

VI 760 Humphrey Speech
Miami -
Pepper
Rally

SPEECH BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

North Miami Rally, April 8, 1962

Thank you, Dean Murphy, thank you very much. Thank you, my good friends, for a generous and warm and friendly introduction, one that I really appreciate and will cherish. And now, to my colleague in Congress, long-time friend, and we sort of adopted him, too, up in Minnesota, Claude Pepper, Senator Pepper, and to his very lovely wife and our good friend, Mildred Pepper, who is here with us, to Mrs. Aronowitz, who has honored him today by her presence, to the Mayor here of North Miami, Tom Sasso, who has been so kind to come here today, and by the way, to his nice little daughter here - she is a lovely girl - and to Keith Barisch, who has spoken so brilliantly for the young men and young women of our country, and to this old firebrand or this old firehorse here, George Voss, who has really delivered an oration, to one and all and to our friend from the American Legion, and to all others who have participated, may I say how happy I am that I can be here, that I have been invited to come, and that you have let me speak here in this great public park in North Miami.

I deeply regret that the good mayor of Hialeah, whom I looked forward to seeing, was detained and could not be with us. I refer, of course, to Mayor Milander, a real good Democrat. I was looking forward to him and, of course, to Dr. Haldeman as well.

I want you to know that we were honored by a fine telegram from the mayor of Miami, Mayor High, and I want you to give him my regards when you see him in case I don't.

Now, it's really a shame for a fellow up in the North country, like Hubert Humphrey, to come down here to Florida and spend only an evening and a morning and run right back. If I were to tell you how cold it has been in Minnesota this year, you would all get pneumonia right now, and I don't want that to happen here. I want you to be of warm heart and warm spirit to this fellow, Claude Pepper, and stay that way. But we would let you have Dean Murphy down here, and as long as he is around here he will keep you peppy. Dean, I tell you, you are really wonderful. I saw you put on a few of those good performances that you are so capable of giving these folks, one of those renditions with the voice of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. That would have been really great.

You know, there are many folks in this audience that I see, for the moment, from my home state, and I hope that before I leave here this evening I will have the chance to say hello to you. I shouldn't say this, you know, but I wish that you hadn't left, because folks in here whom I see voted for me, and I would kind of like to ^{Keep you} catch up there, but I suppose that, as long as you vote for Claude Pepper, I can forgive you.

Now, dear friends, I am not going to burden you too long. I know that this may be an unusual event in one way for you, the fact that an outsider, who cannot cast a vote in this state, does not reside in this state, would come to your state, and come into this, the new Third Congressional District, and speak on a political platform for a gentleman whom he has known for many years,

one of your outstanding citizens. You know, I was out in California not long ago. I spoke out there to a Food For Peace Conference, a conference that was dedicated to the study of how we could better utilize our great abundance of food and fiber for the health and wealth of the people throughout this world, and while I was there I also addressed the state convention of the Democrats at Fresno, California. I never knew there was any law against people going from one part of the country to another, because if there was, there are an awful lot of people have been breaking the law. I want to tell you an awful lot of good folks from my part of the country come to Florida to spend their money and a lot of people from Minnesota go to California to spend their money, and many of them go there to live, too, and they have made good choices to come to your state or to go to any other state, wherever their heart may desire. And yet, you know, when I got out there to California I said some nice words about our President, that I am privileged to work with him. And, so help me, a little bit later the President of the United States went out there to speak to an audience of some 85,000 to 90,000 people. I repeat, 85,000 to 90,000 people at Berkeley, California. And on the day that the President arrived, and on the same day that the President went to visit the former President, Mr. Eisenhower, Mr. Nixon said that we had too many of these carpetbaggers coming into California. Oh, yes! Nixon opened up his mouth and stuck both feet in it. So the boys got together with him and said, "Richard, you shouldn't have said that." But it was in print, so he had to kind of worm his way out of it. And a week later I was up in New York City, and I picked up the NEW YORK

HERALD TRIBUNE, and it said, headline, Nixon Identifies Carpet-baggers, and anyone who says that Mr. Nixon said he didn't think that Kennedy was a carpetbagger, the fellow he was talking about was Humphrey. I tell you that I am in mighty good company. Nixon couldn't make up his mind whether it was the President or me, and then he said that he just didn't want to see Humphrey out in California any more. He doesn't know how many relatives I've got out there. Hundreds of them, and they're all going to vote for Brown now, everyone of them.

