

VICTORY'S CHALLENGE

Address by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Minnesota DFL Victory Dinner
Nicollet Hotel, Minneapolis
Saturday night, December 13, 1958

Frank Mondak

It is good to be able to be with so many loyal, dedicated, and devoted fellow DFL'ers tonight at this great Victory Dinner.

We won an impressive victory, in Minnesota and throughout the nation.

MMH + ↓

Because I left the United States the day after the election to carry out some Senate assignments abroad, this is my first opportunity to discuss the election, and what I am convinced it means -- or should mean -- to us, and to our country. I am ~~glad to have~~ ^{so pleased to have} this opportunity to do it, at home, with my own close friends -- the people who have been so instrumental in making our impressive record of DFL

political achievement possible. — and a special word to the Wives of the Candidates ^{and} the Women of the Party

are deeply grateful for the
We ~~have a right to be proud of~~ the ~~overwhelming~~

vote of confidence given our party's political leadership
in Minnesota.

over

We certainly have every right to be proud of the
~~enthusiastic~~ re-election of one of America's greatest
Governors -- a real champion of progress, who combines
vision with ability in performance: our own Governor Orville
L. Freeman. *Team man - Program*

~~It is more than just a DFL victory. All Minnesota
can share in the pride of such leadership, and of the respect
in which he is held nationwide.~~

Sen McCarthy

We have every right to be tremendously proud, too, over
the election of one of the greatest of the entire new group
of energetic and progressive Democratic Senators added to

the United States Senate -- the victory of former
Congressman Eugene J. McCarthy of St. Paul. The nation
already knows Eugene McCarthy as a brilliant, liberal, *and able*
public servant; it will get to know him ^{*even*} better in the
₁
years ahead.

We are equally proud of the vote of confidence
extended by our fellow Minnesotans in re-election of
Blat Congressman John Blatnik of the Eighth District, of
marshall Congressman Fred Marshall of the Sixth District, of
Wier Congressman Roy Wier of the Third District -- and in the
election of an outstanding new House colleague who fits
well with that team in Congressman-elect Joseph Karth *Karth*
of the Fourth District.

The DFL Party can be proud of such representation.
Minnesota can be assured of effective and dedicated service.

Perhaps they do not always have the opportunity of sharing quite as much in the limelight, but we are equally proud of the calibre of the other constitutional officers we have re-elected -- Lieutenant Governor Karl Rolvaag, Attorney General Miles Lord, Secretary of State Joseph Donovan -- and of the new member of our state administrative DFL team, Railroad and Warehouse Commissioner Ron Anderson. The same goes for our great and growing family of liberal legislators -- in the House and Senate, both those re-elected, and those elected for the first time.

They are the seed beds of our Party's future leadership.

Make no mistake about it. We are proud of all of them.

There may at times appear to be differences within our family, as there are on occasions in any family -- but it would be a fatal mistake for our political opponents to ever

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think for a moment we do not stand shoulder to shoulder
together as ^{Democrats} ~~DFL'ers~~ for common goals of progress and
development.

We are a mature party, in Minnesota and nationally.
We are a democratic party with a small "d" as well as a
Democratic Party with a capital "D".

We have room for and want people of conviction who
will speak up for their convictions within our party's
framework. We are not a party of "thought control", or
rigid intellectual discipline. We want to be a blend of
the best that is in all of us -- and all of us have something
to contribute.

Yes, We have plenty of room for differing viewpoints. It
keeps our party healthily active and alert, ~~always seeking~~
progress. We have plenty of opportunities for resolving and

EMd

(Start)

~~blending differing viewpoints~~

~~#~~

Victory parties are an appropriate occasion for self-appraisal, as well as jubilantion. ~~It is not enough~~

~~just to be proud that we have won.~~

Everybody likes to win. The important thing, however, is what we won for -- and what we ^{intend to} do with our victory.

