

[Aug. 2 1964]

YOUNG DEMOCRATS CONVENTION, LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

Coming here to address a Young Democrats convention gives me a little pause. It seems like only yesterday that even my wife considered me a Young Democrat.

So, you not only honor me, you flatter me when you ask me to substitute for two such fine young Democrats as Ted Kennedy and Birch Bayh.

Since receiving your gracious invitation from Governor Breathitt I've taken a slightly different look at the Senate and it's made me do a little thinking.

The United States Senate is a changed body since that day back in 1949 when I first took the oath of office at the age of 37. For one thing, we have many more good Democrats in the chamber now. But there's been another change, too. The people are sending younger men to Washington.

Do you realize that there now are 11 men in the Senate who are under 45? All but two of them are Democrats.

And take a look at the freshman class of 1962 that produced Birch Bayh and Ted Kennedy. There are eight freshmen Democrats in that class. Three of them are under 40---Birch Bayh, Ted Kennedy and Dan Inouye of Hawaii. Four of those eight freshman Democrats are in their 40s. And the oldest freshman Democrat is 54.

I think this tells us something about the appeal of the Democratic party. I think this tells us that young people are attracted to the Democratic party---that there is a future in the Democratic party for young people.

The main reason for this is that the Democratic party doesn't discourage its young. It is not afraid of new ideas. It doesn't fear the future.

The Democratic party doesn't wring its hands over problems and grumble "that's the way things have always been---you can't do anything about it." No, we look on problems as challenges, opportunities, responsibilities.

The late President Kennedy put it well in his stirring Inaugural Address: "I do not shrink from this responsibility; I welcome it."

This is also the credo of the man who succeeded President Kennedy---Lyndon B. Johnson.

President Johnson has vowed to carry on the New Frontier programs of John F. Kennedy and work toward creation of "The Great Society." He looks forward---not backward to the "Lost Horizon."

The issue in November will be clear. The Republican Party---or at least those who claim to speak for it---is proclaiming its yearning for the good old days of long ago when everything was oh-so-simple. They would cope with the issues of the 1960s by retreating into the last Century.

Now, I don't scoff at nostalgia. It's a lot of fun---in its proper place. But nostalgia is not an acceptable issue for the Campaign of 1964. Retreat into the past does not solve the problems that confront us today.

Nor does it do any good to come up with a lot of "shoot-from-the-hip" nonsense about selling the Tennessee Valley Authority or trying to scrap the Social Security system by making it voluntary.

No---we Democrats believe in keeping the best things of the past and building on them. We are not afraid to look into the future and work for the full development of each man's potential.

Our aim is to give every American the means and the opportunity to secure the better things of life for themselves and their children. This is the primary goal of the "Great Society" envisioned by President Johnson.

It is to our advantage---to the nation's advantage to have everyone in this country aspiring to live a better life and reach a little higher on the ladder and have better economic opportunities and more social justice.

That is what we are talking about when we are working for civil rights. That is what we are talking about when we are waging the War on Poverty.

The richest nation in the world can't afford to have one-fifth of its people living in poverty. The richest nation in the world can't afford unemployment and periods of economic recession.

So far, I'm happy to report that under the Kennedy-Johnson administration we have had a record-breaking period

of more than 40 months of continuing prosperity and progress. Times are good, the number of people working is at a record high and profits and income are all up.

But this should not make us smug or satisfied. We have too much unemployment...too many pockets of poverty... and we must do more to attack the roots of poverty and the conditions that breed it.

One of the main battlegrounds in the War on Poverty will be in the rural areas of America where the small farmer is being driven further and further to the wall---or forced to leave the life he and his family have known for generations for the pressure-cooker atmosphere of our big cities.

This Administration is trying to help these hard-pressed farmers by providing technical assistance and loans so they can take unneeded and marginal cropland out of production and convert it to tother profitable uses---

grassland, woodland, wildlife and game refuges or recreation areas.

We also are acting to improve rural housing, helping smaller communities with urban renewal projects and loans for new public facilities and new water and sewage systems.

All this will help win the War on Poverty---but the primary effort will come in the field of education.

We must give better education to our children. I am sure no one would disagree with this. But I also am sure you will hear a lot of grumbling and quibbling about the cost from some of our short-sighted citizens.

