

Address Before National Press Club
Washington, D.C.
January 5, 1960
Senator
Hubert H. Humphrey

^{F DO NOT}
TODAY, ~~I DON'T~~ WANT TO DISCUSS POLITICS, 1960.

WISH TO TALK ABOUT POLICIES FOR THE SIXTIES. AS *and, Gentlemen,*

WE ENTER THE 1960'S, I SEE AMERICA ADRIFT -- WITH MUCH
OF HER ENORMOUS RESERVOIR OF ENERGY, POWER AND
GOOD WILL UNTAPPED -- UNUSED.

THERE ARE POWERFUL CURRENTS IN THE
WORLD TODAY, BUT THEY ARE NOT CURRENTS
OF OUR MAKING OR LIKING. THEY ARE CURRENTS
THAT SWEEP US ALONG. WE ARE THE VICTIM,
NOT THE SHAPER OF EVENTS.

JUST FOUR DECADES AGO, AT THE DAWN OF
THE 1920'S, AMERICA ENTERED UPON THE
"AGE OF NORMALCY."

THIRTY -THREE YEARS LATER, IN 1953,
 AMERICA ENTERED A NEW ERA: THE "AGE OF
COMPLACENCY."

A PROFOUND CHANGE CAME OVER THE
 AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. THE DECISION WAS
 MADE TO CONFINE THE SOLUTIONS TO THE
 PROBLEMS OF THE NINETEEN FIFTIES WITHIN

RIGID, ARTIFICIAL, BUDGETARY WALLS. *and,*
THAT CHANGE DID MUCH TO SHAPE THE

REMAINDER OF THE FIFTIES. IT SET IN MOTION

A UNILATERAL CUT-BACK OF AMERICA'S

DEFENSE FORCES -- WITH THE RESULT THAT

WE EMBARK ON THE SUMMIT TALKS OF THE 1960'S

NOT MILITARILY SUPREME, BUT SECOND-BEST

IN A VARIETY OF FIELDS.

The missile

gap

"A BIGGER BANG FOR A BUCK" WAS THE SLOGAN
 DESIGNED TO JUSTIFY THE STRIPPING OF OUR
 CONVENTIONAL MILITARY STRENGTH.
 "MASSIVE RETALIATION" WAS USED TO COMFORT
 AMERICANS WHO SENSED, BUT WERE NEVER TOLD,
 THAT THE POWER OF THE SOVIET UNION WAS
 GROWING EVER MORE COMPLEX AND SUBTLE.

~~Keep~~
 Keep

1953 MARKED THE BEGINNING OF AN ERA
 IN WHICH PROGRAMS AND SOLUTIONS WERE NOT
 MEASURED AGAINST THE SIZE OF THE PROBLEMS

TO BE SOLVED, BUT WERE TAILORED TO FIT
 THE ECONOMIC STRAIT JACKET ~~WE HAD~~ DESIGNED
 FOR ~~OURSELVES~~.

THE FOREIGN AID PROGRAM FELL VICTIM
 TO THE FIXED-BUDGET PHILOSOPHY, AS THE
 "SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY" BECAME A CONTROLLING
 VOICE IN THE FASHIONING OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

WE APPEARED TO THE WORLD TO BECOME A NATION
THAT CARED MORE FOR DOLLARS THAN FOR
HUMAN WELFARE. #

IN THE NAME OF "FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY",
AN ADMINISTRATION THAT KNEW THE COST OF
EVERYTHING AND THE VALUE OF NOTHING
SHATTERED THE GREAT PATTERN OF AMERICAN
WORLD LEADERSHIP. #

HERE AT HOME DURING THE FIFTIES,
THE NUMBER OF SCHOOL CHILDREN GREW FASTER
THAN THE CLASSROOMS, BUT THERE WAS NO MONEY
FOR SCHOOL ROOMS OR TEACHERS IN THE
BUDGETARY STRAIT JACKET.

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STREAMS GREW MORE POLLUTED, CITIES MORE
CROWDED, SLUMS MORE SQUALID, BUT AMERICA,
IN HER FISCAL STRAIT JACKET, COULD AT BEST
ATTACK THESE PROBLEMS ONLY HALF-HEARTEDLY.

THE PROBLEMS OF AUTOMATION, Social Welfare,
OF URBAN LIVING, AND THE TECHNOLOGICAL
REVOLUTION IN AGRICULTURE WERE NEGLECTED
AND SHUNTED ASIDE. (No new starts - Resources
neglected - skipped)

THE POPULATION GREW, THE PROBLEMS
MULTIPLIED, BUT THE BUDGET REMAINED FIXED.

