



news release

FROM THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE PUBLICITY DIVISION 1730 K STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 6, D.C. FEDERAL 3-8750

FOR RELEASE: TUESDAY P.M.'s
October 6, 1964

B-3831

TEXT PREPARED

FOR DELIVERY

BY

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Oct. 6, 1964

I am honored to be with you -- the men and women of Catholic Charities whom I have admired for years.

Your principles are matched only by your deeds. Because of your convictions about the interrelationship of faith and works, you have never become excessively other-worldly -- you have applied the teachings of the Sermon-on-the-Mount in concrete fashion transforming the City of Man into the City of God.

And you have applied the teachings of Pope John XXIII, the beloved spiritual leader who touched the hearts of men of all faiths, as expressed in his magnificent encyclical, Pacem in Terris:

"Human society, as we picture it, demands that they be animated by such love as will make them feel the needs of others as their own, and induce them to share their goods with others, and to strive in the world to make all men alike heirs to the noblest of intellectual and spiritual values."

Your responsibilities to God have been evidenced by the exercise and fulfillment of your responsibilities to man.

You have been teachers, as well as doers. As my colleagues in the Congress and I have so often observed, the whole process of social and humanitarian legislation has been enriched by your appearances before congressional committees and your continued support of enlightened legislation.

You have always shown devotion to the principle that wise legislation can make men better by making society better. You have never fallen into the trap of blaming the poor for their poverty -- you have never attempted to

(more)

rationalize or excuse the neglect of the poor either by deliberate oversight or callous neglect.

In short, you understand there is an inseparable connection between human progress and social justice.

How truly blessed we are in America! I, like many of you, have travelled among the underdeveloped nations of the world. These lands can achieve little social justice in the short-run. Their meager resources must be rationed between improving living standards and acquiring sufficient capital for the industrialization which offers a better life for their people in the longer run.

America is faced with no such choice. Even in the short run, we cannot afford to do without the highest measure of social justice. We cannot afford to tolerate poverty. And this situation becomes more intolerable as it becomes more avoidable.

I do not intend to demean your intelligence by rebutting the preposterous notion that poverty is simply the fault of the poor. But we should be concerned with another remarkable notion uttered recently: namely, that those of us concerned with the poor have "manufactured" poverty by redefining the "luxuries of yesterday as the necessities of today."

Such a statement only demonstrates the most profound misunderstanding of America -- of its spirit, of its traditions, of its faith, and of its compassion.

Of course the luxuries of yesterday are the necessities of today. This is the exciting story of American progress. Just 60 years ago, for example, an automobile was a luxury; but it is not a luxury today for a poor breadwinner to drive to work when that is the only way to reach his job. Just 30 years ago, electricity was a luxury on most farms; but it cannot be considered a luxury today for a poor farm family to snap on the switch.

Poverty, in short, is measured by the standards of a man's own community. If most Americans are well fed, the man who can't give his family three good meals a day is poor.

If most Americans are well-housed, the man who can't fix the holes in his roof, or have running water in his home, is poor.

If most Americans have adequate clothes, shoes, and books, for school, then the children who lack these things are poor.

Certain persons may take comfort in the fact that the average income of the poor "represents material well-being beyond the dreams of a vast majority of peoples outside the United States" -- but Lyndon Johnson does not -- nor do I.

We cannot measure the poverty of today against, that of other lands, or even against our own past. We measure it against what we can do today and should do tomorrow. And we measure it, as you do, against our own conscience.

What are the dimensions of poverty in America? Is it simply a question of redefinition or relative standards of living?

During 1963 there were 47 million families in the United States. One-fifth of the total had annual incomes below \$3,000. This figure includes some 14 million children -- one-sixth of our youth -- whose parents cannot give them enough to eat, cannot clothe them properly, and cannot afford proper medical and dental treatment. And even more alarming, 5.4 million families containing 8 million children had total annual incomes of less than \$2,000.

The bitter facts of poverty among lonely people -- men and women living on meager pensions, social security, family charity -- are equally shocking.

In 1962, 5 million persons had incomes of less than \$1,500 and about one-third of this number received a total annual income below \$1,000.

These statistics cannot tell the whole story. They cannot convey the devastating consequences of living in slums, the long range effects of deficient medical care, or the psychological impact of suffering the multiple bruises which poverty inflicts.

The acid of poverty corrodes the human spirit. It corrodes faith in oneself, it eliminates hope for the future, and it makes charity to others a rare virtue.

One point must be made abundantly clear: waging war on poverty is not a question of taking from the "haves" and giving to the "have-nots." It is, rather, the principle of Jesus' miracle of the loaves and fishes. We must expand the blessings of this land so that all may participate more fully.

(more)

This is not to underrate the improvement in living standards which has taken place during the past generation. These gains are substantial, and you and others who share your concern deserve a full measure of credit. But our future as a nation and a people will be determined by how wide a gap we maintain between our potential for social justice and its achievement.

When any new governmental program is presented, there inevitably are those who instantly and automatically bewail its cost. President Johnson's anti-poverty program is no exception. In recent days we have heard the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 described as "plainly and simply a raid on your pocketbooks."

Those who perennially raise this cry wear the green eyeshade of a poorhouse accountant. They only see a single ledger sheet before them. But they should look at all the costs: the costs of inaction as well as the costs of action -- the costs of delinquency and crime, of unemployment due to ignorance and lack of skills, and of welfare payments and unemployment compensation.

The fact is we can afford to do whatever we make up our minds to do -- if it is of sufficient urgency. When President Kennedy made the decision to strengthen our defenses, no one doubted that we could do this -- if we were willing to expend the resources. We resolved to do it -- and we did.

So it is with the war on poverty. We can do whatever we resolve to do. And because our efforts to eradicate poverty are an investment in our future prosperity, we will surely reap the dividends.