I say there is no such thing as an expenditure for education. There is an investment in education. Every dollar we invest in education will come back tenfold. An investment for your sons and daughters, for your grandchildren, for your country...because education is power and education is wealth.

This present Congress---the 88th Congress---has done more for education than any Congress since the Morrill land-grant college act was passed in 1863.

But we must do more---and we shall. President Johnson stated our goal in his speech on the Great Society last month. "For every child a place to sit and a teacher to learn from," the President said.

Mr. Johnson went on to say that the "place to build the Great Society is in the classrooms of America. There your children's lives will be shaped. Our society will not be great until every young mind is set free to scan the farthest reaches of thought and imagination. We are still far from that goal."

We still face a critical classroom shortage in this country. We still have too many underpaid teachers. We do not have enough guidance and counseling services for our

high school students. We need more specially trained teachers to help 5 million retarded and handicapped children become useful citizens. We need more engineers, scientists and technicians for an age where excellence is the standard---not merely a desirable goal.

These challenges we can meet. We have the opportunity to make the development of brainpower America's most important task and education our first and foremost industry.

But I can tell you here and now this is a challenge that will never be met by a political party that doesn't care...or even worse by a political party that is bent only on destruction.

We are going into the Campaign of 1964 with a President who wants to unite this country and not tear it apart. And our task as fellow Democrats is to maintain that unity within our own party. Above all, we should conduct ourselves with good manners, good taste, and firmness

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in the right as God gives us to see the right.

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County Speech

THE AMERICAN SYSTEM AND THE GREAT SOCIETY

It is fashionable today in American politics to look back with a touch of nostalgia to the good old days when the simple life still prevailed in this land. We hear a great deal about the need to recapture the simple and direct approach of our ancestors in solving our contemporary crises and challenges. Many people tingle with anticipation at the thought of reliving those golden days. And this call of the lost horizon possesses a certain appeal to persons weary of their charter membership in the crisis-of-the-week club.

In this stampede to the past it is generally forgotten that every generation has had its share of complex problems and crises. Read any period of our history and the lesson is always the same: Democracy in America is a difficult business. In fact, man's eternal struggle to govern himself is the most demanding of all human endeavors. This is just as true today as it was in the golden days of some unidentified past.

But every generation has heard its false prophets pleading for a return to the glories of yesterday, only thereby to sacrifice their right to participate in the building of today and tomorrow. One hundred years in the future--in the year 2064--I am confident there will be the same fervent pleas to recapture the verities which guided Americans in the early decades of the nuclear and space age. Then we will suddenly become the hardy pioneers whose understanding of virtue and principle will provide the instant solutions to the problems of the inter-planetary world of the 21st century. But depend upon it: This message will be just as false then as it is now.

Despite the problems and crises which have always been before us, democracy in America has prevailed. It has prevailed because each generation of Americans has joined in this struggle with the faith and courage displayed by our late President John F. Kennedy when he proclaimed in his Inaugural Address: "...I do not shrink from this responsibility--I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation." And democracy has prevailed because of the faith and courage displayed by our President Lyndon B. Johnson when he addressed a grief-stricken Congress and nation on November 27, 1963: "This is our challenge--not to hesitate, not to pause, not to turn about and linger over this evil moment, but to continue on our course so that we may fulfill the destiny that history has set for us..."

This affirmation has been proclaimed anew by every generation of Americans. It does not promise prefabricated solutions to the complex problems of democratic government. It recognizes that the essence of politics is the asking and reasking of the most difficult of all questions: What is justice? What is right? We can never seek these answers and never govern ourselves successfully on the basis of generalities, half-truths, and myths--no matter how superficially appealing they may be.

As one who has served in local government--the Mayor of a city of over one-half million people, Minneapolis, Minnesota--I believe I have some appreciation of the importance of local government in our federal system. Those of us who have served at the local level come face to face with the tough daily problems of the relationship of government to the people.

And make no mistake about it, when the people think of government, they are primarily thinking of that government which touches their lives--the police and fire departments, the health and transportation services, the education and cultural facilities, and, yes, even the property taxes and the sales tax.

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American government is more than Washington. American government is Washington, the State Capitol, the county court houses, the city and village halls, the town meetings and the thousands of independent separate governmental authorities that range from port authorities to sewage systems, from metropolitan airports commissions to the local school boards.

