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LIBERALS AND THE CHALLENGE OF TOMORROW

The following is the text of address by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) prepared for delivery at the National Roosevelt Day Dinner of Americans for Democratic Action in New York City:

I guess I don't have to tell this distinguished audience that 1964 is an election year.

And I guess that means I don't have to repeat the familiar refrain that 1964 is a crucial year. To politicians, all election years are crucial. It's like that old remark that all women are beautiful. Only, as you know, some elections are more crucial than others.

I don't think it's an exaggeration, though, to say that 1964 will mark a major turning point in the history of this great nation -- a year when the great fundamental issues that have been troubling us for decades will be decided.

As a liberal -- and as a Democrat -- I can tell you here and now that the administration of President Johnson and the Congress will meet these issues -- the issues of civil rights and the war on poverty -- and carry on the work started by our late beloved President John F. Kennedy.

But as a liberal I want to point out that 1964 is also the year when we must take stock of our talents and our resources and face up to the reality of another generation of even more staggering problems at a time when we're still struggling with our old ones.

It's easy enough to point out some of the more immediate problems:

-- Should the richest nation in the world have one of the highest rates of unemployment?

-- Should the richest nation in the world have the least security for its elderly?

-- Should the richest nation in the world be content with some of the dirtiest cities, the most crowded streets and the most shameful slums?

-- Should the richest nation in the world be satisfied with overcrowded schools?

-- And should the nation that is the leader of a world that is half-colored continue to deny or ignore the God-given rights of its own colored citizens?

The easy answer to all these questions is a simple, "no." The richest nation in the world should be a proud example.

But as the old saying goes -- things are easier said than done.

The liberals of this country will have to face up to the fact that it's not good enough to point out what's wrong with the richest nation in the world. And it's even worse to wring our hands and cry over and over again about mistakes of the past and denounce the same old villains.

I, for one, don't want to waste my time denouncing the sins of the past -- even if they are Republican sins. I want to point the way to a better life in the future.

I am a positive liberal. The liberalism of complaint and denunciation does not satisfy my sense of public duty nor my progressive spirit. I believe in the liberalism of advocacy and action.

We need criticism -- good constructive criticism. This is the oil that makes our democratic machinery function. But instead of the lop-sided emphasis that's being placed now on what's wrong with our society and our institutions, I want a little more positive criticism that points toward solutions.

We need the harmony of advocacy and the joy of affirmation.

The time is at hand for this country to face the harsh facts of an age where several revolutions are going on at the same time.

This country now has a full warehouse of problem conditions that can present us with either great opportunity or profound crisis. This country is bursting with population growth. It is exploding with knowledge. It is growing in wealth and stands at the pinnacle of world power. And the movement of our people and the fast pace of social change is almost beyond belief.

All of these conditions give us an awesome responsibility. But they also give us an unmatched opportunity.

Just think of the things we must do to carry out a program that will help the people, give progress to the Nation and insure peace in the world:

-- We must secure civil rights for all our citizens. One hundred years ago the Negro was freed from slavery. Today he must be guaranteed the freedom of full citizenship. We must correct what has become a "citizenship gap" in this country -- the gap between the promise and the fulfillment of our Constitution and the Emancipation Proclamation; the

gap between the promise and the fulfillment of our great free enterprise system.

-- We must destroy poverty. There may always be a lower third or a lower fifth on the vertical scale of some impersonal computer -- but one-third or one-fifth of our people should never live below the level of decency. People are not statistics. They are human beings.

-- Our economy must grow in all parts of the country. It must develop in the great heartland between the Alleghenies and the Rockies as well as on the crowded shores of our sea coasts and the Great Lakes.

-- Automation and technology must create new jobs, not more jobless. It must make boom towns, not ghost towns; build new factories, not retire idle plants.

-- Old age should be welcomed with serenity and lived in dignity. The ills and infirmities of old age are not a fault, not a shame. But the shame and the fault will be ours if we leave the elderly in neglect-- unwanted, and uncared for, living from day to day, hand-to-mouth, in some lonely rooming house, dreading the day when illness will rob them of both their money and their dignity.

-- We must make education, which has become a necessity for all, a reality for all. And we must make sure that education is not just an interlude of leisure for youth but is a challenge that prepares them for the joy and experience of living.

-- We must rebuild our cities, revitalize our rural areas and broaden the base of our economy.

-- We must provide for wholesome leisure-time activity and recreation and make it available to all.

-- And now more than ever we must conserve our natural resources. The press of population and industrialization places a new, even more urgent emphasis on conservation.

-- We must explore the unknowns of outer space with a massive effort on our own part and in a cooperative effort with other nations.

-- Above all, we must preserve the peace of this world. The days when peace can be used as just another propaganda word are gone. The harsh conditions of a new age demand constructive action, not mere lip service.

We liberals have faced awesome problems before. The man whose birthday we honor tonight -- Franklin Delano Roosevelt -- brought this nation out from the depths of a great depression and really saved our free enterprise and democratic

system. He then turned his great talents to saving the world from the power-mad lust of Adolf Hitler and the militaristic ambitions of the Japanese warlords. He envisioned a world of freedom. He envisioned a world of law and order -- a society of United Nations.