This means using the powers and policies of the Federal government to assure maximum growth and employment. It means recognizing that the surest road to a balanced Federal budget is a balanced national economy. It means planning ahead and investing in those areas where investment is needed to assure growth: education, natural resources, transportation, communications. It means waging a continuing war not only on poverty, but upon ignorance and discrimination and prejudice -- which President Johnson so correctly called "poverty of the spirit."

Let none of us delude ourselves that the war against poverty will be easily won. But we must begin now -- and we must learn by doing. This is the

(more)

American way. As we overcome some aspects of the poverty problem, others may loom before us. It is foolish to expect that all aspects of all kinds of poverty will be permanently eradicated and require nothing more from us.

No matter how complex the world might be, it is still our world, as President Kennedy said, "here on earth God's work must truly be our own." The forces which direct our destiny remain blind and frightening only if we refuse to open our eyes and exert our own strength in control.

But if we resolve to make no small plans, to accept no small results, and to regard each partial victory as a stepping stone, we can reach our stated goals within a decade -- a summit where all Americans can enjoy fully the air of freedom because poverty no longer threatens them -- because they will have gained further evidence of the validity of our democratic institutions.

We should always remember the profound wisdom expressed so eloquently by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt:

"Governments can err, Presidents do make mistakes, but the immortal Dante tells us that Divine Justice weighs the sins of the cold-blooded and the sins of the warm-hearted in a different scale. Better the occasional faults of a government living in the spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference."

I can assure you that Lyndon B. Johnson and I will never be indifferent to the plight of our less fortunate brethren. We recall -- and shall always follow -- the wisdom of St. Paul in his epistle to the Corinthians:

"Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal... And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity."

#

*Sp file: Oct. 6
St. Louis, Mo.*

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

National Conference of Catholic Charities

St. Louis, Missouri

October 6, 1964

yes L I am honored to be with you -- the men and women of
Catholic Charities whom I have admired for years.

L Your principles are matched only by your deeds. Because
of your convictions about the interrelationship of faith and works,
~~you have never become too other-worldly~~ -- you have applied the
teachings of the Sermon on the Mount in concrete fashion trans-
forming the city of man into the city of God.

L And you have applied the teachings of Pope John XXIII,
the beloved spiritual leader who touched the hearts of men
of all faiths, as expressed in his magnificent encyclical, Pacem
in Terris:

"Human society, as we picture it,

demands that they be animated by such love as will make them feel

the needs of others as their own, and induce them to share their

goods with others, and to strive in the world to make all men alike

heirs to the noblest of intellectual and spiritual values."

↳ Your responsibilities to God have been evidenced by the
exercise and fulfillment of your responsibilities to man.

↳ You have been teachers, as well as doers. ↳ As my colleagues
in the Congress and I have so often observed, the whole process
of social and humanitarian legislation has been enriched by
your appearances before Congressional committees and your
continued support of enlightened legislation.

↳ You have always shown devotion to the principle that
wise legislation can make men better by making society better.

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blaming the poor either by deliberate oversight or callous
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L In short, you understand there is an inseparable
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L How truly blessed we are in America! I, like many of
you, have travelled among the underdeveloped nations of the
world. These lands can achieve little social justice in the

short run. Their meager resources must be rationed between

improving standards and ^{for the immediate period} ~~accruing~~ ^{accumulating} sufficient capital for the *rural development*

and industrialization which offers a better life for their people

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If most Americans have adequate clothes, shoes, and books, for school, then the children who lack these things are poor.

If most Americans live in good homes, then the shum dweller is Poor.
If most of our young people are privileged to attend good schools, then the drop-out, the unschooled is indeed Poor.

~~No~~ ^{Can we} ~~We cannot~~ measure the poverty of today

against that of other lands, or even against our

own past. We measure it against what we can do

today and should do tomorrow. And we measure it,

as you do, against our own conscience.

What are the dimensions of poverty in America?

Is it simply a question of redefinition or

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*- Poverty - Econ.
frustration, illiteracy
Starkness, hopelessness*

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One point must be made abundantly clear:

Waging war on poverty is not a question of taking from the "haves" and giving to the "have-nots." It is, rather, the principle of Jesus' miracle of the loaves and fishes. We must expand the blessings of this land so that all may participate more fully.

This is not to underrate the improvement in living standards which has taken place during the past generation. These gains are substantial, and you and others who share your concern deserve a full measure of credit.

But our future as a nation and a people will be determined by how wide a gap we maintain between our potential for social justice and its achievement.

It is not merely Govt - it is Govt, Fed-State, Local & voluntary organizing.

The Justice gap - as we close it - reveals our moral Standard.

The fact is we can afford to do whatever
we make up our minds to do -- if it is of suf-
ficient urgency. When President Kennedy made
the decision to strengthen our defenses, no
one doubted that we could do this -- if we
were willing to expand the resources. We resolved
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*Moon!
Shot -
Space*

So it is with the war on poverty. We
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*For many years Private
agencies, Catholic Charities
Protestant & Jewish have
labored alone --*

This means using the powers and policies
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*must use
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& exp.*

that the surest road to a balanced federal
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↳ No matter how complex the world might be, it is still our ~~world~~ WORLD. As President Kennedy

said, "Here on earth God's work must truly be our own." ↳ The forces which direct our destiny remain blind and frightening only if we refuse to open our eyes and exert our own strength in control.

