

From the Office of:
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HUMPHREY: "DISCRIMINATION
MUST BE DESTROYED"

SALT LAKE CITY, Sept. 20 -- Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) said tonight that segregation and discrimination are "un-American, evil and wrong---and must be destroyed."

"This Nation will never be vanquished by a foreign power or ideology," he said, "but it can be divided and weakened through the bitterness and hatred that comes from racial discrimination."

In an address prepared for the Western States Democratic Conference here, the Senate Majority Whip predicted Congressional approval of the Administration's civil rights program.

"This civil rights legislation is not radical," he said. "It is, in fact, a conservative, responsible program."

"All we seek to do is that which the Constitution provides that we should do. All that we ask the States to do is that which the Constitution requires our respective States to do."

"How can we ask the American Negro to pay taxes, to defend our Nation on the field of battle, to win medals in the Olympics, to entertain us on the stage, to work in our factories and mines---and then deny him the right to vote or to eat at a lunch counter with his fellow citizens?"

"The responsibilities for world leadership," Humphrey said, "compel us to come to this world with clean hands."

"Bombings of churches in Birmingham that take the lives of children do more damage to American leadership in Asia, Africa and Latin America than all the Communist propaganda put together."

The Senator called the President's civil rights program "morally right and economically sound."

"It is designed to guarantee first-class citizenship to all Americans," he said. "We can not afford illiteracy, poverty, ignorance, hopelessness and frustration among millions of our people.

"We need every American trained, equipped and motivated to do his best. If we insist on the best and know that we need the best to survive as a free people, then we must provide the legal protections and the means that permit and, indeed, inspire each citizen to do his best."

Humphrey said that civil rights and equality of opportunity represent "one of the three great issues---inextricably intertwined---which will ultimately determine the freedom, the strength and the security of our Nation."

"The expansion and growth of our economy and the conduct of a national security policy in a framework of peace continue to challenge us as does the issue of civil rights," he said.

"The campaign promise of 1960 to get America moving again is being fulfilled. Unemployment is down, the gross national product is at an all-time high, investment is increasing and the Nation enjoys a prosperity unequalled at any time in our history."

Humphrey said that the President's tax cut program is "imperative" for an expanding and healthy economy.

"The Democratic Party," he added, "refuses to be shackled by old dogma and obsolete economic doctrine.

"We realize that more than public work and government subsidy are required to keep this economy moving, and that this is essentially a private enterprise economy.

"That is why the policy of the Democratic Party is to unleash the tremendous energy of the private enterprise forces of America to go to work in areas of chronic unemployment.

"With the combination of public and private resources, this Administration seeks to revitalize these pockets of depression and unemployment. We will not rest until all America enjoys the fruits of modern science and technology, until every American who wants a job and is willing to work has that job."

Humphrey concluded with praise for the President's leadership on "the great issue and challenge of providing security for ourselves and for others who seek to live in freedom---within the framework of peace."

"America is stronger today militarily than ever before," the Senator declared. "Our allies are stronger and more prosperous than at any time in their history.

"The so-called 'Communist monolithic bloc is shattered by the struggle between Russia and China.

"The nuclear test ban treaty---which will be ratified in the Senate nextweek---is a significant step in easing world tensions.

"But we must remember that peace is a process. We must work for peace. We must build for peace. We must do it step by step, program by program, year by year."

TRINITY OF ISSUES

Excerpts of Remarks By

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

Western States Democratic Conference
Salt Lake City, Utah
September 20, 1963

*first two pages
not used*

The signing of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty has compelled Americans to think profoundly and searchingly as to how we can best protect our freedom and security.

The old issue of national security and national strength is under review. The top military officers of our nation have expounded upon the military strength of our country, revealing and describing our power in terms of missiles, rockets, nuclear warheads, planes and tanks. Scientists have reminded us once again that in knowledge there is power. In the development of science and technology, American power has grown to staggering proportions. We have reviewed and analyzed our alliances and all of the many efforts that have been undertaken to maximize our security and to defend our institutions of democracy.

We now know that national security is not to be found in military power alone. We now know that despite tremendous increases in our military power we are not more secure today than we were ten years ago. We are possibly less secure. We now know that science alone cannot give us security. This is best summarized by one of America's leading scientists, Dr. Herbert York of the University of California, in testifying before the Foreign Relations Committee on the nuclear test ban treaty. It was Dr. York who said:

"It is my view that the problem posed to both sides by this dilemma of steadily increasing military power and steadily decreasing national security has no technical solution. If we continue to look for solutions in the area of science and technology only, the result will be a steady and inexorable worsening of this situation."

Goldwater and I have something in common -
I didn't get elected President in 1960
and he won't be elected " in 1964

{ He need not worry about committing "political
suicide" by his opposition to the nuclear
test Ban Treaty - ~~He is accused~~
~~of Political Obstruction in 1964.~~

There is a much more honorable departure
awaiting him in 1964

Western States
Democratic Conference

Revised p. 1

Ladies and gentlemen, I have come out here not to talk to you
about the right wing . . . but about the right way!

Rightway

I understand my friend and colleague Frank Chunch took good care of
Barry Goldwater and his assorted followers the other day.

Little more need be said.

I would like to ~~say~~^{make} just this one comment to Senator Goldwater:

Barry, we have just one thing in common.

I was not elected president in 1960.

You are not going to be elected President in 1964.

Now let's get down to business.

And our business is the business of the nation, and the business

of the world in the Twentieth Century.

~~Let's talk, for example, about the nuclear test ban treaty.~~

Sen. Moss
Sen. Udall
Roger Kent
Lucy Ridd

Yellow Demo's

Mike Kerwan
John Bailey

⓪
Bkfst
at White House

Krush Corp - Softened up

Thus, the issue of guaranteeing our security and protecting our freedom demands more than sheer brute force and military power. To be sure, an array of military power provides a shield of protection. But it is what we do beyond and behind this shield that will ultimately determine our real strength and the future of our freedom.

There are three great issues facing America today.

~~that are inextricably intertwined.~~ They stand together

as a trinity - conditioning, effecting and ultimately

determining the freedom, the strength and the security of

our nation. These three great issues are:

1.-The expansion and growth of our economy.

2.-The guaranteeing of equal opportunity and civil

rights for all our people.

3.-The ~~concept~~ ^{designing} of a national security policy in a framework

of peace.

Great Issues

It is to the solution of these three ~~issues~~ ^{challenges} that
 the Democratic Party and the Kennedy Administration
 is dedicated.

We know that if America is to have the strength
 and vitality for the long-term requirements of world
 leadership we must have a healthy, prosperous, growing
 economy. We must be able to provide jobs for the
 unemployed, and utilize all plant equipment to maximum
 capacity. We must be able to modernize our factories and
 shops in order to compete at home and in the world markets.

Jobs
Plant

We must be able to automate and at the same time absorb
 into the employment market those who are displaced by
 machines and technology. We must have an ever-increasing
 number of skilled, trained workers as a supporting
 team for our scientists and technicians.

no child-like
answers
for these
man-made
problems

and

These, and other matters
 are the challenges of the 60's

It is because of these heavy demands and unusual
 requirements of the modern age that ~~our~~ ^{Kennedy} President has recommended
 a broad program of action.

First & foremost

~~Most important~~ now is his program of tax reduction

to stimulate the economy. This will free approximately

11-billion dollars of new capital, which will increase

purchasing power and provide new investment for new

plant and ~~new~~ production facilities. Jobs require capital.

And in this age of automation, each new job requires an

ever-increasing amount of investment capital.

L The Democratic Party refuses to be shackled

and tied down by old dogma and obsolete economic

doctrine. It requires more than public works and

government subsidies to keep this economy moving. This

is a private enterprise economy. Over 80 percent of our

total national gross product is in the private sector. That

~~is why the policy of~~ the Democratic Party is ~~to~~ unleash

the tremendous energy of the private enterprise forces

determined to unleash

Yes, we believe in investment - Public & Private -
West Rocky Nat. States - Reclamation, Irrigation,
Power

of America and let those forces go to work - to build, to create

and to produce ^{and} in those areas ~~where there is chronic~~ ^{of severe}

unemployment. ^{our} dedication to social justice and decency

requires that we extend the helping hand of government

through public works, ^{WPA} ~~through programs such as area~~

Small Business Administration,
Redevelopment, ~~through~~ emergency relief, unemployment

compensation and other services of government. But

here, too, new enterprise is needed, new jobs, new

factories, new work. And, therefore, with the combination

of public and private resources this Administration seeks

to revitalize these pockets of depression, ^{We know that} ~~the areas of~~

investment in America anywhere is good business.
unemployment. We will not rest until all America enjoys

the fruits of modern science and technology, until all

America is at work, until every American who wants a job

Jobs!

and is willing to work has that job.

