

April 5, 1965

Memorandum

TO: The Vice President
cc: Bill Connell

FROM: Ted Van Dyk

RE: Advertising Council Speech

You already have the text for the Advertising Council speech tomorrow.

Please attach the following page to the front of the text.

enc.



REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

to

THE ADVERTISING COUNCIL

APRIL 6, 1965

↳ My friends in advertising should feel very
much at home in the America of 1965.

↳ Not merely because our economy is booming --
and billings are up.

But, You -- as representatives of an industry
that lives by creativity -- can feel at home
because we ~~are~~ our nation is entering ~~in this country~~ the
most creative and therefore rewarding period of
our history.

↳ America is creating new wealth ... new and
better goods and services, faster, for more

Creatively

I am particularly pleased to meet

congrats

with my friends of the Advertising Council

today because it was only this Sunday that

you announced the public service campaign you are

Jobs

preparing to help members of minority groups

in this country find better jobs.

As you know, I am chairman of Plans for Progress, which will be the campaign sponsor.
President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Employment + Plans for Progress

I know of no effort being undertaken in this

country which is a better example of full

cooperation between government and American

industry -- and I will have a few more words

to say about that in a moment.

You have my whole-hearted thanks for taking

on a job that needs to be done.

people, than ever before. / But we are
creating far more than that. We are creating
~~in this country~~ the means for sustained
national growth. / Not just economic growth.
But a fuller growth which can keep us free
and secure in the future.

/ We are improving and strengthening every
major resource of this nation -- our educational
system, our medical facilities, our housing,
our recreation, *our cultural activities* and our most important resource,
our people.

Thru / We are doing this through an unprecedented
peacetime effort of national cooperation.

/ First, there is the creative partnership
which now exists between government and private
industry.

Cooperation

Creative
Industry

Cape Kennedy

Space

L We see this most dramatically at Cape
Kennedy. Vital, creative work by government,
 the aerospace and other industry will soon put
Gemini Four into orbit. L By 1970, government
 and industry, working together, will land a man
+ bring him back to earth
on the moon through Project Apollo.

L We see it too in Comsat -- a unique
corporation which fuses public and private
enterprise. L Comsat will revolutionize international
communication.

"Early Bird"
Comsat satellite

L We see this cooperation too in domestic
programs. Several major private corporations,
 for instance, are now serving the Office of
Economic Opportunity as contractors in operating
job training camps.

↳ We see it in government economic and
fiscal policies designed to give the private
sector maximum latitude for enterprise and
growth.

↳ Thankfully, business and government have
passed the time when they regarded each other
as natural enemies.

*new spirit
7
coop.*

↳ You of the Advertising Council have
demonstrated for many years the achievement
in the public good which can flow from the
great talent and resources of private enterprise.

↳ There is a second and broader area of
cooperation today in this country. This is
the cooperation which is developing between
others who once opposed each other as a matter
of course -- cooperation between North and South,

Negro and white, farmer and city dweller,
business and labor.

↳ There is another word for this developing
cooperation. It is consensus.

↳ Consensus is voluntary agreement based on
constructive dialogue, mutual respect, and
understanding.

↳ In consensus today, we Americans are
together joining the fight on old common enemies:
poverty, disease, ignorance, discrimination.

↳ It is exhilarating. It is, in the words
of the President,

"the excitement of becoming, always
becoming, trying, probing, failing,
resting, and trying again -- but
always trying and always gaining."

United we stand. And united we gain.

We must gain. Our needs are multiplying.

↳ In five years, 211 million people will live in
our country -- half of them under the age of 25.

↳ In 10 years, we will need -- each year --
over two million new homes. We will need schools
for 10 million additional children ... welfare
and health facilities for 5 million more people
over the age of 60.

↳ We have no time to lose. We must challenge
the tasks at hand.

↳ We must make our cities more livable --
places where children can play and men and women
can work, in safety and health.

↳ We must preserve our natural heritage

before it is lost ... we must preserve our
landscape and our forests. We must preserve
clean air and water.

↳ We must find ways to help our rural
citizens adjust to technological revolution
and social change.

↳ We must solve the problem of mass transit.
The commuters present in this room know what
I'm talking about.

↳ We have no little dreams. We make no
little plans.

President Johnson has proposed -- and your
Congress is passing -- legislation which will
help create the freedom and ~~security~~ ^{opportunity} we seek.

↳ Programs to provide adequate medical care
... to better educate our children ...

↳ to eradicate poverty ... to give each man and woman in this country truly equal opportunity.

↳ These investments carry a price tag.

But the "cost per thousand" -- or per man -- or per million -- of national problems like illiteracy, school dropouts, poverty, delinquency, and yes -- discrimination -- is far greater than the cost of our efforts to overcome these things.

