

You have a fateful choice to make this year.

We are at the cross-roads of our future.

Which direction shall we choose?

It is not so much a choice between men or even between
parties, but a choice between conflicting currents in our national life.

It is a choice between a New Day of individual dignity and
security -- and an Old Era whose explosive injustice can no longer
be contained.

When this choice is put in human terms, I know how
the people will decide.

Who among us is satisfied to see an American soldier
who fought in an integrated bunker at Khe Sahn come home to
a segregated neighborhood?

Who among us is satisfied that a Peace Corps volunteer
in South America returns to a rural hollow where his brothers
are hungry and his parents face a future without hope?

We know, most of us, that our only answers lie in jobs
... in education ... in giving every family a chance to own a
decent home in a safe and open neighborhood, where the hand of
violence is not tolerated ... where children can grow up together
in friendship and mutual respect.

We know this kind of progress means expense and effort,
but we also know it is within our capacities as a nation.

So I appeal to your reason and not your fears.

I call on you to vote your hopes and not your hatreds
in 1968.

I ask your help to finish freedom's work in America.

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