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scale. Better occasionally faults of a
government living in the spirit of charity than
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I would hope that no American President
would ever be indifferent to the plight of our
less fortunate brethren, and that every
President might have the wisdom of St. Paul
as expressed in his epistle to the Corinthians:

" Though I speak with the tongues of men
and of angels, and have no charity, I am become
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Speech by
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
at the National Conference of Catholic
Charities
St. Louis, Missouri
October 6, 1964

(Senator Humphrey was speaking when reporter arrived)

And you have applied the teachings of that great peasant priest that became the Holy Father, Pope John XXIII, that beloved spiritual leader, who touched the hearts of men and women everywhere of all faiths on this side of the Iron Curtain and on the other, as expressed in his magnificent encyclical, *Pacem In Terris*.

May I just quote a few words from that encyclical. By the way, I took the liberty as a member of Congress to have printed in the Congressional Record those great encyclical, *Pacem In Terris*, and *Mater Magestra*. (Applause)

Pope John said in that encyclical, "Human society, as we picture it, demands that they be animated by such love as will make them feel the needs of others as their own, and induce them to share their goods with others, and to strive in the world to make all men alike heirs to the noblest of intellectual and spiritual values."

You have taken this encyclical to heart and put it into action. Your responsibilities to God have been evidenced by the exercise and fulfillment of your responsibilities to God's creation, man.

You have been teachers, as well as doers, and as my colleagues in the Congress and I have so often observed, the whole process of social and humanitarian legislation has been enriched by your appearance before congressional committees and your continued support of enlightened legislation.

And your testimony from time to time has had a great deal to do with the modification and the improvement of legislation. I know of no time that the representatives of the Catholic Charities have not been welcomed with open arms and with gratitude by the members of Congress of both political parties.

You have always shown devotion to the principle that wise legislation can make men better by making society a little better, and you have never fallen into the trap of blaming the poor either by deliberate oversight or callous neglect.

In short, you understand that there is an inseparable connection between human progress and social justice.

I have always loved that word "justice." There is a beauty about it, and the Old Testament prophet Amos told us so much about it. Sometimes I feel that in our desire in America to be efficient, to be practical, to be productive, to be rich, to be powerful, we forget the word "justice."

Totalitarian societies can be efficient, they can be powerful, they can be rich, they can be all of those things, but they have never been just, and one word that we ought to cherish and literally pull to our heart is this beautiful word that means so much in terms of humanity, the word, "justice," and social justice is indeed the work of the very people that I now address.

And it has been a great part of the whole system, the whole set of values of America.

I can't help but say, as I have said all across this country, how truly blessed we are in America! I sometimes wonder if we really appreciate it, how fortunate, how blessed we are. I, like many of you, have traveled in many parts of the world, visiting these under-developed or developing areas, as we call them, of Asia and Africa, Latin America. We know of the immense problems that these people face, and how good it is and how fortunate we are that organizations such as the Catholic Charities and other voluntary organizations are doing great work in these areas, remote areas, of the world.

When we designed legislation for the Peace Corps and for the Foreign Aid Program and for the Food for Peace Program, I am happy to say it was my privilege to see that in that legislation was incorporated provisions that not only made it possible but that directed the Government of the United States to work through the great voluntary organizations wherever that was possible. (Applause)

These lands that I speak of, they have such immense problems, they can achieve very little social justice in the short run. Their meager resources must be rationed between improving standards of living for the immediate and the accumulation of capital for rural developments, rural developments and industrialization which offers a better life for their people in the longer run, and I hope that we Americans will be understanding of these people.

Sometimes as I travel across our country I become a bit concerned with our impatience. We fail to understand the staggering problems that some areas of the world have. Let me just cite one, this Latin America area, some of you may have been present at our conference in Chicago in January, the conference that was sponsored by Cardinal Cushing. I was privileged to speak there at that conference and I tried to point out the gains that were being made in Latin America, but the gains that were being made against tremendous odds, and fortunately we not only have a Government working there, our Government, and others, but we have organizations of people who want to give of their lives, not just of their substance but literally give of their soul, of their spirit, of their lives, to help other people.

Slowly but surely the levels of the standard of living are rising in these countries South of the Rio Grande. Slowly but surely the whole doctrine of Christian charity is beginning to find its way and to make its impact, and I, for one, have never seen anything wrong with the Government of the United States, a government that has as its pledge of allegiance not only a pledge to our country but to our God. I have never seen anything wrong with a government of the people, by the people and for the people that believes in a Divine Providence acting compassionately and helping people and extending the warm hand of fellowship and charity to those that need it. (Applause)

Or, if I can put it quite simply, what's wrong in translating your religious and spiritual convictions into social and political action? Why separate them? I have never believed that my religion was only for Sunday and I don't intend to practice it that way. (Applause)

There are in many of these areas of under-development, the choices are not easy. The choices of immediately doing, doing something to immediately alleviate suffering must always be set off against the long range needs of how you develop a country and the decisions are difficult, but here in America, we are not faced with such a choice.

Even in the short run we cannot afford to do without the highest measure of social justice and, might I add, that we can afford to do what we want to do. We cannot afford to tolerate poverty, particularly in the midst of our plenty at a time when we proudly boast of our affluence and of our richness and of our prosperity.

How can we as a ethical and moral people even contemplate or tolerate conditions of poverty amongst the least of these?

And, as I say, this situation of poverty becomes all the more intolerable as it becomes avoidable, because we know now we can do something about it. There is something which has happened in our time. There was a time that it was very difficult to do something about poverty, but one of the facts of our age is that poverty can be met, something can be done about it. We have the tools, the means, the resources, the skills to wage war upon it.

I tried to outline that in this book that Mr. Kelley referred to. I am not putting in a plug for my book per se (Laughter) but it is filled with some meatra information. (Applause)

Now I would not want to demean your intelligence by even rebutting the notion that poverty is simply the fault of the poor. But I do think that we should be concerned with another incredible notion which seems to be gaining some currency in our country, namely, that those of us who are concerned with the poor have manufactured poverty by redefining the luxuries of yesterdays as the necessities of today.