↳ We spend 450 dollars a year per child in our public schools. But we spend 1800 dollars a year to keep a delinquent in a detention home ... 2500 dollars a year for a family on relief ... and 3500 dollars a year for an inmate in state prison.

↳ We must make the investments necessary so that all in our society may be productive. Poor and uneducated people are poor consumers. They are a drain on our economy. They are wasted resources.

Conserv. + Develop of Human Resources

↳ But beyond the economic good, there is the morality of our efforts.

*@ not a welfare state
but a state of opportunity*

↳ We ~~in America~~ have always drawn strength from our belief that democracy can give the greatest reward of all: the opportunity for each man and woman to make something better of himself, in his own way. ↳ We believe in the dignity and worth of every man -- not just our society as a whole, but each man in it.

↳ That is why we educate a child ... or give a hand to those without jobs or hope ... or

do the things we must do to insure that each
American, whatever his color or national origin,
shall have his equal chance. - Opportunity

yes L We must do here at home the responsible
tasks of freemen if we as Americans are to live
up to our beliefs. I ask your support and your
work for the programs which will make these
things possible. #

L I also ask your support and work for
something else: for the belief that the world
need not destroy itself by war, and that we
Americans can help others, too, in other places,
find a better life.

L We hear many voices these days saying that
America is over-extended in the world ... that
other people's problems needn't be our problems

... that we ought to close up shop overseas
and enjoy our fruits here in the Good Old U.S.A.

↳ Too easy, my friends. And too dangerous.

↳ Who in the world will work for democracy if we
do not?

↳ Who in the world can preserve the peace
if we do not?

↳ Who in the world can set the example, can
offer the needed hand, if we do not?

↳ We live in a time when everything is complex,
when there are no more rapid or easy answers. ↳ We

live in a time when we must exert our patience

as never before. ^{But} Have we the patience, for

instance, to continue a disagreeable struggle

thousands of miles from home -- perhaps for

months and years ahead -- without any guarantee of

final success?

Time can be
on our
side!

I can tell you that the forces of
totalitarianism have that patience!

and We must stand abroad as we stand at home

for the pledges made by Americans who came
before us. We must love freedom and justice
enough to practice it ... and defend it.

Liberty +
Justice for
all

President Johnson has made his commitment
to all of us. I join him in that commitment.

We ask your help.

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ORIGINAL

ADDRESS OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice-President of the United States

TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

before

THE ADVERTISING COUNCIL

Date: April 6, 1965

Place: Washington, D. C.

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ADDRESS

of

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice-President of the United States

before

THE ADVERTISING COUNCIL

Washington, D. C.

1 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I want to thank you,
2 Mr. Chairman, and I'm beginning to find that this business of
3 being Vice-President and being introduced with this formality,
4 leaves one with very little time to prepare his speeches.

5 (Laughter)

6 I've preferred on other occasions to have those
7 long, bewitching fictionalized introductions; it made you feel
8 very good, and in the meantime you had a chance to recup your
9 thoughts or at least get some down on paper.

10 But, first let me express my appreciation for the
11 opportunity that you give me today of being with the Advertising
12 Council, and, secondly, to thank you for the many, many fine
13 public services that you have performed for our country. And
14 we are well-aware of them. And I know that there are more of
15 these great public services that you have in mind that you
16 want to perform--

17 (Laughter)

18 --and I thought I'd just mention a few as we go
19 along.

20 (Laughter)

21 You see, I am somewhat aware of the power of adver-
22 tising, because, like in every structure there is first place,
23 second place, third place, fourth place, and so on, and I'm like
24 that well-known ad--I try harder. I have to. I'm only No. 2.

25 (Laughter)

1 --You see. I knock myself out.

2 (Applause)

3 That's why I guess today that, when I was hoping that
4 I might have just a little more leisurely luncheon period, I
5 received an urgent call that said the speaker that was supposed
6 to be at the luncheon at another hotel, which for the purposes
7 of the advertising of this hotel that I shall leave unnamed,
8 that the speaker has been taken ill. And since vice-presidents
9 don't have too much to do, we'd like to just throw you into the
10 breach.

11 (Laughter)

12 You can imagine from where that call came. And--

13 (Laughter)

14 --I said I'd be more than happy to fulfill that
15 assignment and I charged over to this other place, unnamed, and
16 delivered a few remarks concerning the effort of this government
17 and of the American People to help build a better rural America.

18 Today I come to you less hurried and under more for-
19 mal presentation, because there has been an exchange of corres-
20 pondence between us. I knew that I was supposed to be here.

21 (Laughter)

22 I said to this other group that I am always happy to
23 fill in on these matters, and I said I just wanted them to tell
24 the President that I have given my pound of flesh as I miss all
25 these luncheons each day, going around making the speeches but

1 seldom getting much more than a cup of coffee with a sugar lump,
2 but I'm a great advocate of dextrose; it is energy-building.

