

[Handwritten]

Ladies and gentlemen, I am particularly pleased to be here this afternoon. Your invitation gives me another welcome opportunity to carry out my duties as the President's liaison man between the Administration and Local Government in this nation.

The President gave me this very important role last spring. It is important because of your own important role in our American system of government. You men and women in this room head one of the three levels of government in this nation.

You and I have often heard or used the phrase, "Federal, State and Local government." Sometimes it may sound flat or worn-out to you because it is an impersonal phrase. What we forget is that at each level of government there are people involved, doing the best they know how to make this a better America.

It is a thrilling experience to realize that meeting together here this afternoon are, the elected leaders, who head the vital one-third of American government which we talk about when we say "Federal, State and Local government."

It is important to remember that at each level of government there are people hard at work--men and women of good will planning programs or using programs to help the public to whom they are responsible.

And it is always good to remind ourselves that our programs are for people, too. We must not think of our programs in terms only of dollars and statistics. They are programs planned with specific people with specific problems and needs.

It is interesting that you are holding your 1965 conference very close to the center of population of our nation.

On my flight out here our plane followed almost the exact course that the center of our nation's population has followed since 1770 when it was a little east of Baltimore. By 1810 it was just west of Washington, by 1880 it was a little west of Cincinnati, by 1910 it was in Bloomington, Indiana, by 1940 it was near the Illinois--Indiana line, and in 1960 it was only about 50 miles east of here. I'm told that in another seven or eight years it may be almost in St. Louis itself.

A regular flight from Washington to St. Louis takes only a couple of hours, but the path it takes covers the history of our nation's growth. When the center of our nation's population was near Washington we had only seven million Americans. When it was in Cincinnati our population was only 50 million. When it was only 110 miles east of here in 1940 we had 132 million--fully 60 million Americans fewer than there are in the nation today.

Population figures viewed this way help us to comprehend the enormity of our nation's growth. It also makes graphically clear that the location of our population is shifting. And it serves to bring home again to our minds that this population growth

is real and continuing inexorably.

We know that the world's population will double by the year 2000. We know that within 10 short years the United States alone will have 30 million more people.

We know that there will be nearly six million more people living within the Boston-Washington corridor. We know that less than 20 percent of the population will live outside our urban areas.

The result of this pattern means not only growth of individual cities but of urbanized areas on the East Coast, along the Great Lakes, in Florida and the Gulf states, in California and the Northwest, between St. Louis and Chicago, and elsewhere.

By the time the center of U. S. population hits St. Louis about 1972 there will be 15 million more autos to provide roads and parking space for, three million more college students to educate, half a million more newlywed couples annually to provide housing for.

The realization of these trends has led this Administration to create a program for the urban complex. It is based upon Creative Federalism, a partnership of the three basic forms of government in this nation.

And if we are to achieve the goals of a Great Society, this partnership must be strengthened and improved. We cannot afford old hostilities and well-worn antagonisms.

We have reached a new degree of inter-dependence under the pressures of growth and concentration of our population in urban areas. We can no longer afford antagonisms that set the Federal Government against the State Governments, or Local Government against State Government, or business against labor, or city dwellers against suburban dwellers.

It is important that there be meetings like this, where the mayors can confer with Administration officials, and other conferences of various types, so that men of reason can cooperate in meeting our common problems.

In my liaison role for the President, I have already met many of you at our recent conferences in Washington. I have also had conferences with city managers and with county officials. There will be more of these conferences.

At these conferences we have been talking about the problems you face on the local level and the nation faces from coast to coast.

Since those meetings, there have been some developments in Washington on legislation of vital interest to you, and I want to bring all of you up to date on these.

The Administration's major programs of assistance for your cities and suburbs are embodied in two bills. The first, very close now to floor action in the House, calls for establishment of a new Department of Housing and Urban Development.

You, as representatives of our great cities, deserve a voice at the highest level of government-- in the Cabinet, where the President will know on a day to day basis what your urgent problems are, and where all the members of the Cabinet can contribute to their solutions.

Many of you individually and through your Conference have exerted your powerful influence to move this bill along, and I ask you to continue those important efforts.

The other major bill is the 1965 housing bill now being guided through Congress. I call it the Administration's bill, and it is named the 1965 Housing and Urban Development Bill, but ladies and gentlemen, it is really your bill. It can profoundly affect your future.

What would this bill do that is not already being done?

--It would provide a way of rehabilitating older housing, so crucial to rebuilding and preserving neighborhoods, because a neighborhood is not just housing but a social complex as well.

--It would give you money to pay a large share of the cost of water and sewer facilities to meet foreseeable urban growth, giving you a chance to get ahead of panic-stricken demand.