SLOGANS WERE SUBSTITUTED FOR PROGRAMS.

PUBLIC RELATIONS REPLACED PUBLIC SERVICE.

AND THESE POLICIES OF "SLOGAN AND
SLOW-DOWN" HAVE COST US DEARLY.

h THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

IS GOING TO INHERIT A SERIES OF PROBLEMS

THAT HAVE BEEN SWEEPED UNDER THE RUG --

WHERE THEY HAVE BEEN FESTERING AND

INTENSIFYING. *h* SOME ONE -- THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

ULTIMATELY -- MUST PAY THE PRICE OF THIS

OSTRICH-LIKE ATTITUDE. AND IT WILL BE A PRICE

THAT HAS BEEN ACCUMULATING ^{*with*} COMPOUND INTEREST!

h WE WILL HEAR MUCH TALK ABOUT "PEACE
AND PROSPERITY" IN THE MONTHS AHEAD.

h WE ALL WANT PROSPERITY. BUT THE
PROSPERITY WE WANT MUST NOT BE LOPSIDED.

cut keep
IT SHOULD BE A PROSPERITY THAT SPRINGS FROM AN
EXPANDING ECONOMY WITHH FULL SHARES FOR ALL--
BUSINESSMEN, FARMERS, WORKING PEOPLE, THE YOUNG AND
THE ELDERLY.

W WE SEEK A PROSPERITY FOR AMERICA THAT INSURES
SOCIAL JUSTICE.

LW WE ALL WANT PEACE: PEACE IS NO PARTISAN
ISSUE. BUT THE PEACE WE WANT MUST BE ENDURING.
IT MUST HAVE DEEP ROOTS.

Keep PEACE IS NOT PASSIVE: IT IS ACTIVE.
NOR CAN PEACE BE WON BY SLOGANS. *put*

L THERE CAN BE NO PEACE IN A WORLD PLAGUED
BY POVERTY, HUNGER, DISEASE AND ILLITERACY.

L THERE CAN BE NO GENUINE AND LASTING PEACE
IN A WORLD PLUNGED HEADLONG IN A RECKLESS
AND UNRESTRAINED ARMS RACE.

L ARISTOTLE RIGHTLY SAID THAT POVERTY IS
"THE PARENT OF REVOLUTION AND CRIME."

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THEN WHY TOLERATE IT -- WHEN MANKIND HAS
AT ~~ITS~~ HAND WEALTH AND REAL POWER OF
FANTASTIC DIMENSIONS?

Keep!

IN AMERICA'S SO-CALLED "SURPLUS" FOOD
AND FIBER PRODUCTION, WE POSSESS WEALTH
OF A UNIQUELY USEFUL CHARACTER --
NOT A CURSE, BUT A BLESSING.

WE CAN, AND WE MUST, USE THIS ENORMOUS
WEALTH FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL MEN--

Keep

NOT ONLY BECAUSE IT IS THE RIGHT AND JUST THING
TO DO, BUT ALSO BECAUSE IT IS FUNDAMENTALLY
IN OUR OWN INTEREST. WE CAN AND WE MUST GIVE

LEADERSHIP TO A WORLD-WIDE COOPERATIVE

ATTACK UPON POVERTY AND IGNORANCE --

THE ETERNAL ENEMIES OF PEACE AND FREEDOM.

h AT THE SAME TIME, WE MUST EXPLORE
EVERY OPPORTUNITY -- RELENTLESSLY,
TENACIOUSLY, PATIENTLY -- TO FIND AGREEMENT
ON A SAFEGUARDED SYSTEM OF ARMS CONTROL.

h THE JOB OF THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES IS TO TAKE OFF THE WRAPS--
h TO LIBERATE AMERICA'S ENERGIES AND RESOURCES--
AND TO TELL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THE PLAIN
TRUTH. FOR THE CRITICAL DILEMMA OF AMERICAN
LEADERSHIP WILL BE HOW TO PRESERVE THE SPIRIT
AND THE LETTER OF FREEDOM IN AMERICA, WHILE
ORGANIZING OUR SOCIETY TO COMPETE WITH
THE MONOLITHIC, DISCIPLINED, AND ONRUSHING
COMMUNIST SYSTEM.