We must squarely face the responsibilities of victory. A trust has been bestowed upon us. Ours is now the task of proving we can adequately fulfill that trust. To do it, we must assess carefully why and how we won. ~~We must seriously consider how we can best~~ ~~continue winning in the future.~~

~~But most importantly of all, we must thoroughly understand what we want to win for.~~

Minnesota provides a unique opportunity for such an appraisal, for the nature of our DFL politics -- and our successes -- hold an important lesson already becoming evident nationwide.

We ^{have} created a party with a purpose, a party built on ideals -- and dedicated to furthering those ideals by constructive and responsible action.

Our purpose ^{is} ~~was~~ to serve people, to be deeply concerned about the well-being of people -- all people.

We ^{have had} ~~had~~ the vision to look ahead, ^{to plan for tomorrow!} rather than ~~just back.~~
we are not afraid of the future - we welcome it, ~~and~~

^{have}
We had the courage to believe there is always

opportunity in America to make democracy more effective --

to bring closer to full realization the inspiring dreams

of ~~equal~~ ^{equal} justice and economic opportunity for all.

~~That is our real heritage from the founding fathers~~

~~of this nation. We ^{have} sought to preserve it -- and implement~~

~~it. We ^{have} sought to keep alive the spirit of Thomas Jefferson,~~

~~of Andrew Jackson, -- yes, of Abraham Lincoln, too -- and~~

~~of Woodrow Wilson, of Franklin Delano Roosevelt -- and of~~

~~that courageous ~~little~~ man of Independence, Harry S. Truman.~~

stop

^{have}
We dedicated ourselves ~~early~~ to the democratic ideals

so effectively and impressively articulated to ~~the country~~

in the last two nationwide Presidential campaigns by Adlai

~~Stevenson, ~~John F. Kennedy + Truman~~~~

We clung to those ideals regardless of ^{set backs in the Presidential races of}

~~Stevenson's~~ defeats in 1952 and 1956. We cling to them today.

They stood us in good stead in the recent election, and upon the same type of politics we believe we can best win in 1960.

Whether we in Minnesota led a trend, or just had the foresight to better interpret its inevitability, the fact is that our insistence upon building a party more interested in issues than patronage, more interested in performance for people than perpetuation of a political machine, and more interested in the future than in the past, ^{has} paid good dividends ^{it created} in ~~laying~~ a solid foundation ^{our} for steadily expanding victories in 1948, 1952, 1954, 1956, and, now, in 1958.

Indeed ^{is} Ours ~~was~~ a party of youth and vigor, along with

idealism. ~~Perhaps because it is essentially in the~~
~~young that ideals and vision run strong, unblunted by the~~

obstacles ~~always strewn in life's path,~~ *We have* turned to the

young and strong for leadership -- yet we sought and

took advice and counsel from the depth of experience of

those ~~who had gone before, including many who had started~~

with ~~the same goal and vision, but through the years had~~ *who through the years*

had encountered a mellowing of judgment and reason based upon
experience.

↳ The result ~~was~~ *is* a new brand of practical liberalism --
never compromising on principle, but seeking reality and
practicality in accomplishment.

↳ In this complex world of politics, as well as life
itself, not all is sharply black or white, good or evil.
People of differing views can have equal depth of
conviction.

Insert #1

Without sacrificing our own determination, we
have been
~~were~~ willing to extend respect to those with whom we
differed -- and have always held out the hope that they,
too, would ~~counter~~ *respond* with the same respect for the
sincerity of our own beliefs and convictions.

We have endeavored to argue our case on the basis
of reason and judgment, not on the basis of ridicule
~~or~~ or personal abuse. ~~The recent campaign is
providing a good example of this.~~

To the degree that we have been able to ~~new~~ *to elevate*
that course, we have helped ~~lift~~ *to elevate* the level of politics
in the Midwest. To the degree that such mutual respect,
amidst differing viewpoints, can be preserved, we
honestly believe we strengthen, rather than undermine,
the preservation of a strong two-party system so
essential ~~as part of~~ *to the* the checks and balances of a democracy.

