

7/19 ACCEPT

PRICE  
new lost a war  
new won a peace

It was sixteen years ago that I first stood before this convention, then to accept nomination as the running-mate of one of the great Americans of this century, or any century -- General Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Eight years ago, I accepted your nomination for the Presidency.

Tonight, I am here to accept that nomination again.

But this time there's a difference. This time we're going to win!

And let me tell you why we're going to win.

We're going to win because America is tired of the old ways, because it's had enough of the old failures, because it's distressed at the old divisions and distrusts. America wants a change -- and it needs a change.

And we're going to win for another reason.

We're going to win because our cause is right.

We're going to win because ours is an idea whose time has come.

We're going to win because we can heal America's wounds,  
and bring unity to its people.

We're going to win because we offer leadership; because  
we offer hope; because we offer truth.

To the great, great things are given. Of the great,  
great things are expected. By the great, great things are  
possible.

Torn as it has been by troubles, it's easy to forget that  
ours is a great nation. Raked as they have been by criticism,  
it's easy to forget that the American people are the source  
of that greatness.

In these years just past, a great deal has been asked of  
the ordinary American.

He has been asked to support a cruel war in a distant  
land -- a war that draws blood and treasure while the Administration  
fails even in its efforts to explain the war, much less end it.

He has been asked to endure upheaval here at home, and  
to adjust himself to a social revolution no less difficult for  
being just.

A great, free land has been turned into an armed camp --  
armed out of fear, out of a lack of faith in the forces of law,  
out of a lack of trust in the decency of man.

For the first time since America's last great turning  
point -- since the Great Depression sent its waves of despair  
and terror across the land -- we face the question of whether  
our society can survive, whether its institutions are obsolete,  
whether its people can walk side by side in safety, or whether  
they're doomed to face one another in bloody confrontation.

Not for a century has our nation been so divided.

Never has it been so unsure of itself.

We live in a time of paradoxes.

Never have we been so rich -- or so dissatisfied.

Never have we been so strong -- or felt less at ease with  
our strength, less sure of our purposes.

Never have we so sought change, so lived with change --  
or so resisted change.

Never have our people been physically so close together,  
or spiritually so far apart.



Never has opportunity within the law been so great -- and  
never has crime been so rampant, or been increasing so rapidly.

Our ranks are broken, our unity dissolved, our debates  
raucous. The ordinary restraints that make decent living  
possible have crumbled. The ordinary courtesies have gone  
out of style. Patriotism is <sup>here</sup> passe, the flag unfashionable,  
a term in jail a badge of so-called "honor."

And as we look at the world, we find that never has  
America been in more trouble in more places than it is today.  
Throw a dart at a map of the world, blindly, and wherever it  
lands -- Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, Europe, Asia --  
America is in trouble, its interests threatened, its power  
challenged, its rights disputed, its purposes scorned.

On all sides, we see evidence that the old ways have  
failed, or simply outlasted their time.

What, then, do we do?

From some we hear counsels of despair, and counsels of  
hate, and counsels of intemperance and intolerance. We hear  
angry voices, shrill voices, voices that tear us apart and



set man against man.

But before we listen to those counsels, let's look at some of the things that are right about America -- enduring things, beyond the reach of any Administration, beyond politics -- things as deep as the nation's soul, as old as its founding, as current as today.

We're a nation built on a dream -- and that dream has carried us further, faster, than any other people in history.

We're a nation dedicated to liberty.

We're a nation dedicated to justice.

We're a nation tested in fire, a nation that has survived each of its past crises in turn, learned, and grown stronger.

We're a nation unbowed; a nation proud of our heritage, and prouder still of our promise.

We're a nation driven by the separate energies and sustained by the separate hopes of 200 million people.

millions of Americans have become people without a voice.

It's in those energies, those hopes, that we can find the answers to the crisis of today.

It's in the people of America that we can re-discover the strength of America.

For let us never forget: the people of America are its strength, and they are its purpose. And they are its hope.

They are more: they are the world's hope.