Harry S. Truman carried on the great tradition of Franklin Roosevelt and led the fight to save the free world from Communist domination.

And most recently this nation was rescued from eight years of inbred apathy and indifference by John F. Kennedy, a vigorous young President who revived the idealistic faith of our people, got this country moving again and gave to humanity the hope of peace.

John F. Kennedy not only gave us the inspiration to move this country forward, he also gave us the tools, the sinew and the strength so that now the President of the United States can talk about peace. He can negotiate for peace, and not negotiate from fear. He can negotiate from strength, not from weakness. And now we can command respect from the Soviet Union to a point where they are willing, at long last, to talk more reasonably and sensibly about the problems that exist in the world.

All these contributions from the great leaders of the past now must be consolidated and advanced by President Lyndon B. Johnson.

I can assure you here tonight that President Johnson is pledged to the programs and the principles of John F. Kennedy.

I want all of you to remember those great words in President Johnson's address to Congress shortly after the funeral of President Kennedy -- "let us continue." For those three words sum up the central theme of the Johnson Administration.

I can tell you that the Kennedy program will be carried out by the new Administration because President Johnson was an inspirational member of the team that set forth that program. He was a part of it. He was a most important member. I know. I sat there with those men. I worked with them. And I know we will continue the Kennedy-Johnson program.

I realize that many of my liberal friends -- especially in the North -- have in the past expressed their doubts about President Johnson's commitment to the cause of civil rights.

I want to set those doubts to rest right now. President Johnson is in this fight to the finish. His commitment to civil rights comes from a long family background of deep respect for the dignity of the individual. It also stems from his close association with Franklin D. Roosevelt and his early familiarity with the ugly pattern of discrimination against Mexican-Americans he observed when he was a

young school teacher in south Texas.

We have today in the White House, as if it was almost an act of -- well, indeed, it was an act of fate -- a man from the South who will lead this nation into a united program of equal rights for all. What a great opportunity this is for America.

Civil rights is the great unfinished business of our time. But it is not the only critical problem we face. Equally important -- indeed, it is intimately connected with the issue of civil rights -- is poverty.

Twenty million Americans live in such abject poverty that they must do without the barest essentials. Another 26 million live at the ragged edge of just minimum standards. These two figures add up to one out of every four Americans.

This is a disgrace in the richest nation on the face of the earth. And I want to say now that I totally reject the logic and the moral implications of any candidate for public office who says the poor deserve their condition because they either want to be poor or are too lazy to do anything about it.

What sort of logic is this? How callous and indifferent can you get?
in
The men, women and children living/poverty today are those who have been left in the backwash of our economic life -- shunted aside, forgotten. They're the first-fired and the last-hired. When the economy dips their plight gets worse, and even when the economy rises they can hope for very little.

This is a condition that will grow in America unless we take positive steps now. And I warn that unless we do take steps to get at the roots of poverty in this country, we will be in for serious trouble in the years ahead. John L. Lewis was speaking the truth when he said that history warns us that "all forms of government fall when it comes up to the question of bread -- bread for the family, something to eat. Bread to a man with a hungry family comes first -- before his union, before his citizenship, before his church affiliation. Bread!"

But we don't have to wring our hands and fear future disorders. We can win this war on poverty. A start has already been made in the President's messages to the Congress, for they have startled the comfortable in our society to an awareness that there is too much poverty in our age of plenty.

To take advantage of this start we must embark on new and expanded educational, housing and public works programs. We must have a "medicare" program, a Youth Conservation Corps to take our jobless boys off the streets, and a Domestic Peace Corps to work in our hospitals, our mental institutions and with the children in our slums and on our Indian reservations.

Let me say a special word here about medicare, which is a soundly financed program of medical care for the aged under Social Security.

We are a growing nation at both ends of our age scale -- more babies at the bottom and people living longer at the top. In both cases this is due to the finest medical service in the world. But this is a service that costs money and we must find a way to spread the load to help those who are no longer working.

The dignity of old age must be respected. Illness is not a crime that must be paid for by financial poverty or the shame that comes to many when they are forced to accept charity. The young have a duty to help the elderly for the young that do not respect age must soon come to hate their own destiny.

I spoke earlier about how this country is expanding with population growth and exploding with knowledge. When I was elected to the Senate in 1948 the population of the United States was 150 million. Since that time this country has added more people than the total population of Great Britain. By 1975 this country will have 225 million people.

Just think of what this will mean in terms of new problems! Economists speak about the "multiplier effect" when they talk about business conditions -- that \$10 spent tends to turn over and cause \$30 or \$40 in additional purchasing power. Well, let me tell you the "multiplier effect" in social and economic problems brought by this population growth is infinitely greater than any 4 to 1 ratio.

In addition to this population growth we've had a tremendous shift in population in this country and it shows little sign of slowing down. The big city areas are getting bigger. The smaller towns are getting smaller. The rural areas are drying up. And the heartland of America is being drained by the migration to the sea coasts.

