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OUR NATIONAL GOALS

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D.,Minn.) Testimonial Dinner for Speaker Molinaro, Kenosha, Wisconsin, Sunday, June 14, 1959.

It is natural for me to feel at home here in Wisconsin, for this is home territory for me.

Minnesotans and Wisconsinites are used to talking to each other as neighbors talk over a back fence -- and the fence between our two states really might as well not exist, judging from the friendly reception the people of Wisconsin have given me during these past two days.

I have really been treated like one of the "home folks".

One thing that has given me a feeling of being at home in Wisconsin is what's been happening in the Democratic Party in this state. In this respect, I am happy to say, the Wisconsin story and the Minnesota story are very much alike.

Fifteen years ago, both of our states were dominated by Republicans. They held both Senate seats, and virtually all

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of the Congressional seats. They controlled the governorship and both houses of the State Legislature.

Well, things have changed for the Democratic Party in Minnesota and in Wisconsin.

In Minnesota, we now control both Senate seats. Instead of having one or two Democratic Congressmen, we now have four. We hold the governorship and one house of the State Legislature.

Yes, things have changed in Minnesota -- but no more than they have in Wisconsin.

You have written a record here that Democrats the nation over can envy and be proud of.

You have a Democratic Senator for the first time in 21 years -- a courageous and able Senator you can be mighty proud of -- Bill Proxmire.

From being totally blacked out of representation in Congress in 1946, you have won five of the 10 Congressional seats -- including

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Senators first time  
~~in 17 yrs~~

this First Congressional District now happily and effectively represented by an outstanding new Congressman, Gerry Flynn.

You control the governorship for the first time in 25 years, and I am proud to share the platform with the man who broke that Republican 'jinx', your great governor and my good friend, Gaylord Nelson.

But the symbol -- and perhaps, too, the secret -- of your success may be found in the story of the man you and I honor tonight, the Speaker of the Wisconsin Assembly, George Molinaro.

h For when George Molinaro first became an assemblyman in 1946, the state legislature was a mighty lonely place for Democrats. In fact, there were only 11 other Democrats to keep him company in the House.

I wonder if George Molinaro -- or any of the other 11 Democrats who sat with him in those bleak days of 1947 ever dreamed that a little more than a decade later, the Democrats

would actually control the House, and that your neighbor,  
George Molinaro, would hold the powerful and respected post  
of Speaker of the Wisconsin Assembly. How many of you here  
tonight thought that could happen in such a short time?

*House  
Control!*

When a man can, by hard work and sheer merit, work his  
way up from a Kenosha constable to one of the highest posts in  
the state, the party that gave that man the chance to rise is  
not only a vigorous party, it is a great party.

And so when I salute you, Mr. Speaker Molinaro, I salute  
every Democrat in Wisconsin, from the precinct worker, committee-  
man, party officer right on up to Senator Proxmire and Governor  
Nelson and his associates in state government.

You in Wisconsin, like your Minnesota neighbors, know  
the ingredients of political success: hard work -- not just  
around election time, but twelve months a year; dedication to  
liberal, progressive principles and programs, and not just at

*Pol Success  
Hard Work*

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New Faces!

election time, but all the time; and a willingness to welcome  
new faces and to give every person that precious chance to rise  
to the top and fulfill the responsibilities of political leadership.

Min +  
Wisc  
story  
across  
the  
country

Fortunately, the Wisconsin story and the Minnesota story  
are being written in state after state across the nation. Since  
1953, we have won state house after state house. We have won  
Senate seats and House seats that had been occupied for years  
by Republican mossbacks.

But, our victory -- the people's victory -- will not be  
complete until we win the White House.

And if other states can develop the kind of Democratic  
leadership that Wisconsin has, I have little doubt that there  
will be a Democrat in the White House in January, 1961.

NO  
Complacency

But let's not get complacent and overconfident and think  
we can just coast in on the tide.

The Democrats swept the country in the 1958 election with

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promises of action -- yes, liberal and progressive action --  
for 1959.

Need  
of  
Action

Action

The people who elected the Democrats are getting restive  
and they are looking to us for action. We in Congress have an  
obligation to carry out the mandate of the 1958 election.