--It would increase the Federal share of assistance to 50 percent of the cost of buying land for parks and other open space needs. The bill would also give you money to buy downtown sites, clear them of old buildings, and improve them for parks and similar use.

--And the main thrust of this bill is embodied in a new program of rent supplements to help those with below-average incomes who are unable to find decent homes on the private market.

This is a program for the poor. It can help older people, those in slums, and those displaced by public building activity to move into decent homes at rents amounting to no more than 25 percent of their incomes.

This rent supplement program is being attached on some curious and conflicting grounds. Some charge it sets up competition with public housing, but it does not. It is a program that complements public housing. It gives you another tool to help house the poor.

Public housing has not been able to let you build all the units you need in your cities. The rent supplement plan will let church and union groups and other non-profit sponsors provide this housing, which private housing firms can build.

Don't let anyone tell you that public housing is enough, or that if rent supplements are needed, public housing is not. These people are sowing confusion with unreal alternatives and animosities with no basis in fact.

So, your bill provides for a continuation and expansion of public housing, college housing loans, FHA mortgage insurance, urban renewal, and other programs you are familiar with.

This is your bill. You need to support it, and the time is at hand.

We have also discussed at the conferences our partnership in the common war on poverty, on prejudice, on slums, on lack of adequate education, on crime, on pollution, on waste in all its forms, and on the ugliness that persists in many forms.

But I assure you that we have not been talking pessimistically. This is a great nation, well along the road to new greatness.

Miracles of construction and development have taken place during our recent period of growth and change.

Magnificent buildings have risen and ribbons of highways constructed and millions of decent homes built. Never in history have so many people lived so well and owned so many of the finer artifacts of civilization.

But it is our business as the representatives of all the people to see to it that all the people share in this wealth.

Millions of families own good homes, but we still have over nine million homes that are run down or deteriorating, and more than four million homes do not have running water or plumbing. Most of them are in cities like yours.

Millions of families have moved to the suburbs and the country where there is clean air and room for children to grow in the sun.

But behind them they have left the old, the poor, and the discriminated against who are concentrated in central city ghettos.

Great highways have been built, and parkways lace our cities. But even here we have failed to keep pace. Commuter traffic gluts the roads to work. And often the new highways needlessly cut through and destroy stable neighborhoods.

Our total concern must be for our people and the quality of the lives they lead. Physical decay--and that can mean a countryside desecrated by litter and junked automobiles, as well as sagging tenements--leads to social decay.

Obsolescent and segregated schools can lead only to dropouts and joblessness and loss of hope, delinquency and crime.

None of these problems can be solved on one level of government, whether Federal, State or Local. There is more to do than we can all accomplish together in the time we have.

No level of government has unlimited finances to solve these problems. Certainly we must recognize the difficulties Local Government has in raising the revenues sufficient to provide the level of services and add the new facilities your people need.

In the past ten years, state and local debt has more than doubled, while Federal debt has risen only 15 percent.

During the same decade, state and local public expenditures more than doubled, while interest on state and local public debt jumped 250 percent.

The number of state and local government employees rose from 4.6 million in 1954 to more than seven million in 1963.

These figures continue to mount as you are forced to spend more for education, highways, sanitation, parks, and welfare.

These trends are the reason for the President's vigorous pursuit of new ideas, new programs, new resources to achieve breakthroughs in solving these complex problems.

As an example of what the Administration is doing in this regard, let me report to you on what happened at last week's White House Conference on Natural Beauty.

This conference in Washington drew a thousand invited delegates and outstanding panelists from all over the nation who deliberated for two full days and drew up many proposals for submission to the President for consideration. This was truly a grass-roots conference, and many of the ideas generated will surely prove fruitful in solving problems you as mayors face in your own cities.

There is today a great splurge of interest throughout the land in ridding our cities and countrysides of ugliness and in protecting all that is beautiful on our God-given land and water areas. This interest is on a sharp rise---and the President

and the First Lady are doing their best to encourage this interest.

This year and next year, there will be legislative action not only to encourage the war on ugliness but to provide financial and other incentives that will enable you mayors to build more parks, protect historic landmarks, eliminate eyesores, and in other ways make your cities more beautiful places for all your residents to live in.

This surging interest in natural beauty is a natural and inevitable consequence of the changing conditions of our time.

One of the most spectacular changes occurring in America today is the increase in man's productivity. Today one man produces enough food for 30 people, where only 25 years ago one man could only produce enough for 10 people.

Today the production hours on an automobile is down from 300 to 150 since 1947, although today's automobile is more complex than that of 1947.

But along with this greater productivity of the good things of life has come a tremendous increase in production of waste. We are producing bottles, can and packages as well as junk automobiles and old appliances beyond our ability so far to dispose of them.

But there is a waste I want to mention that is even worse--the terrible waste of human resources that is happening.