And if you think all this is bringing staggering problems, throw in another even more complex factor -- the incredible pace of automation and technological advance that is remaking our entire industrial economy. And then add to that the multiplier effect the new tax cut will have on further industrial research and development. This surely will mean more automation, more fantastic machines, more people thrown out of work.

What are we going to do with these people? How are we going to keep an economy going where much of the production is done by machine? Machines don't buy products, you know.

One answer is that the federal government -- working closely with the best minds in the universities, in private industry and the labor unions and in state and local governments -- must channel all the energy it can into coordinated research and planning to insure that this nation has a balanced economy.

Franklin Roosevelt was bold enough to make a reality of the dream of a Tennessee Valley Authority and he brought new hope, new life, new industries and

new jobs to an entire region.

Today, we must be bold enough to deal with even greater challenges. We must find the imagination to do extensive regional planning that will broaden the economic base of all sections of the country. This is the type of grand architecture we need to give scope and purpose to the miracles of automation and technology so we can turn these wonders into a "boon and not a bane to humanity," as President Johnson said.

I think one of the first steps we must take is to create a Commission on Automation, Technology and Employment so we can get ready for the comprehensive planning that is essential. I have introduced such legislation to carry out one of the proposals in President Johnson's State of the Union message.

We also must take bold steps to meet the challenges of the future by improving education at all levels -- from the day care center for pre-school children to the post-doctoral studies in the great universities.

The new industries of tomorrow will require technical and scientific skills that millions of Americans do not have today. We have just made a start in Congress by providing for greater efforts in vocational education. We must go further, though, and learn more about the needs of tomorrow so we won't be teaching people skills that are obsolete.

We have made a start on manpower re-training. But here, too, we have much to learn. We also must continue the effort to keep our young people in school -- to emphasize to them again and again that the real New Wealth in this country is the wealth of knowledge and skill.

I'm optimistic enough to believe that we can meet these challenges here at home. But I'm also realistic enough to know that it would all be meaningless if we couldn't find a way to live without war.

Since that day in August in 1945 when the first atomic bomb was dropped on Japan the whole concept of total war has changed. Since that time we and the Russians have learned that there are no winners in an atomic war -- and very few survivors.

But we in this country have also learned that we cannot withdraw from the atomic arms race with Russia or anyone else unless we have sound safeguards against any cheating.

We realize that the road to peace could well be a thousand miles long, but we are prepared to follow the advice of the old proverb and take the first step. We did that under President Kennedy and now President Johnson is taking up the task anew with his recent proposals to Chairman Khrushchev and the disarmament conference in Geneva.

Since 1961 we have made great strides toward achieving a permanent peace -- thanks largely to the efforts of four great people who are no longer with us:

Dag Hammarskjold, who gave his life for the United Nations, fighting to prevent a civil war in the Congo.

Eleanor Roosevelt, whose very personality and spirit was an embodiment of the noble aspirations of all mankind.

Pope John XXIII, who had only a short time to reign as Supreme Pontiff and knew it, but who with complete serenity and confidence promulgated one of the great documents on peace of all time.

Lastly, John F. Kennedy, whose life was struck down at a time when he had set his nation firmly down the path to peace.

Our task -- indeed it is our solemn duty -- is to finish the work started by these great world leaders.

Let's get on with the job.

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MESSAGE TO ADA

LBJ's message
January 30, 1964

TO BE DELIVERED BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

A.D.A. Roosevelt
Day Dinner
New York

I send greetings to ADA and to your dinner guests
on the occasion of your 16th annual dinner honoring the
memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

This year, your dinner takes on an added significance
because you are also paying tribute to the memory of
John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

I never cease to marvel at the contributions President
Roosevelt made to our society . . . the Fair Labor
Standards Act, the National Labor Relations Act, the
Social Security Act, the first great housing act, to
say nothing of his early warnings about Fascism and his
leadership in the war when it came.

△ I was a Roosevelt man, lock, stock and barrel.

In many ways he was my spiritual father.

President Kennedy did much in the cruelly short
time we had him as President. But perhaps the greatest
legacy he left his countrymen was a renewed faith in
ourselves and our institutions. He made it possible for
all of us to believe, again, that a peaceful world can
be built on this earth.

△ So, I am honored to join with you in the memory
of these two valiant patriots. They made this country
larger, wiser, stronger.

△ ADA gave them useful assistance.

One of your hallmarks has been the capacity of your
organization to see beyond the immediate. In so doing
you helped create a climate of public acceptance for
necessary solutions.

An example was your recognition so many years ago of the desperate plight of the poor in this country, and your attempt to bring the problem into political context for solution. Another was your early advocacy of a test ban treaty, long before such support was popular.

< You understand the importance of electing good men to high office. Without good and courageous men in positions of leadership, all that we want to do and all we need to do will never get done.

< May your work and your purpose continue in the course of freedom, justice and peace.

LIBERALS AND THE CHALLENGE OF TOMORROW

Speech by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
ADA Roosevelt Day Dinner
New York City
January 30, 1964

*the H.
Table*

~~I guess~~ I don't have to tell this distinguished audience that 1964 is an election year.