3 May I first thank the Advertising Council for a pro-
4 ject that you announced just this past Sunday; your public ser-
5 vice campaign preparing to help members of minority groups in
6 this country to find better jobs. I just want to express to you
7 on behalf of the President, myself, and those of us who have
8 responsibility in this area, a word of personal and public
9 thanks. I am sure you know that I am the Chairman of the
10 President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, which
11 places me in some leadership role with the program known as
12 "Plans for Progress".

13 Plans for Progress are being carried out by many
14 of our big corporations, and under splendid leadership, and the
15 Plans for Progress campaign is now underway. We're carrying
16 forward as we have during the past years. I know of no effort
17 being undertaken in this country which is a better example of
18 full cooperation between Government and American industry than
19 the program of Plans for Progress, and your efforts to publicize
20 it, to make it more than just an announcement or another effort,
21 you have my thanks and I hope to address myself somewhat today to
22 this area of national activity.

23 Well, we're living in rather exciting days. Many
24 speakers come before an audience and they fill you with doom and
25 gloom. And there are many things to be concerned about. I think

1 you know them without my reciting them. We read about them
2 every day. But the fact is that no generation ever lived at a
3 more exciting, exhilarating, amazing and yet more difficult time
4 than ours.

5 I suppose it's almost made for a much younger genera-
6 tion, because it changes so rapidly, this world in which we
7 live and all of the social and economic forces within it. But
8 we live at a time when more people have gained what they believe
9 is their freedom than any other time in human history. And
10 yet we live at a time when more people's freedom is threatened
11 than any other time in human history. We live at a time when
12 there are greater breakthroughs in the field of science and
13 technology than all of the recorded days of human history, and
14 we surely live at a time when the promise of our own Declaration
15 of Independence, of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness
16 has more chance of becoming a reality than any other time in
17 our history.

18 So I'm not one that comes to you with a message of
19 pessimism and I hope not with naive optimism, but with at least
20 a feeling of confidence and a feeling that if we set our line to
21 any task we can accomplish it. And when I say we, I do not mean
22 just your government.

23 Let me make it perfectly clear that the struggle in
24 the world today is not only between two systems, but it's between
25 two ideas and two sets of moral values. It's really between how

1 different leaders and philosophers view man and his relationship
2 to man. And we happen to have committed ourselves to the pro-
3 position that all men are created equal and that they are endowed
4 by their Creator--not by Government, not by Labor, not by
5 Business, not by the State--but by their Creator, with certain
6 inalienable rights. Which is only another way of saying that
7 God created man in His own Image. Which is another way of say-
8 ing that the reason that man is important is because of that
9 spark of soul of spirit of Divinity. And the whole moral justi-
10 fication for democracy and for freedom is found in man's rela-
11 tionship to his God, and man's relationship to his fellowman.

12 And once we understand that, then policies of govern-
13 ment can be judged as to whether or not they really contribute to
14 the emancipation and the enlightenment of mankind. Policies of
15 government and of private institutions can be judged as to
16 whether or not they truly reward the most precious element on
17 this earth, namely, humankind. And my fellow Americans unless
18 we understand the philosophical and indeed the spiritual differ-
19 ence between what we call freedom and what we know is totalitar-
20 ianism, there is no way to make a real moral judgment, as to
21 whether we're right and they're wrong. Or as to whether or not
22 the policies and the programs that we pursue are justified or
23 unjustified.

24 I'd like you to know how I feel about these things
25 because it's easy to make a speech. But what is more important

1 is what is it that motivates one, what are the guidelines, what
2 are the guiding lights of a person's life.

3 Now I believe that in the free society, that a govern-
4 ment is but one of the many component parts of the social struc-
5 ture; in the totalitarian society, the government is all of it.
6 It's like Louis the Fourteenth Je m'en l'Etat--I am the State.
7 But in a free society, when we speak of America, we're not just
8 speaking of the Government, but we must be speaking of an America
9 which is Government and private and public and voluntarism, in-
10 dividuals and churches and cathedrals and synagogues and fraternal
11 orders, and Labor and Capital and Management--a host, a galaxy
12 of forces, of potentials.

13 Now the great question is: Can a free society with
14 free government harness these forces cooperatively without
15 destroying their individuality? Can, in other words, a demo-
16 cratic society, such as ours with a republican form of govern-
17 ment, with a government representative of the people, elected
18 government, can this kind of a government bring to bear upon
19 any one objective, the totality of the power that is ours in
20 this America, without complete domination and control of the
21 entire economic and social structure. In other words, can we
22 do it wilfully and voluntarily, can we do it through cooperation
23 or must it be done through domination?