At this moment you as mayors have a special concern for attacking the problem. This summer we will have an explosive potential resulting from the idle hands and idle minds of two million young people.

This summer is the most serious because this is the year that the "postwar baby crop" comes into the labor force.

As chairman of a Cabinet Committee on Employment, I reported to the President, and last week the President, as a result of that report, announced the Youth Opportunity Campaign.

This is a project in which we need you mayors' help.

We are also involved--and by we, I mean the Administration and Local Government--in a program resulting from President Johnson's Job Development Program. This program calls for the creation of 10,000 new jobs each month in service and related fields.

I am arranging conferences between officials of the Labor Department and many of the mayors. The need for your leadership is imperative. We ask that you set up Blue Ribbon Mayor's Committees in job development.

We ask that you undertake an information program to galvanize support from industry and labor.

And we ask that you consider for the youth of your city a Training Employment Program similar to the one in the Federal Government.

Intensive support at every level is essential for both the youth opportunity campaign and the job development program. Our goal is to give each man and woman opportunity to be productive and to contribute. This is what the Great Society is all about. It is to enhance the quality of living for the individual. It is not just to create more material wealth, but to open the way for him to achieve human dignity.

The key to America is its optimistic outlook.

We are not limited by cynism.

This country can achieve anything it sets out to do as long as its leadership has vision and this vision is demonstrated at every level of government.

[1965?]

DRAFT STATEMENT BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

The officers of the University of Minnesota, and our faculty, and our industrial leaders have all labored long and hard to find our place in the space age. We want to participate. We want to contribute to the solution of the Nation's problems in this field, and we want our industries to be at the forefront of the new technologies that are being developed. We have already accomplished a great deal, ~~but it is a real disappointment to me that this occasion could not materialize into one that would go far beyond the letter I have just read from Mr. Webb. But I think no one here could doubt that~~ ^{and} ~~we~~ ^{are} making real progress, ^{forward even greater accomplishments} that the position of our Minnesota industries and our University, and the new opportunities it will now have to work even more closely with our industries and with all segments of our society are much enhanced by the developments which the vision and competence of the University and, may I add, the push by those of us like ^{Congressman} Joe Karth and ^{Senator} ~~myself~~ ^{Walter Mondale} are bringing to fruition. The

University has made known the large expansion of its science and engineering capabilities which could come with a new building to house the space center. I believe the added capability the University is creating will bring a grant to build this space center as soon as the papers can be pushed through and the details and procedures taken care of.

~~No matter what you may hear, I know that~~ President Johnson is interested in having the Nation benefit from the great capabilities of our Midwestern industries and universities, and from the closer relationships between our Midwestern industries and our scientists and engineers in our universities which can come from such concepts as those that underlie our space center. *As I have said earlier,* ~~He~~ has already taken steps to make the Argonne National Laboratory more useful to a larger number of our institutions and industries ~~(here insert material from Mr. Staats if consistent with this thought)~~.

As I have delved deeper and deeper into the problems of the space

age, I am more than ever convinced that the human intellect has new tools to work with, but ~~is~~ learning to use these tools, these new powers, requires the greatest imagination and the most efficient use of the new ^{quantities} ~~vaster banks~~ of information now accumulating at such a dizzy pace. ~~This~~ is a subject which I have ~~preached for many years and am going to~~ ^{Q1} ~~continue to preach.~~ Administrators like Jim Webb and Dr. Newell have emphasized to me that nothing is more important than to have the broadest ~~best~~ intellectual activity based on creative work that crosses the lines that have divided mathematics and physics and chemistry and biology and history and philosophy. ^{Q1} Our Space Sciences Center is going to provide one of the most important opportunities in this Nation for work that is needed by these and other "Great Society" Administrators. This is needed by the National Science Foundation, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Defense Department, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and other ^{Q1} institutions of our Government. The challenge to us in Minnesota and the Midwest is to make our institutions so useful that they can provide

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~~this focus, this glue, this amalgam, this fluxing environment~~ that can get our ablest scholars to think about our most complex problems in real time. Just as the NIMBUS weather satellite brings back to earth its high resolution, infra-red pictures of the weather system of the earth at night and RANGER brings back the pictures of the moon so that we can see and visualize a total situation without breaking it down into all its parts and then reassembling them, so must the new tools of the Midwest operate on a broad base of total knowledge as applicable to our immediate problem.

This, my Minnesota friends, is the great challenge, the great opportunity, and if we do our job in this Space Sciences Center and throughout the University and continue to support the great contributions made by our eminent scholars who have current projects of over \$⁵ million, the facilities to do this job are going to come to us because we will be better qualified to do it than anybody else in this country.

