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HUMPHREY CALLS COMMON MARKET

"TRIUMPH OF LIBERALISM"

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) said last night that the success of the European Common Market is a "triumphant example of the application of liberal thought in the field of economics."

The Senate Majority Whip, just back from a five week trip through Europe and the Middle East, spoke at Grinnell College, in Iowa.

"The success of the Common Market," he said, "is a strategic victory of major proportions over the Soviet bloc. It is a demonstration that free men using free institutions can create a dramatically new and better society.

"The Liberal force in America has consistently supported the very steps which were taken by wise men of Europe who created the Common Market."

Humphrey listed the following "steps and principles" which led to development of the Common Market:

- 1 -- Recognition of the role of governmental planning and governmental partnership with industry and labor.
- 2 -- Reduction of the artificial barriers to the free movement of goods and services among Common Market nations, by lowering tariffs and removing quotas.
- 3 -- Elimination of the power of cartels and other impediments to the development of broader business opportunities.

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"At the same time," Humphrey said, "the people of the Common Market countries have been receiving ^{increased wages and earnings along with} social benefits in the form of unemployment insurance, health care, and other welfare measures which tend to create a stable internal market of consumers.

"Adoption by Western Europe of the major economic tenets of the liberal philosophy---freer trade, broader business opportunity, governmental planning in cooperation with business and labor, and the basic protection of human welfare---has resulted in the economic and political success of the century."

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THE LIBERAL AMERICAN

by
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

Americans are a pragmatic, clear-thinking people. We strive for simple language to communicate practical ideas. We revere the catch-phrase which sums up the complex. We love to define. We relish slogans.

There is a danger in our quest for the easy phrase and the handy label. Often we use words not as tools to explore the mind and find truth, but as blunt stamps to classify quick impressions.

"Liberal" and "conservative" are two such words. They are noble words, which should be used to spark thoughtful discussion on the political character and moods of men and governments. Instead, they are used more and more frequently as a crutch to escape the challenge to understand the deeper meanings of thought

and action.

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It is imperative that every American develop a reasonable understanding of the elusive but significant truths about the meaning of "liberal" and "conservative." We must struggle to get to the roots of these two political labels. We must work, study and discuss not just the obvious signs, but the subjective implications of liberalism and conservatism.

The effort is intellectually arduous. Neither liberalism nor conservatism is a distinct creed, doctrine, or dogma. Each could be termed, at best, a "philosophy" or an "attitude."

The effort must also be limited to consideration of liberalism or conservatism of one age, of one nation. The liberal of one century could be a conservative in the next. The conservative of one country might be a liberal in his neighboring nation.

My approach -- as a liberal -- must be limited to the liberal American today. My intention is not to set either the liberal

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or the conservative off as an abstraction, but to emphasize that each conscientious citizen should be recognized first as an American, guided by the enduring principles of this democracy. Each of us in the Senate of the United States -- all of us who are proud of our citizenship -- are Americans before we are liberals or conservatives.

Where can one start on the effort to understand the character of the liberal American?

The most direct route is from a look at the general, obvious characteristics and beliefs of Hubert Humphrey himself and others who proudly -- and correctly -- consider themselves liberals.

We liberal Americans tend to show deep concern for the welfare of all of our fellow human beings. We wince when any man -- of any ^{race, or creed} color in any land -- suffers hunger, poverty, fear, or injustice.

We look beyond our immediate, familiar surroundings and sympathize

with those less fortunate. We seek to find solutions not just
to the broad problems of administration but to the basic problems
of human need. We respect -- yes, we welcome -- difference of
opinion and belief. We honor a man for his independence, for
his unique personality, for his separate, personal identity.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt was once asked why liberals
were so often divided, and conservatives generally united. He
answered:

"There are many ways of going forward, but there is
only one way of standing still."

His statement is a useful key to the liberal American's
philosophy. Woven into the fabric of liberal philosophy and policy
are the qualities of movement -- imagination, experimentation, progress,
initiative, even daring. In the jargon of the missile age, liberal
policy has a powerful thrust.

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The liberal American seeks adventure and progress. He dares to try. He says "yes" to life. He knows that change -- whether ~~by~~ by growth or decay -- is inevitable. He realizes the need for action, to avert stagnation and assure growth. Such understandings require both courage and strength.