I get a lot of letters that tell me that. I wish you could read some of my mail sometime. (Laughter) I did not know people were so interested in me.

Well now such an attitude of saying that we manufactured poverty, to have something to talk about, so to speak, or that we have redefined it by having the luxuries of yesterdays become the necessities of today, I think this demonstrates a most profound misunderstanding of America, of its spirit, of its traditions, of its faith, and of its compassion.

Of course the luxuries of yesterdays are in many ways the necessities of today. This is the exciting story of American progress. Just 30 years ago, for example, an automobile was a luxury, in fact it was an oddity. But it is not a luxury today for a poor breadwinner to drive to work when that is the only way that he can reach his job, and an automobile may be as important to many as a pair of shoes. Just 30 years ago electricity was a luxury on most farms. I well recall that. But, It surely can't be considered a luxury today for a poor family to snap on the switch.

Poverty, in short, is measured by the standard of a man's own community, and I don't intend to have the standards that we apply to Americans to be measured by the poor impoverished in the streets of Calcutta. This would be intolerability. (Applause)

If most Americans are well fed, then the man who can't provide his family with three good meals a day is poor. If most Americans have decent and adequate clothing, shoes and books for the children at school, then the children who lack these things are poor.

If most Americans live in good homes then those who live in the shanties, in the slums of our cities, they are poor.

And if most of our young people are privileged to attend good schools then those who are out of school or those that never get to school, or those that are so far behind in their learning processes, they are poor.

Nor can we measure the poverty of today, as I said, against other lands or even against our own past. We measure it against what we can do today, and should do tomorrow.

In other words, we must take an inventory of what we have to do, and then see what we are doing with what we have, and if we are not doing the best with what we have, then we are failing in our duty and we are avoiding our responsibilities and we will be held accountable if not by this generation, then by others.

What are the dimensions of poverty in America?

Is it simply a question of redefinition or relative living standards? May I say that poverty is not merely economic. I think frankly that is the easiest thing to deal with. The poverty of the purse. The poverty that concerns this man most is the poverty that comes of the spirit, the poverty as a result of hopelessness, of frustration, of prolonged unemployment, of not being wanted, of no place, no accommodation in the community; the poverty of illiteracy, the poverty of cultural deprivation, and the poverty of sickness, chronic sickness.

This word "poverty" has many dimensions but let's just take a look for a moment at the economic aspect of it because it relates and, in a sense, describes much of the other poverty.

In 1963, as your conference has undoubtedly articulated already, there were 47 million families in the United States. One-fifth of the total, had annual incomes of less than \$3,000. This figure included some 14 million children, one-sixth of our youth, whose parents cannot give them an adequate diet.

These children are inadequately clothed, and frequently they cannot afford adequate medical and dental treatment. And even more alarming, a little over five and a quarter million families containing 8 million children have total annual incomes of less than \$2,000.

Now, if we could by some series of programs and actions over a continuing period of time elevate those incomes not by gifts alone, but by the improvement in skills and adaptability to the society of which they are a part, this not only helps the poor, it helps everybody.

Poverty is like a low-grade infection in your body. It is not enough to make you bedridden, but just enough to slow you down, just enough to deny you the full exhilaration of your power and of your capacity, and we have these pockets of poverty which hold us back just a little bit. It's like a person that has a lingering cold, not enough to keep him away from work, not enough for him to draw sick pay, not enough so that he really can say that he is ill, he just simply says, "You know, I don't feel quite right." And this is what the pockets of poverty do to the American economy and, I think, to the American conscience, because there isn't a one of us that lives such a good and rich and full life but what if we pause for a moment must somehow or another feel a sense of personal guilt and shame that we have permitted so many of God's children to go unnoticed or unheeded or unhelped or at least that we had permitted ourselves not to make the effort to be helpful.

Now, the bitter facts of poverty among lonely people, and I underscore the words "lonely people" -- you can be awfully lonely in a big city, in fact I think you can be more lonely in a great Metropolis where there are thousands of people around you than you can be in the smallest town, because of the sense of indifference that seems to grow in the metropolitan area -- these facts of poverty among lonely people, men and women living on meager pensions, inadequate social security, family charity are equally shocking; and one of the real shocking discoveries of America today is the kind of poverty that exists among our elderly. We have shunted too many of them away to third floor apartments, pushed them into the back rooms, and in the hope that somehow or another we would not

see them, just as we once did with our mentally retarded.

We must come and face up to these problems and bring them to the forefront, and recognize that the whole purpose of our lives is to make human dignity a reality, and not just a prayer; to make human dignity a living fact of life and not just a promise.

The difference again between the totalitaxian and the free man is this belief in human dignity, and human dignity is only true because it is God-given.

The spiritual context of life comes out when you understand that human dignity is there because God did create man in his own image. This is the whole feeling -- (Applause) this is the whole meaning of democracy, very little other justification for it except because man has the soul and spirit, he is different than any other form of creation.

In 1962 we had 50 million persons in this country with incomes of less than \$1,500, 1962. And about one-third of this number received a total income of less than a thousand dollars.

Now these statistics cannot tell the whole story because these are just arithmetical figures. There is a dramatic story here of human anguish, a drama of human experience, These figures cannot convey the devastating consequences of living in slums, the long range effects of deficient medical care, or the psychological and spiritual impact of suffering the multiple bruises which poverty inflicts.

When I hear us talk about lawlessness, and we can't condone lawlessness, but, my dear friends, when I think of Harlem, with 250,000 people in three square miles, with 40 per cent of the Negro youth of teenage unemployed, and growing, with inadequate housing, with rat-infested apartments and tenements, with inadequate playgrounds, I come to the middle west, I love grass, I love the good earth, I don't like asphalt, I want to feel the earth, how many of you realize that if the same density of population as they have in Harlem were applied to the rest of New York you could put the entire population of the United States of America in three boroughs in Metropolitan New York.