By the way, I've got some friends down here in Dade County, too., and I want to tell you folks I hope they're going to vote for Claude Pepper.

Somebody asked me, when I was over at the airport, "Why are you down here for Claude Pepper, Senator?" Well, I said I am down here for four very simple and direct reasons. First of all, I am down here for Claude Pepper because he is my friend and I am his friend, and I like my friends and I stick by my friends, and I hope that they will stick by me, because that is what friendship's all about.

I might add that Claude Pepper was welcome in the State of Minnesota. When he came to us, we loved him and we respect him. You know, I never believe it is necessary, when you have a friend, that he agree with every word that you say or that you agree with every word that he says. I want to tell you, if that had been the case, there would never have been a marriage. The human race would have expired centuries ago. No, my friends.

Friendship means understanding and respect. Claude Pepper is my friend. That is one reason I am here.

Number two reason: Claude Pepper is a Democrat and so am I, and I will tell you the kind of a Democrat he is. He is a Franklin Delano Roosevelt, he is a Harry Truman, he is an Adlai Stevenson, he is a John F. Kennedy Democrat. So am I. I am a Democrat and believe that a Democrat should work for the people, not just some of the people, all the people. I am proud of my party, and I am proud of the opportunity to work in it.

Again, may I say there is room for disagreement within our household, in my home, and there is room for disagreement within the Democratic party. I do not ask that everybody just bow down and say, "I agree," but I think what is more important is, what is in the heart, what kind of a real sense of humanity, of compassion, of decency, of order and integrity do you have in your heart. That is the kind of a Democrat I think one ought to try to be.

Now, there is a third reason that I am for Claude Pepper. I have been reading a few little notices in the newspapers down here. We get all your papers up in Washington, and I have been noticing the questions that have been asked these candidates. Now, everybody is entitled to his own point of view. I want to make it crystal clear. I am not here to criticize any of Claude Pepper's contestants. I know they are men of honor. I didn't come down here to run anybody down. I came down here to speak up for a friend, not to run somebody down. But I wrote a letter

to a few of my constituents back home in Minnesota in a newsletter a few weeks ago, and I said that I would travel anywhere within the fifty states of the United States of America to support candidates who would stand up and speak up and work for the senior citizens of the United States of America. And let me be specific. I have been watching candidates, and let me tell you, I got a hundred requests every week for a speaking engagement, every week, and I took very few of them. I have been asked to go into dozens of our states to speak for our Democratic candidates, and I go to as many as I can where those candidates support a liberal and progressive program, and that is the only place, too. And I have been watching to see which of the candidates in these respective states is for hospital, nursing home, medical care under social security for our senior citizens. This is the biggest, most important social law issued before the Congress of the United States. And what do I find? I find that there is one man in this campaign, above all others, that hasn't straddled the fence. There is one man for medicare, and that is Claude Pepper.

Let me say a word to my young friends out here about this third reason that I am for him - this reason because he is for medical, hospital, nursing home care for our senior citizens under the terms of social security. Let me say to my young friends: You read this pamphlet. This program isn't just for grandpa and grandma. This program is for young men and women, 30, 25, 35 and 40. I am coming to the age now when my children want to go to college. I have a mother who is in her seventies. I lost

my father. He was hospitalized for months, and I want to tell you the good Lord has been good to the Humphreys. He hasn't been as good to some other people, or maybe breaks have gone against them, but I know that sometimes, when young people have to take care of their parents over prolonged hospitalization, that it means no college education for Suzie, or it means a little something less in the home for somebody else who needed it. And we don't need to have this happen. We have the means. We have proven it. We know that under the terms of a broadened progressive social security program every man and woman in this audience can have good, adequate medical care at age 65 in any hospital of your choice in Miami.

I am going to come back to that a little later. I just want to tell you why I am for Claude Pepper, and I want to tell you the fourth reason I am for him. First, he is my friend, I said to you. Secondly, he is a Democrat. Thirdly, he is for the elderly people. He is for the medicare program. Fourthly, this man was not afraid in 1960 in the Presidential campaign, and he isn't afraid now, to come out squarely to say that he is for President John F. Kennedy's program. I work up there in Congress many hours, and I want to say that I am for that program. I had a little something to do about helping develop that program. I was the first author of the Peace Corps, which today is a fact in American policy, the Peace Corps. I was the author of the United States Disarmament Agency and Arms Control Agency, which today is a fact and law and an instrumentality of the government.