And ~~I guess that means~~ I don't have to repeat the familiar refrain that 1964 is a crucial year. ~~To~~ politicians, all election years are crucial. It's like that old remark that all women are beautiful. Only, as you know, some elections are more crucial than others.

and, I don't think it's an exaggeration, ~~though~~, to say that 1964 will mark a major turning point in the history of this great nation - a year when the great fundamental issues of people, progress and peace which have been challenging us for decades will be faced squarely.

As a liberal - and as a Democrat - I can tell you
here and now that the administration of President Johnson
and the Congress will meet these issues - the struggle
for civil and human rights, the war on poverty and
deprivation, ~~and~~ the search for international security *and peace*
in the nuclear age - and will carry on the work, ~~started~~ *and programs*
initiated and supported by our late and beloved President, John F. Kennedy.

But as a liberal I want to point out that 1964
is also the year when we must take stock of our talents
and our resources and face up to the reality of another
generation of even more staggering problems at a time
when we're still struggling with our old ones.

It's easy enough to point out some of the more
immediate problems:

--Should the richest nation in the world
have one of the highest rates of unemployment?

└--Should the richest nation in the world have the least security for its elderly?

└--Should the richest nation in the world be content with some of the dirtiest cities, the most crowded streets and the most shameful slums?

└--Should the richest nation in the world be satisfied with overcrowded schools?

└--And should the nation that is the leader of a world that is half-colored continue to deny in all too many quarters, or ignore the God-given rights of its own colored citizens?

The easy answer to all these questions is a simple, "no." The richest nation in the world should be a proud example.

└ But as the old saying goes - things are easier said than done.

The liberals of this country will have to face up to the fact that it's not good enough to point out what's wrong with the richest nation in the world. And it's even worse to wring our hands and cry over and over again about mistakes of the past and denounce the same old villains.

I, for one, don't want to waste my time denouncing the sins of the past - even if they are Republican sins.

I want to point the way to a better life in the future, *yes,* a bipartisan future for Republican and Democrat alike.

I am a positive liberal. The liberalism of complaint and denunciation does not satisfy my sense of public duty nor my progressive spirit. I believe in the liberalism of advocacy and action in behalf of people, progress, and peace.

*Endna
better future
for Barry
for Rocky
at home
on the
Range!*

I know!
yes [^] We need criticism ^{but} good constructive criticism.

This is the oil that makes our democratic machinery function. But instead of the lop-sided emphasis that's being placed ~~now~~ on what's wrong with our society and our institutions, I want a little more positive criticism that points toward solutions. This is my conception of liberalism - and it is yours. ^{So} Let us join [^] in the harmony of advocacy and the joy of affirmation.

[#]
The time is at hand for this country to face the harsh facts of an age where several revolutions are going on at the same time.

This country now has a full warehouse of problem
conditions that can present us with either great

opportunity or profound crisis. This country is bursting

with population growth. It is exploding with ^{information and} knowledge.

It is growing in wealth and stands at the pinnacle of

world power. And the movement of our people and the

fast pace of social change is almost beyond belief.

All of these conditions give us an awesome responsibility.

But they also give us an unmatched opportunity.

Think of the things we must do in behalf of people,
progress and peace: — *What an exciting prospect!*

① We must secure civil rights for all our

citizens. One hundred years ago the Negro was

freed from slavery. Today he must be guaranteed

the freedom of full citizenship. ~~We must correct~~

~~what has become a~~ ^{The} "citizenship gap" ~~in this~~

~~country~~

must be closed now!
we are 100 yrs late.

We must Close the Citizenship

L ~~the~~ gap between the promise and the fulfillment

of our Constitution and the Emancipation Proclamation;

L the gap between the promise and the fulfillment of

our great ~~free enterprise~~ ^{democratic} system.

L --We must destroy poverty. *all out war on Poverty* There may always

be a lower third or a lower fifth on the vertical

scale of some impersonal computer - but one-third

or one-fifth of our people should never live

below the level of decency. People are not

statistics. They are human beings.

L --Our economy must grow in all parts of the

country. It must develop the great heartland

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the Great Lakes.

└--Automation and technology must create new jobs, not more jobless. It must make boom towns, not ghost towns, build new factories, not retire idle plants.

└--Old age should be welcomed with serenity and lived in dignity. The ills and infirmities of old age are not a fault, not a shame. But the shame and the fault will be ours if we leave the elderly in neglect - unwanted, and uncared for, living from day-to-day, hand-to-mouth, in some lonely rooming house, dreading the day when illness will rob them of both their money and their dignity.

└--We must make education, which has become a necessity for all, a reality for all. And we must make sure that education is not just an interlude of leisure for youth but is a challenge that prepares them for the joy and experience of living.

└--We must rebuild our cities, revitalize our
rural areas and broaden the base of our economy.

└--We must provide for wholesome leisure time
activity and recreation and make it available to
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└--And now more than ever we must conserve
our natural resources. The press of population and
industrialization places a new, even more urgent
emphasis on conservation.

└--We must explore the unknowns of outer space
with a massive effort on our own part and in a
cooperative effort with other nations.

⑦ └--Above all, we must preserve the peace of this
world. The days when peace can be used as just
another propaganda word are gone. The harsh
conditions of a ^{nuclear} ~~new~~ age demand constructive action ^{for Peace}
not mere lip service.