Nor shall we content ourselves with merely providing

job opportunities. We will also see to it that workers are

given the opportunity to be trained for their jobs through

expanded technical and vocational education, through

manpower re-training programs and, above all, through improved

programs of elementary, secondary, vocational and

higher education that meet the needs of Twentieth Century. We know

that brain power is the new source of strength industrial, agricultural and professional requirements.

Brain Power

Yes, what we are doing is a

This takes ~~an~~ all comprehensive program of

financing, training, planning, and mobilization, of

resources. It requires cooperation of the public and private areas

of our economy. Yes, We have been able to get America moving

once again, and we are moving forward under inspiring,

intelligent, and competent leadership. of President Kennedy. The facts speak for

themselves. Unemployment is down. The gross national
product is at an all-time high. Investment is increasing.

And the Nation enjoys a prosperity unequaled at any

time in our history. The campaign promise of 1960

to get America moving once again - to bring about

economic growth and expansion - that promise is being

fulfilled. America grows stronger every day. And

with American economic strength growing, freedom

everywhere is more secure.

The second great issue is that of civil rights

What I call human rights. America is in the midst

of a social revolution. The American Negro is demanding

full citizenship 100 years after the promise of the

Emancipation Proclamation. He demands its

fulfillment.

Just as Abraham Lincoln

Campaign
Promise
of '60

freed the slaves in 1863, President Kennedy and his Administration will guarantee the ^{fruits} ~~benefits~~ of freedom to every American. ^{in 1963} The President's civil rights program is morally right, politically right, and economically sound. It is designed to eliminate second-class citizenship and to guarantee first-class citizenship to all Americans. It is the life - the spirit - and the heart of the constitutional guarantees of equal rights, equal opportunity and equal privileges and immunities.

↳ We cannot afford illiteracy, poverty, ignorance, hopelessness, frustration among millions of our people.

↳ We need every American trained, equipped and motivated to do his best. Every section, area, and region of this nation must make its full contribution to American democracy.

↳ We must insist upon the best in education, in housing, in health, in industry, in agriculture, in every endeavor of life. And if we insist on the best and know that we need

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OK

the best in order to survive as a free people, then we must provide the means, the facilities and the legal protections that permit and, indeed, inspire men to do their best.

This is what we mean by a civil rights program.

And, ^{the} The passage of civil rights legislation is not radical.

~~is in fact a conservative, responsible program.~~ All we

seek to do is that which the Constitution of the United

States provides that we should do. All that we ask the

states to do is that which the Constitution requires our

respective states to do. Surely, if this world of ours

has become smaller, more interdependent, more integrated, more

of a one-world because of science, technology, and

communication, then who can deny that this American Republic

has become one nation, indivisible, ^{and committed to} ~~with~~ liberty and justice

for all. How can we ask the American Negro to pay taxes,

#

!!
60

to defend our nation on the field of battle, to win our
medals in the Olympics, to entertain us on the stage, to
work in our factories and mines, and yet deny him the right

to vote or the right to eat at a lunch counter with his

fellow citizens. Taxation without representation is

un-American. Segregation is un-American. Discrimination is

un-American. It is evil. It is wrong. And it must be

destroyed.

*Thank God, we have a President who has
the courage and strength to win this
battle.*

The responsibilities of world leadership compel

us to come to this world with clean hands. Bombings of

churches in Birmingham that take the lives of little

children do more damage to American leadership in Asia,

Africa, and Latin America than all the Communist propaganda

put together. The hate and the passion that has been

generated by the reactionary radical right wing forces in

rights for all of its citizens, of first-class citizenship
for every man who bears the high honor of being an American.

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Finally, the third great challenge before us is
to provide security for ourselves and ~~o~~ others who seek
to live in freedom---and to do this within the framework of
peace. Indeed, it is to this challenge that our President

has given such great leadership.

today at the U.N.

L America is stronger today militarily than ever
before. Our allies are stronger and more prosperous than at
any time in their history. The so-called Communist mono-
lithic bloc is shattered by the struggle between Russia
and China. The satellite states of Eastern Europe are

demanding more freedom *and independence* ~~of movement and action. To be sure,~~

T there is a restlessness throughout the entire world and a
longing and hunger for peace.

L President Kennedy in a memorable address at the
American University on the 10th of June this year reminded

us that peace is a process. We must work for peace. We must build for peace. We must do it step by step, program by program, year by year. The United Nations is a mighty force for peace. It grows stronger each year. The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which will be ratified in the Senate next week, is a significant step in easing world tensions, ~~it~~ ^{brings} to bear upon the problems that beset mankind the rule of reason. This treaty carries the American trademark ---the American eagle. It was designed and drafted in America. It was first advanced by President Eisenhower, and offered again by President Kennedy. It was we who took the initiative. We asked the Russians to negotiate. We offered the draft treaty. Yes, it was signed in Moscow, but it was made in Washington,

~~This is what we seek---an America of economic opportunity, of human equality and of security and freedom in peace.~~

~~We are reaching these goals. We will achieve them.~~

Now let me say a personal word about our President.

I have the privilege of working closely with President Kennedy.

I see him a close range, and I see him under the enormous stresses of
the American presidency.

As he ^{faces} ~~deals~~ with the swirling, baffling problems of foreign policy,
as he ^{comes to grips} ~~deals~~ with the emotion-laden, violent and difficult developments
in the crisis in ^{race} ~~racial~~ relations, he is standing up well, ~~and bravely.~~

~~He has dealt with the dramatic problems of the social revolution
of the American negro with his characteristic balance, intelligence and
resolution.~~

He has met the problem of racial violence with a cool head . . .
and a warm heart. ~~He has designed a strong Civil Rights program~~
He has presented to Congress a program

And Congress is going to support the President. We are going to

pass the Kennedy civil rights program before adjourning this year. ^{even if}
we stay until Christ mas

~~It~~ It is now clear that the President's initiative in the
nuclear test ban treaty will be ratified by the Senate next week
overwhelmingly. And in so doing, the President and the Senate are
giving ^{Mankind} ~~us~~ the means to take an historic step -- toward sanity,
toward reasonableness, in relationships among the Great Powers.

~~REMARKS ON PRESIDENT KENNEDY~~

In this time of grave national crisis, the President has faced the problems of defiance of Federal authority, *mob in the streets, of terror and brutality,* with a cool head and warm heart. In dealing with the day by day changes in the *civil rights* crisis, he is displaying his characteristic balance, intelligence and resolution.

Congress is going to support the President. We are going to take an historic step forward by passing the Kennedy civil rights program before adjourning this year.

It is now clear, as well, that the President's initiative in the nuclear test ban treaty will be ratified by the Senate next week overwhelmingly. And through this joint action by President and Senate, our nation provides mankind with the means to take another historic step -- toward sanity in relationships among the Great Powers of the world.

91 Yes, Massive, historical changes are taking place in the world, and much of the changed situation this year stems out of the leadership of our President in convincing the Soviet leadership -- by actions, not just words -- that it is hopeless

to contemplate military victory over the United States.

President Kennedy's handling of the October crisis over the Soviet strategic missiles in Cuba won him the awed respect of the Soviet leaders.

And it has won for him the confidence and trust of the American people. They realize that we have a leader who measures up, who has the qualities of balance, intelligence and courage that the nation requires in time of crisis.

