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National Democratic  
Women's Club

Mar 2, 1959

My topic for today is people, progress and peace.

I have chosen this subject because it represents not only the scope and sweep of Democratic government, but also the challenges and opportunities that face the United States and its allies in this decade and the years ahead.

These three words, people, progress and peace, belong to the lexicon of democracy. It is Democracy, or should we say, government by the consent of the governed that truly represents people -- their hopes, their aspirations, their needs and their basic rights and privileges. It is Democracy that should symbolize

progress—Physical and material progress without  
sacrifice of spiritual values. And indeed in this  
the 20th Century, people insist on progress. They  
know that modern technology and science combined with  
capital <sup>and</sup> resources can produce progress. I mean  
progress that is symbolized by industrialization,  
better health, education, human welfare, a rising  
standard of living and freedom from <sup>want,</sup> freedom from  
fear.

It is Democracy, or government by the consent  
of the governed which should and must champion the  
cause of peace. And by peace we do not mean merely

the absence of war or violence, we mean a peace  
in which nations work together for common goals  
and people dedicate their energies to the improvement  
of the conditions which surround mankind.

Yes, these three ~~little~~ but important words  
of people, progress and peace belong to the Democratic  
tradition. The words themselves are ~~like~~ <sup>like</sup> powerful ~~colorful~~

missiles directed to the hearts and minds of men.

They are so important and so powerful in their  
meaning that the enemies of freedom have attempted  
to steal them away from us. This is their first act

Totalitarian  
theft.

of ideological piracy. It represents a frontal assault on the ramparts of democracy itself.

Take a look and see what has happened. In every totalitarian system or nation the spokesmen of the Communist ideology continue to refer to people, progress and peace. It is the "Peoples' Republic of China. It is the "Peoples' Republic of Korea. In the instance of East Germany, the Communist have even gone one step further in their use of the terminology of free institutions. They call the Communist puppet state, The German Democrat Republic. It is neither Democratic <sup>in spirit</sup> nor a Republican  
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form of government and it is highly questionable whether or not the leaders of that Communist state are German. At least, they have lost their dedication to the great history and tradition of Germany. They are Communist at heart, in spirit and in political allegiance.

But like it or not, the Communists have tried to steal our trademark and in many areas of the world are getting by with it. They have become, through their propaganda the loudest voices using the words "people, progress and peace." ~~It is not fair to say that~~  
~~they get by with it because we have neither attempted~~

To be sure we have accused them of stealing and using

Democratic terminology to dress up their Communist system. We have shouted thief, thief and pointed an accusing finger at the guilty ones. But in our frenzied and emotional triade against the totalitarians, I am afraid that we have failed to ~~emphasize~~ adequately proclaim our own dedication to people, progress and peace.<sup>u</sup>

~~The truth is that a Republican Administration --~~  
 a conservative government -- finds itself incapable of appreciating or understanding the full meaning of the political, economic, and social revolution that is underway today throughout the world and indeed has been

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underway in many parts of the world for the past

two generations. ~~At home, the Republican Administration,~~

~~There has been in the past a~~  
~~the Republican Party has~~ grudgingly, reluctantly and hesitatingly  
~~accepted~~ some of the reforms of the New Deal. After

~~having denounced the foreign policy of both Roosevelt~~

and Truman it hesitatingly and out of sheer necessity, *when in office,*

through an assessment of the facts, ~~had to accept~~ was

*compelled* to accept the broad outlines and objectives,

of American foreign policy in the post-war period. But

it is this *very* ~~hesitancy~~ *reluctance*, this

dispiritedness acceptance of both domestic and foreign

policies that represents the weakness of the conservative

government. On the domestic front, the form, the letter

of the law in such great policies and programs as

social security, unemployment compensation, public

works, social welfare and others, has been accepted

but the spirit <sup>of Administration</sup> that makes these laws and policies

meaningful and effective is either absent or on a

short leash.

Let us take just one domestic problem as an

example, namely the crises in education including

both the lack of classroom space and facilities and

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SKIP TO  
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*Keep*

*Out*

*Keep*

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~~SECRET~~ Key

the inadequacy of trained teachers and proper salaries for them. The Administration studies this problem to death. It worries about the problem. But it mainly worries about the alleged dangers of Federal control in the field of education. It apparently can't see the danger both to individuals and the nation of an inadequate and under-financed school system. While

the nation cries out for more scientists, better

teachers, higher educational standards, the Administration

sings the budget blues and ~~weeps an~~ underscores the

woes and worries of Federal control. The conservative

~~SECRET~~  
~~SECRET~~  
↑

government sees the problems but never comes up with  
 the answers. It is more concerned about the traditions  
 and institutions of government than it is about the  
 people that the government is ~~to serve~~ designed to  
 serve. When it comes to the nation's economy, the

Keep

conservative government -- the Republican Administration --  
 becomes almost psychopathic about an inflation to which  
 it has contributed most generously through its fiscal  
 and credit policies, while it literally ignores rising  
 unemployment, a decline in national productivity, and  
 the mounting problems that will come with automation  
 and advanced technology. ~~But the real danger is on the~~

Keep

Trickle  
Down -  
George

+ Percolate  
up habit  
Humphrey

~~High~~

Soviet  
Challenge

Even now it grows & the  
 realities of our Economic  
 Slow down - adrift!