No nation in the world has had as much experience in self-government as ours. If there is one area of human activity in which we can claim superior knowledge and greater experience it is in the field of representative self-government. I salute those public officials--elected and appointed--who serve on the front line of public service and who all too often go unappreciated and unrewarded.

We are, however, exposed to some of the most remarkable notions about the role of the Federal government in relation to the states, counties, and localities.

We have heard the shopworn phrases about "Washington's ever eager fingers of bureaucracy" grabbing responsibilities which supposedly have been defaulted by local governments. We are exposed to the same tired misconceptions of a pitiless Federal establishment solely "obsessed by the enlargement of its role and its personnel" and trampling over the rights of a helpless populace. We are told of certain unnamed people who "seek solutions only by concentrating more and more power in fewer and fewer hands."

These tired complaints demonstrate a most profound misunderstanding of the dynamics of the American federal system. As professionals in the increasingly difficult task of governing our counties, you know that State, county and local government is not about to collapse from any merciless onslaught from Washington.

Indeed, the facts demonstrate that in recent years expansion of American government has occurred primarily at the State and local levels as these governments have struggled with the gigantic task of governing America. Financial and employment figures tell much of the story. Since 1946, for example, State, county, and local governments and their budgets have grown more rapidly than the Federal government despite our national commitments to national defense, space exploration, nuclear development, veterans' benefits, postal service, and welfare programs. While Federal spending has increased 46% over this period, State, county, and local expenditures have soared by over 400%. Federal taxes per capita have increased almost 75%, but State, county and local taxes have jumped 213%. The Federal debt has risen by slightly more than 10% in the past 18 years; State, county and local debt has climbed by more than 400%.

This is not criticism; it is a factual analysis that tells the story of a growing and demanding America. The willingness of our State, county and local governments to assume a greater share of our common burden deserves explicit recognition and commendation. So, let's stop suggesting that the localities have either sold out or caved in to the Federal government. This is one Senator who considers them very much alive!

To those who say that the Federal government is taking over our local governments, I can only point out that the number of Federal employees has declined about 10% since 1946--while employees of the State, county and local governments have risen by over 100%. Not long ago the ratio of Federal employees was 19 per thousand of the total U.S. population; today that number has fallen to 13 per thousand. Of these 13, 5 are located in the Defense Department, 3 in the Post Office Department, and 1 in that Veterans Administration. The remainder--about 600,000 employees--comprise about 100,000 persons less than it takes to operate the Bell Telephone System.

Government has indeed grown since World War II--right from the grass roots of America. And why has this remarkable growth taken place? I am sure you know the reason far better than I. Government has grown because

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America has grown. You see and feel America develop and grow every month--every year.

I came to the U. S. Senate in 1949. Since then, the United States has added people equal to the entire present population of Great Britain and we continue to grow at the rate of 3 million new persons each year. These people have needed roads, housing, jobs, police and fire protection, water and sewer systems, transportation facilities and the whole range of essential services which comprise good government in the 20th century.

The country is now gripped by an industrial and technological revolution which, when coupled with our population growth, requires us to create 300,000 additional jobs each month just to stay even in terms of unemployment percentages. Life expectancy has increased from 49 years in 1900 to 70 years today; one thousand people per day reach the age of 65. In 1950 there were 2.3 million students in institutions of higher learning; by 1970 there will be 7 million--more than a 300% increase. We are still lacking 60,000 classrooms in elementary and secondary schools if we want to eliminate overcrowding. Each year 100,000 qualified high school graduates fail to attend college because they lack the necessary funds. Can responsible government simply ignore these social and economic realities? Of course not.

Those persons who denounce the response of our Federal, State, and local governments to these forces remind me of the Kansas farmers who tried in the 1860's to lynch a weatherman because he correctly predicted a tornado.

I suggest that it is time to talk sense to the American people. It is time to ask this fundamental question: What should be the appropriate roles of the Federal, State, county and local governments in terms of the social and economic realities of 1964? Can we devise methods and procedures whereby the unique capabilities of each level are used to the fullest? Will each segment of our federal system be prepared to allocate the human and economic resources necessary to get the job done? These are questions worthy of a free people determined to make democracy work.