What a contrast! With reckless talk flying back and forth, with Communist Chinese and Republican rightists vieing to see which can denounce the test ban treaty the ~~severest~~ ^{loudest}, how refreshing to see our President ~~lead in action~~ ^{pressing steadily forward.}

Most Americans, I believe, would agree that patience,

perserverance, staying power and cool heads are infinitely

preferable in our national leaders to the ~~alternatives being~~

~~proposed to us~~ ^{emotional} rash and reckless abandon, of hot temper

~~and wild programs~~ ^{men of} the Republican Far Right.

of the

Yes, we have many unsolved problems ~~yet before us.~~

But what is important is not that we have deep problems still unsolved, but that President Kennedy and a Congress which is dominated by men of the caliber of Mike Mansfield, Ted Moss and Gale McGee, of Howard Cannon, Scoop Jackson and Clair Engle, are ~~plunged into~~ ^{dedicated to} the task of finding solutions for those problems.

These are all men of moderation and sense -- hardworking, dedicated and reasonable men. The West can be proud of them.

I am confident not only that each of them is going to be returned to the Senate next year, but that we can increase the weight of Democratic strength from the West in the ~~Senate~~ ^{next}

~~for the next Congress.~~

My friends in the Senate, and our colleagues in this Democratic Congress, will be able to go before the voters side by side with President Kennedy next year -- with a record of solid achievement.

Just as the American people have demonstrated that they support the President on the nuclear test ban treaty, so will they vote overwhelmingly next year to, in a very real sense, ratify the Kennedy program and the Kennedy performance.

The more radical and outrageous the position of the Republican Party becomes, the more it is ~~so evidently being~~ captured by the extremists of the Right, the more sharply will the moderation, good sense and Judgment of President Kennedy and his supporters in the Congress ^{stand} contrast in the minds of the American electorate.

We must ~~push~~ ahead with our program. We Democrats simply do not have the time -- and should not take the time -- to waste trying to placate the implacable, trying to reason with the unreasonable. That is the unique problem of the Republican leadership. Let them wrestle with that one. I wish them good luck.

In the meantime, we Democrats have no intention of trimming our sails or dipping our flag in any kind of recognition or tribute to the noisy and flamboyant minority that refuses to come along with us into the Twentieth Century.

We have better work to do. We have a peace to be won --
~~yard by yard and mile by mile,~~ week by week and year by year.

We have the great unfinished tasks of providing universal
justice and opportunity for every American.

We have the possibility -- ~~if~~ we are wise, if we are
resolute -- of destroying in this century the age-old
conditions of want and hunger that have plagued man from the
dawn of the human era.

We have everything before us -- an exciting age, an age
in which the scientists are providing every day a new tool to
help destroy poverty, to help in the war against pain and
disease, to provide wider opportunities for richer living.

Technology has brought us to the threshold of an age of
such abundance that I do not think we have yet grasped its
full impact. We must think boldly, create, build, move
forward.

I feel at this time, as Brigham Young must have felt as
he rounded the western flank of that great ~~hill~~ ^{mountain} to the east

*Baruch
Poverty*

of Salt Lake ^{Valley} ~~City~~ for the first time.

↳ He had fought through mountain passes and ridges that must have taxed the powers of endurance of every man and woman and child in his party. Perhaps they seemed endless -- those obstacles so grim and bleak.

↳ But as his wagon train wound slowly out of the last mountain pass, and the magnificent sweep of the Valley of the Salt Lake lay spread before them, a dream in his heart ~~it~~ swelled into reality.

"This is the place," he said.

Here, at last, was the new chance, the place in which a new life could be built in peace and abundance.

↳ I do not know if we have wound out of that last mountain pass of history. But I see in the distance a valley of peace.

We are nearing it. We may make it.

We are going to try to make it to that valley.

place"

"This is the

FAITH THROUGH WORKS

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, and Fellow Democrats: If I look at all like I feel, you know I am glad to be with you at this Western States Democratic Conference. To be with Democrats, to be out here in the "grand country", as big in history as it is in space--this is indeed wonderful and I am enjoying every minute of it. Besides, I am now about to give a speech!

Seriously, I am thrilled to be here. Most of the romance of the United States centers in these western regions. So too, does a lot of the "blood, sweat, toil, and tears" of the course of expansion of a few freedom-loving people to fill this continent. This land is as rugged as its mountains, as deep as the canyons, and as broad as its magnificent vistas. A history has been bred here to match the physique and the American who has not felt the magnetic attraction here, who has not had cubits of stature added to his spirit, or stood taller to the challenge of American when he has visited here, is beyond hope.

I find it a special pleasure also to come to Utah and to express my sincerest friendship and deepest professional respect for Frank Moss, the distinguished junior Senator from this State.

You know, he has been the occasion for a minor--some would say major--miracle in the Senate of the United States. He has served well and ably on the Interior Committee of the Senate, but was not on its subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation. Senator Anderson was chairman of that subcommittee. When he gave up that chairmanship he recommended that Senator Moss succeed him. Lo and behold, seniority to the contrary notwithstanding, the recommendation was accepted! You may say, and I'll agree with you, that the protocols of seniority ought to be broken more often in the Senate, but I would also counsel anyone not to hold his breath between the occasions of its happening. Our "folkways" in the Senate may not always have reason, but they have the rigidity of the laws of the Medes and the Persians, and sometimes I think,

are about as old.

To breach custom then, as was done in this instance, could not possibly happen unless a man had the unbounded and wholehearted respect of his colleagues. No man is indispensable, except that is, the best one you can get to do the job. I am not flattering Senator Moss. Neither were his colleagues. They were respecting his ability, his attention to detail on the Select Small Business Committee and on the Committee for National Water Resources, as well as his abiding and fair-minded interest in all of the irrigation and reclamation concerns of this vast area.

I am grateful myself for the example and the counsel of one who sets the pattern Frank Moss does. So much is personal and I say it because I have it in my mind and heart to say it. I hope to serve my State and Nation as well as Frank Moss does.

I hope likewise to serve as well as the host of able and dedicated individuals you Western Democrats have sent to the Senate. What an impressive list it is in the Senate: It takes somebody "calm, cool, and collected" to be a majority leader in the Senate. Thank heaven we have Mike Mansfield. Carl Hayden has been coming to Congress ever since Arizona was a State. *Carl Hayden* In ~~that~~ the *State Arizona* has added wisdom to conscience! We would be sadly lacking however, without any of the rest: Bartlett, Gruening, Inouye, Magnuson, Jackson, Morse, Neubergerger, Engle, Anderson, ^{McGee} Metcalf, Cannon, Church, and Bible. ~~That is in the Senate.~~ If I do not call the roll on that great co-equal branch, the House of Representatives, it is for lack of time not lack of respect. Send them all back too!

One and all they have represented you well. A representative should never forget from whence he came, the people who elected him, and the intrinsic interests of the people he serves. Most of us do remember, but praiseworthy and necessary as that is, it is not enough. That is politics and I do not demean it for a moment. Statesmanship however, begins when one combines this with a devotion

to the country as a whole, when he gets a perspective on the big picture, the whole history, the unity of the parts of these United States, a grasp upon the complex and subtle relationships it has to the entire world. It is on world² now. Like it or not, we are on the center of its stage. Our strength, our freedom, our prosperity are essential to the well-being and peace of that world. The challenge to wisdom in this situation is staggering. Some there be who abandon the task in hopelessness. A few are tempted to assault it with the callow ignorance of self-righteousness. But you have sent men and women to the Congress of the United States who have taken up the task with humility, to work without ceasing to master what history requires of us in this hour. That is what democracy at its best demands and has a right to expect from its representatives.

I am proud to serve with and be stimulated by those who ~~are~~ are well-planted and deeply rooted in the nurture of their land and region, yet strive with a growing and maturing vision to look beyond a continental divide to a nation, beyond oceans to a free world, beyond narrow interest to the peace and prosperity of mankind. ~~It~~ ^{The command is} is as old as scripture and as deep as the Human Dream. The prophets of the Old Testament pictured it as "every man under his own vine and fig tree". ~~Men~~ Men of every faith respect Him who two thousand years ago commanded us to "love one another"--a lesson we have not yet learned, but cannot forget.

Everyman must stretch his horizons, but particularly those upon whom has been laid the responsibility of ~~of~~ the working affairs of government. They must spend themselves in study. They must travel and get around. Believe me, it is an ordeal as well as a necessity, ^{YET} ~~it~~ do it they must, to get a first-hand "feeling" for people and problems, to get an inside sense and understanding of this rich, varied, and diverse earth that is our home.