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foreign front, or in the field of international relations. Here again the Republican Administration --

HERE → The conservative government -- embraces the forms and institutions of our foreign policy but fails to breathe

life and strength into them. The Seventh Fleet is still

in the Pacific. The Sixth Fleet is in the Mediterranean.

The NATO Alliance continues to have our support and

mutual security and foreign aid are continuing

American policies.

Yes, then too there is Technical Assistance and

Point Four and our adherence to and participation in

the United Nations. All of these things were with us

*[Handwritten signature]*

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in 1950 and they continue to be with us in 1959.

We continue to extend economic aid and military assistance. All that is new in these past years is the Baghdad Pact with all of its trouble and uncertain value, the SEATO Organization which at best is an expression of American concern and interest in the Far East. To be generous, one might add the so-called Eisenhower Doctrine in the Middle East which is but another name for what could have been done and was being done under the terms and authorizations of foreign aid and military assistance. It was <sup>new</sup> public relations for old public policy. It represents nothing

~~out~~

Keep

~~out~~

new except a realization of the gravity of the situation  
in the Middle East.

*Handwritten scribbles and notes:*  
- Large scribbles over the first paragraph.  
- "speak of For. Policy!" written in the right margin.

Then what is wrong. The policies and the  
objectives of our foreign policy seem very much the  
same now as in the past. Yet it is quite obvious to  
one and all that there is something lacking and something  
desperately needed. What is lacking on the foreign front  
is exactly what is lacking at home. A lack of interest

*Handwritten note:* understanding of or concern for

people. A conservative economic philosophy that

inhibits progress and ~~growth~~ growth and cautious Republican

conservatism that emphasizes ~~defense~~ *economy* at the expense

of a positive program for peace. This Administration,

*Handwritten note:*  
~~is a repudiation of our~~  
is a repudiation of our  
role as a world  
leader

*HTC → (Sincerely, et)*

a conservative government, has ~~also~~ demonstrated its  
utter incapacity and inability to identify with people.

The needs of people, the hopes and wants of people here  
and abroad. // *[To here — Back to other speech]*

In the Middle East it is far more concerned with  
kings and oil than it is with people and water. ~~In~~  
~~Africa and Asia, it has~~  
~~intention and its programs.~~ Where the threat or the reality  
~~of war has~~ demanded our attention we have  
permitted our foreign policy in the Far East and Africa to  
be primarily governed by the surge of events managed and  
directed by the Communist.

*but  
Keep*

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We counter attack -- we react -- rather than design a program that we know to be right and sound and worthy of our efforts and sacrifice.

In Latin America we have praised dictators and discredited economics institutions at the expense of sound public policy for ourselves and our neighbors. The image of the Good Neighbor has been unnecessarily and shamefully forfeited. We have insisted upon allies

*an*  
~~scribble~~

when it would have been better if we have sought to make friends. But the most depressing picture of all is how we have lost the mantle of the peace-maker. The ~~xxx~~ slogans of this Republican Administration are evidence enough to demonstrate to any person how we have played

right into the hands of the Communist propagandist who  
accuse us of aggression and of war-like aims.

While the American citizen may understand these  
slogans for what they are -- mainly political palaver  
or in more ~~sophisticated~~ sophisticated words, public  
relations -- ~~xxx~~ the people in other parts of the  
world do not always comprehend our rather shoddy  
colloquial expressions.

When you talk of a bigger 'bang for a buck',  
massive retaliation, massive deterrent and you explain  
in screaming headlines the terrible destructive power  
of the new fantastic nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons --  
when day after day you attempt to satisfy the American

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public's desire for an adequate defense structure by headlines announcing another new missile or plans for an even bigger and more deadly missile and rocket, is it any wonder that millions and millions of people throughout the world doubt our dedication to peace.

We have talked ourselves out of the role of peacemakers.

And this Administration has done it without even providing the nation with ~~a defense structure~~ the defense that it requires.

↳ What an ironical situation. On the one ~~side~~ hand, the 'big talk' about the big weapons that frightens people in many areas of the world is the same big talk that

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at home here in the United States has been used to convince the American people that our defenses are strong and that our power is invincible. Public relations has been used as a substitute for public policy. Prepaganda has been substituted for preparedness. The political slogan of a balanced-budget has been substituted for the maintenance of a proper balance of power in the world. Even massive deterrence has given way to a new kind of <sup>jargon</sup> ~~jargon~~ called "minimum deterrence." Any thing, any word, any scheme, any gimmick to satisfy the Republican hard-money, tight-credit, high interest, balance-the-budget, tax loophole, special privilege, economic royalist *credo*.