The Republicans would like to see this Congress fall on  
its face and they have the money and the press to publicize  
its shortcomings. But we Democrats have a two-to-one majority  
and there can be no alibis if we fail. And we are going to  
stay on our job in Washington just as long as necessary to live  
up to our 1958 promises; we must and we will carry out our pro-  
gressive and constructive Democratic program.

Start  
(K)

For the Democrats to win in 1960 there must be a powerful  
and liberal image of the Democratic Party in the mind and heart  
of every American voter.

Start  
Image!  
mm

I suggest, as a model for that image, the image the Democratic

model - The Party of FDR

Party enjoyed when it was led by that great humanitarian  
Twentieth Century American, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

There is a lesson for our Party, in the year 1959, in  
the last words ever written by Franklin Roosevelt. They  
were addressed to the San Francisco Conference of the United  
Nations, which he did not live to attend.

In those last words, he admonished the world, "We must  
move forward with strong and active faith."

Move Forward

These last written words of Roosevelt were not words of  
complacency or contentment with the past. They were a call to  
action. They summoned us -- and the world -- to move forward.

To Franklin Roosevelt, moving forward did not mean re-  
liance on the momentum of forces already in being. He said that  
we must be strong and active. He knew that there was no  
strength in waiting for events to take their course. He demon-  
strated that events must be shaped. He knew that neither domestic

Strong Active

"Move FORWARD with Strong and Active Faith"!

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nor international problems could be solved by sporadic and desperate reactions to crisis. He demonstrated that leadership means positive action, that leadership means setting goals and always striving to meet them.

Let us, too, set our goals and always strive toward them.

In the years ahead, three great goals confront America:

the winning of an honorable and lasting peace; the fulfillment of our economic potential; and the attainment of full dignity and liberty for every American.

The winning of the peace means this:

It means unfailing pursuit of the goal of universal disarmament, so that men can devote their energies and resources to constructive purposes, to bettering the lot of their fellow men.

But until we attain that goal, the pursuit of peace means an invincible shield of defense -- not only to deter those who

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GOALS

Peace

Economic Growth

↓  
Dignity for all

would make war, but to negotiate disarmament from strength,  
and not from weakness.

And finally, the pursuit of truly lasting peace means  
a long hard struggle to improve the lot of the oppressed, the  
poor, the hungry, the sick, and the illiterate.

For the Communists and enemies of freedom will never  
cease their appeals to these people; and unless we wish to  
yield the world to their domination, we cannot relax our  
efforts to help those who are less fortunate than we.

These totalitarian states, first Russia and now in in-  
creasing measure China, recognize no ideal but power. Yet they  
know where they are headed, and they have the blueprints for  
attaining their goals. Year by year, the masters of the  
enslaved people are driving them relentlessly forward, in the  
most gigantic program of military and economic development the  
world has ever seen.

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Our shortcomings, unlike those of the totalitarians, are not in ultimate purposes. But we have not yet equalled them in the steadfastness of our purposes; nor in our willingness to dedicate our full resources to the attainment of our goals.

Too many of our actions are improvised and disconnected, instead of being purposeful and long-ranged. Too often we blunt the effect of fine words with meager deeds. And too often we blur the effect of fine deeds with foolish words.

The challenge of the Soviets is total. Their dedication is total.

We cannot answer this challenge of the totalitarians merely by declaring that they are evil doers and do not have the power to accomplish their asserted goals. We can answer it only by superior deeds.

#2 ✓  
Now, the second great goal before America is the fulfillment of our real economic potential here at home.

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In pursuing this goal, we must look upon our economic system as something bigger than the dollar sign, and something warmer than the brick walls of our factories.

We seek not only to build machines, but also to improve men; not only to provide work opportunity, but also to provide leisure for self-development; not only to achieve security, but also to stimulate initiative and daring; not only to be efficient, but also to do justice.

Difference  
Belgian  
Krusch  
+  
U.S.

But in order to move forward with strong and active faith toward this goal, we must remove one primary obstacle -- a Republican Administration which is satisfied with stagnation.

The Republicans take great pride in telling us that the economy is bigger than ever -- as if this solved everything.