Some people never leave their back yards, figuratively speaking. Then

in insecurity about their ignorance of the world, make a fetish of that ignorance. They forget that when Socrates praised the wisdom of knowing what one does not know, he was extolling humility, not making a virtue of folly. To admit that one has to learn and that without ceasing--this was the message. This is a frontier without limit. Under a great President who has the vision and courage to lead, we have a great party able to rise to the challenge and the responsibility!

You have been working hard on the study aspects of this Conference. You will go back home and to the halls of ^{THE} Congress ^(SS) and do more. If ~~it~~ I would try to summarize what you have been about, and what you will continue to do, I think it will come to two things: (1) there is unfinished business here in these Western States, as important to the United States as it is to you, and (2) there is unfinished business in peace and human welfare that will take the utmost in American wit, wisdom, and work to accomplish. These are crucial, pivotal times in human history. The spirit of America dare not, will not, be dissipated in the failure of nerve, the narrowness of vision, the sometimes fearful and again churlish belligerence of the so-called "right wing". If there should be one rubric to bind my thoughts together, I can think of none better than the motto of those pioneers who little more than a century ago opened up this great valley in which we are tonight. It was by "faith ^{THROUGH} ~~and~~ works" that they saw the possibilities of a Zion in the desert wastes and made it come to life.

You have unfinished business here in the Western states as important to the country as it is to you. You are entitled to a lot of pardonable pride for what you have done. The future requires a new but equally great effort. I refer to the matters of soil conservation, reforestation, recreation and wildlife development, range improvement, water development--the total combination of interlocking programs necessary to increase the productivity, protect the resources, to serve more people both here and in the nation than we have ever known before

The first European believed to have set eyes on these central regions and who came up from the south as far as Utah, was Captain Garcia Lopez de Cardenas. The year was 1530. His verdict upon the desert lands was that they were "damned". No important expedition followed him then for the next 236 years. The absence of either faith or vision is indeed a brake. Of course California and the Pacific Northwest had become attractive, but the great central regions remained an ordeal to get over or get around. However a pioneering spirit, necessity, and ^{an} I believe, the prodding and support of Providence, were not to postpone indefinitely the opening of this land. It took guts and hardihood, faith unbounded, and work beyond imagination to settle all of the parts of this West, from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific shore; from Alaska to Mexico. But it was done. A demanding land found ^a people equal to it.

I think particularly of that group of Mormons literally exiled from the United States in one of the unhappy moments in our history, who made the trek to the Salt Lake Valley. The single monument recording the names of the dead at Pisgah, Iowa, and the tombstones at Omaha, Nebraska are eloquent testimony to the bitterness of wintering en route, but equally to the faith and hope that led them on.

If those brave people however started in exile, they walked into the path of empire.

This was slightly over 100 years ago. They did settle in the desolation. It did prove to be a "promised land", requiring as much effort as did the original to which Moses led, but yielding a like increase. By 1870 there were 80,000 people in Utah. Today there are more than one million. In the meantime California has leapt to the first state in the Union in population, and Arizona and New Mexico have become so attractive that it has tempted chicanery in selling rancheros not yet ready! All over you have arrived. The bleak days, not long ago really, already seem far behind. The great days of fulfillment

are yet ahead.

By the year 2000--many of you, perhaps most of you here will live to see it--there will be 300 million people in these United States. This will have been a near doubling of our population in forty years. Yet far short of that time we have tremendous needs to supply our people. Within twenty years we will be using twice as much water as we are today, but the rainfall pattern is not going to change. In his first message to the Congress on Natural Resources, sent almost immediately ^{AFTER TAKING} ~~upon taken~~ office, President Kennedy noted this fact and the additional ones of our needs for vastly greater supplies of food products, timber, fuels, minerals, energy, as well as opportunities for outdoor recreation and the protection of natural wild-life. Not since the two Roosevelts, have we had the top national vision and leadership to be concerned about our priceless assets and the need to protect them. 2

Yes the land was deceptive in all but its physical grandeur. In it was tremendous wealth. It had gold and silver, and then as we needed them and came to know their value, it had a score of other metals in a way more precious. It had oil and natural gas, and the world's greatest supplies of helium. There was water to be harnessed for power and irrigation, to make the land fertile and cities habitable. There were magnificent forests, seemingly inexhaustible both for homes here and for a nation.

All this however, is not inexhaustible. The resources are still mighty, and this is the last great reservoir on all of these things for our country, but it is not inexhaustible. Until this century perhaps we might have been excused for not seeing an end to the road of the benefits of Nature. Once we were just hard at work. Now we are prodigal.

Now we are drawing more money out of the bank than we are putting in. We are using more timber than we are providing for new growth. A by-product of that is the washing away of fertile top-soil. We are exhausting the minerals.

The water needs are growing and so are our uses of it, but it isn't. Of course we are developing atomic power and solar power, but every projection of our needs as a nation tells us that these will not be substitutes for our natural resources. ^{HOWEVER,} They will only be complements. ~~But~~ ^A may we never so assault ¹ the land, as we have been doing so as to destroy all vestiges of its natural beauty, all traces of its primitive wildness, its primordial grandeur. Our spirits need restoring periodically, as well as our bodies. We need to be ~~reminded~~ ^{even} reminded forever of Nature, of the land which called us to hardihood, as it nourished our effort.

Some of our resources we can plan to restore. Some we can plan to use with less waste. With irrigation, dams, reclamation projects, we can increase the value of some resources, bring new power into being, acquire new assets. With all we can plan a sound conservation along with development that will let us grow in the future as we have in the past.

We not only can, we must. This is an imperative. I have used the analogy of drawing money out of the bank without putting any back in. That has a point of no return. With eloquence equal to sense, President Kennedy has carried the analogy further: ". . . our dedication to the sound practices of conservation . . . is, in the final analysis the highest form of national thrift--the prevention of waste and despoilment while preserving, improving, and renewing the quality and usefulness of all our resources". Conservation and development do not contradict one another. They go together. Wise conservation is essential to sound development.³

Do I sound like a Republican? Not unless you go back to Theodore Roosevelt or Gifford Pinchot! Some Republicans like to roll words like "thrift" and "economic responsibility" around, but as Mark Twain would say "they have the right words, but the wrong music". They do not really believe. They just believe in the idea of believing. It is easy to have faith without works, but it is fruitless.

Now we get to brass tacks. Conservation and development do not just

happen. They have to be planned, and coordinated. Sometimes we need some reform.

A program cannot be hit or miss, or random. Mere economic efficiency is not the sole criterion of sound public policy. The sources of public policy are broad in a democratic and pluralistic society. Every citizen has a stake. All kind of economic units have equal rights, although not all are equal in size. The small rancher, the independent miner, the independent timber man has an interest and must have a voice. Public utilities and private utilities may each be a practical monopoly in their local spheres of service, but over the whole spectrum they provide a competition that is healthy, necessary, and which neither alone could provide. Both must be preserved.

All levels of government must participate: local, state, and federal. Where costs transcend the ability of local and private means to make the start, it must be a federal responsibility to do the job. A national interest is involved, a national destiny is at stake even though it will be good for this region first. What is good for this region is good for the country.

Spending?--No. A handout?--Rubbish! But Investment?--yes. I too, can sound like a Republican cash-register. Every businessman knows the need, the desirability--the necessity if he is to stay alive--of a capital budget. He knows he must spend money to make money. Investment he calls that, and rightly. Investment in research, in development, in exploration, in anticipating and providing for the future beyond tomorrow. In this a nation is no different. The only difference is that no one has ever thought of or provided for in the federal budget, for a capital account. Without the name however, we have to do the job. We would be derelict, negligent, unforgivably irresponsible if we did not. There will be no hope for dividends tomorrow without investment today. If we have any of the Yankee shrewdness we like to think we have, we will know that opportunities we fail to make use of now, may be lost forever.