For the way we succeed in making freedom real here at home, will determine the extent of our influence, the power of our example, in making the promise of freedom real to millions of people for whom it still is a dream.

Our cause goes beyond partisanship. Our cause is as big as America itself -- as wide as the continent, as diverse as the people. Our cause is to bring a new kind of greatness to America -- a greatness as large as America's heart, and as close to the people as the air we breathe and the ground we walk on.

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Accept 7/19 - 7

America belongs to its people.

It belongs to no one group, to no one philosophy, to no one race. It belongs to the Montana rancher, and the subway conductor in Chicago. It belongs to the school teacher in Memphis and the factory worker in Birmingham and the doctor in San Francisco. It belongs to the druggist in the Iowa town, to the college student in Kansas, to the migrant farm worker in New Jersey.

There is no "typical American", no "average citizen." Each one of us is an individual, separate and unique. But millions of Americans have become people without a voice.

These are the great, quiet majority, who obey the law, send their children to school, pay their taxes, try to keep their neighborhoods clean, and ask only to be free to pursue the ordinary decencies of civilized life.

These have become the forgotten people of America. The unorganized, the non-shouters, the non-demonstrators -- those who have borne the brunt of every accusation of mass guilt, or of a "sick society."

Accept 7/19 - 8

*I do not talk to  
left black people  
but to America*

*They  
black  
Catholics*

I know these people. And I know that the great majority  
are neither racists, nor "sick", nor guilty of the crimes that  
plague the land; that in fact they constitute a great heartland  
of America -- not a geographical heartland, but a spiritual  
heartland. They've provided most of the soldiers who have  
died to keep us free. They give drive to the spirit of  
America, lift to the dream of America, steel to the backbone of  
America.

*retired*

These are the people who keep America's stores, who  
work in its factories, who own and manage the thousands upon  
thousands of small businesses that hold our economy together.

These are good people. Decent people. They work, they  
save. They try, they care.

And they've been too much taken for granted.

Today, there's a spirit of revolt in the air. While  
our eyes have been fixed on the rebellion in the ghettos, and  
on the campuses, the protests against poverty and racial  
injustice and against the war and against the draft, there's  
been another revolution taking shape -- a quiet revolution.

*Run up - speak up - vote for*

The great, quiet majority is stirring.

This quiet revolution is a revolt of the moderates  
against the extremes.

It's a rebellion against the violence and the excesses  
that have marked a time of tumultuous change.

It's a revolt of those who respect their neighbors'  
rights, against those who trample on their neighbors' rights.

It's a revolt of the law-abiding against the lawless.

It's a revolt of those not content to let the old  
institutions die -- or to discard the old values; a revolt  
by those who believe there are things in the past worth  
preserving, even as we press on into the future.

It's a revolt against the collapse of moral standards;  
against exaggerated posturing and inflated promises by public  
officials; against the impatience of those who demand utopia  
now; against the belligerence of those who seek confrontation  
for its own sake; against the whole pattern of excesses that  
has marred our political dialogue in recent years.

*grants*



Accept 7/19 - 10

This quiet revolution is a demand for moderation -- moderation of the extremes, of the excesses, of the demands, of the threats, of the promises; a moderation of what government does, and of what it takes; <sup>a/</sup> moderation of the style of protest.

It's a revolt against stridency -- a revolt that asks instead for the decent consideration of mutual respect.

It's a revolt that seeks to substitute calm voices for shrill, and to bring reason back into our public discourse.

It is neither a turning to the past, nor a turning away from the future. It's a rebellion of those who want to shape the future -- not to let change be the master of man, but to make man the master of change. It is a revolt by those who want a measure of order and predictability in their lives, against the forces of disorder, of precipitate change, of thoughtless change. It's a rebellion aimed at introducing an element of stability into the process of change.

One thing clear beyond doubt is that the American people want order and stability brought back into our national life -- not a stagnant order, and not a rigid stability, but simply

Accept 7/19 - 11

the orderly management of change.

We've been through a decade of revolution in America, a time of great social upheaval, seeking overnight to set right the wrongs of centuries. This was a necessary revolution. It was necessary if America was to find its soul, and be true to its destiny as a home of free men, where all could stand tall and walk proud.