People live in a pressure cooker, and they explode.

I want to see my America think not only of how we enforce

the law but how do we make the law just, how do we bring justice. (Applause)

This acid of poverty corrodes faith in one's self. It eliminates hope for the future and it makes charity to others a rare virtue.

Now one point must be made abundantly clear. Waging war on poverty is not a question of taking from the haves and giving to the have-nots. That is not waging any war. That is just robbing Peter to pay Paul as they would say. You don't do that. It is rather the principle, this waging war on poverty is the principle, of Jesus' miracle of the loaves and the fishes.

In other words, we must expand the blessings of this land so that all may participate more fully.

And waging war on poverty isn't just the government. This country of ours is not just government, thank goodness. Waging war on poverty is a partnership between a government, as I said, of the people, and for the people and by the people. With what? With State governments and local governments, but primarily with the great American people organized in their churches, in their voluntary organizations, in their many social groups so that as we wage this war on poverty we get a spiritual experience cleaning our selves as we help others to live a better life. This is my view of it, at least.

Now this is not to underrate in anyway the improvement in the living standards which have taken place over the past generations. Of course, we are proud of that. These gains are tremendous and substantial. You and others have helped make these gains. But our future as a nation and a people will be determined by how wide a gap we maintain between our potential for social justice and its achievement. We have heard about the missile gaps. I tell you, my dear fellow citizens, that the justice gap in America is one that we ought to be concerned about and we ought to close that gap. (Applause)

But I have good news for you. The fact is that we can afford to do whatever we want to do and whatever we make up our mind to do. Any nation that says that it can put a man on the moon and bring him back, and any nation that can plan and plan it with complete objectivity, that we will orbit the earth, that we will travel to other planets, that we will

visit Mars, and this is exactly what our scientists are doing and we, the taxpayers, are paying for it, any nation that says that it can do these things to explore the heavens, I think that nation can do something about the earth and the people that live on it, too. (Applause) All we have to do is to realize that it needs to be done.

Anybody can do what's possible. That is no standard for modern Americans. We have to do what is impossible. We are -- this isn't a matter of just getting by anymore. It is like I talk to my sons as they are in college. I say, "Look, don't bring home those grades about, you know, that you are doing as well as the fellow next to you. I have heard that stuff before. Don't give me any of that average business. Anybody can get by. What I want you to do is to perform with excellence."

The astronaut that orbits this earth, if he got up there and just simply said, "O-kay," it means he is in trouble. He has to say "A-o-kay." (Applause)

What I guess I am saying is that what we will to do we can do. We can arm our nation, we can build an atomic bomb, we can build a hydrogen bomb, we can orbit the earth, we can land on the moon, we can do greater things than man ever dreamed possible. We expanded our defenses, we spent some 35 to \$40 billion, my dear fellow Americans, in the last three and a half years than the preceding ratio of spending for defense because we said we needed it and I think we did.

All I am saying is that what we will, we can do.

So it is with our war on poverty. We can do whatever we resolve to do. But we need to get started, and it isn't the government that is starting it. I want to make it quite clear. The government is now coming along. But you started it, the society of St. Vincent DePaul, you started it. St. Francis of Assisi, he started it, others started it long before governments, and this is the way it should be. The government should be a reflection of popular will. The government does not make popular will. The government should represent popular will, and it should put into action what people want to have done, and you have blazed the path, you have pioneered, and now it is our task to make sure that we follow some of your guidelines, and that we use your great expertise.

Because our efforts to eradicate poverty are an investment in our future prosperity, I say we are going to reap great

dividends.

Now this means, as I said, using the powers and the policies of the Federal Government in cooperation with voluntary groups to assure maximum growth and employment. It means recognizing that the surest road to a federal balanced budget is a balanced national economy and, might I add, also a balanced sheet of our social and spiritual values. This is important.

It means planning ahead, and investing in those areas where investment is needed to assure growth in education, in natural resources, in transportation and rebuilding many of our cities so that they are not only a place in which you can work but rather a place in which you can live.

The American city has an ugliness of the slum and sometimes an ugliness of the spirit all too often, and we need not only the beauty of design for our buildings, but we need the beauty of the spirit for where the people live in happiness and in an environment that is conducive to human mankind.

Why not build cities for men rather than twisting and molding men for cities? I think we are going to. It is going to take some forward looking people to think about this, and some people are going to be accused of being dreamers, and very impractical. If I ever fail to be accused of that then I have outlived my usefulness. (Applause)

Yes, this balanced national economy means waging a continuing war not only on that economic poverty, but upon ignorance, bigotry, discrimination, prejudice, in other words, waging war on the poverty of the spirit.

So let none of us delude ourselves for a moment that this war will be easily won but we must begin now and I want us to be as fervent in our desire to win this war as we are to stop the onward rush of Communist totalitarianism, two wars in one. (Applause)

And by the way, we can wage both of them at once. As somebody said not long ago, we have arrived at a time when we can have both guns and butter. We can. In fact we have a little too much of both. (Laughter)

But the idea is what President Kennedy said, and I hope you won't mind that reference. President Kennedy said -- (Applause) "Let us begin," "Let us begin." All over America I see these young people, their late and beloved President

inspired these young people. They loved him, and they are taking a new interest in their country, and what he did to them was to lift their sights, and he said to us, "let's start. Let's be courageous, let's be daring, let's be adventuresome, let us begin."