The best measure of success of our efforts, perhaps,
is not just from our victories in Minnesota alone.

↳ Rather, it is the extent to which this kind of
politics is spreading in the Democratic Party nationally.

↳ It has not been the old areas of "machine politics"
~~and building on past gains~~, where the Democratic gains have
been made in 1954, 1956, and most of all in 1958. Instead,
it has been in the areas of new blood -- the areas where
young idealists have fused new spirit into our party, and
lifted its objectives to winning for a constructive purpose,
rather than for political power itself.

↳ ~~That is how and why~~ ^{yes, it} the Democratic Party has taken
on more of a western accent -- and shown its greatest progress
and gains from the Alleghenies westward.

~~and a southern accent~~

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Look at the array of capable, competent, young men we/have
Democrats
added to the Congress, to the Senate, and to our growing list
of Governors, both in this recent election and two years ago.
Yet remember that none of them won alone.

Take a good look at what is happening to our party nationally, and you will see what I mean. It is young men of ideals and purpose -- for their country, not just for themselves -- that are giving it new vigor.

Look at the McNichols and Carroll of Colorado, ^{the Bayland Nelsons} ~~and~~ ^{the McGoverns and Hereths of So Dak}

^{the Proxmires of Wisconsin, the Churches of Idaho, the}
^{The Howlases, Coats & Walker of Iowa -}
Monroneys and Edmondsons of Oklahoma, the Jacksons ^{and Magnusons of}

Washington, the Neuberger and Morses of Oregon -- and
now the McGees of Wyoming, the Williams ^{and Meyners} of New Jersey,
the Muskies of Maine, the DiSalles of Ohio, the Engles
and Browns of California, the Mosses of Utah -- and, of
course -- the McCarthys of Minnesota.

the
millions
+
Heart of
Mich.

Symington
Kennedy
Hart Ke
Indiana

I am purposefully using the plural, rather than the singular, in mentioning these names at random among many entitled to similar recognition. For none of them won alone. None of us win alone. We are but symbolic of

In many states, new and energetic leadership has infused more spirit into Party organizations. In others, experienced veterans of Party leadership are making better use of new and upcoming ~~new and upcoming~~ young men and women, dedicated to the ideals of our Party.

of the feeling and sentiment of the groups and people with which we associate ourselves, and those of like purpose who make our victory possible. And it is amply evident that they are ever-increasing in number.

↳ These, then, are the people creating the Democratic Party of today, and creating the new areas of its greatest strength.

↳ It is not just in the candidates themselves that we find this quality of leadership -- of idealistic purpose, and dedicated energy. It is ^{also} in our party officers, too. ~~Just as we have had it in Minnesota, to make our victories possible, so, too, have they had it in California, for example, to completely reverse the tide in that great western state.~~

add insert

In appraising what happened in California, do not overlook what it means to our party to have state leaders like Roger Kent of San Francisco, and national committee officers like Libby Smith and Paul Ziffren, instead of mere party hacks more interested in self-preservation of power than in accomplishment of worthy purpose for our people and our country.

~~What is true of California is true essentially in many of the states where we have scored new victories.~~

Wherever we have given the Democratic Party real purpose for all the people, ~~rather than just selfish purposes for ourselves~~, we have made great strides of progress.

Of course, there is good reason for the growing acceptance of our Democratic Party westward -- for the

spirit of our party fits the growth, expansion, and
restless drive for progress of the west. We have won
in the west not only because of the kind of people we
have put forward as our spokesmen, but also because we
have stood for what the west needs -- and America needs.

↳ We have been the party for constantly greater
development, for expansion rather than contraction of
our free enterprise system; the party with real depth of
appreciation of the vital necessity for conservation and
preservation of our great natural resources, coupled with
sound and prudent judgment in putting them to the most
practical use for the benefit of the most people.

In truth, we have progressed because we have become
a party with a purpose of doing things, rather than just
a party of patronage and machines and personal power.