I was one of the co-sponsors of the Area Redevelopment Administration that this President of ours put to the Congress and we passed, to provide funds for our needy people, our unemployed, to provide business opportunities.

I know that Mr. Kennedy is going to need help in the House of Representatives in the next session of the Congress. I say to the people of this Third Congressional District, don't you load on our President, who has to face unbelievable problems overseas, -- don't you load on him a Congressman that doesn't support him. Give him Claude Pepper to help him.

You certainly don't need any more reasons to support a man. Now, let me just say a word here. I see all these fine ladies out here. Claude here is an old campaigner. So am I. I have been at this politics a long time, and I know what it takes to win. The first thing it takes to win is your own conviction, your own ideals, your own program, and then it takes a lot of friends. You can't just win with contributions of money. What is more important than anything else is the loyalty and dedication of people who believe in you and who believe in what you stand for. And I want to say to these ladies here today - you alone can elect Pepper. I have been around campaign headquarters a long time. The men are always planning what they are going to do, and the ladies are out doing it. That's right. I wish it weren't so true, but it is. Now, fellows, this is our chance to redeem ourselves. We can go out and work, too.

And these young people are working. Americans. Young

people. These young people today that are in our armed forces. These same young people today that are down in Cape Canaveral. These same young people, if you please, that are in our Peace Corps overseas. These same type of young people can make American politics a little cleaner and a little better and a little more responsive to public need, and that is why when I see a fellow like Keith Barisch, who is clean, wholesome, intelligent, energetic, idealistic, I say, "Thank God for a man like that!"

I see on this piece of paper a few reasons why I am for Claude Pepper. I guess I told you most of them. A reporter asked me if I had a written speech, and I said absolutely no. The last time I wrote a speech I lost my election. I prefer to talk to you the way I think, not the way somebody wrote it for me. I want to talk to you from my heart, from my mind and from my experience.

Now, I say, first of all, that one of the advantages that Claude Pepper has, besides the four that I have given to you, is that this man has had years of experience in Congressional life, years of it, fourteen in the Senate. And make no mistake about it - that's valuable. That's what they call seniority. And I want to tell you, my friends, the longer that I have been in the work of government, the more I understand the value of experience. It's very valuable. It isn't everything, because I have seen some people that have had a lot of experience, and instead of learning from it, they have just hardened, but I think Claude Pepper has the experience that this country needs in Con-

gress, and let me say to you that in one particular area that I cite he has had great experience - in foreign affairs, foreign policies, our diplomacy, our efforts at national security. This is a man who had the vision in the early days of World War II to be sponsor of Lend-Lease. Lend-Lease when people said it would not work. There is a man, when Franklin Delano Roosevelt said we will have to have 50,000 airplanes, and you know what people said - that proves that Roosevelt's crazy - Claude Pepper didn't say that. Claude Pepper said, "Mr. President, I shall introduce legislation to provide 50,000 planes." And he did, and we not only made 50,000; we made 100,000. Claude Pepper, one of the Senatorial architects of the greatest alliance of free people that the world has ever known, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, of Western Europe and the United States and Canada - Claude Pepper was one of the architects of that great program.

Let me say right now, why is it that whenever you try to get into a campaign somebody gets the old mud bucket out. Oh, yes, there is a shortage of good sense in this country sometimes, but never a mud bucket. The trouble is when you start throwing rocks you get covered with it. Isn't it interesting that here is the man who was one of the promoters of the United Nations, one of the authors of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, one of the authors of Lend-Lease, the author of the resolution to provide this country with overwhelming air power, with superiority in the air for the American armed services - and yet there are people who come around and make nasty little comments about

his loyalty or his patriotism. Shame on them! Shame on them! But I want to tell you, my friends, that mud-slinging and rumors and innuendo and dirt are the last refuge of political scoundrels. Just remember that, everyone of you, wherever you see them. It happens in every campaign, in every place in America, and thank goodness the American people are learning to turn their back on that kind of politics, because this is a great country!