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My friends, it is a great pleasure for me to be here with you today. As many of you know, just last fall I was able to speak here in Chicago at the Polish-American Congress.

At that time, I said, "No nation . . . has a unique claim to America . . . but," I added, "no people have a greater claim or can claim greater contributions to our America than those who came here from Poland."

From our earliest beginnings, America --- our country --- has benefited from the wisdom, guidance, and leadership of the Polish people.

We share great heroes like General Thaddeus Kosciuszko and Casimire Pulaski --- men who have been heroes in

battle, fighters for human rights and dignity,
battlers against tyranny -- of the mind and
spirit as well as of the body.

This is an historic, traditional part of the
Polish people as it is of the American people.
Let me remind you of the brave Polish Brigade
of the British 8th Army which fought alongside
of the American GI's of the 5th Army during
World War II.

Under the command of Lt. General Wladyslaw
Anders -- a hero in the great tradition of Kosciusko
and Pulaski -- many Polish men gave their lives in
the defense of freedom. In a famous battle at Monte
Cassino where the Allied advance in Italy was blocked
for months, many Polish men lost their lives. There

is inscribed in their honor, in a memorial at
Cassino, the following statement:

"We Polish soldiers, for our freedom and
yours, have given yourselves to God -- our
bodies to the soil of Italy, and our hearts to
Poland." What heroic poetry, what dedication
to freedom -- every man who rests there for
eternity -- a potential Kosciusko.

As Americans of Polish descent, you share the
combined strengths of two great peoples. What we
have sought in our democratic American traditions
has its parallels in Polish history which extends back
a thousand years. For most of that time, Poland has
been an independent Christian nation. Though there

are those today within her boundaries who would ignore, and indeed, destroy those traditions, we know that the spirit of the real Poland will flower again, without restraint, without Communist master.

The Christian heritage and religious traditions of Poland will not be destroyed. They can only be betrayed temporarily.

President Kennedy said, "Poland's claim to independence and liberty is not based on sentiment or politics. It is deeply rooted in history, in culture, and in law -- and no matter what pressure the Soviet may exert, we do not intend to see that claim abandoned."

We are convinced that time is on the side of freedom, that is, if we put time to good use.

We are completely confident that Poland and its people will be restored to the family of free nations, and we intend to use time as a tool for that purpose, not as a couch upon which to relax.

We intend to build bridges to the Polish people -- bridges which may now be obstructed at the other end but which will be there to be clear when the day of freedom dawns.

Despite today's condition of temporary subjugation, the fires of liberty have not dimmed in Polish hearts. And every person in this room, indeed, every person who has ever read a page of history, knows that Poland shall be free again.

We trust the Polish people. We understand their bravery, and as President Johnson has said, and I quote him, "We know the unswerving dedication of the

Polish people to the goal of liberty, equality and independence. That is why our policy is extended to help the Polish people, so that they may increasingly help themselves."

Now, my friends, we have not only begun but are working ever harder to do this. Let me make clear that we will continue to extend the hands of human fellowship and of friendship to those peoples wherever there is the opportunity and we will do our best to make those opportunities possible.

Last fall, I spoke to the Polish Congress of one act of friendship and fellowship of the United States -- intended to cement our good relations with the people of Poland. It was an opportunity which we took advantage of.

Under legislation sponsored by Congressman Zablocki and myself, the United States has contributed more than \$10 million for the construction of the Children's hospital at Krakow.

I am proud that this hospital and research center will be dedicated sometime this summer so that the children of Poland will know that the United States has real love for the children of God wherever they are, and that we are determined to wipe out misery and disease wherever we can.

Now, let me turn to an important immediate problem which requires your interest and help. Four successive Presidents of the United States have called attention to serious defects in our existing immigration laws. As a

result, we have before the Congress, a bill on immigration which puts the principles of basic immigration laws in line with our basic ideals as a nation and people.

This legislation calls for the elimination of the national origins quota system. That system is, in President Johnson's words, "incompatible with our basic American tradition."

"Over the years the ancestors of all of us -- some 42 million human beings -- have migrated to these shores. The fundamental long-time American attitude has been to ask not where a person comes from but what are his personal qualities. On this basis men and women migrated from every quarter of the globe. By their hard work and their enormously varied talents they hewed a great nation out of a wilderness. By their

dedication to liberty and equality, they created a society reflecting man's most cherished ideals."

This is the kind of society all of us want - an open society not hindered by bad laws. And our present immigration system is a bad law. The national origins system has four major defects.

First, it is inhumane. It has kept families divided. Elderly parents of American citizens have had to wait for admission under a national quota --

discriminating against people in Eastern and Southern Europe, often a very small national quota/ What a ridiculous

situation our present laws create. Why, a man

could bring in a domestic servant from any one of

several countries, but not his own mother from others.