In seeking these answers, one fact stands out above all others: the respective levels of government in the American system are partners in a common enterprise. The basis for this truth has been recognized since the dawn of our Republic. Writing in the Federalist Papers (No. 46), James Madison noted that "the federal and State governments are in fact but different agents and trustees of the people..." In our democracy the people are masters at all levels. If this is true, and I believe it is, it makes little sense to drive a wedge between the people and the government at any level.

Government and people are collaborators in the common cause of securing the national interest, not mutual antagonists contending against one another for power and glory.

Without bothering to wrap all of this up in fancy political theory, we have attained a sound and workable *modus operandi* for our federal system. No one advocates running everything from Washington. Indeed, the major Federal agencies have devolved an immense amount of decision-making to their State and regional offices which are generally run by local individuals. Most Federal programs are administered on terms highly favorable to the States and localities: the Federal government provides a substantial portion of the money, demands certain minimal standards, and the rest is left to the wisdom and abilities of local officials.

The development of these methods and procedures has proceeded for many decades, during the ascendancy of both major parties, and is about as bi-partisan an operation as the observance of the Fourth of July. Beginning with the Kestevenbaum Commission in 1954, the Joint Federal-State Action Committee in 1957, and continuing with the permanent Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, established by act of Congress in 1959, the question of federal relationships has received--and is receiving--detailed and searching reexamination. The Senate and House have subcommittees specifically charged with similar responsibilities. Topics ranging from government in metropolitan areas to periodic reassessments of Federal grant-in-aid programs have recently occupied the Senate subcommittee of which I am proud to be a member. All of these bodies are constantly exploring for ways to improve what is already a remarkably effective system of intergovernmental relations.

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As President Johnson proclaimed so eloquently in his address at the University of Michigan on the "Great Society": "The solution to these problems does not rest on massive programs in Washington, nor can it rely solely on the strained resources of local authority. They require us to create new concepts of cooperation, a creative federalism, between the national Capital and the leaders of local communities."

Let's look at some specific situations. You--as county officials--and I--as a former mayor of Minneapolis--have direct knowledge of the severe limitations on the revenue resources of our local governments.

As many of you know, for many years I have been concerned with the revenue losses accruing to county and municipal governments due to tax-free Federal properties. I have attempted to devise an equitable formula of Federal payments in lieu of taxes. This effort to devise such a formula should be resumed in the 89th Congress.

Consistent with the requirements of national defense, the Federal government should advocate fiscal and monetary policies and sponsor action programs to increase local tax revenues. The Kennedy-Johnson Administration has been doing just this through the tax cut, the investment tax credit, and accelerated depreciation schedules.

These policies have produced the longest sustained period of economic growth in 110 years, a factor which certainly enhances the revenue resources of governments at all levels in our federal system.

There is, of course, one problem of special urgency and importance now confronting our country. The issue of civil rights and racial justice challenges the wisdom, abilities, and resources of our Federal, State, and local governments to an extent not equaled by any other issue of this century. And its resolution will only be possible through the unique relationship of partnership and cooperation which characterizes the American system.

In passing the civil rights bill we sought to create a framework of law wherein men of good will and reason could attempt to resolve peacefully the difficult and emotional issues of human rights. Passage of the bill certainly did not solve these problems, but it did establish certain channels and procedures to make their solution more probable.

As county officials, you know that most of this burden rests upon the shoulders of our local governmental officials. Only when communities and States are unable to meet their responsibilities set forth in this act is direct Federal action authorized. This is surely within the best traditions of our American system.

Every responsible public official has the obligation to see that civil peace is maintained across this land. No solutions to these terribly difficult problems are possible in the midst of chaos, violence and disorder. As I have stated on numerous occasions: Civil wrongs do not make civil rights.

But neither can we afford to believe that by driving angry mobs from the street we are touching the festering sores of unemployment, dilapidated and overcrowded housing, drug addiction, and hopelessness which afflict the ghetto areas of our large urban centers.

We speak of restoring civil peace to our cities, and so we must. But let it be a peace with justice. Let us understand that we can no longer postpone the massive problem of restoring our decaying cities in both a material and spiritual sense. We can no longer afford the luxury of pretending that the problem is unreal, or that it will somehow go away, or that the people trapped in these ghettos rather enjoy their misery.

No responsible public official suggests that the States, counties and cities are prepared to command the financial and human resources needed in this historic job of urban restoration. Without the active cooperation of the Federal government, we can never achieve the massive programs of academic and vocational education, job training, youth work, mass transportation, slum eradication, recreational and community development which are essential in saving our cities. This is a job we postpone only at our gravest peril.