24 President Lyndon Johnson and his Vice-President,
25 Hubert Humphrey, and your Vice-President; your President believes

1 and I believe that we can do this job of outlining national
2 goals gaining the concensus of the people, which means the
3 support and the understanding of the people, and once having
4 gained the concensus or achieving the concensus, once having
5 obtained that, the great resources of America can be brought to
6 bear cooperatively, voluntarily, wilfully to achieve the common
7 objective or common goal.

8 This is what the President and the Secretary of
9 Commerce and the Secretary of the Treasury and others not long
10 ago asked American business on the balance of payments problem.
11 They could have gone before the Congress and said the montetary
12 situation is unbelievably bad, we must do something now and
13 could have made a plea for restrictive legislation, and I think
14 they might have gotten it through. But instead of that, the
15 President used the power of his office not by wilful use of
16 power, but the majesty of the office, to call upon the American
17 people, those involved in this matter, to help themselves and
18 their country and their government and indeed the whole free
19 world, and through voluntarism tried to achieve an objective
20 that everyone knew was essential and everyone knew had to be
21 achieved.

22 Well, this is a fact of our economy today. I said
23 that this is an exciting period, and advertisers should surely
24 know it, and you ought to feel very much at home here in our
25 America of 1965, not only because our economy is booming and

1 because billings are up, but you can feel at home because our
2 nation is entering the most creative and therefore rewarding
3 period of our history. People have new names for all of this;
4 we're always trying to put a tag on it. Creative Federalism,
5 or just a creative period--be that as it may, what we're really
6 doing is finding new answers for continuing old problems and
7 some new problems and this creativity that we speak about we're
8 asking to come from everybody, not just on top.

9 We're creating new wealth, new and better goods, and
10 we're doing it faster and better and we're doing it for more
11 people than ever before. And, my fellow Americans, we ought to
12 be telling the world about this. I can never quite understand
13 why we're such poor advertisers abroad and such good ones at
14 home. Sometimes I wonder if we're not almost afraid of what
15 we're doing. I've travelled around this world, and no people in
16 the world have the variety of consumer goods, for example, that
17 we have; no people in the world have the sense, the--apparently
18 the genius of how to distribute them as we have, and yet we let
19 the totalitarian, the Communists, come forth with propaganda
20 about building a whole new society, as they say. And a society
21 of what? A society of heavy capital goods, military power, and
22 of authoritarianism. The truth is most people don't want that,
23 most people want the good life; they want to live a life of peace,
24 and one, as they see it, of joy for themselves.

25 There's no industry, for example, in the world that

1 is quite as generous as our own. And I've said many times to
2 American industry, if you'll just be as open about your fringe
3 benefits, abroad as you are at home, the so-called social wel-
4 fare programs of the authoritarian or totalitarian state will
5 fade into insignificance. We don't have a welfare state and
6 we don't want one. But we have a society that's interested in
7 human welfare. As a matter of fact, the benefits given by many
8 of our large businesses are far more extravagant than any bene-
9 fit ever given by a government.

10 And yet for some reason or other, we are never able
11 to project that full story. We're painted as grasping capital-
12 ists, when in fact, our capitalism--and we ought to be proud of
13 it--has given more blessings, more rewards to more people over a
14 continuing period of time than any economic system that the
15 world has ever known, and we ought to tell the people of the
16 world about it in ways that they can understand it. I say this
17 to you because the Advertising Council has done such a good job
18 of it at home.

19 Yes, I think we're not only creating these more jobs
20 as I mentioned this whole period of creativity in terms of our
21 economy, but we're creating the means for sustained national
22 boosts. We've learned something recently; we've learned you
23 don't have to have depressions. Oh, I know, people still doubt
24 that. We've learned that you don't really have to go through a
25 recession. Just like you don't really have to have smallpox,

1 once you did. We've learned how to immunize ourselves. We're
2 going to learn how to immunize ourselves from measles too. You
3 don't really have to have epidemics of polio; we've learned how
4 to do something about it. You really don't have to have floods;
5 we've learned how to do something about that. That's what man
6 has his brain for.

7 And we're learning something about fiscal and mone-
8 tary tools, so that we don't have to go through these deep val-
9 leys of recession and depression and then the heights and pin-
10 nacles of prosperity and leaving mankind and human and physical
11 resources scattered asunder.

12 This isn't any radical doctrine. The most conserva-
13 tive doctrine in the world today, the most responsible doctrine,
14 is how do you have stability and progress. And we've learned
15 something about stability; we've always known a great deal about
16 progress. We've had the longest sustained period of economic
17 progress of any country in the history of mankind, and we haven't
18 even got started.

19 And I remember when we were talking about it two
20 years ago, people said "Oh, it'll still be the same old way."
21 One of the real problems that people have is how to cleanse their
22 mind of old baggage. How do you think anew. This is why they
23 change presidents of corporations, and change advertisers and
24 change others; we want people that can think anew, and we need
25 it in government as well as well as we do in private life.