Prudently and carefully this Administration has moved, sensitive as we all must be to the tremendous costs we bear for wars, past, present, and

possible. It has however alerted us to the urgency of our situation. It has carefully and wisely planned projects, and initiated work within the limited funds which must stretch over many domestic responsibilities. A great start has been made. More than a score of reclamation projects have begun to spur the economic development of the West. In power, inter-regional connections among federal transmission systems have been initiated. Improved technology has aided existing facilities. The Bonneville Power Administration has pioneered new techniques to advance power technology and lower transmission costs. New National parks and monuments have come into being. More are considered. Congress established a new Bureau of Outdoor Recreation to coordinate federal agencies in recreation planning, to assist local and state governments and private interests. Four major pilot areas of multiple-purpose land rehabilitation projects are underway. Range management activities have sharply stepped up. Programs in timber resources, metal resources and other areas have been initiated. ⁴ Not all projects in the United States are within the borders of the Western regions, but most are. Shortly the President will be with you, touring and inspecting some of the sites and noting the progress that has been made. You will have much to show in terms of what is being done. You will give ample evidence I am sure, of the enthusiasm and determination and patience necessary over the long haul to secure the peace and prosperity ~~of~~, internally and externally, of a greater America than ever before.

It is the people here, your representatives and your leadership that will bear a major burden of the unfinished tasks ahead. If I emphasize the work yet to be done, I trust you know that I do not presume to teach a duty--but only to confirm your own resolves.

No more, but no less than other Americans, you face the unfinished business, the never-to-be-finished business of maintaining, securing, and enhancing the pioneer spirit of America in the arts of peace and human welfare. The years ahead are going to take all of our nerve, all of our intelligence, all of our

patience and faith, indeed all of our spiritual resources. We have not been lacking in these things before in America. I do not believe we lack them now. There are however, in our midst, a species of moth and a kind of rust that would attempt to corrupt them.

There are individuals who would cast a cloud of doubt, a curtain of distrust upon our capacities. There is a label applied to them of "right-wingers". I believe that is what Governor Rockefeller has called them. Mr. Nixon's description has been more colloquial. The radical "right wing" professes to dislike the label. I confess I do not care for it myself, but probably for a different reason. To me, they are too "far out" to be properly on an American political spectrum at all.

All demographic studies show them to be Republicans, or to have affinity only for certain Republican candidates. Insofar then as this phenomenon only causes a family fight in someone else's family, we can stay out of it. Yet I seriously doubt if most of these people really have any political party in the American tradition. The most extreme among them, the Birchites, by their own confession cannot be trusted to be loyal to any organization or "front" as they call it, to which they attach themselves. This kind of subversion is every American's business. Incidentally, I salute and I think we all respect the courage and forthrightness of Senator Kuchel of California for exposing the kind of mail he gets from this radical right quarter--and all of us get it--and for standing up to it.

They are indeed "fright peddlars" and as he said, it is probably impossible to communicate with some of them, except to return to their wild delusions and flight from reason, the good old American, red-white-and-blue expression "Nuts".⁵ Then we should simply ignore them.

Other Americans however, sincere and earnest in desire to do the right thing may be taken in for a while by the more sophisticated efforts to separate them from the American heritage. They may not readily detect the wolf in sheep's clothing; the voice of Jacob behind the hand of Esau. To them we must talk with

reason and candor.

Who are these right-wingers? What are they saying? How close to reality are they?

Again, all studies show that for the most part they are reasonably well-to-do, upper middle-class people. Many are in that upper ^{12%} ~~20%~~ of Americans whose income is more than \$10,000 per year.^b They have not done poorly then in this land of opportunity. It has treated them and their efforts well indeed. I do not know if they want blood too, but for some astonishing reason they seem to despise the system that has helped them achieve their status. It is pretty safe to say that prior to 1930 few if any of them, unless they had inherited their money, would have had it so good. Then a mere 10% of the people in the country had ^{as much money as the bottom 7.} ~~70% of the wealth.~~ I do not know whether or not success spoiled Rock Hudson, but here certainly are a jaundiced crowd that prove nothing so much as that it is possible to be rich in material goods and poor in spirit.

What do they say? They say that this is no more a land of opportunity. They say that freedom, initiative, self-reliance, individualism, and responsibility all are withering away. They say that all these things are being smothered in us by the vast growth and evil design of a monster government that is taking everything over; that is wasting our money and goods. They say that that government cannot be trusted at home, and that beyond its borders, it is at least naive when it seeks ways of peace, and careless about its preparations for security.

It is quite an indictment they make. In fact it is pretty gross. But let us unravel it a bit with a patience and a sense of fact they never see fit to employ.

Just how large is the federal bureaucracy? The facts are that the growth in federal employment is no longer keeping up with the growth of the country. In 1952 the ratio of federal employees to population was 16 per thousand. By 1958 it had dropped to 14. By the end of this year it will be down to 13. State and local government employment has increased tremendously in

the same time. But federally, many millions more Americans are being better served, with less staff. The facts speak for themselves against the libel on the efficiency of government managers, but let me add a word that there are no more dedicated people, nor more loyal Americans than the civil servants who produce the efficiency.

Does it cost a lot to run this government? You bet it does! But in what sector do the big costs come? War-related expenditures: past wars, present security and armed forces, ~~vetezn~~'s services and benefits--these cost well over three quarters of the national budget!

All of the rest of the expenses of the government take just 21 cents out of the tax dollar. And of that only about 7 cents can be possibly charged to "welfare". These pennies have to cover all programs to States for the aged, blind, ~~and~~ disabled, and to dependent children. They include matching grants for public health, hospital construction, water and sewage pollution. They support the Food and Drug administration, all forms of aid to education, school lunch programs, vocational rehabilitation, and more. Cut it all out, if you have a heart hard enough and you won't save enough to enjoy spending it. ⁸

But the costs seem to go up don't they? Yes they have, but very little from the start of any new programs and almost entirely from increased cost of old programs. What is important to note here is that war-related expenditures have increased from 78% of the budget in 1959 to 79% in 1964. The domestic side has decreased in the same period. In fact the Kennedy administration has brought down the rate of growth of the ^{domestic} budget from the last three years of the Eisenhower administration. As Senator Church said out here in Salt Lake last February, it is a warfare state, not a welfare state, that has us over a barrel. ⁹ Yet I submit to you that in this Administration we have seen more hard-headed effort, more fiscal responsibility with all of our needs, than has been seen in Washington for years. Instead of the bland leading the bland with platitudes, and generalities, we have had some vigor in deeds about fiscal responsibility.

But would not a "conservative government" cut more? Ask them where. Get some "for instances" out of them, and in doing it don't forget to examine their voting records.

Last March "conservatives" in the House of Representatives voted to increase the President's request on the first big bill that came before them. The day after that, Senator Goldwater complained to the American Legion that the RS-7- had been "abandoned", that the Skybolt missile had been "dropped", that manned bombers were being "phased out", that the Nike-Zeus missile was being "delayed", that the Dyna-Soar spacecraft was being "re-examined for possible junking", and that "not one new weapons system has been proposed by the present administration". ¹⁰

Translating this talk to a dollar sign, would be no cutting of the federal budget, but an increase of 6-10 billion dollars in Defense spending. You could not dismantle the rest of the domestic budget enough to keep this from being a net increase. As David Brinkley, the television newsman said, appropriately too in Tucson: "It is simply a myth to believe that if we could only elect a conservative President, he could cut government spending substantially". ¹¹

When it comes to expenditure control, this Democratic administration has put something on the bar besides its elbow. In the fiscal year just ended, its expenditures were 1.7 billion below January estimates. The federal debt both in dollars and percentage rose slower than the debt of the nation's consumer's, private business, state and local governments. The ratio of federal expenditure to national output and to state and local expenditure has been reduced. The postal deficit has been cut. The cost of surplus grain storage has been lowered. Many savings have been made in the Pentagon, but we have not yet seen the full effects of the modern business procurement and other procedures that a great Sec. of Defense, Mr. McNamara is bringing there. Private credit has been substituted for public wherever feasible. In the last year one billion dollars of assets in federal portfolios was turned over to private holders. ¹²

(FOIA WHICIT)

And now, there is hopefully coming to fruition the tax cut, the President has been a leader in. This will further release the powers of the private sectors of the economy to do what only they can do, and must do, if this country is to match its responsibilities with performance.

The President has long recognized what Henry Ford II told the Arkansas Chamber of Commerce recently: "Today after decades of expanding government" (an expansion due as I have noted to the wars this tragic century has suffered" "the private sector of the economy accounts for almost 80% of the gross national product. If we want a more efficient, faster-moving economy, an economy that provides for more jobs, more exports, higher living standards, more defense, and more space exploration--then we have to look to the private sector of the economy to do the job." 13

Ford was speaking for a business man's committee formed to get support for the program of a tax cut that the President has initiated, and for the same reasons.