(Trade-wars/
on
Expansion -

and

THERE MUST BE DEMOCRATIC PLANNING
AND PURPOSE. OUR NATIONAL POLICIES CANNOT
BE COMPARTMENTALIZED. THE GREAT DECISIONS
OF WAR AND PEACE ARE INTERWOVEN WITH A
SCORE OF OTHER NATIONAL POLICY DECISIONS.

Keep

~~AGRICULTURAL POLICY AND FOREIGN POLICY
CANNOT BE DIVORCED. WHAT WE DO IN THIS COUNTRY
TO ENLARGE OR TO ABRIDGE THE RIGHTS OF
MINORITY GROUPS INEVITABLY HAS A DIRECT AND
HEAVY IMPACT ON OUR POSITION IN THE WORLD.~~

No MAJOR AREA OF AMERICAN EFFORT FAILS
TO BEAR DIRECTLY ON OUR RELATIONS WITH
THE REST OF THE WORLD.

Interdependence

~~BUT, PLANNING IN AMERICA CANNOT
BE DICTATED.~~

IN A DEMOCRACY, NO MAN CAN LEAD BY ORDERING
AND DIRECTING, BUT ONLY BY PERSUASION.

Thus THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

MUST BE MORE THAN AN EXECUTIVE. HE MUST
IN A VERY REAL SENSE BE AN EDUCATOR.

HE WILL LEAD SUCCESSFULLY ONLY BY BUILDING

A CONSENSUS BEHIND A TOTAL NATIONAL EFFORT--

EMBODYING THE NATIONAL WILL AND EXPRESSING
THE NATIONS'S PRIORITIES.

IN HIS ROLE OF EDUCATOR, HE MUST TELL
THE PEOPLE THAT IF THE "AGE OF COMPLACENCY"
CONTINUES, AMERICA WILL SOON BECOME
A SECONDD-CLASS POWER.

HE MUST TELL THEM THAT WE HAVE ALREADY
BEEN SURPASSED IN A NUMBER OF MILITARY AND
SCIENTIFIC FIELDS, AND THAT A VAST EFFORT
WILL BE NEEDED TO REGAIN THE POSTURE OF
STRENGTH NECESSARY TO NEGOTIATE WITH
THE SOVIETS IN ANY FIELD INCLUDING DISARMAMENT.

HE MUST UNDERSTAND THAT SCIENCE HAS GIVEN POLITICS
NEW DIMENSIONS IN WHICH TO WORK -- NOT JUST
FOR WAR, BUT FOR PEACE.
more importantly

HE MUST TELL THEM THAT AMERICA NEEDS
STRENGTHENING INSIDE, THAT SHE HAS BEEN
STARVED FOR THE "PUBLIC AND SOCIAL SERVICES,"
"THE RESEARCH AND DISCOVERY, THAT MUST
UNDERGIRD A GROWING NATION AND AN EXPANDING ECONOMY.

YES, HE MUST TELL THEM THAT THESE PROGRAMS
WILL COST MONEY, AND WILL HAVE TO BE PAID FOR.

I MYSELF AM CONVINCED THAT THEY CAN BE
PAID FOR IF WE CAN STIMULATE OUR ECONOMY
TO THE GROWTH RATE AMERICA ACHIEVED BEFORE
THE 1950'S AND THAT IT CAN AND MUST HAVE
IN THE 1960'S. THEY CAN ALSO BE MET, IN PART,
BY CLOSING TAX LOOPHOLES.

BUT IF THE NEEDS SHOULD PROVE LARGER,
THEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SHOULD BE ASKED
TO FACE UP TO THAT PROSPECT AND PAY THE BILL.

THEY SHOULD IN ANY EVENT BE DISABUSED OF THE
NOTION THAT THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1954
IS AS IMMUTABLE AND HEAVEN-SENT AS THE
SCRIPTURES.

(Faint handwritten signature)
 WE CAN AFFORD TO DO WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE.

BUT THERE ARE SOME THINGS AMERICA
 CANNOT AFFORD, AND THE NEXT PRESIDENT MUST
MAKE THIS ABUNDANTLY CLEAR.

~~WE~~ MUST TELL OUR PEOPLE THAT WE CANNOT
 AFFORD A SECOND-BEST DEFENSE, OR INADEQUATE
SCHOOLS, OR UNDERPAID TEACHERS, OR
 SECOND-CLASS CITIZENSHIP FOR ANYONE.