This revolution is still unfinished; there is yet more to be done -- much more -- if the black American is to have that equal chance at the starting-line that should be the birthright of every American.

But my point tonight is this: the time for confrontation is past, because the essential victory has been won. Black has confronted white, and America has confronted its conscience -- and conscience has triumphed. There will be no turning back. What we need now is to go forward together.

And we can.

Among this great, quiet majority, there's an enormous reservoir of good will.

Accept 7/19 - 12

The need now is to tap that reservoir; to consolidate conscience; to build on our areas of agreement, not to exaggerate our areas of disagreement. But it won't be tapped by exaggerated accusation. It won't be tapped by peremptory demands. It won't be tapped by threats of strike or boycott or riot or demonstration.

What we need now is work -- patient work, determined work, to build a new understanding and a new partnership in America -- a partnership for progress, for justice, for law and for decency.

At the same time, we need a moderation of the tone of our public discourse, away from the shrill harangues from opposite poles, and toward a calm discussion, a rational search for the right and the true, to recognize that no person, no faction, no party, has a monopoly on either truth or wisdom.

Each moment in history is a fleeting time, precious, unique. But some moments stand out, as ones in which patterns were set that lasted for decades, or centuries.



Accept 7/19 - 13

This can be such a moment. But either we seize it, or we let its promise pass.

If we are <sup>to</sup> seize it, we need a passionate commitment to now --

*we are living  
at a  
great moment  
in time  
Lecture 1*

not as a time that stands in isolation, but now as a time when the shape of tomorrow is being set; now as a moment when the forces of history are converging; now as a time of challenge, and opportunity, and as a moment which, once lost, can never be recovered, but which once seized, can be made indelible.

Now is the time to reassess our role in the world, and to reflect on our destiny as a nation.

Now is the time to pull our fractured people together again.

Now is the time to commit ourselves to the truth -- to see it like it is, and tell it like it is; to find the truth, to speak the truth and to live the truth.

Now is the time to choose.

Never have we had more power to choose, never have we had such a range of choice; never have we had such control of our destiny. But that control can only be made real if we stand

Accept 7/19 - 14

astride the forces of change, and consciously exercise our choice.

More knowledge is concentrated in America today than in the rest of the world combined -- and more than had been accumulated in all human history by all mankind just a generation ago. Our task is to make that knowledge our passport to tomorrow.

I don't promise the millennium in the morning. I don't promise that we can eradicate poverty; that we can end discrimination; that we can eliminate the dangers of war; that in the space of eight short years, we can fulfill all man's hopes or end all his troubles.

But I do promise progress.

We can do better. We must do better. We will do better.

To those in the quiet revolution I would say this: take heart. Have faith. There is a better way, a calmer way, and no longer will your voices go unheard. We'll have leadership that listens to those who speak softly, as well as those who shout. We'll have leadership dedicated to the proposition that

*Listen to those who help hands -  
- promoting just*

Accept 7/19 - 15

America belongs to all of its people, each one individually.

We'll have leadership that can distinguish between progress and chaos; between liberty and license. We'll have leadership that believes in law, and is unafraid to enforce it; leadership that believes in justice, and is determined to promote it; leadership that believes in progress, and knows how to inspire it.

When we put aside hate --

When we put aside the things that divide us, and focus on the things that unite us. --

When we dedicate ourselves to equal justice under law, to equal enforcement of the law, without fear or favor --

When we learn to advance the rights of one without infringing the rights of his neighbor --

When we learn to reach without overreaching; to show a decent regard for the anxieties of those called on to adjust to change; to adjust our sights to what is possible, and achievable;



Accept 7/19 - 16

-- then we can calm the passions that have torn us, still the storms that threaten, and bring peace once again to a troubled land.

Our government is more than ours alone. It also is the rock on which the rest of the world's three and a half billion people depend for their own peace and their own security. We can no more afford to fail that trust, than we can afford to fail in our tasks here at home.