1 I think we're going through one of the most creative
2 periods in the world in terms of our human resources. We're
3 improving and strengthening every major resource of this Nation.
4 When I say "we", I mean all of us--government and private sector.
5 I just left, this morning, the director of the Ford Foundation.
6 We're bringing together here very shortly in Washington this
7 great organization with some of the institutions of our govern-
8 ment, to see how we can implement the respective programs, pri-
9 vate and public; we don't want the public sector to take over
10 what the private sector can do, and we don't feel that the
11 private sector can do everything that the public sector can do.
12 There's room for both, and instead of promoting a nice debate
13 which finally gets down into a bitter argument, we're trying to
14 promote a dialogue, so we find out where our respective places
15 are and how we perform for the common good.

16 We're improving our medical facilities, our housing,
17 and our recreation, our cultural activities, all of which adds
18 up to the conservation and the development of human resources.
19 Now we're doing this through unprecedented peacetime effort of
20 national cooperation, and cooperation is the theme of our time.
21 It's what motivates your President. He does believe in the
22 words of that old prophet Isiah, "Come let us reason together".
23 It isn't just a political phrase, or a gimmick; he means it, and
24 the White House has become the people's house, where we recon-
25 cile differences, where the Congress itself learns more about

1 reconciliation of differences, rather than the promulgation of
2 them. We're learning how to be leaders, rather than combatants.
3 There's this creative partnership which now exists between
4 Government and private industry. I saw it only recently down
5 at Cape Kennedy, where we saw the launching of Gemini 3. It
6 never could have happened just by government, under our system.
7 But there it was, an example of, really of living cooperation,
8 vital cooperation, and we're going to see it very shortly when
9 Gemini 4 goes into orbit. I'm chairman of the Space Council;
10 I met with the Space Council this morning. And what the space
11 program teaches us is that you have a goal and then you harness
12 the resources to achieve it.

13 Now the Soviet Union has a goal too, and it orders
14 the achievement of it. It owns the industry, it controls the
15 labor, it controls the universities, it controls all. Your
16 government doesn't control it at all. The man that stood in
17 charge of that program that I saw, that exercise, is a man by
18 the name of Cris Craft--really, his name was Christopher Columbus
19 Craft; I thought that was quite unique and interesting a name
20 for a man to have that was in charge of the launch of Gemini 2
21 and putting it in orbit; he was exploring new worlds as Christo-
22 pher Columbus did.

23 But Chris Craft was selected not by the edict of
24 government, but by the cooperative effort of all the parties
25 involved. There was the Defense Department and NASA; there were

1 the industries, Martin that built the launcher, McDonald that
2 put the Gemini--that built the capsule, and 2,000 subcontractors
3 and 200 prime contractors, and all of them working together,
4 and their men were there to see to it that every operation went
5 off as it was planned. This is an example of what I call co-
6 operation. No one had a gun at anybody's head, no one could
7 have been put in jail if he'd failed. There was a pride of
8 work and craftsmanship, there was a spirit of excellence, which,
9 by the way, I think is the best by-product of the space program.

10 The American people once again are seeing excellence
11 literally perfection, craftsmanship, skilled workmen, industry
12 management, universities, excellence and cooperation, more ex-
13 cellence and integration of facilities. We speak much these
14 days about racial integration; very important that we eliminate
15 the barriers of discrimination, prejudice, and bigotry. This
16 is at the top priority, but my dear friends, we also need an
17 integration of the great productive forces of our society, and
18 we're learning how to bring government and university working
19 together, management and labor working together, how to bring
20 voluntary and public groups working together rather than choosing
21 up sides.

22 And this is what's producing the results, this is
23 what's producing on the balance of payments, this is what's
24 producing it in the amazing productivity of our economy, this
25 is what's producing it in the space effort, and I might add,

1 this is what's going to produce it very shortly, tonight, in
2 the launching of COMSAT, of the "Early Bird" satellite. COMSAT,
3 our communications satellite, is putting in orbit tonight, a
4 huge communications satellite that will tie in the whole world-
5 wide system of communications. In fact, we'll be able to have
6 live television debates from Europe to the United States. There
7 are some things coming up that will be almost beyond your belief.

8 We see this cooperation that I speak of in the
9 domestic programs. Several major corporations are right now
10 serving the Office of Economic Opportunity, a Government office
11 by contract by private corporations setting up Job Corps camps,
12 educational establishments, using the modern educational tech-
13 niques of our modern corporations. And we see it in government
14 and economic fiscal policies designed to give the private sector
15 the maximum latitude for enterprise and growth.