Secondly, the national origins system deprives us of immigrants with valuable skills.

Thirdly, it embarrasses us in our international relations. It seems to say that we regard a great majority of the people of this earth as inherently inferior.

Fourthly, and most important, it goes against our own basic commitments and ideals of democracy. Like the denial of full civil rights to all Americans, it is a flaw which we owe it to ourselves to correct -- quite apart from its effect on the opinion which others hold of us.

So I ask you today -- in keeping with the very best of democratic traditions - Polish and American - to throw your wholehearted support behind this legislation. We need your help. Let your voices be heard in this effort.

This immigration bill is just one more step toward our achieving a great society for all Americans -- regardless of their race, color, creed or national origin.

A great society, a just society, is possible for America. And the great society is not just one of material goods. It is a society in which every man will have the opportunity to achieve his full potential.

Some will squander that opportunity. Some will let it slip away. But at least every man should have the opportunity to make freedom and dignity total realities in his life.

That is the meaning of the great society. That is the goal of American life. It is the meaning of 1000 years of Polish democracy.

Let us dedicate ourselves in life, as the
brave Polish soldiers did in death - ourselves
to God, our bodies to the work of achieving full
democracy for all mankind and our hearts to
the best traditions of both Polish and American
ideals.

TRANSCRIPT

POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS ADDRESS
Chicago, Illinois
Sunday, September 19, 1964

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY
DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you. Thank you very much, Mr. Rozmarek. I understand from our friends of the photographic profession that they ought to have a little time.

I'd just sort of like to feel that I was tall enough in the saddle to stand on the floor but maybe not.

(Indicating platform.)

Mr. Rozmarek, Governor Kerner, and Mayor Daley, and all of you that are the officers of this fine organization, and the many organizations that are gathered here for this Congress, I am singularly honored to have been invited and be permitted to participate in your proceedings.

It is a fact that in 1955, I did have the privilege of meeting many of you, and sometime later out here at Humboldt Park, I remember again meeting many of you.

I recall the wonderful opportunity that I had of becoming acquainted, not only with Charles Rozmarek, but also with his very lovely wife.

(Applause.)

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I know you have had a very full program. You have had the best that you can get when you had John Gronouski address you.

(Applause.)

This distinguished citizen, great public servant violated every rule that I ever hoped he would abide by. I told him I never like to speak after he does, because he is so good that anything that happened afterward seems like it shouldn't have happened at all.

Joh, I am going to be very tolerant this time, and next time, you let me on first, and then you get up and brag on how good I am.

Chicago Polish-American

I also understand that you have had a rather unique experience here last evening. I gather that the President of the United States decided that he just had to visit with you. I don't blame him at all -- and he picked up that telephone and called you long distance.

This is indeed a singular honor for all of you and all of us for you know that the President found it an honor for he, himself, to be able to visit with you -- not in person, that is, by physical presence -- at least, to visit with you by long distance telephone.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I came prepared to give you some remarks. One of the disadvantages of being a candidate for the office of Vice President that they always tell you that you have got to have it written out. I don't know why.

It would really be more important after you were elected, it seems to me, but maybe you have to be more careful on the way getting there.

No nation, it's fair to say, has a unique claim to America -- but I would say that no people have a greater claim and can claim greater contributions to our America than those who came here from Poland.

(Applause.)

America has always been a land of opportunity. That is what this country truly stands for, opportunity for people. And it was a great Polish patriot, according to my investigation into history, who, over 150 years ago, eloquently stated that opportunity in America means for all.

He was a statesman of great compassion. He was a soldier of cour-- and he had received from our government here in the United States a large land grant -- a land grant in appreciation for or gratitude for his valor in fighting for American freedom.

And when he returned to his native land, as the books tell us, again to fight for the freedom of that fine Poland, he left this testament with Thomas Jefferson. Let me read it for you, lest you may not have remembered these most inspiring words:

"I, being just on my departure from the United States, do hereby declare and direct that, should I make no other testamentary disposition of my property in the United States, I hereby authorize my friend, Thomas Jefferson, to employ the whole thereof in purchasing Negroes and giving them liberty in my name. In giving them an education in trade or otherwise;

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Chicago, Polish-American

in having them instructed for their new condition in the duties of morality, which may make them good neighbors, husbands and wives; in their duties as citizens, teaching them to be defenders of their liberty and of their country, of the good order of society; and in whatsoever may make them happy and useful; and I make the said Thomas Jefferson the executor of this."

(Applause.)

This document I quoted from is on file with Jefferson's papers, on file in the Library of Congress. I had hoped to even bring it with me, and that papers bears the signature of Thaddeus Bonaventura Kosciusko, one of the great Polish liberators.