Our cause is not a nation, but a planet -- for never have the fates of all the peoples of the earth been so bound up together.

Though America has never been in so much trouble in so many places abroad, never have we been so close to being able to establish the conditions of lasting peace.

But there can be no freedom, there can be no peace, there can be no security, unless the weak are as safe as the strong. And only if the free remain strong can the weak be safe.

Accept 7/19 - 17

The last Republican administration ended one war, and kept us out of other wars for eight years. I was proud to be a part of that Administration -- and the lessons I learned then will be turned to the service of peace in the years ahead.

And this is the number one task of the next President -- to bring peace abroad. For the great decisions taken in the term of the next President will determine the questions of war and peace for the balance of this century.

But whether we pass or fail our great tests abroad depends ultimately on our strength here at home -- on our unity -- on our morale -- on our ability to bring justice to life, and to make America once again a showcase of progress within order.

We've been learning about power, and one of the lessons of these past 20 years is that there are limits to what power itself can accomplish. But there's no limit to what our example can achieve. If, once again, we come to represent man's aspirations, his ideals, his vision of what the world can be; if this nation, unique in history because it represents a melding of all peoples -- from every race, every continent,

Accept 7/19 - 18

every nation -- can make a success of its own society, then the world can make a success of civilization.

What America can be, the world can hope to become.

We are approaching two great anniversaries.

The anniversary that comes once in a thousand years is only 32 years away, within the lifetime of most Americans living today. The year 2000 is no longer a distant mark on a perpetual calendar, but a year close enough to reach <sup>to</sup> upward, to plan for.

And if the President elected this November serves the usual two terms, he will have served to 1976 -- the 200th anniversary of America's founding.

So let us, then, take as our benchmark that 200th Anniversary of America. What kind of a nation will America be, on that, its 200th birthday? Will it be an America still divided, wallowing in hate, beset by violence, torn by suspicion? Or will it be an America well-housed and well-fed beyond imagining, but without vision or purpose? Or, when we celebrate <sup>that</sup> the great



Accept 7/19 - 19

Fourth of July, will America stand as an example to the world  
of what freedom can achieve and what man can become?

I want to see it a day when Americans once again are  
proud of their flag -- when once again, both here and abroad, it's  
honored as the world's greatest symbol of liberty and justice.

~~I want to see it a day when patriotism is back into fashion.~~

~~I want to see it a day when our people are one.~~

I want to see it a day when the word of the President  
is respected, and his office honored -- because it is worthy of  
respect, and of honor.

I want to see it a day when every child, whatever his color,  
whatever his family status, <sup>family</sup> has the best education that our  
<sup>go as high as he can -</sup>  
wisdom and skill can provide -- and an equal chance to use what  
he learns.

<sup>Cities are</sup>  
~~the~~ <sup>when I freedom for people</sup>  
<sup>the two must respect for love - then that comes up</sup>  
I want to see it a day when our nation is at peace, and  
the world is at peace, and everywhere on earth those who hope,  
those who aspire, those who crave liberty, will look to America  
as a living example of hopes realized and dreams achieved.

~~an open world -~~ <sup>open people + China people</sup>  
~~a world of open hearts - open to him~~  
~~skin, open hearts open hearts open time~~

Accept 7/19 - 20

*an impossible dream - not as impossible as when - 3,000,000 spoke of world*  
*Nothing is impossible - justes*  
The oldest continuing revolution in the world is the

*if we pledge our lives*  
American revolution. What was begun in 1776 is still going on;

*we live in a new world a new America change the world*  
the hopes that were sparked then are still in the process of being attained; the promise launched then is still being fulfilled America never stands still. Born in a ferment of change, change has been its one constant.

From taming a continent, we have learned; from the shattering of illusions, we have learned; from struggling to create and to shape a better world, we have learned. We have learned from success and from failure, from victory and defeat, from tragedy and triumph.

We stand today on the threshold of a new age -- an age when all that we have learned will be put to the test of history.

But we can pass that test. And when we do, the American dream can be fulfilled in the destiny of man, and the American Revolution won in the hopes of man.

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