Too many people want to wait for everything to be, all the evidence to be, in and by the time it is all in, the court is adjourned. You are dead. (Applause)

And because we have the faith to begin we learn by doing. Now that is the American way. We don't have to have a blueprint for every action. Learn by doing. Sure we will make some mistakes. The man that has never made one could hold a conference in a telephone booth. (Laughter)

And as we overcome some of these mistakes, learn from them and as we overcome some of the aspects of the poverty problem, others may loom before us. But it is foolish to expect that all aspects of all kinds of poverty will soon be eradicated and require nothing more from us. And I hear people say, "If you can't do it in a hurry what do you start for?" Well, there are a lot of things we can't do in a hurry. You did not build the great church in a hurry. We did not build America in a hurry but we keep at it, and both look pretty strong to me. (Applause)

So I say no matter how complex the world may be it still is our world and it appears that at least for a few days we will be here. (Laughter)

As President Kennedy once said, "Here on earth good work must truly be our own." The forces which direct our destiny remain blind and frightening only if we refuse to open our eyes and exert our own strength in control.

But if we resolve to make no small plans, to accept no meager or small results, to regard each partial victory as but a stepping stone, I say that we can reach our stated goals within a decade or a generation or maybe two generations. A summit where all Americans can enjoy fully the air of freedom because poverty no longer threatens them, because they will have gained further evidence of the validity of the democratic institutions.

Great cathedrals were not built in a day. The story of every cathedral is the story of generations of loving care, of artisans and skilled workmen, of church men and of faithful

parishioners, over the years, some of them centuries, and the cathedral of the Great Society of America isn't going to be built in a day, but let's start, let's get with it.

Build its foundations, that we have; and we are building this mighty edifice and great towers to the heavens, but let's keep building and if we find that we have planned wrongly, let us change. Let us not stand there and condemn one another for our mistakes but let us join together in forgiveness and move ahead to accomplishment.

I think we should often remember the profound wisdom that once was so eloquently expressed by President Roosevelt. I have always loved this statement, I guess maybe because it gives me a little feeling that I am not so bad after all.

He said, "Governments can err, presidents do make mistakes, but the immortal Dante tells that divine justice weights the sins of the cold-blooded and the sins of the warm-hearted on a different scale. Better the occasional faults of a government living in the spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference."

Those words were said in the 30's. They need to be said in the 60's, and they will need to be said in the year 2,000.

I would hope therefore that no American leader, public or private, that no President anytime in our history, would ever be indifferent to the plight of our less fortunate brethren. I think we ought to remember that America is as strong basically as its weakest, and that our solemn moral duty is to be concerned with the least of these.

I think that every president might well be advised to try to share in the wisdom of St. Paul as expressed in his epistle to the Corinthians: "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal... and now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity."

God bless you, thank you.

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firshein
nash

Senator Humphrey
Downtown Rally
St. Louis, Missouri
October 6, 1964

Thank you very much.

(Cries of "We want Hubert.")

You have got him. All right. You have called loud enough and you have me. Here I am.

(Applause.)

Senator Long, will the good Democratic friends put their signs down. We don't mind if that other one is up.

(Laughter and applause.)

I hope -- you know we were in California the last couple of days and they were paying the young fellow out there 50 cents an afternoon to carry those signs. I hope they are doing much better than that here in this fine community of St. Louis.

Senator Long, it is a great pleasure to be here in this great city of St. Louis that tomorrow will be the setting and the home staging area for America's great sport, the World Series and the St. Louis Cardinals -- (applause) -- and the St. Louis Cardinals that have given America such amazing baseball teams over the years and have given to America the one and only Stan Musial.

I have a feeling that while everybody here, with a few exceptions, I see one or two, though most everybody here is very, very happy, that tomorrow you are going to be a whole lot happier.

(Applause.)

I am delighted to have the privilege of sharing this platform with some of the fine public servants of this state, and indeed to be here with my colleague in the Senate, Senator Ed Long. I regret that our good friend, the senior Senator from this state could not be with us. He is campaigning elsewhere. He knows very well that he can rely upon us to say the word for him that ought to be said and he justly deserves.

I know full well that the people of Missouri are so proud of Senator Stuart Symington that they are going to elect

him with an overwhelming majority.

(Applause.)

Your good Mayor was kind enough to greet me at the airport this morning, a number of your distinguished citizens. May I pay my respects to the Congressmen that are here that have spoken to you, your candidate for Governor, your candidate for Lt. Governor, Mr. Hearn, Mr. Fagelson, may I say to them that Missouri has enjoyed Democratic leadership under John Dalton and I can't imagine once you become accustomed to such good living that you would want to turn the clock back and vote for a Republican, so I suggest that you vote for Governor Hearn.

(Applause.)

You know that one of the facts of this campaign that is quite evident is the great enthusiasm of the people that are voting for President Lyndon Johnson, and those people are not just Democrats. I think that it is nothing short of amazing that people of all walks of life and of both of the great political parties have found that they must give their support to a trusted and a true and a respected and an experienced leader, the President of the United States.

When you can get a newspaper like the New York Herald Tribune that has never before endorsed a Democrat, and you can get the Saturday Evening Post that since 1797 has never endorsed a Democrat, and when you can get the New York Tribune, Life Magazine, and the Saturday Evening Post saying that Lyndon B. Johnson is the man that you ought to have in the White House, I think the Goldwater buttons ought to be taken off, the signs ought to be thrown away.

(Applause.)

Of course, that obvious fact is that these great publications are Republican and the fact of the matter is that the leader, the temporary spokesman, of the Goldwater faction of a fraction of the Republican Party is not, in the words of Governor Scranton of Pennsylvania, he is not in the words of that Republican Governor, within the mainstream of Republican policy or thought, and we welcome those Republicans that come to us.

(Applause.)

Now, let me in the moments that I have with you today talk

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to you not about the past, not even about our opposition. Let me talk to you about a record of accomplishment and achievement which is being heralded and written about, talked about all throughout this land.