General Kosciusko was the brilliant leader who walked 160 years ahead of modern America -- 150 years ahead of Abraham Lincoln -- in the cause of extending freedom and opportunity for all Americans. You Americans whose forebears came from Poland,--

(Applause.)

You Americans whose forebears came from Poland, you have heroes in your ranks, but none greater than this great statesman and soldier. And his heroism in battle, against big armies or against bigoted and tyrannical minds, is both an inspiration and a challenge to those of us who follow him.

I share your pride in him. I have a warm feeling that today, we are challenged to make opportunity available to all Americans by protecting these great human rights. Kosciusko would be proud that we have succeeded in making some forward steps in the law of this land on behalf of equal human rights.

(Applause.)

Now, one month ago, the newest of our nuclear submarines was commissioned. It is the Casmir Pulaski, so we honor the name of the young Polish nobleman who gave his life to help our nation -- to help our nation win its independence, but although this ship will carry inside her more destructive power than all of the explosives used in World War II, her purpose is still the defense of liberty, and the cause of peace across the globe.

We Americans in this second half of the 20th Century

Chicago, Polish-American

know that we build our power for peace, and there is no peace without strength and without the power that this mighty nation possesses.

May I just suggest that we must always remember that America is the land of peace as well as the land of opportunity, as well as the land of freedom and peace, our preeminent cause.

1964 marks the beginning of the thousand year anniversary of the existance of Poland as an independent state and a Christian nation. Despite today's conditions of temporary subjugation, the fires of liberty have not dimmed in Polish hearts, and every person in this room, indeed, every person that has ever read a page of history, knows that Poland shall be free again.

We trust the Polish people. We understand well their bravery, and as President Johnson has said, and I quote him, "We know the unswerving dedication of the Polish people to the goals of liberty, equality and independence. That is why our policy is extended to help the Polish people, so that they may increasingly help themselves."

This is why some of the things that were mentioned here today by Mr. Rozmarek, why some of these things are being done, because we are going to help the Polish people.

~~(Applause.)~~

My friends, Americans are offered a choice this year on how best to serve the cause of Poland -- and not only the cause of Poland but the cause of all subjugated peoples of all Eastern Europe. Here are our choices:

We can continue to be friends of the people of Poland through the tireless, slow but good work of building bridges of trade and ideas and visitors and humanitarian aid, or we can consider the people of Poland sworn enemies of ours because they are under communist domination and coldly reject the claims of nourishment and brotherhood.

We can accept the commitment of the Polish people to their long Christian heritage or we can reject the people of Poland as a Godless people because the Communists are in control and have betrayed the religious traditions of a thousand years.

Almost exactly four years ago, that gallant warrior in the cause of freedom everywhere, John F. Kennedy, spoke to this

Chicao, Polish American

Congress here in Chicago, and here is what he said, and if it has been repeated to you before, then let me repeat it again because it is the stated policy of this government, a commitment of 190 million Americans. Here's what he said:

"Our task is to pursue a policy of patiently encouraging freedom and carefully pressuring tyranny -- a policy that looks toward evolution, not revolution -- a policy that depends on peace, not war.

"We must never -- at any summit, in any treaty declaration, in our words or even in our minds -- recognize Soviet domination of eastern Europe. Poland's claim to independence and liberty is not based on sentiment or politics. It is deeply rooted in history, in culture, and in law -- and no matter what pressures the Soviet may exert, we do not intend to see that claim abandoned."

(Applause.)

Then this gallant warrior for freedom said: "We must strive to restore the traditional identification which Poland and Eastern Europe have had with the European community instead of the Soviet empire, for Poland back through the centuries has belonged to the European tradition of freedom and national independence. It has been a part of European culture, of European economy and European history."

I come here today as a United States Senator and as the nominee of my party for the second highest office in this land to say that this policy stated by John F. Kennedy in 1960 continues to be the policy of this government and the policy to which I am personally committed.

(Applause.)

Let me state a personal point of view. Let me make it clear right now that only a political charlatan can talk of instant victory over communism, or instant "liberation" of the captive peoples held in communist sugjugation.

We cannot imitate those of an earlier era who talked grandly and glibly of "liberation" - but when the Hungarian rose in heroic revolt, stood mute on the sidelines.

No, the possibility of instand victory, my fellow Americans, vanished with the coming of the era of instant annihilation through nuclear weapons. So we must pursue the more

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Now, we have encouraged exchanges of students and scholars. Through the efforts of a Congressman in my neighboring state of Wisconsin, Congressman Zablocki, and myself, the United States government has provided more than \$10 million for the construction of a 300 bed children's hospital and research center in Krakow.

Let me just say a word about that. I am co-author of this program and proud of it. Oh, I have got nasty letters, and some people saying, "Why are you wanting to build a hospital in a communist country?"