Yet this attitude is called "socialism"! Apparently there is the same casual attention to facts, history, and the dictionary as there is in the manner of tossing off these epithets. As Little Abner would say: "It is confusing, but not amusing."

I understand that you have someone out here who has been stumping against the "illfare state" and pleaing to "go back to free enterprise as we had it before 1930". This clumsy attempt at satire is just tasteless, but the shortness of memory is truly astonishing.

Before the great crash! Then there was a lop-sided spread of income. Then prices were dangerously high in supposedly competitive industries. Except that competition had all but disappeared as trade associations, holding companies, and semi-monopolies were formed in business after business. The banking system was as decrept as the corporate system. Measured by capacity to consume the productive plant was overbuilt. 14 Yes, those were the "good old days". Then

rugged individualism was the privilege for a few to get rich and the rest to go ragged. Liberty was the license for the strong to do as they pleased. As Lincoln once said of that kind, it was "liberty in the wolve's dictionary". But it caught up with us all. Let all go back to it who want to. I don't.

Let's haul the record out, and go over it line by line. There is nothing to hide. It will take work, but that is what we are here for. What shall we do with the attitudes of fear, distrust, suspicion--and sometimes hate and venom--directed at fellow Americans, at our own government, at civil servants, elected officials, and the President? I am not completely sure. The thing that disturbs me most is, that if Americans can sow these seeds among us--what is left for Communism to do? What more could Nikita Khrushchev ask?

Let us go back over the record of American history. These are perhaps as hard times for problems as this nation has ever faced, and it is understandable that sometimes nerves will fray and spirits flag. But there have been hard problems to master before. But Whitman heard America singing when we nearly broke ourselves apart in the Civil War. Mark Twain had a gargantuan humor that overcame his temptations to despair. Thomas Jefferson had a profound faith in the people. Abraham Lincoln had an ear for "the better angels of our nature". The Mormon pioneers did not pause on the edge of the burning sands. They proceeded as the old hymn has it "to make straight in the desert a highway--a highway to (their) God."

Humor, courage, never a look back, but only forward with faith, hope, and the greatest of the trinity, charity. These have served well. They will again.

We do not walk alone. It is not ^{alone} our own strength and well-being which is at stake. It is the peace of the world. It will be a long, long time--beyond your life-time or mine, before men can beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Yet it must be our goal. Last week we

took a short step both towards the possibility of that goal, and to break the "balance of terror" that has locked us in a race to test atomic weapons in the atmosphere.

Not from Russian tests, but from our own in nearby Nevada, you know the abnormal exposures you have suffered from fall-out. You know the established relationship of this continued to leukemia, genetic mutation, to other dread results. We might bear that in grim resignation if there were no way to secure existence with honor, but no man could say he liked it.

Yet some of this "conservatism" was frighteningly without emotion on this. First it asserted that the test-ban treaty would satisfy if only conditions were attached to get Russians out of Cuba. No hint of any threat to the security of the United States in the treaty, was offered. In short a gambling with the fate of future generations could be casually indulged for an issue irrelevant to the treaty. This monstrous position was crawled off, thank Heaven, but to no constructive effort to indicate that the overwhelming evidence of scientists, military men, and the President--sensitive all to our security,--was faulty in judging our security. Instead we got the melancholy irony while engaged in debate of a petulant assertion that debate was not allowed!

We have much unfinished business indeed. The road is long before some of these billions for defense can become devoted to the arts of peace: to education, health, the "more abundant life" wherever the children of God live.

Some years ago, Sterling McMurrin wrote some lines I give you now as an affirmation of faith:

"We are committed irrevocably to the intrinsic worth of every human soul, not only as a principle of moral thought, but as a positive guide for every course of action.

We are committed to the community of all mankind, a community inclusive, rather than exclusive, that unites men rather than divides them, and creates

genuine sympathy and understanding among them.

We believe also in the equality for all men, and would be courageous critics of every form of political and economic injustice that corrupts the social order, and will defend at whatever cost the rights of every person against the coercive power of men and institutions.

We are committed to the genuine affirmation of life, to a faith which is relevant to the whole experience of man, that sanctifies his work and his play, and enters aggressively into his quest for happiness." 15

I know that all Americans who wish to be creditors of the future as they are debtors to the past, ^(SO I) can pledge ^(THIS) ~~that~~ for us all. ^{HOWEVER,} The Democratic Party has been, is, and will continue to be, a good steward in ^{THIS SPIRIT} ~~its~~ ~~right~~.

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VI

VI

TRINITY OF ISSUES

Excerpts of Remarks By

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

Western States Democratic Conference
Salt Lake City, Utah
September 20, 1963

Return to Vi

The signing of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty has compelled Americans to think profoundly and searchingly as to how we can best protect our freedom and security. The old issue of national security and national strength is under review. The top military officers of our nation have expounded upon the military strength of our country, revealing and describing our power in terms of missiles, rockets, nuclear warheads, planes and tanks. Scientists have reminded us once again that in knowledge there is power. In the development of science and technology, American power has grown to staggering proportions. We have reviewed and analyzed our alliances and all of the many efforts that have been undertaken to maximize our security and to defend our institutions of democracy.

We now know that national security is not to be found in military power alone. We now know that despite tremendous increases in our military power we are not more secure today than we were ten years ago. We are possibly less secure. We now know that science alone cannot give us security. This is best summarized by one of America's leading scientists, Dr. Herbert York of the University of California, in testifying before the Foreign Relations Committee on the nuclear test ban treaty. It was Dr. York who said:

"It is my view that the problem posed to both sides by this dilemma of steadily increasing military power and steadily decreasing national security has no technical solution. If we continue to look for solutions in the area of science and technology only, the result will be a steady and inexorable worsening of this situation."

Thus, the issue of guaranteeing our security and protecting our freedom demands more than sheer brute force and military power. To be sure, an array of military power provides a shield of protection. But it is what we do beyond and behind this shield that will ultimately determine our real strength and the future of our freedom.

There are three great issues facing America today that are inextricably intertwined. They stand together as a trinity - conditioning, effecting and ultimately determining the freedom, the strength and the security of our nation. These three great issues are:

- 1.-The expansion and growth of our economy.
- 2.-The guaranteeing of equal opportunity and civil rights for all our people.
- 3.-The conduct of a national security policy in a framework of peace.

It is to the solution of these three issues that the Democratic Party and the Kennedy Administration is dedicated.

We know that if America is to have the strength and vitality for the long-term requirements of world leadership we must have a healthy, prosperous, growing economy. We must be able to provide jobs for the unemployed, and utilize all plant equipment to maximum capacity. We must be able to modernize our factories and shops in order to compete at home and in the world markets. We must be able to automate and at the same time absorb into the employment market those who are displaced by machines and technology. We must have an ever-increasing number of skilled, trained workers as a supporting protection team for our scientists and technicians.

It is because of these heavy demands and unusual requirements of the modern age that our President has recommended a broad program of action.

Most important now is his program of tax reduction to stimulate the economy. This will free approximately 11-billion dollars of new capital, which will increase purchasing power and provide new investment for new plant and new production facilities. Jobs require capital. And in this age of automation, each new job requires an ever-increasing amount of investment capital.

The Democratic Party refuses to be shackled and tied down by old dogma and obsolete economic doctrine. It requires more than public works and government subsidies to keep this economy moving. This is a private enterprise economy. Over 80 percent of our total national gross product is in the private sector. That is why the policy of the Democratic Party is to unleash the tremendous energy of the private enterprise forces

of America and let those forces go to work - to build, to create and to produce - in those areas where there is chronic unemployment. Our dedication to social justice and decency requires that we extend the helping hand of government through public works, through programs such as area development, through emergency relief, unemployment compensation and other services of government. But here, too, new enterprise is needed, new jobs, new factories, new work. And, therefore, with the combination of public and private resources this Administration seeks to revitalize these pockets of depression, these areas of unemployment. We will not rest until all America enjoys the fruits of modern science and technology, until all America is at work, until every American who wants a job

and is willing to work has that job.