16 Now you of the Advertising Council have demonstrated
17 for many years the achievement and the public good which can
18 flow from the great talent and resources of private enterprise.
19 This Administration is committed, unqualifiedly, to the use of
20 private enterprise for public good, and calling upon the great
21 dynamic resources of private enterprise to fulfill both private
22 and public needs.

23 The spirit of cooperation is in the White House and
24 in the agencies. I noticed your friendly response to the intro-
25 duction to the Secretary of Commerce. It pleases me when I see

1 men of industry and business be as proud as you are of the
2 Secretary of Commerce, and of the Department that he heads, be-
3 cause that department has, as its purpose, bringing Government
4 and Industry, Government and business areas of our community
5 in closer cooperation for the common good. And you have an
6 effective spokesman, I might add. I've heard him speak up.

7 Now I think there's a second and yet broader area
8 of cooperation today in our country and I want to take just a
9 few minutes to remind you of it. This is the cooperation which
10 is developing between others who once opposed each other, as a
11 matter of course, between North and South. My feeling is that
12 after these days of agony, the Southern areas of this great
13 America of ours are going to spurt forward with a powerful
14 thrust, economically, socially and politically. It's really one
15 of the great developing areas of this Continent. And there's
16 the traditional battles between the city and the rural areas,
17 and some people like to promote it. They're experts at it.
18 There are many ways to stay in power politically; I've used
19 several of the techniques myself.

20 (Laughter)

21 And having been a practioneer of them, I sort of
22 know what happens. And there are professional fight promoters
23 between the city and the rural areas; that's their business,
24 they're for hire, and some of them, if not for hire, hope to
25 get paid after they've promoted a fight. And then there are the

1 professional antagonists of business and labor. And we're be-
2 ginning now to find out that there isn't that room in this
3 economy. We cannot enjoy the luxury of this kind of, sort of
4 clandestine warfare, just for kicks. We have too many things
5 ahead of us, too many problems, too many challenges, too much
6 competition.

7 Now there's another word for this developing coopera-
8 tion that your President uses and that I use today, and that's
9 called consensus. Consensus--let me define it--is voluntary
10 agreement based on constructive dialogue, mutual respect, and
11 ultimate understanding. It doesn't come easily. In consensus
12 today, we Americans are together joining the fight on old common
13 enemies; you've joined it just this weekend, in your wonderful
14 effort of promoting more and better jobs for minority peoples.

15 The old enemies are poverty and disease and ignorance
16 and discrimination, the most wasteful, costly enemies that we
17 have. I like what the President had to say about this spirit
18 of consensus where we Americans are joining together in this
19 common endeavor. He said: "The excitement of becoming, always
20 becoming, trying, probing, failing, resting and trying again,
21 but always trying and always gaining." That's the story of
22 America, right there, in a capsule.

23 We try and sometimes we don't make it, sometimes we
24 fail. We try it again; we keep pushing. We're a restless people.
25 And thank goodness. Because we've learned that through this

1 restless and through this sense of unity that we make real
2 gains.

3 Let me just give you a little bit of the gains that
4 I think we need to make. In five years, that's not long my
5 friends, just around the corner, they'll be 211 million people
6 who are going to be living in these United States; half of them
7 under the age of 25. In 10 years, we will need each year over
8 2 million new homes, and we'll need schools for 10 million
9 additional school children, and welfare and health facilities
10 for five million more people over the age of 60.

11 I submit that with these figures, which are conserva-
12 tive, we haven't any time to lose. We must challenge the tasks
13 at hand. What are those tasks? One of them is to clear up
14 this loud speaker.

15 (Laughter)

16 This roar that comes back through here. Please.

17 Boy I must be hot today.

18 (Laughter)

19 I'm going to mention the name of that other hotel
20 unless they get that off there, I'll tell you that.

21 (Laughter and applause)

22 Well one of the--after having completed that task,
23 it seems like we've made some progress.

24 (Laughter)

25 I would say that one of our most important tasks is

1 to make the cities in which we live, livable, places where child-
2 ren can play and men and women can work in safety and in health;
3 places in which you live and not just work; places in which you
4 grow and not just die. And any country that plans on putting a
5 man on the moon and bringing him back--and we are committed to
6 it you know, and we will do it--surely ought to figure out how
7 you can get in from Long Island into Manhattan, or in from
8 Bethesda-Chevy Chase into Washington, D. C.

9 (Laughter)

10 Secondly, we must preserve our national heritage,
11 before it is lost, and we must preserve our landscape and our
12 forests and we must preserve our clean air and water--and you
13 good advertisers, I want you to get people on this one. I've
14 been looking at the population statistics, and if we consume
15 as many things out of tin cans in the foreseeable years as we
16 do now, with the increase in population we forecast, and if as
17 many people are capable of winding down the car window and
18 pitching out that beer can as fast as they have been lately,
19 you'll have to add bigger ditches on the side of the roads.