The City of St. Louis on December 30, 1960 had 8.7 per cent, almost 9 per cent of its work force unemployed. That was the economic fact of this community.

Today the City of St. Louis is enjoying unprecedented prosperity, it has one of the lowest rates of unemployment of any city in the world right here in the City of St. Louis.

(Applause.)

When John F. Kennedy became President of the United States, this city, like many others, like the great city to your north, Detroit, since you are one of the great automobile producing cities, there was Detroit, the great center of automobile production, that city with almost 10 per cent of its workers unemployed, your city with almost 9 per cent of its workers unemployed, and today these two cities find themselves teeming beehives of industrial activity and high employment.

This didn't happen by accident. This didn't happen as if it fell out of the clouds. This came about because an Administration and a political party and industry and labor and others worked together to help build a more prosperous America.

John Kennedy said on that day of January 20, 1961, "Let's get this country moving again." He said, "Let us begin." He said, "I accept responsibility. I welcome it."

And then he asked us to look to the future, and immediately this man in 1,000 days of dramatic leadership, launched one program after another, and then when the mantle of leadership was taken from him by the assassin's bullet, it was picked up by the man that he had selected as his Vice President, and today in the White House, today in the Capital City of Washington you have a man that is recognized by friend and foe alike, by Republican and Democrat alike as one of the most able, one of the most gifted, one of the most experienced, one of the most talented political leaders that has ever occupied the office of Presidency.

(Applause.)

The Kennedy - Johnson Administration, it didn't, go back and say, "Let us study the ancient chapters of history." The Kennedy-Johnson Administration didn't take you back, back, back and say, "Let's think about how things used to be."

The Kennedy-Johnson Administration said, "Let's get to work, let's think about the things as they are. Let's deal with the world of reality, and let's look ahead."

And we came to grips with one problem after another; workers that had been displaced through automation, job training, older people who had no place to turn for employment were given vocational training. Public works in communities where there was need for jobs and for the improvement of civic improvement.

Area redevelopment for areas where there were unemployed and where industries were stagnant. In other words, this government of ours set to work and started to stimulate this great economy in cooperation with the American people. Not government alone, but government and people. Investment tax credit to encourage every industry in Missouri, to expand its facilities and modernize.

A tax cut bill, a tax cut bill, that gave purchasing power back to the American people to the tune of nine billion dollars. And over two billion dollars of tax relief to American corporate business and what has been the result? In less than four years we have added a hundred twenty five billions of dollars to our gross national product, 72 million workers employed.

Business profits are up 10 billion dollars over any Republican years. Unemployment is down, dividends are up. But the opposition leader says, "This is all artificial. It isn't real." This is the danger of having a candidate who wears glasses that don't have any lenses.

(Applause.)

And, my friends, it may seem artificial to the man from Arizona but General Motors doesn't think it is artificial, Henry Ford doesn't think it is artificial, the banks of America don't think it is artificial, the contractors don't think it is artificial.

America isn't stopping -- America isn't going to play dead just because the candidate of the opposition says that

things are bad.

He goes around and says, "Oh, I am sick and tired of what is happening." Well, may I say if you are sick, go to bed.

(Laughter.) (Applause.)

And may I respectfully say, if you are tired get out of the way and let somebody who wants to go to work go to work.

(Applause.)

America is not sick, and America is not tired. America is healthy, America is wide awake. America is active, America is moving forward, and America wants a President that looks forward. We don't want a leader that tries to guide this country by looking through a rear view mirror and putting the car in reverse, not one bit. We want to have a man in the White House and we want to have members of Congress who have unbounded faith in this country, not only faith in its economy, and is it any wonder that the captains of industry are coming to the Democratic banner, and here the other day I heard somebody say, "Oh, all the Democrats have got for Lyndon is big business, big labor and agriculture and the minority groups."

Not bad if we have got all of that.

(Laughter and applause.)

And my good friends we have built the kind of enduring economy which is going to offer more and more opportunity to more and more people.

Secondly, this Administration has not only built a prosperous economy working with, encouraging business, hand in hand with business, believing in our enterprise system, but it has also built a better society for our people, a better society through recognizing the need of greater education, higher education acts passed in Congress, a food stamp plan that your Congressman right here on this platform sponsored in the House of Representatives; the expansion of our national defense education act; student loans for deserving students; cleaning up of our cities through urban renewal, a host of programs designed for people.

And one of those programs, may I say, that was passed with the leadership of both parties, and I want to stop here to pay my respects to both of the political parties, to a man like

Senator Dirksen of Illinois, Senator Kuchel of California, who stood side by side with us, Senator Saltonstall of Massachusetts, Senator Aiken of Vermont, all Republicans, all good men, standing side by side with President Johnson, with Senator Mansfield, with Senator Symington, with Senator Long, and may I add with Senator Humphrey and a few others.

(Applause.)

We knew that the issue of human rights was not partisan. We knew that the issue of constitutional guarantees was not a prerogative of Democrats and Republicans. We knew that the great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, made a commitment 100 years ago to this nation and to this world, the promise of emancipation, and two great political parties, the party of Lincoln, and the party of Jefferson, yes, the party of Lincoln and the party of Kennedy and of Johnson, those two political parties stood together and with an overwhelming majority in both Houses of the Congress we said to the whole world there is but one kind of citizenship in America and that is first-class American citizenship.

(Applause.)

But my dear friends, just as in the instance of the tax bill, the manpower training bill, the accelerated public works bill, the area redevelopment bill, the national defense education act, you name it, every one of those measures designed to help the people of this country voted for by a majority of Republicans, voted for by a majority of Democrats, but not Senator Goldwater.

(Applause.)