But when the Republican press agents tell us that we are now higher than ever before, we want to know who is higher, and how much higher. The better than three million unemployed are not

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better off than ever before. The farmer is hardly enjoying prosperity. The homeowner is hardly being helped by higher and higher interest rates. The small businessman has not reached his millenium.

Interest Rates!

The truth is that since this Republican Administration took office, the American economy has fallen far short of its potential.

Listen!

From 1953 through the end of 1958, we have lost more than 10 million man-years of job opportunity through unemployment.

The income of the average American family has been penalized to the tune of almost \$3,000 in real buying power.

Net farm income has been about 31 billion dollars less than it should have been, and wages and salary income almost 100 billion dollars too low.

Private businessinvestment opportunity has been almost 40 billion dollars too low.

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The excessive idleness of plant and manpower from 1953 through 1958 caused us to lose more than 150 billion dollars in total national production.

As a result, even high tax rates have yielded to all levels of government about 25-30 billion dollars less revenues than full prosperity would have yielded. These deficits in public revenues have meant deficits in national security and international economic cooperation. They have meant immense deficits in education and health services, housing and resource development, social security improvement and income protection to the unemployed.

None of these things has happened by accident. Every basic economic policy of the Republican Administration -- the tight money policy, the high-interest rates, the regressive tax policy, the pennywise and pound foolish "economy" programs, the giveaway of our resources-- all of these have resulted in

*Issues*

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substituting economic slow-down for full economic growth.

These Republican policies have not meant boom and bust in the old fashioned sense. The protective Democratic legislation of the New Deal and the Fair Deal have saved us from this. But they have meant recession half the time and stunted growth all the time.

Where do we go from here; and first of all, where can we go?

*Here's what we can have!*

If we fully marshal our economic potential, we can in the next five years lift our 460 billion dollar economy to much better than a 600 billion dollar economy.

We can increase the average annual income of American families, measured in real buying power, by about \$2,000.

We can liquidate most of the private poverty, which still bears down upon millions of our people.

*Poverty*

We can have prosperous farmers as well as prosperous industry;

small business can thrive alongside the corporate giants.

In short, we can lift those at the bottom without penalizing those at the top.

We can combine the American system of different rewards for different abilities and efforts with the American system of equal opportunity for all and social justice.

And on the productive foundation of this private economic progress, we can check the impoverishment of our vital public services, and put an end to the neglect of our greatest national and worldwide priorities of need.

We can, in a word, fulfill our economic potential and realize our dream of abundance.

The third great goal before America is the attainment of full dignity and liberty for every man, woman and child within our borders.

We have made a start toward equality of opportunity for

*3rd Goal*

employment.

∟ We have made a start toward integrating our public schools.

∟ We have made a start toward integrating our public facilities of all kinds.

∟ We have made a start toward preventing discrimination in housing.

∟ We have made a start toward assuring the right of every citizen to vote.

∟ Yes, we have made a start in each of these areas. But there is more -- much more -- to be done.

∟ And we are determined that from these small beginnings we shall one day build a land of tolerance that knows no bigotry.

The road toward understanding and tolerance, toward equality and justice may be a rough one. But we must travel that road

and travel it surely if we are to survive in a world two-thirds colored. And we must travel that road and travel it courageously -- not only because it is necessary for our survival -- but because it is right.

My friends, if we move forward to cross and conquer these three new frontiers, many of us may live to see the greatest era of accomplishment in the history of man.

~~During a large part of the nineteenth century, the Old World enjoyed a wide measure of peace and prosperity, scientific development, and practical reform. The outstanding characteristic of this period was faith in the future of man, expressed by a poet laureate of England who spoke of the gleam of the untraveled world ahead.~~

~~At this mid-point in the twentieth century, mankind is again moving into an untraveled world. New problems, new danger, new uncertainties, confront us. But the new world into which~~

we are moving is also gleaming with high promise. The free peoples of the world are infinitely stronger than they were in the nineteenth century. We have gained in knowledge of the physical world, in science and technology and communication. Above all, we have come to appreciate the links which bind all free peoples together. We have found the instruments of cooperation which may forge these loose links into an unbreakable chain of strength.