And Claude Pepper has other records that he piled up. I notice, Claude, that you have many years of service in the field of Latin American relations. There isn't any area in the world that is more important right now than the cause of freedom in Latin America. There is no area where we have done so little in recent years and where we ought to have done so much. There is no area in the world that we need to pay more attention to than the area known as South America, Central America or Latin America, and we need men in the Congress of the United States who know Latin America, who understand it, and who are Good Neighbors, like Claude Pepper.

And then, let me say this. In the field of our domestic life, our economy, I stand on the platform today with the man who was one of the authors, with James Murray, a dear friend of his, Jim Murray of Montana, one of our great patriots,- I stand on the platform today with one of the authors of the Employment Act of 1946, the Act which states that the government of the United States shall have the responsibility for maximum employment, maximum production, maximum consumption, maximum distribution; that it shall have responsibility for prosperity in the country; and there is the man who was the co-author of that bill.

I stand on the platform today with the man who fought for minimum wages when people said it was socialistic. Isn't that something? I stand on the platform today with the man that was one of the authors of the Social Security Act. When men like the late great Senator Wagner of New York and the late beloved Senator Alben Barkley of Kentucky -- Why, Claude, if Alben Barkley were alive today, bless his heart and bless his soul, he would be here saying more eloquently than Hubert Humphrey ever could say it, that here is a man, Claude Pepper, whose heart was with the bill every hour of the day and every day of the week.

Yes, I am proud to be associated with people in public life who are not afraid to be progressive. In fact, you know that the purpose of politics is the creation of the conditions which make possible social justice. Whatever may be your religion, whatever may be your sense of spiritual values, I think that every great religion recognizes the fact that the duty of man-made institutions is to promote the cause of social justice, justice for God's people, justice tempered with mercy and with compassion; and that is the duty of people in public life - not merely to be vote-getters, not merely to be campaigners; but above all, to be servants, and in this instance public servants, - to serve and not to be served, to help and not to be helped. This is our duty, and I stand alongside of a man who campaigns for the seat here in the Third Congressional District that is that kind of a man who does seek to serve, who does seek to help, and who many people have said, he is a do-gooder. Well, there is only

one thing better than being a do-gooder, and that is a good doer, and so is Claude Pepper.

Now, let me just wind this up. I said that, if a government is worthy of the support of its people, it is a government that, above all, must provide equality of treatment for all of its people. It must provide equal opportunity for its people. It must insure justice for its people. Those are the basic requirements of loyalty for a government and for a citizenry, and I say to this audience that a government that is worthy of our respect is a government that will first of all take care of all those here who try to help those who are in what I call the dawn of life - the children. They are entitled to a break. They are entitled to the best that society can give them. They are entitled to the opportunity to develop their God-given talent. And this is what, in this society, we mean by decent homes. This is what we mean by recreation, wholesome recreation, and above all, this is what we mean by education.

Claude Pepper was one of the authors of the Housing Act of 1949, where the Congress of the United States laid down the proposition that every American family is entitled to a decent home, and this is our goal.

Claude Pepper, when you and I served together on the Senate Labor Public Welfare Committee, I remember the days that we worked together to pass through the Congress legislation designed to provide federal aid for school construction in areas where were heavy federal activities, such as up at Canaveral, such as around

a military base, and we passed that law. That was 12 years ago that that law was offered; 11 years ago that it was passed. Claude Pepper was one of my co-sponsors. This is known as Public Law 875 and a companion Public Law 815, and under these two laws, my friends, over two billion dollars of aid has come from the federal treasury to help school districts through the United States to give young people a better education, and America is a better country because of it.

And then there is that group which, as I said, is in the dawn of life, and there is that group in the twilight of life. And those are the ones I spoke of earlier, our elders. "Honor thy father and thy mother." If it is good enough for people to honor their father and mother, then it is good enough for the government of the people, - a government of the people, by the people and for the people to speak in the same spirit of honoring thy father and thy mother. And that is what we mean by social security.

And then those that are in the storm clouds of life, those who through no fault of their own are mentally sick, crippled, broken in body or in spirit - and we have millions of them in our country - don't tell me that a country that is as rich as this one, a country that can enjoy the commercial recreation as we do, a nation that can spend what we do - that such a country cannot afford to take care of its mentally ill, its sick, its disabled, its crippled.