WE CANNOT AFFORD CITIES CLOGGED WITH TRAFFIC,
 CLOAKED IN SMOG AND RIDDLED WITH SLUMS.

WE CANNOT AFFORD PROLONGED RECESSIONS AND
UNEMPLOYMENT.

ABOVE ALL, THE NEXT PRESIDENT MUST
 REMIND THE PEOPLE OF A VITAL LESSON OF HISTORY:

THAT AMERICA CAN DO ANYTHING SHE WILLS TO DO.

AMERICA DID NOT STOP FIGHTING WORLD WAR II
OR PULL OUT OF KOREA JUST BECAUSE SHE COULDN'T
BALANCE THE BUDGET.

AMERICA HAS SHOWN THAT WHEN SUMMONED
TO THE HEIGHTS, SHE CAN RISE TO THE HEIGHTS.

BUT SHE WILL NOT BE SUMMONED BY MEN
WHO EVERYWHERE SEE OBSTACLES RATHER THAN
OPPORTUNITIES.

SHE WILL NOT BE SUMMONED BY MEN FOR WHOM
GOOD INTENTIONS ARE A SUBSTITUTE FOR ACTION.

THE WORLD CRIES OUT FOR LEADERS WHO SEEK
AND ENJOY ENDEAVOR, WHO WILL ACHIEVEMENT
AND POINT THE WAY TO IT.

(*Passed*)
THE LATE EUGENE MEYER, ONE OF THE MOST
honored
~~REVERED~~ MEN IN YOUR PROFESSION, ONCE TOLD
A SENATE COMMITTEE IN A TIME OF CRISIS:

"ALL THAT WE VALUE IN CIVILIZATION
HAS COME ABOUT THROUGH THE AGENCY OF MEN
WHO REFUSED TO ALLOW NATURE TO TAKE
ITS COURSE -- MEN OF HEROIC HOPE WHO USED
THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THEIR SPIRIT AND THE
LIGHT OF THEIR REASON TO FORCE THE PROOF
THAT THE HUMAN PERSON CAN MAKE HIS OWN
PURPOSES PREVAIL IN THE FACE OF BLIND FORTUNE."

↳ MEN AND NATIONS CAN FORGE THEIR
OWN DESTINIES IF THEY BUT WILL TO EXERT
THE "SOVEREIGNTY OF THEIR SPIRIT AND THE LIGHT
OF THEIR REASON." BUT FOR MEN AND NATIONS
TO WILL THIS, THEIR LEADERS MUST WILL IT FOR
THEM AND WITH THEM. !!

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Bill Lawrence

Mother + Mrs 14

Krusch - wanted to get out of town

for Nixon

~~I FEEL QUITE COMFORTABLE AMONG GENTLEMEN, YOU JOURNALISTS, FOR WE HAVE ONE THING~~

VERY MUCH IN COMMON: WORDS PLAY AN IMPORTANT PART IN BOTH OUR LIVES.

I LIKE TO THINK WE HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN COMMON, TOO: RESPECT FOR THE TRUTH AND DISDAIN FOR DISSIMULATION AND SHAM.

SOME MONTHS AGO, YOU MAY REMEMBER, TWO OF MY MINNESOTA FRIENDS,

GOVERNOR FREEMAN AND SENATOR MCCARTHY,

PUT FORWARD THE RASH NOTION THAT I SHOULD BE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. ^{and} WHEN I FAILED

TO DISOWN OR DENOUNCE THEM, I WAS IMMEDIATELY PROCLAIMED A CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

YOU WILL RECALL THAT THIS EVENT
HARDLY SET THE COUNTRY OR THE DEMOCRATIC
PARTY ON FIRE. IN FACT, THE ONLY DISCERNIBLE
RESULT WAS TO GET ME BOUNCED OFF
A NETWORK TELEVISION SHOW. —!

BUT NOW THAT I AM AN AVOWED AND
UNABASHED CANDIDATE FOR THE NOMINATION,
I AM, I MUST SAY, GREATLY RELIEVED.

IT WAS BECOMING INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT
TO EXPLAIN TO YOU PERCEPTIVE GENTLEMEN
WHY I WAS DASHING FROM STATE TO STATE WHEN,
AFTER ALL, THERE ARE JUST SO MANY MINNESOTANS
IN THE COUNTRY, AND MOST OF THEM ARE
CONCENTRATED IN MINNESOTA!
ONE STATE.



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