So let us lead from strength. Instead of thinking that every great task is beyond our means, let us measure the greatness of our capacity.

Instead of filling the air with fear, let us fill men's hearts with hope.

Instead of being overwhelmed by the dangers of the world, let us be inspired by the challenge to surmount these dangers.

Instead of worrying about the future, let us labor to

create it.

Again in the words of the poet, as the great world spins forever through the ringing grooves of change, we can bring an increasing purpose into the lives of free men, if only we do not close our minds to new problems, if only the thoughts of men are widened with the processes of suns.

*cut*

June 12, 1959

For A.M. Release  
Monday, June 15

OUR NATIONAL GOALS

Remarks of  
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

Testimonial Dinner for Speaker Molinaro  
Kenosha, Wisconsin, June 14

It is natural for me to feel at home here in Wisconsin, for this is home territory for me.

Minnesotans and Wisconsinites are used to talking to each other as neighbors talk over a back fence -- and the fence between our two states really might as well not exist, judging from the friendly reception the people of Wisconsin have given me during these past two days. I have really been treated like one of the "home folks".

One thing that has given me a feeling of being at home in Wisconsin is what's been happening in the Democratic Party in this state. In this respect, I am happy to say, the Wisconsin story and the Minnesota story are very much alike.

Fifteen years ago, both of our states were dominated by Republicans. They held both Senate seats, and virtually all of the congressional seats. They controlled the governorship and both houses of the state legislature.

Well, things have changed for the Democratic Party in Minnesota and in Wisconsin.

In Minnesota, we now control both Senate seats. Instead of having one or two Democratic Congressmen, we now have

four. We hold the governorship, and one house of the state legislature.

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You control the governorship for the first time in 25 years, and I'm proud to share the platform with the man who broke that Republican 'jinx', your great governor and my good friend, Gaylord Nelson.

But the symbol -- and perhaps, too, the secret -- of your success may be found in the story of the man you and I honor tonight, the Speaker of the Wisconsin Assembly, George Molinaro.

For when George Molinaro first became an assemblyman in 1946, the state legislature was a mighty lonely place for Democrats. In fact, there were only 11 other Democrats to keep him company in the House.

I wonder if George Molinaro -- or any of the other 11 Democrats who sat with him in those bleak days of 1947 ever dreamed that a little more than a decade later, the Democrats would actually control the House, and that your neighbor, George Molinaro, would hold the powerful and respected post of Speaker of the Wisconsin Assembly. How many of you here tonight thought that could happen in such a short time?

When a man can, by hard work and sheer merit, work his way up from a Kenosha constable to one of the highest posts in the state, the party that gave that man the chance to rise is not only a vigorous party, it is a great party.

And so when I salute you, Mr. Speaker Molinaro, I salute every Democrat in Wisconsin, from the precinct worker, committeeman, Party officer right on up to Senator Proxmire and Governor Nelson and his Associates in State Government.

You in Wisconsin, like your Minnesota neighbors, know the ingredients of political success: Hard work -- not just around election time, but twelve months a year; dedication to liberal, progressive principles and programs, and not just at election time, but all the time; and a willingness to welcome new faces and to give every person that precious chance to rise to the top and fulfill the responsibilities of political leadership.

Fortunately, the Wisconsin story and the Minnesota story are being written in state after state across the nation. Since 1953, we've won state house after state house. We've won Senate

seats and House seats that had been occupied for years by Republican mossbacks.

But, our Victory -- the people's victory -- will not be complete until we win the White House.

And if other states can develop the kind of Democratic leadership that Wisconsin has, I have little doubt that there will be a Democrat in the White House in January, 1961.

But let's not get complacent and overconfident and think we can just coast in on the tide.

The Democrats swept the country in the 1958 election with promises of action -- yes, liberal and progressive action -- for 1959.

The people who elected the Democrats are getting restive and they are looking to us for action. We in Congress have an obligation to carry out the mandate of the 1958 election.

The Republicans would like to see this Congress fall on its face and they have the money and the press to publicize its shortcomings. But we Democrats have a two-to-one majority and there can be no alibis if we fail. And we're going to stay on our job in Washington just as long as necessary to live up to our 1958 promises; we must and we will carry out our progressive and constructive Democratic program.