↳ We have helped the American political system to grow up, and display a new maturity. We have come to the point where we are less concerned with the old school of political manipulations that involves putting together blocs of ~~Negro~~ votes, of Mexican votes, of Irish votes, *Scandinavians etc* or ~~of similar blocs~~ by minority or economic classes, and trying to add them up to accumulate a hodge-podge majority force that might have the power to win -- but little common aim of just why it wants to win. That is the old era of having to balance tickets deliberately with men of differing faiths and racial or cultural backgrounds -- more for the purpose of attracting votes, than for the nobler purpose of protecting the common rights of all.

↳ Instead, we have become an all-American party that recognizes all people on the basis of individual dignity, *and worth,* and all candidates on the basis of individual merit, *yes a* party mature enough to unite on basic issues, and to

maintain a respect for differing racial, religious, or cultural backgrounds that overrides prejudices of the past.

Recent elections offer proof of that maturity.

We have tossed a lot of old political cliches into the discard.

When we can elect ^{an Irish} Catholic in a traditionally Scandinavian Protestant state....

When a primarily rural state like ours can elect a Minneapolis Mayor to represent the entire state in the United States Senate, as in my case, and yet California, with its great urban population, can choose a country Congressman from its most remote hinterlands as its new U. S. Senator....

When we are seeing an ever-increasing number of similar examples showing the basic wisdom of voters, wherever they may be....

When a college professor can be elected to the
Senate from the cowboy state of Wyoming....

When the tall timber and mountain country of Idaho
can send to the Senate a brilliant young lawyer ~~like~~
~~Frank Church~~....

yes
~~then~~, I am convinced, we have shown we are growing
up as a party -- and are providing leadership to build
America, wherever we find it, and whatever its background.
We are providing America with representatives alert to
20th Century needs and problems -- and men capable of
doing something about them.

As Democrats, we accept the mandate of victory to
build a program for America geared to America's needs.

↳ We have the framework of such a program now evolving, with contributions to it coming from all geographical areas of the country, and all segments of the Democratic Party.

↳ There need be no quarrel over authorship of such a program, for our purpose must be to put together the very best we can devise from the combined resources, judgment, and experience of our Congressional leadership, our Democratic National Committee and its Advisory Council, our Democratic Governors around the country, and competent, nonpolitical experts dedicated to specialized fields of education, health, economic development, human rights, agriculture, social welfare, defense, and international relations.

↳ It will be a liberal program, because ours is the liberal party -- and the American people have indicated a vote of confidence in liberal leadership.

Yet, it will be constructively and sanely liberal,
providing assurance to all segments of our economy that
we can build soundly for future growth and development,
and higher living standards at home and abroad, within
free democratic institutions, without any of the
recklessness which some profess to fear.

< Quite the contrary, such a forward-looking program
would be far less dangerous to our country than running the
risk of shutting our eyes to the weak spots in our economy,
or areas of neglect in our society that urgently need
attention.

< Immediately after Christmas I shall return to
Washington to start work on perfecting such a program,
working both with our Democratic leadership and the sizeable
bloc of new Senators soon to join us in strengthening liberal
forces in the Senate.

McCarthy

~~Yes, I am a conservative~~
~~Republican~~
~~Committee on Education and Labor~~
~~U.S. House of Representatives~~

↳ We are going to improve the ~~democratic~~ procedures of Congress itself.

↳ The time is long overdue to adequately and responsibly provide for the rights of a majority to make decisions on vital issues.

↳ Yet it will be done with full provision for adequate debate. The rights of minorities must be respected, in and out of Congress. Concern about assuring majority rule in the Congress is aimed to a great degree at better protecting minority rights outside of Congress. We cannot allow ourselves to protect only the rights of the minorities with which we agree, and abuse those of others with whom we may disagree.

Rule 22 is going to be changed -- but it cannot be changed by demagoguery or trickery or political threats.