If not for men like Claude Pepper, who had the foresight

to see that this could be done - he helped establish for us the great National Institutes for Health which have brought relief from the suffering of diseases to millions of people - millions. Claude, I have the figures here. I don't think you even got them. Before I came down here I said to the United States Public Health Service, Will you please tell me how much money Dade County has received under the programs related to cancer research, heart research and hospital construction, because this man who runs for Congress, when he was United States Senator, helped get the first heart research institute established, the first Cancer Research Act. The late Matt Healy, of West Virginia, was one of your co-sponsors, and he died of cancer. One out of every three in this audience will have it. Look to your side, my friend, and see three in one will have it before you are age 65. If we land three men on the moon, one will have cancer, and behind them in their families 2 out of 5. Don't tell me that this great killer doesn't require our combined efforts. And Claude Pepper was the original author of the first active Cancer Research Act. If he never did another thing for his country than that, he ought to be honored. And Mr. Claude Pepper, you have received for cancer research right here in Dade County in recent years \$521,875 for your hospital, and you have received for heart research under grants \$344,283, and, Senator Pepper, you have received \$5,930,778 for hospital construction from the federal government for Dade County.

(New tape).....the issue of all is peace, a peace with justice, a peace with freedom, and today throughout our country there

are people who are impatient in our struggle in which we find ourselves. We find ourselves in a struggle with a powerful adversary. We find ourselves in a free world in a struggle with many forces of totalitarianism. One form that we hear so much about and that we know so much about is the form of international communism totalitarianism, a powerful force. There are other forces, too, of totalitarianism, other forces of tyranny: the tyranny of hunger, the tyranny of illiteracy, the tyranny of disease, the tyranny of fear, the tyranny of poverty, the tyranny of just complete lack of spirit, the breakdown of the will, and I wish to say to this audience that, even if there had never been a Karl Marx, if Joseph Stalin had never been heard of, or Lenin had never lived, or Krushchev had never come to power, there still would be at this hour challenges to this republic that can shake it to its very foundation, because all over the world there is a restlessness, there is a desire in the heart of people to lift themselves from the muck, from the dirt and from the mud and their age-old passions. Remember that most of this world today does not have what we have. Fifty percent of the goods of the world, fifty percent of all the goods of the world are within the population group of less than one-quarter the population of the world.

We Americans enjoy so much, and I say to you that what we need in Congress today more than anything else are people who understand the world in which we live, the challenges before us, people who understand that this fight will go on for years, that there is no easy victory. Oh, I know there is a radical right-wing element, loud and vociferous, that says we have no victory program - a right-

wing element that on the one hand says we ought to declare war on them at once, and on the other hand says we can't afford it; who on the one hand worry about the costs, and on the other hand say there is only one thing to do, and that is to use the nuclear weapon.

The task of statesmanship today, my friends, is to prevent this world from being destroyed; the task of statesmanship is to save the life of the young; the task of statesmanship today is to preserve what God has given to us; not to yield our freedom, but to extend it to others; not to destroy our substance, but to share and help others. And this is why some of us believe today that the United Nations, even with its inadequacies, even with its shortcomings -- that the United Nations is one of the best hopes for peace and that we must guard it and protect it. This is why we believe our country must be strong economically and militarily, and this is why we believe that we must pursue relentlessly every negotiation that we can enter to bring a halt to this disastrous arms race before it blows us to bits.

We need men in Congress today who are dedicated to peace. We need men in Congress today who have as their foreign policy not merely that we shall beat our swords into plowshares. Men shall learn more and more that we need men in Congress who will listen to words of Isaiah or the words of St. Luke, and both of them in the Old and the New Testament said: "Feed ye the hungry; heal ye the sick; clothe ye the naked."

And I am here to testify that there is no better foreign policy; and there is no better domestic policy; and there is no better political

policy; and there is no better moral policy.

And so help me, we have it in our hands, we have it within our means to do it all, because we in America have the means to feed the hungry, or at least help; we have the means to heal the sick with our great medicine and our great know-how in healing; and we have the means to teach the illiterate and to clothe the naked, if we but put our hand to the task.

And I ask you good folks in Dade County, in this Third District, to send us a man to Congress, like Claude Pepper, that will be a front-line soldier in this great fight for a better and more noble democracy.

Thank you very much.



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