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There is one area of responsibility which is the special task of the Federal government: namely, to preserve our national security during these trying years of the Cold War.

I am shocked that any candidate for the Presidency could stand on this platform and assert that "we are disarming ourselves and demoralizing our allies." I find it difficult to believe that any candidate for high public office could be so tragically misinformed about our defense posture to suggest that "our guard is dropping in every sense."

In an attempt to close the information-gap which must have contributed to such misleading statements, let me summarize the facts about the Administration's record in bolstering our national defense.

The Administration has invested a total of \$30 billion more for fiscal years 1962-65 than would have been spent if we continued at the level of fiscal year 1961. The last year of the Eisenhower Administration.

What have these additional \$30 billion procured for America's defense establishment:

- A 150% increase in the number of nuclear warheads and a 200% increase in total megatonnage in our Strategic Alert Forces.
- A 60% increase in the Tactical Nuclear Force in Western Europe.
- A 45% increase in the number of combat-ready Army divisions.
- A 44% increase in the number of tactical fighter squadrons.
- A 75% increase in airlift capability.
- A 100% increase in funds for general ship construction and conversion to modernize our fleet.
- An 800% increase in the Department of Defense Special Forces trained for counterinsurgency.

Today we have more than 1100 strategic bombers, 800 fully armed and dependable ICBM's deployed on launchers (30 times the number we had in January 1961), 256 Polaris missiles deployed in 16 nuclear submarines (compared with 32 missiles available in 2 submarines in January 1961), 16 combat-ready Army divisions (compared to 11), 79 tactical fighter squadrons (compared to 55), and a planned Navy fleet of 883 ships (compared to 817 proposed in the budget in fiscal year 1961).

Funds expended for military research and development have increased by 50% over the level prevailing during the last four years of the Republican administration.

On June 3, 1964, President Johnson summed up the situation quite succinctly with this statement: "In every area of national strength America today is stronger than it has ever been before. It is stronger than any adversary or combination of adversaries. It is stronger than the combined might of all nations in the history of the world."

It was precisely this massive array of balanced military forces which permitted President Johnson to select the appropriate response to the outrageous attack on our destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. President Kennedy had demonstrated similar firmness and skill during the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. But prior to 1961 this nation lacked a credible limited war capability and thereby ran the grave risk of being unable to muster the type of military response which punished an aggressor but avoided the risks of all out nuclear war.

Today this nation is prepared to meet any type of military threat to our national security. Our allies understand this fact--and so do our enemies.

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There is one final area--the war on poverty--which cries out for the full involvement and participation of all segments of the American system. The war on poverty is crucial because it involves the meaning of one cherished word--"America." We hear much these days about the need to encourage individualism and self-reliance--and these qualities are important components of the American character. But let us never forget that America has--from its very beginnings--possessed another national trait which sets us apart from all other peoples: a profound sense of obligation to assist the less fortunate in this country and around the world. This is the essence of the word--"America"--and the heart of the democratic faith.

The Statue of Liberty standing in New York harbor symbolized this feeling to the millions of immigrants who came to make a new life on these shores. We now have the opportunity to provide a similar beacon of hope to those 35 million Americans who find themselves aliens in our prosperous and affluent society.

The Congress won the first battle of the war on poverty by passing President Johnson's Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. This legislation is founded squarely on the American principles of federalism; all levels of government will have an opportunity to participate in implementing the broad range of programs included in the act. In particular, the Community Action programs authorized in Title II will rely heavily upon the expertise, experience, and skill of our local units of government.

But this legislation is only the beginning. The war on poverty is related intimately to our crusade to build the "Great Society" which President Johnson described with these words:

"The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice...The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents...It is a place where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce, but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community...But most of all, the Great Society is not a safe harbor, a resting place, a final objective, a finished work. It is a challenge constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor."

This is a vision which merits the total commitment of every American. This is a vision worthy of our faith that man does possess the courage, wisdom, charity, and love to govern himself. And--never forget--the Great Society will be a product of all levels of our federal system, laboring together in pursuit of this common goal. Not Federal against State or county against municipality, but one free people joined in common cause to give new and richer meaning to that glorious word--America!

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