These are our assignments - We
~~and~~ dare not fail or falter.
But, ~~We liberals have faced awesome problems before.~~

The man ~~whose birthday we honor tonight~~ ^{we honor tonight} Franklin

Delano Roosevelt - rescued this nation from the depths

of a great depression and saved our ~~free enterprise~~ ^{economy} and the
democratic system. He then turned his great talents

to saving the world from the power-mad lust of Adolf

Hitler and the militaristic ambitions of the Japanese

warlords. He envisioned a world of freedom. He envisioned

a world of law and order - a society of United Nations.

Harry S. Truman carried on the great tradition of
Franklin Roosevelt and led the fight to save the free
world from ~~economic collapse and totalitarian~~ ^{the U.N. came into being. Western Europe}
~~Communist domination.~~ ^{domination.}

And most recently this nation was rescued from eight
years of inbred apathy and indifference by John F. Kennedy -
a vigorous young President who revived the idealistic
faith of our people, got this country moving again and
gave to humanity the hope of peace once again.

But, John F. Kennedy not only gave us the inspiration *for*
progress and Peace
~~to move this country forward~~, he also gave us the tools,

Markets
the sinew and the strength ~~so that now the President of~~

~~the United States can talk about peace.~~ ~~And the~~

~~Soviets are more willing to listen.~~ *Now* The President

can negotiate from strength ~~not from weakness.~~ *66*

he can command respect from the Soviet Union to a point

where they are willing, at long last, to *discuss* ~~negotiate~~ more

reasonably and sensibly ~~about~~ the problems which concern

every human being on this planet.

✓ All these contributions from the great leaders of
the past ~~now~~ must be consolidated and advanced by President
Lyndon B. Johnson.

✓ I can assure you here tonight that President Johnson
is pledged to the programs and the principles of John F.

Kennedy, *Harry Truman, and Franklin Roosevelt.*

(Here is his message)

~~I want all of you to~~ ^R remember those great
words in President Johnson's ^{first} address to ^{the} Congress ^{and} ~~showing~~
~~the American People~~
~~after the funeral of President Kennedy~~ - "let us continue."

~~For~~ those three words sum up the central theme of the
Johnson Administration. ~~Continue to move forward.~~
~~Forward in Human Rts, Forward in economic expansion, Forward in~~
The Kennedy program will be carried out by the new ~~Peace.~~

Administration because President Johnson was a member of
the team which initially set forth that program. He was
a most important member. I know. I sat with those men.
I worked with them. ^{and} I know we will continue the
Kennedy-Johnson program. And we will win!

~~I realize that many of my liberal friends -~~
~~especially in the North - have in the past expressed~~
~~certain doubts about President Johnson's commitment to~~
~~the cause of civil rights.~~

#

-13-

~~News word about Civil Rights~~

~~I want to erase those doubts right now.~~ President

Johnson is in this fight to the finish. His commitment

to civil rights comes from a long family background of

deep respect for the dignity of the individual. It

stems from his close association with Franklin D.

Roosevelt. It reflects the President's concern over the

ugly patterns of discrimination against Mexican-Americans

he observed as a young school teacher in south Texas.

We have today in the White House, as if it was almost

an act of - well, indeed, it was an act of fate - *cruel fate*

A man from the South who will lead this nation into a

united program of equal rights for all. What a great

opportunity this is for America.

In 1903, W.E.B. DuBois wrote that the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line. While this statement is over 50 years old, it has not been disproved yet. Civil rights remains the ~~great~~ unfinished business of our time. But it is not the only critical problem we face. Equally important-- indeed, it is intimately connected with the issue of civil rights - is poverty.

Twenty million Americans live in such abject poverty that they must do without the barest essentials. Another 26 million live at the ragged edge of just minimum standards. These two figures add up to one out of every four Americans.

Keep
~~This is a disgrace in the richest nation on the face of the earth. Incidentally, I totally reject the logic and moral implications of the statement that the poor deserve their condition because they either want to be poor or are too lazy to do anything about it.~~

~~What sort of logic is this from a candidate for high public office? How callous and indifferent can~~

~~you get?~~ The men, women and children living in poverty today are those who have been left in the backwash of our economic life - shunted aside, forgotten. They're the ~~first-fired and the last-hired.~~ When the economy dips their plight gets worse, and even when the economy rises they can hope for very little.

and This ~~same~~ condition ~~that~~ will grow in America

unless we take positive steps now. ~~And I warn that unless we do take steps to get at the roots of poverty in this country, we will be in for serious trouble in the years ahead. John L. Lewis was speaking the truth when he said that history warns us that "all forms of government fall when it comes up to the question of bread - bread for the family, something to eat. Bread to a man with a hungry family comes first - before his union, before his citizenship, before his church affiliation. Bread!"~~

But we don't have to wring our hands and fear future disorders. We can win this war on poverty. A start has already been made in the President's messages to the Congress. ~~America has begun~~ They have startled the comfortable in our

~~in our society to an awareness that there is too much~~

poverty in our age of plenty. in indefinable •
an all-out war on poverty is
the nations battle cry.