20 Truly, America is an untidy nation, and when we have,
21 as we will have, by the year 2000, 380 million people here--and
22 that's not far away--we're going to need to have a much more
23 beautified America. Might I add that one of the reasons that
24 people do like to go to Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries
25 is because it's pretty. Now God endowed this country with more

1 beauty than any of those countries, but we insist on destroying
2 it, in the name of progress.

3 The Advertising Council can help this great national
4 endeavor of national beautification. We must find ways to help
5 our rural citizens to adjust to the technological revolution and
6 social change and when I hear as many people say that one of the
7 answers to the agriculture problem is to get people off the farms,
8 and where do you plan on putting them? You know, you just don't
9 erase people--I hope. The people that are going to leave those
10 farms, my fellow Americans, are the people who are all too often
11 poorly educated; the tenant sharecropper, and they're going to
12 come into the cities that are already overburdened with all kinds
13 of social problems, that are already overcrowded. Is that the
14 answer that you consider to the agriculture problem? That takes
15 one problem from rural America and intensifies it by putting
16 it in urban America.

17 No, the answer is to make rural America a more enjoy-
18 able place in which to live; equal opportunity, with health
19 facilities, with better roads, with better schools, with better
20 education, with better opportunities; that's the answer. It
21 isn't to transfer the problem from the county commissioners to
22 the city council.

23 We have to solve even the little problem of mass
24 transit. The commuters in this room know what I'm talking about.
25 We waste more time getting to and from work than most people do

1 working. And I want to say that if America can't solve this
2 problem, that we're going to be faced with some very serious
3 logistic problems in terms of our national defense and security.

4 Sometimes I wonder if we've really put it in proper
5 perspective. Here, we spend billions of dollars for national
6 defense, and the purpose of national defense is to protect the
7 people. And the simple truth is that if somebody'd give us a
8 big scare some morning, we'd most likely kill half of each other
9 trying to get to where we thought was a safe place.

10 (Laughter)

11 Transportation is yet at the heart of one--of some
12 of our problems. Frankly we have no little dreams and we make
13 no little plans. The President has proposed and your Congress
14 is now passing right this afternoon, legislation which will help
15 create an expansion of freedom and an expansion of the areas
16 of opportunity. Programs to provide adequate medical care, to
17 better educate our children, to eradicate poverty, to give each
18 man and woman in this country true equal opportunity, and that's
19 what we're after.

20 Now these investments carry a price tag. If the
21 cost per thousand, or per man or per million, of national problems
22 like illiteracy, school drop-outs, poverty, delinquency, and dis-
23 crimination, is far greater than any cost that you as individuals
24 or your government will pay to correct it.

25 We spend \$450 a year per child in public schools, and

1 people complain about local taxes. We spent \$1800 a year to
2 put a school drop-out in a delinquency home. And they're being
3 filled by the thousands. And we spend \$3500 a year for every
4 inmate in a State prison, and more in a Federal. And I have
5 yet to get a letter from a taxpayer about the cost of delinquency
6 or the prisons. But I hear repeatedly about the \$450 which is
7 the national average which we spend for public education.

8 Now we must make the investments that are necessary,
9 and the wisest investment is an education, because that's the
10 investment that makes the society more productive. Poor and un-
11 educated people are poor citizens and poor consumers and poor
12 producers. They are, to put it bluntly, a drain on the economy.
13 They are wasted resources. And the most incredible disastrous
14 waste of all, is the waste of human resources in this country.

15 But beyond the economic good that we can bring about,
16 by fighting these wars against illiteracy and poor health and
17 poverty, I think there is the morality of our efforts. I repeat
18 that we want no welfare state, but we would like a state of
19 opportunity, and that's what we seek to achieve.

20 Now we've always drawn strength, haven't we, from
21 our belief that democracy can give the greatest reward of all.
22 The opportunity for each man and woman to make something better
23 of himself in his own way. And we believe in the dignity and
24 the worth of every man, as I said to you in the beginning. Not
25 just our society as a whole, but each man in it; that's the way

1 we judge our efforts. And that's why we educate a child. That's
2 what the school program's about in Congress--not about schools
3 but about children. Or we give a hand to those who are without
4 a job, or without hope. That's why we do the things we must do
5 to insure that each American, whatever his religion, or his color,
6 or his national origin, shall have an equal chance. And once
7 we start to focus our attention upon what is the objective,
8 namely, the child or the person, rather than the church or the
9 color or the region or the national origin, we'll have removed
10 a number of the road barriers to equal opportunity.

11 Now I ask your support work for all of these things
12 and something else, and this is at the top of the list. I ask
13 your support for the belief that the world need not destroy
14 itself. We have to believe this, my fellow Americans, because
15 it's so easy to become cynical. Destroy itself by war. And I
16 ask your support in your work in the belief that we Americans
17 can help ourselves and help others at the same time, and do it
18 in other places, to have people find a better life.