For the Democrats to win in 1960 there must be a powerful and liberal image of the Democratic Party in the mind and heart of every American voter.

I suggest, as a model for that image, the image the Democratic Party enjoyed when it was led by that great

humanitarian Twentieth Century American, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

There is a lesson for our Party, in this year 1959, in the last words ever written by Franklin Roosevelt. They were addressed to the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations, which he did not live to attend.

In those last words, he admonished the world, "We must move forward with strong and active faith."

These last written words of Roosevelt were not words of complacency or contentment with the past. They were a call to action. They summoned us -- and the world -- to move forward.

To Franklin Roosevelt, moving forward did not mean reliance on the momentum of forces already in being. He said that we must be strong and active. He knew that there was no strength in waiting for events to take their course. He demonstrated that events must be shaped. He knew that neither domestic nor international problems could be solved by sporadic and desperate reactions to crisis. He demonstrated that leadership means positive action, that leadership means setting goals and always striving to meet them.

Let us, too, set our goals and always strive toward them.

In the years ahead, three great goals confront America: the winning of an honorable and lasting peace; the fulfillment of our economic potential; and the attainment of full dignity and liberty for every American.

The winning of the peace means this:

It means unflinching pursuit of the goal of universal disarmament, so that men can devote their energies and resources to constructive purposes, to bettering the lot of their fellow men.

But until we attain that goal, the pursuit of peace means an invincible shield of defense -- not only to deter those who would make war, but to negotiate disarmament from strength, and not from weakness.

And finally, the pursuit of truly lasting peace means a long, hard struggle to improve the lot of the oppressed, the poor, the hungry, the sick, and the illiterate.

For the Communists and enemies of freedom will never cease their appeals to these people; and unless we wish to yield the world to their domination, we cannot relax our efforts to help those who are less fortunate than we.

These totalitarian states, first Russia and now in increasing measure China, recognize no ideal but power. Yet they know where they are headed, and they have the blueprints for attaining their goals. Year by year, the masters of the enslaved people are driving them relentlessly forward, in the most gigantic program of military and economic development the world has ever seen.

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to dedicate our full resources to the attainment of our goals.

Too many of our actions are improvised and disconnected, instead of being purposeful and long-ranged. Too often we blunt the effect of fine words with meager deeds. And too often we blur the effect of fine deeds with foolish words.

The challenge of the Soviets is total. Their dedication is total.

We cannot answer this challenge of the totalitarians merely by declaring that they are evil doers and do not have the power to accomplish their asserted goals. We can answer it only by superior deeds.

Now, the second great goal before America is the fulfillment of our real economic potential here at home.

In pursuing this goal, we must look upon our economic system as something bigger than the dollar sign, and something warmer than the brick walls of our factories.

We seek not only to build machines, but also to improve men; not only to provide work opportunity, but also to provide leisure for self-development; not only to achieve security, but also to stimulate initiative and daring; not only to be efficient, but also to do justice.

But in order to move forward with strong and active faith toward this goal, we must remove one primary obstacle -- a Republican Administration which is satisfied with stagnation.

The Republicans take great pride in telling us that the economy is bigger than ever -- as if this solved everything.

But when the Republican press agents tell us that we are now higher than ever before, we want to know who is higher, and how much higher. The better than three million unemployed are not better off than ever before. The farmer is hardly enjoying prosperity. The homeowner is hardly being helped by higher and higher interest rates. The small businessman has not reached his millenium.

The truth is that since this Republican Administration took office, the American economy has fallen far short of its potential.

From 1953 through the end of 1958, we have lost more than 10 million man-years of job opportunity through unemployment.

The income of the average American family has been penalized to the tune of almost \$3,000 in real buying power.

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international economic cooperation. They have meant immense deficits in education and health services, housing and resource development, social security improvement and income protection to the unemployed.

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The road towards understanding and tolerance, towards equality and justice may be a rough one. But we must travel that road and travel it surely if we are to survive in a world two-thirds colored. And we must travel that road and travel it courageously -- not only because it is necessary for our survival -- but because it is right.

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