And,

[Our Poverty problem is not
merely the Poverty of
low income - it is the
Poverty of illiteracy, of
denial of equal opportunity,
of sickness and disease,
of social injustice -
is the Poverty of bigotry and
discrimination and
The Poverty of Spirit.

We must attack on all
fronts - economic, educational,
~~legal rights~~ ^{social} and Political.

and, the battle plans are ready.

-17-

To take advantage of the beginning we must embark

on new and expanded educational, housing and public works

programs. We must have a "medicare" program, a Youth

Conservation Corps to take our jobless boys off the

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Just think of what this will mean in terms of new problems? Economists speak about the "multiplier effect" when they talk about business conditions - that \$10 spent tends to turn over and cause \$30 or \$40 in additional purchasing power. Well, let me tell you the "multiplier effect" in social and economic problems brought by this population growth is infinitely greater than any 4 to 1 ratio.

~~In addition to this~~ population growth we've had a tremendous shift in population ~~in this country~~ and it shows little sign of slowing down. The big city areas are getting bigger. The small towns are getting smaller. The rural areas are drying up. And the heartland of America is being drained by the migration to the sea coasts.

And if you think ~~all this is bringing staggering~~ *the problems of poverty are*

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the incredible pace of automation and technological

advance that is remaking our entire industrial economy.

And then add to that the multiplier effect the new tax cut will have on further industrial research and development. This surely will mean more automation, more fantastic machines, ~~more people thrown out of~~

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more and more people ask,
~~What are we going to do with these people? How~~

How are we going to keep an economy going where much of the production is done by machine? Machines don't buy products, you know.

One answer is that the federal government - working closely with the best minds in the universities, in private industry and the labor unions and in state and local governments - must channel all the energy it can into coordinated research and planning to insure that this nation has a balanced economy.

In his time Franklin Roosevelt was bold enough to make a reality of the dream of a Tennessee Valley Authority and he brought new hope, new life, new industries and new jobs to an entire region.

Today, we must be bold enough to deal with even greater challenges. We must find the imagination to do extensive regional planning that will broaden the economic base of all sections of the country. This is the type of grand architecture we need to give scope and purpose to the miracles of automation and technology so we can turn these wonders into a "boon and not a bane to humanity," as President Johnson said.

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create a Commission on Automation, Technology and Employment
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We also must take ^{immediate} ~~bold~~ steps to meet the ^{these} challenges
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from the day care center for pre-school children to the
post doctoral studies in the great universities. Invest!

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∠ We have made a start on manpower re-training. But here, too, we have much to learn. We also must continue the effort to keep our young people in school - to emphasize to them again and again that the real New Wealth in this country is the wealth of knowledge and skill. #

Peace
Z I'm optimistic enough to believe that we can meet these challenges relating to people and progress here at home. But I'm realistic enough to know that it will all be meaningless if we can't find a way to live in peace with our neighbors throughout the world.
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Since that day in August in 1945 when the first atomic bomb was dropped ~~on Japan~~ the whole concept of total war has changed. ∠ Since that time we and the Russians have learned that there are ^{real} no winners in an atomic war - and very few survivors.

~~But we in this country have also learned that we cannot withdraw from the atomic arms race with Russia or anyone else unless we have sound safeguards against any cheating. Safeguarded disarmament~~

✓ We realize that the road to peace could well be a thousand miles long, but we are prepared to follow the advice of the old proverb and take the first step. We did that under President Kennedy and now President Johnson is taking up the task anew with his recent proposals to Chairman Khrushchev and the disarmament conference in Geneva.

✓ Since 1961 we have made great strides toward achieving a permanent peace - thanks largely to the efforts of four great people who are no longer with us.

✓ Dag Hammarskjold, who gave his life for the United Nations, ~~fighting to prevent a civil war in the Congo.~~

✓ Eleanor Roosevelt, whose very personality and spirit was an embodiment of the noble aspirations of all mankind.

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To realize how far we have come in the last three years, let's look back for a while:

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All of these are monuments to the memory of
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dedicated to the "strategy of peace."

Out of his Administration came a new will and resolution for peace among the American people. He taught us that peace is a process - a long tedious process and, at times, a dangerous process. And he made us realize that you don't get peace just by wishing for it - you have to work for it.

Our task is to continue working for peace and progress for people ~~throughout the world~~ *everywhere*. We are going to undertake these tasks with a dedication to principles and we are not going to engage in personalities.

Others may want to dig around in the political mud and muck. While they are busy doing that, we will be busy at building a better America. Let's get to work!

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LBS

MESSAGE TO ADA

TO BE DELIVERED BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

I send greetings to ADA and to your dinner guests on the occasion of your 16th annual dinner honoring the memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

This year your dinner takes on an added significance because you are also paying tribute to the memory of John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

I never cease to marvel at the contributions President Roosevelt made to our society... the Fair Labor Standards Act, the National Labor Relations Act, the Social Security Act, the first great housing act, to say nothing of his early warnings about Fascism and his leadership in the war when it came.

I was a Roosevelt man, lock, stock and barrel. In many ways he was my spiritual father.