19 Now I know we hear many voices these days, and many
20 of them are here in Washington, saying that America is over-
21 extended in this world. This is becoming a commonplace state-
22 ment, that other people's problems really needn't be our problems,
23 and that we've done enough and that we ought to pull back, that
24 we ought to close up shop, so to speak, overseas; that we have
25 enough right here to do and we ought to enjoy the fruits of our

1 labor here and meet our own problems here.

2 Ah, my friends, that's too easy an answer. And it's
3 too dangerous. Let me put the argument to you in the socratic
4 method: Who in the world will work for democracy, if we do not?
5 Who will uphold this banner if we let it fall? Who in the
6 world can preserve the peace or is willing to preserve the peace,
7 if we do not? Who has more to gain in peace and more to lose in
8 war than we? This is important business to us. This isn't just
9 a matter of asking why didn't the other fellow do more? I've
10 met people all my life who are always complaining that the other
11 fellow didn't do enough, which was only a rationalization for
12 his failure, procrastination, bane of all evil.

13 The price of leadership is to do more than others.
14 If you don't want to be a leader, you don't have to be, and if
15 you don't want to do more than others, give up the mantle of
16 leadership. I had the responsibility for four years as the
17 Majority Whip of the United States Senate. I never worked harder
18 in my life, but I wanted the title; I wanted the position. I
19 liked it; it wasn't forced upon me. I thought it was great,
20 and I worked 18 hours a day and anytime you're unwilling to work
21 less, you ought to forfeit the mantle of leadership. You don't
22 have to lead for an eternity, however, for whatever time you are
23 here, you ought to give it your best.

24 Who in the world, I ask, my fellow Americans, can set
25 the example for justice, for equality of treatment, for decency;

1 who can offer the needed hand to the poor and the needy, if we
2 do not, the richest of all peoples? We live in a time when
3 everything is difficult, and beware of the man that has the easy
4 answer, because there are no rapid or easy answers. We live in
5 a time when we must have patience, and exhort that patience,
6 persevering patience, as never before. But the question is, do
7 we have it?

8 For instance, do we have the patience to continue
9 a disagreeable struggle thousands of miles from home with people
10 that we've never met, perhaps for months and maybe for years
11 ahead, without any sure guarantee of final victory. This is the
12 test for America. Well, I can tell you one thing; I believe we
13 have that patience and that will. I hope and pray we do. But
14 I know for sure that the Communist does; he is willing to out-
15 wage us; he's willing to constantly press forward day after day
16 and to feed upon the areas of discontent, and if we are anything
17 less than as persistent in our efforts, we will lose as surely
18 as the sun rises in the morning.

19 But if we have the will, if we have the determination,
20 if we have the perseverance, we will win. It's a matter of what
21 we will. And then, I say, we must stand abroad as we stand at
22 home for the pledges made by Americans who came before us. We
23 must truly love freedom, and justice; love it enough to practice
24 it, and if we can't do that, the least that we can do is to not
25 ask our children to repeat "One Nation, under God, with Liberty

1 and Justice for all". I believe in one nation, under God, with
2 liberty and justice for all. But if we're going to ask our
3 youngsters to repeat that blessed pledge, which is the commit-
4 ment, the individual commitment of a people to a cause, then
5 let's make it a reality. And that's what we're trying to do;
6 that's what the voting rights bill is all about; that's what the
7 civil rights bill was all about; that's what the education bill
8 is all about; that's what this economy is all about; that's what
9 you're doing.

10 We're trying in our way and our time to make a
11 promise become a reality. One Nation--we preserved this one
12 nation out of a terrible war, and we're a God-fearing people.
13 One Nation under God--and we have said for generations--with
14 liberty and justice for all. That was our Creed in the beginning
15 and it is our continuing commitment, and the question is whether
16 or not we're going to do it in this century.

17 The President of the United States says yes. I saw
18 him the other night standing under the portrait of Abraham
19 Lincoln, speaking to the Governors, and then to the Mayors,
20 of America, and as he spoke to those Governors, he pointed back
21 and he said, "Here is the portrait of Abraham Lincoln and in
22 the East Room he signed the Emancipation Proclamation a hundred
23 and two years ago. He signed a proclamation. I, as President,
24 intend to make that proclamation a reality." Said the President
25 of the United States.

1 Never was I more proud of him than at that moment,
2 because what the world seeks today is emancipation, emancipation
3 from fear and prejudice and hunger and slavery and tyranny and
4 war, and all that that means. And I am proud that I live at a
5 time when I can be a citizen of a country that has pledged its
6 life, its sacred honor, and its resources to the fulfillment
7 of the cause of freedom and equal opportunity.

8 We ask your help in achieving these goals.

9 (Long applause)

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