I want the people of Poland to have some sort of tangible evidence that the people of the United States still love children, that we are willing to fight disease.

(Applause.)

I want the people of Poland and people everywhere to know that even though there may be a regime that puts upon the backs of people for the moment a government unwanted, a system unwanted, that we, the people of the United States, have faith in freedom and liberty, and we have faith in democracy and we are going to have faith in the people that believe in those things, and I think our policy is paying off.

The Polish government itself, the present government, has had to repudiate collectivization of its farms.

~~I just left North Dakota this morning where I visited a family farm. Thousands of people were present and I said from that platform that one of the great achievements of America is the American agricultural abundance, and we have been able to do it through private enterprises.~~

We have been able to do it through the American family farm and the greatest single failure in the economic structure of the communist socialism set-up is their collective state farm. They are no good.

~~(Applause.)~~

And when you find a people that loves the land, it is one of their connections with Divine providence; to love the land is a very real way of expressing one's spiritual commitments.

I know there is much more to be done. We have only begun. I want to remember -- you want to remember what John Kennedy

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said on January 20, 1961. He said, "Let us begin." And, my fellow Americans, the great achievements of history are not accomplished overnight. The history tells us the story of generations, of centuries, yea -- in this instant we are celebrating the thousandth anniversary of the nation of Poland.

It takes a long time to get things done.

(Applause.)

But what is important is to begin, and to begin with purpose, and we must continue to open those doors and windows behind the Iron Curtain and in the Iron Curtain and the Polish people must never, for a single moment, have reason to believe that we have forsaken them.

(Applause.)

Now, there are those that would like to close those windows and some people accuse us of being very impractical. Such men seek instant answers to long-range problems. They shout at us we are dealing with the enemy, or they shout again that we are following a no-win program, but my fellow Americans, when Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski deals with Gomulka, is he engaging in a no-win policy?

When Pope Paul concludes a diplomatic agreement with the Hungarian Communist regime, as occurred this past week, is he capitulating to the atheists?

To ask these questions is to indicate the absurdity of the issue. Pope Paul, the Primate of Poland, have as their first charge the spiritual welfare of their people and when they sit down and even negotiate with the enemy about it, it is from an impregnable bastion of conviction which has stood for almost 2,000 years.

(Applause.)

And let me say it is Gomulka who runs the risk when he deals with such a great force for good.

(Applause.)

2,000 years of Christianity and the Catholic Church will survive two decades of communism and dictatorship any day.

So, I say it is the Communists, not we, whose power is

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being eaten away by the corrosive impact and erosive impact of freedom. The Communist power weakens by the knowledge among their people that the United States looks upon the people of Eastern Europe, not as enemies but as friends, who have temporarily been denied the right to assert their liberty and their freedom and their common dedication to the liberty of mankind.

Now, the extremists may cry that extending food to hungry people behind the Iron Curtain will aid the Communists, and I have heard this from the opposition in this campaign, but the people who receive this food know it's American in origin.

They don't thank their Communist bosses. They thank Almighty God and the people of the United States.

(Applause.)

Having provided this life-giving substance of hope, the Democratic party under President Johnson will not turn its back, and as President Johnson has said, and he follows within the policy guidelines of our late President Kennedy, the objective of the United States is and will continue to be to seek freedom's return to policy.

(Applause.)

We know the years of darkness have not extinguished the light of freedom in Poland and the masters of darkness know it, too. Soviet leaders in the Kremlin do, indeed, know just this. The nations of Eastern Europe, no longer willing satellites as they were, compelled Mr. Kruschchev to lengthen their leashes; as he has been forced to admit, "They are getting too big to spank."

Soon, they will be too strong to chain and that will be the day.

Now, the process may not be swift, and I know there are many that are impatient, but in these grave matters of world affairs in the nuclear age, impatience can be side by side with annihilation.

What we need is persevering patience; what we need is to be strong and resolute without being arrogant and belligerent; what we need is to be firm without being bellicose, and patience with purpose, persevering patience.

The program of purpose -- this is the formula for freedom in our time.

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in our time.

(Applause.)

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I know that you have been kept here a long time. I'll just say a few words about one development in recent weeks that has been disturbing to me.

I was shocked, yes, shocked to hear Senator Goldwater's running mate -- whose ancestral boat presumably came in only a few lengths behind the Mayflower -- recently condemn the Johnson Administration's proposal to revise the immigration laws. I know a little something about this because I have been at this work 16 years in the United States Senate.

He says that he opposes opening the floodgates -- but what an incredible distortion -- what is really at issue is not the floodgates at all. What is at issue is "fair-gates" -- just being fair.

(Applause.)