President Kennedy did much in the cruelly short time we had him as President. But perhaps the greatest legacy he left his countrymen was a renewed faith in ourselves and our institutions. He made it possible for all of us to believe, again, that a peaceful world can be built on this earth.

So, I am honored to join with you in the memory of these two valiant patriots. They made this country larger, wiser, stronger.

ADA gave them useful assistance.

One of your hallmarks has been the capacity of your organization to see beyond the immediate. In so doing you helped create a climate of public acceptance for necessary solutions.

An example was your recognition so many years ago of the desperate plight of the poor in this country, and your attempt to bring the problem into political context for solution. Another was your early advocacy of a test ban treaty, long before such support was popular.

You understand the importance of electing good men to high office. Without good and courageous men in positions of leadership, all that we want to do and all we need to do will never get done.

May your work and your purpose continue in the course of freedom, justice and peace.

LIBERALS AND THE CHALLENGE OF TOMORROW

Speech by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
ADA Roosevelt Day Dinner
New York City
January 30, 1964

I guess I don't have to tell this distinguished audience that 1964 is an election year.

And I guess that means I don't have to repeat the familiar refrain that 1964 is a crucial year. To politicians, all election years are crucial. It's like that old remark that all women are beautiful. Only, as you know, some elections are more crucial than others.

I don't think it's an exaggeration, though, to say that 1964 will mark a major turning point in the history of this great nation - a year when the great fundamental issues of people, progress and peace which have been challenging us for decades will be faced squarely.

As a liberal - and as a Democrat - I can tell you; here and now that the administration of President Johnson and the Congress will meet these issues - the struggle for civil and human rights, the war on poverty and deprivation, and the search for international security in the nuclear age - and will carry on the work started by our late and beloved President, John F. Kennedy.

But as a liberal I want to point out that 1964 is also the year when we must take stock of our talents and our resources and face up to the reality of another generation of even more staggering problems at a time when we're still struggling with our old ones.

It's easy enough to point out some of the more immediate problems:

--Should the richest nation in the world have one of the highest rates of unemployment?

--Should the richest nation in the world have the least security for its elderly?

--Should the richest nation in the world be content with some of the dirtiest cities, the most crowded streets and the most shameful slums?

Should the richest nation in the world be satisfied with overcrowded schools?

--And should the nation that is the leader of a world that is half-colored continue to deny or ignore the God-given rights of its own colored citizens?

The easy answer to all these questions is a simple, "no." The richest nation in the world should be a proud example.

But as the old saying goes - things are easier said than done.

The liberals of this country will have to face up to the fact that it's not good enough to point out what's wrong with the richest nation in the world. And it's even worse to wring our hands and cry over and over again about mistakes of the past and denounce the same old villains.

I, for one, don't want to waste my time denouncing the sins of the past - even if they are Republican sins. I want to point the way to a better life in the future, a bipartisan future for Republican and Democrat alike.

I am a positive liberal. The liberalism of complaint and denunciation does not satisfy my sense of public duty nor my progressive spirit. I believe in the liberalism of advocacy and action in behalf of people, progress, and peace.

We need criticism - good constructive criticism.

This is the oil that makes our democratic machinery function. But instead of the lop-sided emphasis that's being placed now on what's wrong with our society and our institutions, I want a little more positive criticism that points toward solutions. This is my conception of liberalism - and it is yours. Let us join in the harmony of advocacy and the joy of affirmation.

The time is at hand for this country to face the harsh facts of an age where several revolutions are going on at the same time.

This country now has a full warehouse of problem conditions that can present us with either great opportunity or profound crisis. This country is bursting with population growth. It is exploding with knowledge. It is growing in wealth and stands at the pinnacle of world power. And the movement of our people and the fast pace of social change is almost beyond belief.

All of these conditions give us an awesome responsibility. But they also give us an unmatched opportunity.

Think of the things we must do in behalf of people, progress and peace:

--We must secure civil rights for all our citizens. One hundred years ago the Negro was freed from slavery. Today he must be guaranteed the freedom of full citizenship. We must correct what has become a "citizenship gap" in this country -

- the gap between the promise and the fulfillment of our Constitution and the Emancipation Proclamation; the gap between the promise and the fulfillment of our great free enterprise system.

--We must destroy poverty. There may always be a lower third or a lower fifth on the vertical scale of some impersonal computer - but one-third or one-fifth of our people should never live below the level of decency. People are not statistics. They are human beings.

--Our economy must grow in all parts of the country. It must develop the great heartland between the Alleghenies and the Rockies as well as on the crowded shores of our sea coasts and the Great Lakes.

--Automation and technology must create new jobs, not more jobless. It must make boom towns, not ghost towns, build new factories, not retire idle plants.

--Old age should be welcomed with serenity and lived in dignity. The ills and infirmities of old age are not a fault, not a shame. But the shame and the fault will be ours if we leave the elderly in neglect - unwanted, and uncared for, living from day-to-day, hand-to-mouth, in some lonely rooming house, dreading the day when illness will rob them of both their money and their dignity.

--We must make education, which has become a necessity for all, a reality for all. And we must make sure that education is not just an interlude of leisure for youth but is a challenge that prepares them for the joy and experience of living.