It has taken us a long time to come this far, and it is going to require careful guidance, prudent judgment, and political statesmanship to achieve the final results we seek. We will need every possible vote, and we must work diligently and persistently to get them -- but with thorough consideration of every Senator's individual viewpoint.

We are determined never to neglect our economy, because we are convinced that a recession is too costly a luxury for us to afford.

We need more teachers and more schools, and better teachers and better schools at every educational level -- and we are convinced Americans will be unsatisfied with less than the best of educational opportunity for our young people.

↳ We are deeply concerned over the growing toll of sickness, in cost to the individual and economic loss to the country. We are determined to wage an aggressive effort to wipe out disease, ^{through research} and improve availability of adequate medical care -- an effort in which we wholeheartedly welcome the increasingly helpful cooperation of the medical profession and its many related fields of health care and service.

↳ There is much more that needs to be done, but nothing should take greater priority than building a climate for a just and secure peace in the world.

↳ We must quietly go about our business of strengthening our defenses, yet aggressively launch, and persistently maintain, a bolder program of "works of peace".

↳ These need not be in conflict at all.

When robbers roam the streets, we need to have police -- but we also need hospitals, schools, parks, industry, and jobs to maintain a well ordered society. Police alone cannot meet society's needs.

How well we as Democrats do in 1960, in my opinion, hinges on how well we fulfill such aims between now and 1960.

It is always heartening and encouraging, of course, to read about the brighter prospects for a Democratⁱⁿ victory in 1960, and how easy that victory may be. Let us not get so enthralled with the power of victory that we forget what we won for last month.

Let us make sure we make good on the job we promised to do.

The real formula for success in 1960 is what we

Democrats are able to do in the Congress, in Statehouses,
and in city governments between now and 1960.

↳ When I conducted my campaign in 1954, my slogan
was "Senator Humphrey Gets Things Done".

For 1959 and 1960, we need to convince the country
that "Democrats Get Things Done" — ~~and the things~~

↳ It is interesting, of course, to read of prospective
Presidential candidates. It is flattering to be mentioned
among the possibilities. The political jockeying for a
Presidential nomination is always exciting to people who
like politics -- and undoubtedly some will devote a lot
of time to it during the next two years.

↳ For my part, I would prefer concentrating whatever
energy and ability I may have -- and all my time -- toward

producing a record of achievement for our party -- and
a record of progress and peace and hope for our country
and the world.

↳ We need more political performance, and fewer
political performers.

↳ It is not as important for us, as Democrats, to
be concerned about who our standard bearer might be in
1960, as it is to be concerned about how we can best
fulfill the responsibilities we already have.

↳ It is not as important for Democrats to be
mobilizing forces in behalf of one prospective nominee
or another during the next two years, as it is for us
to be mobilizing effective forces in behalf of the
ideals and programs in which we believe.

Our party, and our country, can be better served in 1959 and 1960 by getting things done that need to be done for our fellow man, at home and abroad -- than in getting convention delegates pledged.

For my part, I am not as much concerned over the "Who" of 1960 as I am the "how" and the "what for". Let us keep our hearts and minds set on purpose, not just political preference.

Our most urgent purpose, ^{in order to merit} ~~to deserve~~ the country's confidence in 1960, must be a responsible, constructive approach to building a climate for world peace -- regardless of partisan divisions between the Executive and Legislative branches of our government.

Fortunately, in the field of foreign policy, there ^{x must be} is genuine bipartisanship -- insofar as the objectives are

concerned. We support the objectives of the ^{Wilson,} Roosevelt,

Truman, and Eisenhower Administrations. Basically,

those objectives are:

1. Defense against Communist aggression, wherever it occurs.
2. Expansion of the areas of freedom wherever possible.
3. Cooperation and assistance for the ^{new} developing and rising nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.
4. Support of and active participation in the United Nations, and expanded use of its many facilities and agencies.
5. And, finally, mutual defense and mutual assistance.

↳ Our responsible bipartisan cooperation on foreign policy goes even beyond these broad objectives. In time

of serious concern, we can and do maintain an essential
unity of purpose, so that our country can present a
united front.