Gates which are fair and which do not open only at the knock of the Anglo-Saxon hand. The Johnson proposal, which is similar to the proposal made earlier by John F. Kennedy and myself when we served in the Senate and I was Senator Kennedy's co-sponsor on this same legislation, we worked at it for years.

It is designed to end the stigma which was imposed back in 1924 in the Republican Administration of that time, that insulting statutory endorsement of the principle that Poles and Italians and Eastern Europeans and non-Europeans somehow belong to inferior breeds and that is what the Act literally said.

The Immigration Bill, which President Kennedy sent to Congress shortly before his tragic death, opens no floodgates. But it would correct this burning inequity and a disgraceful discrimination against peoples. It would end the quota system which sought to maintain a mythical racial and ethnic purity.

In its 1960 platform, the Republican party pledged to do something about this because there are many Republicans in the Senate and in the House that agree with us, but the Senator Goldwater platform of 1964 purged this concession to decency and now the temporary Republican leadership has added insult of disdain to the injury of neglect.

On Wednesday of this week, Senator Goldwater's hand-

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picked Chairman, Mr. Dean Burch, welcomes Mr. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina to the Goldwater party with this statement: "The Democratic party has forsaken the people to become a party of minority groups."

What would your grandfather have said of all of this? Most of us are the children of immigrants, and am I in the minority group, if you please? You well recall, I am sure, that your grandfather or great-grandfather belonged to this courageous group of people, men and women, in Eastern Europe who dared to pull up their roots and move their families -- often with no worldly goods at all -- in search of justice and liberty in another land.

They fled from tyranny, and they were welcomed to these shores, and in one of the great tides of immigration, invigorated our country in the middle of the 19th Century and early 20th Century, like my old grandfather and my old mother, and those many other millions of Americans.

And I resent a tax upon immigrants.

(Applause.)

But I will tell you this in astonishment and wonder. Your grandfather could not come to America under our present immigration laws. Your grandfather could not come to America under the legislation that Barry Goldwater supports. Your grandfather would have found our gates barred to him and his family and barred by those who share the views of Mr. Goldwater on this subject of immigration.

And what would your grandfather have done? He would have had to remain in the Communist state in Eastern Europe, hoping and yearning for the light and air of liberty, his eyes turned toward America in quest of friendship and reassurance. Yet, what would he have found if America had been ruled by the philosophy and by the attitude expressed by the Senator from Arizona in his recent comments?

I'll tell you what he would have found. Senator Goldwater has made it clear what he would have found -- a closing of the windows that we have opened to bring life and air to the people of Eastern Europe, and an end to our programs of educational and cultural exchange, an end to our food for peace program, which is literally the difference between life and death to hundreds and thousands of people in Eastern Europe, an end to our information program so that some people in Eastern Europe can know what America is, as it is -- and not as the Communists' propagandists tell them that it is.

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And your grandfather would have had to suffer in darkness because of these antiquated, because of these evil policies, and that is what they are.

Now, President Johnson has stated the truly American position on this question of immigration and the President before him stated it eloquently. Here's what President Johnson has said:

"In establishing preferences, a nation built by immigrants of all lands can ask those who seek admission, 'what can you do for our country?' But we should not be asking, 'in what country were you born?'"

(Applause.)

Oh, my dear friends, let us be proud of this great symphony of people that are yours. No nation on the face of the earth has the vitality, has the creativeness, has the strength of this mighty nation, and many nations have more lands, many nations have more resources. Why is it, then, that we are so blessed?

I think it is because we have had faith in people. We have placed our faith in God. We placed our faith in people and we have placed our trust in a government "of the people, by the people and for the people."

(Applause.)

We are proud of this greatness and these many blessings, but we can do even better things.

I think we are on the threshold of more progress by the end of this century than ever has been achieved in any century.

The comforts of many will be extended to all. Our people, who are living longer, will also be able to live in dignity and health. Our cities that have grown big and vigorously will come to know beauty.

A great society, a just society, is possible for America, in which every man will have the opportunity to provide a decent life for himself and his family, regardless of his race or his creed or his nationality.

We need leadership. We need leadership with vision to match our potentialities. We need a President who heals the

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divisions between peoples, who seeks not to divide but to unite, who seeks to make this an America of one people, a people of the United States of America, one people with our different culture, our different origin, but with a common purpose.

(Applause.)

Yes, we need a President who heals the divisions between people at home and abroad, and who will help put salt in people's bread, and not pour it onto their wounds.

By the grace of God, we have such leadership in America, and may I say, as I said just awhile ago out here on the streets of this city, by the good judgment of our late and beloved President, who made such a wonderful President, by the judgment of John Kennedy who selected his Vice President in Los Angeles in 1961, we have today leadership in American with vision, and I suggest that we continue with Lyndon B. Johnson.

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

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(End.)



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