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It might be tolerable to be accused of being aggressive,  
a warmonger and even to have people believe it, if we  
had such unmistakable and unchallengeable power that  
the Soviet Union and her satellites recognized the  
futility of attempting to either ~~blame us~~ threaten  
or attack us. But as they used to say in college days,  
we get the blame but not the <sup>game</sup> ~~spin~~. We find ourselves  
with an Administration that is more concerned over  
inflation than it is a world conflagration. Its  
spokesmen say quite openly, inflation is our greatest  
danger even as Khrushchev threatens us again and  
again and as the power of the Communist military and  
economic machine expands everyday.

The tragedy of <sup>all of this</sup> ~~itself~~ is however, ~~ix~~ that the people of this great country are truly dedicated to peace.

Ours is a tradition of peace and generosity, of compassion and humanitarianism.

What is more there is nothing incompatible with a strong defensive shield that gives us the security and the sense of inner strength that makes possible the fulfillment of our mission as the peacemaker.

Let us never forget that there are many more people in this world who want to live than want to die. Let us not forget that millions of people have <sup>lived</sup> under ~~ix~~ conditions of <sup>tyranny</sup> and terror for so long that there is nothing more that can be done to frighten them.

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What they seek is help, guidance, friendship, understanding.

What this world needs today is not massive retaliation but

massive <sup>doses</sup> ~~shots~~ of health, education and food. We need

some guided missiles to the hearts and minds of men.

Missiles of technology and science. Missiles of schools

and education. Yes, missiles of medicine and medical

care. Of jobs and industry, of public works and public

welfare. It is to the creation of these missiles that

we must dedicate our talents and our energies. This

world will not be saved or spared by missiles of war

with thermo-nuclear warheads. Important as they are

for our national security and our defense against the

aggressive, imperialism ~~of~~, communism, it will take more

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defense to build a peaceful world. We must wage peace and defend ourselves against attack. We must move on the offensive and declare war against ~~the~~ mankind's most ancient and terrible enemies of hunger, disease, poverty and ignorance.

~~These-are~~ This declaration of war must be more than a war of words. It must be a war of deeds. The kind of deeds that we have deomnstrated our ability to accomplish and perform. The deeds that made America <sup>today</sup> what ~~it~~ is/~~today~~. The ~~d~~deeds that made possible victory in World War II. ~~The~~ The binding up of the wounds after that war. ~~The~~ The successful completion of a Marshall Plan and a thousand and one actions by our voluntary and church

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and non-sectarian groups that have brought the message  
of kindness, compassion and helpfulness to millions  
of people throughout the world.

PEOPLE, PROGRESS AND PEACE

Speech by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) Before the National Democratic Women's Club, Washington, D.C., March 2, 1959.

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pages 2 through 13 are in the "We are for People, Progress,

and Peace speech to the Jackson Day Dinner of the East St. Louis

Democratic City Central Committee speech made on March 17, 1959

nation with the defense that it requires.

What an ironical situation. On the one hand, the "big talk" about the big weapons that frightens people in many areas of the world is the same big talk that at home here in the United States has been used to convince the American people that our defenses are strong and that our power is invincible.

Public relations has been used as a substitute for public policy. Propaganda has been substituted for preparedness. The political slogan of a balanced budget has been substituted for the maintenance of a proper balance of power in the world.

Even "massive deterrence" has given way to a new kind of jargon called "minimum deterrence". Any thing, any word, any scheme, any gimmick to satisfy the Republican hard money, tight-credit, high interest, balance the budget, tax

loophole, special privilege, economic royalist credo.

It might be tolerable to be accused of being aggressive, a war-monger and even to have people believe it, if we had such unmistakable and unchallengeable power that the Soviet Union and her satellites recognized the futility of attempting to either threaten or attack us. But as they used to say in college days, we get the "blame, but not the game". We find ourselves with an Administration that is more concerned over inflation than it is a world conflagration. Its spokesmen say quite openly, inflation is our greatest danger even as Khrushchev threatens us again and again and as the power of the Communist military and economic machine expands every day.

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What they seek is help, guidance, friendship, understanding. What this world needs today is not massive retaliation but massive doses of health, education, and food. We need some guided missiles to the hearts and minds of men. Missiles of technology and science. Missiles of schools and education. Yes, missiles of medicine and medical care. Of jobs and industry, of public works and public welfare.

It is to the creation of these missiles that we must dedicate our talents and our energies. This world will not be saved or spared by missiles of war with thermonuclear warheads. Important as they are for our national security and our defense against the aggressive, imperialist Communism, it will take more than defense to build a peaceful world.

We must wage peace and defend ourselves against attack. We must move on the offensive and declare war against mankind's most ancient and terrible enemies of hunger, disease, poverty, and ignorance.

This declaration of war must be more than a war of words. It must be a war of deeds. The kind of deeds that we have demonstrated our ability to accomplish and perform. The deeds that made America what it is today. The deeds that made possible victory in World War II and the binding up of the wounds

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