Nor shall we content ourselves with merely providing job opportunities. We will also see to it that workers are given the opportunity to be trained for their jobs through expanded technical and vocational education, through manpower re-training programs and, above all, through programs of elementary, secondary, vocational and higher education that meet the needs of Twentieth Century industrial, agricultural and professional requirements.

This takes an over-all, comprehensive program of financing, of training, of planning, of mobilization, of resources, of cooperation of the public and private areas of our economy. We have been able to get America moving once again, and we are moving forward under inspiring, intelligent, and competent leadership. The facts speak for

themselves. Unemployment is down. The gross national product is at an all-time high. Investment is increasing.

And the Nation enjoys a prosperity unequaled at any

time in our history. The campaign promise of 1960

to get America moving once again - to bring about

economic growth and expansion - that promise is being

fulfilled. America grows stronger every day. And

with American economic strength growing, freedom

everywhere is more secure.

↓
The second great issue is that of civil rights--

What I call human rights. America is in the midst

of a social revolution. The American Negro is demanding

full citizenship 100 years after the promise of the

Emancipation Proclamation. He demands its

fulfillment.

Just as Abraham Lincoln

freed the slaves in 1863, President Kennedy and his Administration will guarantee the blessings of freedom to every American. The President's civil rights program is morally right, politically right, and economically sound. It is designed to eliminate second-class citizenship and to guarantee first-class citizenship to all Americans. It is the life - the spirit - and the heart of the constitutional guarantees of equal rights, equal opportunity and equal privileges and immunities.

We cannot afford illiteracy, poverty, ignorance, hopelessness, frustration among millions of our people. We need every American trained, equipped and motivated to do his best. Every section, area, and region of this nation must make its full contribution to American democracy. We must insist upon the best in education, in housing, in health, in industry, in agriculture, in every endeavor of life. And if we insist on the best and know that we need

the best in order to survive as a free people, then we must provide the means, the facilities and the legal protections that permit and, indeed, inspire men to do their best.

This is what we mean by a civil rights program. The passage of civil rights legislation is not radical. It is in fact a conservative, responsible program. All we seek to do is that which the Constitution of the United States provides that we should do. All that we ask the states to do is that which the Constitution requires our respective states to do. Surely, if this world of ours has become smaller, more interdependent, more integrated, more of a one-world because of science, technology, and communication, then who can deny that this American Republic has become one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. How can we ask the American Negro to pay taxes,

to defend our nation on the field of battle, to win our medals in the Olympics, to entertain us on the stage, to work in our factories and mines, and yet deny him the right to vote or the right to eat at a lunch counter with his fellow citizens. Taxation without representation is un-American. Segregation is un-American. Discrimination is un-American. It is evil. It is wrong. And it must be destroyed.

The responsibilities of world leadership compel us to come to this world with clean hands. Bombings of churches in Birmingham that take the lives of little children do more damage to American leadership in Asia, Africa, and Latin America than all the Communist propaganda put together. The hate and the passion that has been generated by the reactionary radical right wing forces in

American life has done more to divide America, to weaken America than any Communist spy or any effort on the part of Khrushchev or Castro. If we are destroyed, it will not be by a foreign power or ideology. It will be because we have destroyed ourselves through the bitterness and hatred that come from racial discrimination and the attack of fanatics upon our Constitution, our courts, and our institutions of democratic government.

Just as America needs a strong economy that provides opportunity for all, so this nation must set the example for the world of respect for human dignity, of equal

rights for all of its citizens, of first-class citizenship for every man who bears the high honor of being an American.

Finally, the third great challenge before us is to provide security for ourselves and for others who seek to live in freedom---and to do this within the framework of peace. Indeed, it is to this challenge that our President has given such great leadership.

America is stronger today militarily than ever before. Our allies are stronger and more prosperous than at any time in their history. The so-called Communist monolithic bloc is shattered by the struggle between Russia and China. The satellite states of Eastern Europe are demanding more freedom of movement and action. To be sure, there is a restlessness throughout the entire world and a longing and hunger for peace.

President Kennedy in a memorable address at the American University on the 10th of June this year reminded

us that peace is a process. We must work for peace. We must build for peace. We must do it step by step, program by program, year by year. The United Nations is a mighty force for peace. It grows stronger each year. The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which will be ratified in the Senate next week, is a significant step in easing world tensions, in bringing to bear upon the problems that beset mankind the rule of reason. This treaty carries the American trademark ---the American eagle. It was designed and drafted in America. It was first advanced by President Eisenhower, and offered again by President Kennedy. It was we who took the initiative. We asked the Russians to negotiate. We offered the draft treaty. Yes, it was signed in Moscow, but it was made in Washington.

This is what we seek---an America of economic opportunity, of human equality and of security and freedom in peace.

We are reaching these goals. We will achieve them.

(END)

TRINITY OF ISSUES

Excerpts of Remarks By

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

Western States Democratic Conference
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Ladies and gentlemen, I have come out here not to talk to you about the right wing . . . but about the right way!

I understand my friend and colleague Frank Church took good care of Barry Goldwater and his assorted followers the other day.

Little more need be said.

I would like to make just this one comment to Senator Goldwater:

Barry, we have just one thing in common.

I was not elected President in 1960.

You are not going to be elected President in 1964.

Now let's get down to business.

And our business is the business of the nation, and the business of the world in the Twentieth Century.

There are three great issues facing America today. They stand together as a trinity -- conditioning, effecting and ultimately

determining the freedom, the strength and the security of our nation. These three great issues are:

1. The expansion and growth of our economy.
2. The guaranteeing of equal opportunity and civil rights for all our people.
3. The designing of a national security policy in a framework of peace.

It is to the solution of these three challenges that the Democratic Party and the Kennedy Administration is dedicated.

We know that if America is to have the strength and vitality for the long-term requirements of world leadership we must have a healthy, prosperous, growing economy.

We must be able to provide jobs for the unemployed, and utilize all plant equipment to maximum capacity.

We must be able to modernize our factories and shops in order to compete at home and in the world markets.

We must be able to automate and at the same time absorb into the employment market those who are displaced by machines and technology.

We must have an ever-increasing number of skilled, trained workers as a supporting team for our scientists and technicians. These, and other matters are the challenges of the 60's.

It is because of these heavy demands and unusual requirements of the modern age that President Kennedy has recommended a broad program of action.

First and foremost is his program of tax reduction to stimulate the economy. This will free approximately 11-billion dollars of new capital, which will increase purchasing power and provide new investment for new plant and production facilities.

Jobs require capital. And in this age of automation, each new job requires an ever-increasing amount of investment capital.

The Democratic Party refuses to be shackled and tied down by old dogma and obsolete economic doctrine. It requires more than public works and government subsidies to keep this economy moving. This is a private enterprise economy. Over 80 percent of our total national gross product is in the private sector. The Democratic Party is determined to unleash the tremendous energy of the private enterprise forces of America and let those forces go to work -- to build, to create and to produce (yes, and we believe in investment -- public and private --) and, in those areas of severe unemployment our dedication to social justice and decency requires that we extend the helping hand of government through public works, Area Redevelopment, Small Business Administration, emergency relief, unemployment compensation and other services of Government. But here, too, new enterprise is needed, new jobs, new factories, new work. And, therefore, with the combination of public and private resources this Administration seeks to revitalize these pockets of depression. We know that investment in America anywhere is good business.

We will not rest until all America enjoys the fruits of modern science and technology, until all America is at work, until every American who wants a job and is willing to work has that job.

Nor shall we content ourselves with merely providing job opportunities. We will also see to it that workers are given the opportunity to be trained for their jobs through expanded technical and vocational education, through manpower re-training programs and, above all, through improved programs of elementary, secondary, vocational and higher education that meet the needs of Twentieth Century. We know that brain power is the new source of strength. Yes, what we are doing is a comprehensive program of financing, training, planning and mobilization of resources. It requires cooperation of the public and private areas of our economy.

Yes, we have been able to get America moving once again, and we are moving forward under inspiring, intelligent, and competent leadership of President Kennedy. The facts speak for themselves. Unemployment is down. The gross national product is at an all-time high. Investment is increasing. And the Nation enjoys a prosperity unequalled at any time in our history.