It is an amazing thing, it is an amazing thing how one person can feel he is so right and how everybody else is out of step. I happen to think that the collective and combined judgment of a majority of the Republicans in the House of Representatives and the Senate, the majority of the Republicans in the United States Senate and the House, I happen to think that combined judgment is maybe just a little bit better than the judgment of the temporary spokesman of the Republican Party.

(Applause.)

And so today, my friends, today your America moves forward, today the people of this country are better off than

they have been for years, they are happier, their youngsters are receiving a better education, they are living better, they are eating better, they are housed better and everybody knows it except one man.

One man somehow or another he can't seem to see it. He feels that things are bad. He feels that the prosperity is an illusion. He feels that the people somehow or another have lost their moral fiber and their will to live. I have never seen healthier looking people in my life than I see here this afternoon.

(Applause.)

And ladies and gentlemen, not only has this Administration of this President sought to work for the prosperity and for the economic development of this country, not only has he sought to work for the betterment of our people, but he has sought to work for our security, our strength and the peace of the world.

And when you get right down to it, my fellow Americans, everything else fades into insignificance. We have today one candidate that has instant answers for every problem, instant solutions. The trouble with instant solutions in international affairs is it results in instant annihilation and we are not going to have that.

You need a man as President of this country, someone that has worked for such great creative programs as the Peace Corps. What did the man from Arizona call the Peace Corps, which has done this country more good abroad than anything that we have ever initiated, he called it a haven for beatniks. This was his description of it.

We have established a great Food for Peace program where from the farms of Missouri and Minnesota and elsewhere the abundance of our fields, the abundance of our great family farm establishments has been used to feed the hungry, has been used to open up new markets, has been used to create commercial exports, has been used for economic development.

American food has saved lives, American food has demonstrated to the world that America's free enterprise system, America's free agriculture, America's family farm is the miracle of the world.

And the Communist system is the failure of the world and

American agriculture has proved it.

(Applause.)

The Peace Corps, Mr. Arizona says "No." Food for Peace, "No." The Arms Control Agency, "No." The great research programs in international health, "No." Yet while all of these noes were being given by one or two men, the vast majority of the American people, Republicans and Democrats alike, supported these efforts, and today, my friends, the admonition of John Kennedy is being kept.

He said, "We will build our strength, we will never be afraid to negotiate but we will never negotiate from fear." And we today conduct our diplomacy not by ultimatums but we conduct it, if you please, from a position of strength the likes of which this world has never known, and America today is stronger than ever before in its history and everybody knows it save one.

(Applause.)

And surely the people of Missouri ought to know it. This state produces, is the third largest state in defense production.

America today has the power not only greater than it has ever had before, but greater than all of its adversaries put together. And yet I hear from the opposition that we are weak. What nonsense is this. What colossal nonsense and deception is this?

The Senator from this state, Stuart Symington, former Secretary of the Air Force, can testify to you if you want it from anyone else but this Senator, that America today is the mightiest nation that God ever knew or that any people ever created.

(Applause.)

But the opposition tells the Kremlin, tells you we are weak, we are losing our strength, we are losing our will. Ah, my friends, there was a time when there could be some reasonable slowdown in the arms race, when this great massive nuclear power might be brought under some control.

A President with 100 other nations negotiated a nuclear

test ban treaty to slow down the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, to prevent our atmosphere from being polluted, to prevent the milk that children drink from being adulterated from strontium, to prevent the soil from being contaminated, to prevent yet unborn generations from being affected by radioactive debris and radioactive destruction.

The vast majority of the United States Senators, Republicans and Democrats alike, men of wisdom, men of prudence, Conservatives, Liberals, Democrats, Republicans, they listened to the testimony, they examined into the issue with meticulous care and they placed their faith after careful examination in a treaty that would halt or slow down this nuclear arms race, and would prevent this air of ours from being destroyed and being polluted by radioactive debris.

Every one with few exceptions overwhelmingly, three-fourths of the members of the Senate, voted for the nuclear test ban treaty, voted for the future, voted for peace, voted for reason, voted for some semblance of hope, but not the Senator from Arizona.

No, he voted "No," and this is why I now say to you, that it is an amazing thing, is it not, that everybody else can be so wrong. It is an amazing thing, is it not, that when we come to meetings like this the only evidence that anybody presents and the only charge is they put up signs "Pinko," "Socialism", all that unadulterated hogwash.

(Applause.)

Let me say this, let me say this, to my fellow Americans. If the radicals of the Goldwater right want to advocate socialism that is their business. I am for America and its free enterprise system.

(Applause.)

And if in their frustration they turn a little pink or a little red, I want to say that I am for the red, white and blue of America.

(Applause.)

And finally, may I say, there isn't a shadow of a doubt what is going to happen. In their hearts they know Lyndon Johnson is going to be President of the United States.

(Laughter.)

So, my dear friends, I think the choice is quite obvious between a man who is responsible and one who is irresponsible, between a man who has strength and firmness as compared to one who is impetuous and rash.

I think the American people are going to make that choice and I think they see in President Lyndon Johnson a man of calm temperament, a man of reason, a man of strength, a man of tolerance, a man who seeks to unite America, not divide it, a man who seeks to heal our wounds, not to scarify them, a man, if you please, who seeks to build a peaceful world through negotiation, through understanding, through economic progress, and through social betterment, and not one who seeks to obliterate it by miscalculation.

I happen to believe that Lyndon B. Johnson has come to us at a crucial time in our history, when we have needed a man that is firm and resolute without being arrogant and belligerent, when we have needed a man who has preached national unity, when we needed a nation that could stand together and I ask the people of Missouri, I ask the people of St. Louis, I ask you to give this man your help.

You can trust Lyndon Johnson, and if you place your trust in him, I submit to you that the commitments of this Administration will be kept, and America will not only be a better place in which to live now, but it will have a great and wonderful future.

Thank you.

(Applause.)



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