Currently, two examples are NATO and West Berlin.

*And all the more important today in
light of Soviet threats + tactics.*

We must remember that the main objective of the
Kremlin is to weaken NATO, and divide the free world's
allies. The Soviet cannot win either a cold war or a
hot war, if the free world stands united.

As Democrats, we are pledged to active participation
in and leadership of the NATO alliance -- not only in
terms of military policy, but politically and economically
as well.

We believe in closer political cooperation and unity
for all NATO partners.

↳ NATO needs to be strengthened on the economic front, by a closer economic integration of Europe and the U.S.

↳ NATO needs to expand its horizons in the field of economic assistance, to the areas of Africa and Asia, where NATO countries have historic responsibilities.

~~---~~
↳ In West Berlin, it is imperative that there be complete unity of all political forces -- not only in America but in the Western Alliance.

↳ The Soviet Union has as its immediate objective to destroy the freedom of West Berlin.

↳ West Berlin is an island in the sea of Soviet imperialism. West Berlin is a democratic oasis, in the

desert of totalitarianism. It represents hope to millions who are presently behind the Iron Curtain. It represents democratic strength in one of the most crucial areas of the world. It has as its Mayor a truly great and courageous democratic leader.

| ✓

↳ Is it any wonder that the Communists would like to do away with it? All the more reason we must never let this Communist threat become a reality.

Now these are objectives that everyone should support.

↳ It is to the means of fulfillment of objectives that we must give our attention.

↳ We should make it clear to the world that we have a specific, definite program of works for peace. Let me mention a few.

✓ 1. We should emphasize a long-term food program,
as a means of aiding and helping the food deficit areas
of the world.

✓ 2. We ~~ought to~~ ^{should} give leadership and increased
emphasis to a broad world health program.

✓ 3. We should emphasize the importance of education,
particularly vocational and technical education, in the
newly developing areas of the world. Whatever happened
to the President's proposal of five years ago at Baylor
University to build vocational schools or to help in
establishment of vocational schools in Asia, Africa, and
Latin America? It was a good idea, and it should be
carried out — *lets do it,*

4. We should expand our programs of *Cultural Exchange*
People to People

5. We should emphasize *Trade + Economic Development.*

Now, these are some of the things I mean about the
emphasis that is needed in foreign policy, and the means
to make it more effective.

At all times, we must remember that American military strength must be second to none. We need far less talk about rockets, missiles and other military power -- and much more fulfillment.

But, We need far less talk that portrays us as a bellicose and belligerent people, and much more emphasis on our programs and policies to help people live.

Our program must be one that has as its objective better living

for people everywhere!

The world is weary of war, and threats of war. —

The people of this world want someone to help them on the path of helping themselves, rather than someone to frighten them. —

From the Office of

For Release: Sunday A. M.
December 14, 1958

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
140 Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.
CApitol 4-3121, ext. 2424

SENATOR HUMPHREY ANALYZES DEMOCRATIC PARTY STRENGTH AND PROSPECTS

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D, Minn.) returning from his European trip to make his first major political address since the November elections, told a victory rally of his Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party in Minneapolis last night that "while it is important for us, as Democrats, to be concerned about who our standard bearer might be in 1960, it is more important to be concerned about how we can best fulfill the responsibilities we already have."

"It is not so important for Democrats to be mobilizing forces in behalf of one prospective nominee or another during the next two years," the Minnesota Democrat pointed out, "as it is for us to be mobilizing effective forces behind the ideals and programs in which we believe."

"Our party, and our country, can better be served in 1958 and 1960 by getting things done that need to be done for our fellow men at home and abroad than in getting convention delegates pledged," Senator Humphrey added.

Senator Humphrey stressed the fact that the Democratic victories in November resulted in part because "we dedicated ourselves early to the democratic ideals so effectively and impressively articulated in the last two presidential campaigns by Adlai Stevenson" and held to these convictions even through two successive defeats.