The campaign promise of 1960 to get America moving once again -- to bring about economic growth and expansion -- that promise is being fulfilled.

America grows stronger each day. And with American economic strength growing, freedom everywhere is more secure.

The second great issue is that of civil rights --- What I call human rights. America is in the midst of a social revolution. The American Negro is demanding full citizenship 100 years after the promise of the Emancipation Proclamation. He demands its fulfillment.

Just as Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves in 1863, President Kennedy and his Administration will guarantee the fruits of freedom to every American in 1963. The President's civil rights program is morally right, politically right, and economically sound. It is designed to eliminate second-class citizenship and to guarantee first-class citizenship to all Americans. It is the life - the spirit - and the heart of the constitutional guarantees of equal rights, equal privileges and immunities.

We cannot afford illiteracy, poverty, ignorance, hopelessness, frustration among millions of our people.

We need every American trained, equipped and motivated to do his best. Every section, area, and region of this nation must make its full contribution to American democracy.

We must insist upon the best in education, in housing, in health, in industry, in agriculture, in every endeavor of life. And if we insist on the best and know that we need the best in order to survive as a free people, then we must provide the means, the facilities and the legal protections that permit and, indeed, inspire men to do their best.

This is what we mean by a civil rights program!

And, the passage of the civil rights legislation is not radical.

All we seek to do is that which the Constitution of the United States provides that we should do. All that we ask the states to do is that which the Constitution requires our respective states to do.

Surely, if this world of ours has become smaller, more interdependent, more integrated, more of a one-world because of science, technology, and communication, then who can deny that this American Republic has become one nation, indivisible, and committed to liberty and justice for all.

How can we ask the American Negro to pay taxes, to defend our nation on the field of battle, to win our medals in the Olympics, to entertain us on the stage, to work in our factories and mines, and yet deny him the right to vote or the right to eat at a lunch counter with his fellow citizens. Taxation without representation is un-American. Segregation is un-American. Discrimination is un-American. It is evil. It is wrong. And it must be destroyed. Thank God we have a President who has the courage and strength to win this battle.

The responsibilities of world leadership compel us to come to this world with clean hands. Bombings of churches in Birmingham that take the lives of little children do more damage to American leadership in Asia, Africa, and Latin America than all the Communist propaganda put together.

The hate and the passion that has been generated by the "reactionary radical right wing" forces in America life has done more to divide America, to weaken America than any Communist conspiracy.

If we are destroyed, it will not be by a foreign power or ideology. It will be because we have destroyed ourselves through the bitterness and hatred that come from racial discrimination and the wild men of reaction -- the fanatics with their irresponsible attack upon our Constitution, our courts, and our institutions of democratic society.

Yes, beware of that leadership that has nothing to offer but reaction at home and jingoism abroad.

Just as America needs a strong economy that provides opportunity for all, so this nation must set the example for the world of respect for human dignity, of equal rights for all of its citizens, of first-class citizenship for every man who bears the high honor of being an American.

Finally, the third great challenge before us is to provide security for ourselves and others who seek to live in freedom -- and to do this within the framework of peace. Indeed, it is to this challenge that our President has given such great leadership.-- today at the U. N.

America is stronger today militarily than every before. Our allies are stronger and more prosperous than at any time in their history. The so-called Communist monolithic bloc is shattered by the struggle between Russia and China. The

satellite states of Eastern Europe are demanding more freedom and independence. There is a restlessness throughout the entire world and a longing and hunger for peace.

President Kennedy in a memorable address at the American University on the 10th of June this year reminded us that peace is a process. We must work for peace. We must build for peace. We must do it step by step, program by program, year by year.

The United Nations is a mighty force for peace. It grows stronger each year. The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which will be ratified in the Senate next week, is a significant step in easing world tensions. It brings to bear upon the problems that beset mankind the rule of reason. This treaty carries the American trademark -- the American eagle. It was designed and drafted in America. It was first advanced by President Eisenhower, and offered again by President Kennedy. It was we who took the initiative. We asked the Russians to negotiate. We offered the draft treaty. Yes, it was signed in Moscow, but it was made in Washington.

Now let me say a personal word about our President.

I have the privilege of working closely with President Kennedy. I see him at close range, and I see him under the enormous stresses of the American presidency.

As he faces the swirling, baffling problems of foreign policy, as he comes to grips with the emotion-laden, violent and difficult developments in the crisis in race relations, he is standing up well.

He has met the problem of racial violence with/cool head
. . . and a warm heart. He has presented to Congress a program
of strong civil rights.

And Congress is going to support the President. We are
going to pass the Kennedy civil rights program before adjourning
this year -- even if we stay until Christmas.

It is now clear that the President's initiative in the
nuclear test ban treaty will be ratified by the Senate next week
overwhelmingly. And in so doing, the President and the Senate
are giving mankind the means to take an historic step -- toward
sanity, toward reasonableness, in relationships among the Great
Powers.

Yes, massive, historical changes are taking place in
the world, and much of the changed situation this year stems
out of the leadership of our President in convincing the Soviet
leadership -- by actions, not just words -- that it is hopeless
to contemplate military victory over the United States.

President Kennedy's handling of the October crisis
over the Soviet strategic missiles in Cuba won him the awed
respect of the Soviet leaders.

And it has won for him the confidence and trust of
the American people; They realize that we have a leader who
measures up, who has the qualities of balance, intelligence,
and courage that the nation requires in time of crisis.

What a contrast! With reckless talk flying back
and forth, with Communist Chinese and Republican rightists vying

to see which can denounce the test ban treaty the loudest, how refreshing to see our President in action. Most Americans, I believe, would agree that patience, perserverance, staying power and cool heads are infinitely preferable in our national leaders to the emotional rash and reckless abandon of hot temper of the wild men of the Republican Far Right.

Yes, we have many unsolved problems; but what is important is not that we have deep ~~pp~~ problems still unsolved, but that President Kennedy and a Congress which is dominated by men of the caliber of Mike Mansfield, Ted Moss and Gale McGee, of Howard Cannon, Scoop Jackson and Clair Engle, are dedicated to the task of finding solutions for those problems.

These are all men of moderation and sense -- hardworking, dedicated and reasonable men. The West can be proud of them. I am confident not only that each of them is going to be returned to the Senate next year, but that we can increase the weight of Democratic strength from the West in the next Congress.

The more radical and outrageous the position of the Republican Party becomes, the more it is captured by the extremists of the Right, the more sharply will the moderation, good sense and judgment of President Kennedy and his supporters in the Congress stand in contrast in the minds of the American electorate.

We must push ahead with our program. We Democrats simply do not have the time -- and should not take the time -- to waste trying to plac^ee the implacable, trying to reason with the unreasonable. That is the unique problem of the Republican leadership.

Let them wrestle with that one. I wish them good luck.

In the meantime, we Democrats have no intention of trimming our sails or dipping our flag in any kind of recognition or tribute to the noisy and flamboyant minority that refuses to come along with us into the Twentieth Century.

We have better work to do. We have a peace to be won -- week by week, and year by year.

We have the great unfinished tasks of providing universal justice and opportunity for every American.

We have the possibility -- if we are wise, if we are resolute -- of destroying in this century the age-old conditions of want and hunger that have plagued men from the dawn of the human era.

We have everything before us -- an exciting age, an age in which the scientists are providing every day a new tool to help destroy poverty, to help in the war against pain and disease, to provide wider opportunities for richer living.

Technology has brought us to the threshold of an age of such abundance that I do not think we have yet grasped its full impact. We must think boldly, create, build, move forward.

I feel at this time, as Brigham Young must have felt as he rounded the western flank of that great mountain to the east of Salt Lake Valley for the first time.

He had fought through mountain passes and ridges that must have taxed the powers of endurance of every man and woman and

and child in his party. Perhaps they seemed endless -- those obstacles so grim and bleak.

But as his wagon train wound slowly out of the last mountain pass, and the magnificent sweep of the Valley of the Salt Lake lay spread before them, a dream in his heart swelled into reality.

"This is the place," he said.

Here, at last, was the new chance, the place in which a new life could be built in peace and abundance.

I do not know if we have wound out of that last mountain pass of history. But I see in the distance a valley of peace. We are nearing it. We may make it.

We are going to try to make it to that valley. "This is the place."



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