Every American shares a belief in representative government by law. But the most important difference between the liberal and the conservative today is in their concepts of the role of government in our society and world.

↳ The conservatives tend to believe that government should do as little as possible, that it should have little authority or responsibility.

↳ The liberal believes that government initiative is fully as necessary to a successful democracy as private enterprise.

He believes that ~~it~~ through the vigorous use of the mechanics of government can we muster our resources with sufficient strength,

speed and purpose to survive as a free nation threatened by totalitarianism.

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To many conservatives, "planning" became a bad word when it is taken out of the household or the corporation. The liberal knows that purpose and planning are absolute essentials of public policy, as well as of private enterprise. He is convinced that if we are unwilling to shape history ourselves, others will write it for us.

But the liberal also emphasizes that planning in a democracy is a creative act which must draw upon the intelligence and intellect of the nation as a whole, and not simply the bureaucracy of the Federal government. Government, he believes, is not in competition with any group in the nation, but is the noble extension and voice of the whole American society.

Planning in a free society does not mean dictation -- it means cooperation. The liberal does not want "big brother" dictating what people must do. The liberal does believe that in a free society thought and attention must be given as to how we may best utilize our physical and spiritual resources to build for a better tomorrow.

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America today faces many great problems -- racial inequality,

the economic depression of most of the farming population, the

wretched housing conditions of millions, overcrowded, under-

staffed schools, and the alarming rate of juvenile delinquency,

the economic difficulties of our senior citizens. The liberal

argues that these problems can never be solved without the vigorous

participation of the Federal Government.

✓ The liberal American is convinced that conservative government
cannot cope with the swirling, crowding, endlessly changing
world of the Twentieth Century.

In the field of foreign policy, in the great quest of preserving
the safety and freedom of our people, the liberal accepts the fact
that governmental action dominates the international scene.

The conservative is seldom comfortable holding the nettle of
governments in such a world. The liberal recognizing that there
are thorns, but boldly grasps the nettle and looks to the demands

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of the day and the challenges of the future with confidence.

The liberal is wedded to the idea of indefinite -- and inevitable -- improvement and progress. He identifies with the gropings and trial efforts of young nations. He proudly realizes that they are actually efforts patterned on the accomplishments of America's founding fathers. (Yes, they were "nationalists" and "revolutionaries.")

The liberal sees challenge and opportunity everywhere. He moves forward to seize the initiative. The liberal has pushed toward international organization, more technical assistance, more economic aid for the underdeveloped nations.

Generally, the conservative reluctantly agrees only to support military assistance and at best, limited, carefully defined and inadequate economic aid.

The reluctance of conservatives to work closely with the governments of our allies is consistent with the basic conservative mistrust of government as such.

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The liberal American recognizes that there are inevitable risks in foreign policy that must be taken. The logical termination of conservative foreign policy is the concept of a "Fortress America", "standing fast", unburdened with overseas commitments and troublesome allies, peering out over a vast arsenal of nuclear-tipped intercontinental missiles. Such an approach encourages the greatest of risks.

The basic economic theory of the conservatives advocates "trickle-down" wealth. He says the first object of society is to create wealth at the top which will eventually find itself to the bottom of the human pyramid. The conservative finds it difficult to accept efforts made in the developing nations to create wealth first at the bottom of the pyramid.

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↳ The basic liberal economic theory is that once a high level of employment and purchasing power is established, business and government enterprise will inevitably flourish. This is fundamentally consistent with the hopes of the new nations -- the

nations of the ~~great~~ battlegrounds between Communism and the Free World.

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The liberal American is not satisfied to stand still. He is forever seeking improvement. He is forever working for progress -- modest, slow but steady progress, if you will. He is forever eyeing the goal and the dreams of a nation and a world of prosperity, of brotherhood, of peace.

The liberal American realizes -- with a touch of sadness and a degree of impatience -- that this goal is distant. But he has faith that the goal will be achieved -- perhaps for his children, possibly for his grandchildren, and certainly for some future generation of mankind.

Uppermost in the liberal's mind is respect for people as individuals created by and in the image of their Creator. All important are the means by which we seek to reach the desired goals. The means used must preserve the dignity, the freedom and the self-respect of the individual citizen. The liberal realizes that immoral means can never be justified by the goals being sought, for means become ends in themselves. This concern over means is, after all, the essence of a free society.

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