--We must rebuild our cities, revitalize our rural areas and broaden the base of our economy.

--We must provide for wholesome leisure time activity and recreation and make it available to all.

--And now more than ever we must conserve our natural resources. The press of population and industrialization places a new, even more urgent emphasis on conservation.

--We must explore the unknowns of outer space with a massive effort on our own part and in a cooperative effort with other nations.

--Above all, we must preserve the peace of this this world. The days when peace can be used as just another propaganda word are gone. The harsh conditions of a new age demand constructive action, not mere lip service.

We liberals have faced awesome problems before.

The man whose birthday we honor tonight - Franklin Delano Roosevelt - rescued this nation from the depths of a great depression and saved our free enterprise and democratic system. He then turned his great talents to saving the world from the power-mad lust of Adolf Hitler and the militaristic ambitions of the Japanese warlords. He envisioned a world of freedom. He envisioned a world of law and order - a society of United Nations.

Harry S. Truman carried on the great tradition of Franklin Roosevelt and led the fight to save the free world from Communist domination.

And most recently this nation was rescued from eight years of inbred apathy and indifference by John F. Kennedy, a vigorous young President who revived the idealistic faith of our people, got this country moving again and gave to humanity the hope of peace.

John F. Kennedy not only gave us the inspiration to move this country forward, he also gave us the tools, the sinew and the strength so that now the President of the United States can talk about peace. And now the Soviets are more willing to listen. The President can negotiate from strength, not from weakness. And he can command respect from the Soviet Union to a point where they are willing, at long last, to negotiate more reasonably and sensibly about the problems which concern every human being on this planet.

All these contributions from the great leaders of the past now must be consolidated and advanced by President Lyndon B. Johnson.

I can assure you here tonight that President Johnson is pledged to the programs and the principles of John F. Kennedy.

I want all of you to remember those great words in President Johnson's address to Congress shortly after the funeral of President Kennedy - "let us continue." For those three words sum up the central theme of the Johnson Administration.

The Kennedy program will be carried out by the new Administration because President Johnson was a member of the team which initially set forth that program. He was a most important member. I know. I sat with those men. I worked with them. I know we will continue the Kennedy-Johnson program. And we will win!

I realize that many of my liberal friends - especially in the North - have in the past expressed certain doubts about President Johnson's commitment to the cause of civil rights.

I want to erase those doubts right now. President Johnson is in this fight to the finish. His commitment to civil rights comes from a long family background of deep respect for the dignity of the individual. It stems from his close association with Franklin D. Roosevelt. It reflects the President's concern over the ugly patterns of discrimination against Mexican-Americans he observed as a young school teacher in south Texas. We have today in the White House, as if it was almost an act of - well, indeed, it was an act of fate - a man from the South who will lead this nation into a united program of equal rights for all. What a great opportunity this is for America.

In 1903, W.E.B. DuBois wrote that the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line.

While this statement is over 50 years old, it has not been disproved yet. Civil rights remains the great unfinished business of our time. But it is not the only critical problem we face. Equally important-- indeed, it is intimately connected with the issue of civil rights - is poverty.

Twenty million Americans live in such abject poverty that they must do without the barest essentials. Another 26 million live at the ragged edge of just minimum standards. These two figures add up to one out of every four Americans.

This is a disgrace in the richest nation on the face of the earth. Incidentally, I totally reject the logic and moral implications of the statement that the poor deserve their condition because they either want to be poor or are too lazy to do anything about it.

What sort of logic is this from a candidate for high public office? How callous and indifferent can you get? The men, women and children living in poverty today are those who have been left in the backwash of our economic life - shunted aside, forgotten. They're the first-fired and the last-hired. When the economy dips their plight gets worse, and even when the economy rises they can hope for very little.

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This is a condition that will grow in America unless we take positive steps now. And I warn that unless we do take steps to get at the roots of poverty in this country, we will be in for serious trouble in the years ahead. John L. Lewis was speaking the truth when he said that history warns us that "all forms of government fall when it comes up to the question of bread - bread for the family, something to eat. Bread to a man with a hungry family comes first - before his union, before his citizenship, before his church affiliation. Bread!"

But we don't have to wring our hands and fear future disorders. We can win this war on poverty. A start has already been made in the President's messages to the Congress. They have startled the comfortable in our society to an awareness that there is too much poverty in our age of plenty.

To take advantage of the beginning we must embark on new and expanded educational, housing and public works programs. We must have a "medicare" program, a Youth Conservation Corps to take our jobless boys off the streets, a Domestic Peace Corps to work in our hospitals, our mental institutions and with the children in our slums and on our Indian reservation.

Let me say a special word here about medicare, which is a soundly financed program of hospital and nursing home care for the aged under Social Security.

We are a growing nation at both ends of our age scale - more babies at the bottom and people living longer at the top. In both cases this is due to the finest medical service in the world. But this is a service that costs money and we must find a way to spread the load to help those who are no longer working.

The dignity of old age must be respected. Illness is not a crime that must be paid for by financial poverty or the shame that comes to many when they are forced to accept charity. The young have a duty to help the elderly for the young that do not respect age must soon come to hate their own destiny.

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