He pointed out also that the Democratic Party has gained a new vigor, a new maturity and a "new western accent."

"We have won in the West," he said, "not only because of the kind of people we have put forth as our spokesmen, but also because we have stood for what the West needs -- and America needs. We have been the party for constantly greater development, for expansion rather than contraction of our free enterprise system, with real depth of appreciation of the vital necessity for conservation and preservation of our great natural resources -- coupled with sound judgment in putting them to the most practical use for the benefit of more people."

"As Democrats", Senator Humphrey declared, "we accept the mandate of victory to build a program for America geared to American needs."

"Our most urgent purpose is to deserve the country's confidence in 1960, and it must be by a responsible, constructive approach to building a climate for world peace -- regardless of partisan division between the executive and legislative branches of our government."

"Fortunately, in the field of foreign policy, there is genuine bipartisanship -- insofar as the objectives are concerned. But it is to the means of fulfilling these objectives that we must give our closest attention."

"We should make it clear to the world that we have a specific, definite program of works for peace:

1. We should emphasize a long term food program, as a means of aiding and helping the food-deficient areas of the world.
2. We ought to give leadership and increased emphasis to a broad world health program.
3. We should emphasize the importance of education -- particularly vocational and technical education in the newly developing areas of the world."

"Of course we support the objectives of the Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower Administrations: Basically those objectives are:

1. Defense against Communist aggression wherever it occurs.
2. Expansion of the areas of freedom wherever possible.

3. Cooperation and assistance for the developing of rising nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.
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" Our responsible bipartisan cooperation on foreign policy goes even beyond those broad objectives. In time of serious concern we can and do maintain ~~and~~ essential unity of purpose so that our country can present a united front.

" Currently two examples are NATO and West Berlin. We must remember that the main objective of the Kremlin is to weaken NATO and divide the free world allies. The Soviet can not win either a cold war or a hot war if the free world stands united.

"At all time, we must remember that American military strength must be second to none, and capable of dealing with a wide variety of military threats. We need far less talk about rockets, missiles and other military power-- and much more capabilities in being."

"We need far less talk that portrays us as a bellicose and belligerent people, and much more emphasis on programs and policies to help people live more meaningful lives.

"In the field of domestic policy, we are also going to have a liberal program, because ours is the liberal party -- and the American people have indicated a vote of confidence in liberal leadership."

"There need be no quarrel of authorship of such a program for the purpose must be to put together the very best we can devise from the combined resources, judgement, and experience of our Congressional leaders, our Democratic National Committee and its Advisory Council, our Democratic Governors around the country, and competent known political experts dedicated to specialized fields of education, health, economic development, human rights, agriculture, social welfare, defense, and international relations.

"It will be constructively and sanely liberal, providing assurances to all segments of our economy that we can build soundly for future growth and development and higher living standards at home and abroad within free democratic institutions without any of the recklessness which some profess to fear.

"Quite the contrary, such a forward looking program would be far less dangerous to our country than shutting our eyes to the weak spots in our economy or areas of neglect in our society that urgently need attention.

"Immediately after Christmas I shall return to Washington to start work on perfecting such a program, working both with old Democratic leadership and the sizeable block of new Senators soon to join us in strengthening liberal forces in the Senate."

" We are going to improve the Democratic procedures of Congress itself.

The time is long overdue to adequately and responsibly provide for the rights of a majority to make decisions on vital issues.

Yet it will be done with full preservation for adequate debate. The rights of minorities must be respected in and out of Congress. Concern about assuring majority rule in the Congress is aimed to a greater degree at better protecting minority rights outside of Congress. We can not allow ourselves to protect only the rights of the minorities with which we agree, and abuse those of others with whom we may disagree.

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We need more teachers and more schools, and better teachers and better schools at every educational level -- and we are convinced Americans will be unsatisfied with less than the best of educational opportunities for our young people.

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Our programs for 1959 and 1960 must reflect these great issues and needs."

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