

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY AT THE  
AL SMITH DINNER, NEW YORK CITY, OCTOBER 13, 1965

Tonight we honor a great American, a man two generations ahead of his time.

I have lately been re-reading Al Smith's messages as Governor of this great Empire State. They are as timely as if they had been written today.

In 1928 he wrote: "The Old World concept of government was that the people existed for the government. The underlying theory of American democracy is that the government exists for the people . . . "

Al Smith spoke and lived in the tradition of Thomas Jefferson, who in his time defined the role of government: "The care of human life and happiness is the first and only legitimate object of good government."

That is precisely what the struggle for freedom is all about. That was the issue in Jefferson's time, in the era of Al Smith, as today.

Al Smith practiced as well as preached his democratic philosophy. In the 1920's he wrote a series of courageous and hard-hitting messages, vetoing legislation enacted in the hysteria of that time. He said, among other things:

" . . . the safety of this government and its institutions rests upon the reasoned and devoted loyalty of its people. It does not need for its defense a system of intellectual tyranny which, in the endeavor to choke error by force, must of necessity choke truth as well . . . "

It was because of his deep commitment to brotherhood, to human dignity, to opportunity for all that he became the target of the haters, the bigots, the Ku Klux Klan.

In 1919 he wrote the Legislature: "It is the duty of the state to protect the poor, the helpless, and those who are without knowledge of the law, and without any idea of their rights."

Here again, he practiced what he preached. Both as a member of the Assembly and as Governor, he was a pioneer, an initiator of social legislation through which New York set a good example for the whole nation.

He was a man who richly merited, by his ability, his warm humanity, and his outstanding record of achievement, the highest office in the land. I do not know whether, in the complacency -- the self-satisfaction -- prevailing in 1928, he could have been elected, whatever his faith. I do know that his religious faith was made, unfairly and disgracefully, a major issue in that campaign. Indeed, my own father -- who admired Al Smith and campaigned for him in South Dakota -- had first-hand and painful experience of this. He, too, was attacked, vilified, and ridiculed.

I remember -- yes, I remember.

And that is one of the reasons my campaign plane last year bore the name "The Happy Warrior."

Al Smith would have been profoundly pleased to know that this nation and its people have declared war on bigotry, prejudice, discrimination and poverty.

He would rejoice in learning that we had matured sufficiently to elect a brilliant young man of Catholic faith as President in 1960 and a powerful, gifted leader -- a southern, a Texan -- as President in 1964.

And imagine his joy and excitement if he could have been with us Monday, October 4, when for the first time in the history of our Republic, the Holy Father, Pope Paul VI visited this city and nation and gave new life and spirit to the United Nations.

Yes, we have come a long way in making this one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

Tonight, in the spirit of this occasion, I should like to reminisce.

Just a little less than seven years ago, I had a conversation with a man whom all of us remember vividly -- even though he has been rather conspicuously and deliberately forgotten in his own country.

I am speaking, of course, of Nikita Khrushchev.

I had quite a talk with him -- eight hours of it, in fact.

He declared then that our two systems should not compete on the field of battle. Rather, he challenged us to what he called "peaceful competition," to show which system could yield more rapid progress and higher living standards to its people.

As to the outcome, he seemed to have -- in the words of the Gilbert and Sullivan song:

" . . . no manner of doubt,

No probable, possible shadow of doubt,

No possible doubt whatever."

Our system, he told me, was worn out and played out. It was Communism, he said, which was new, young vital, and brimming with energy.

"Chairman Khrushchev," I replied, "we haven't even begun to compete yet. When we do, we'll compete you right out of Gorki Park."

I don't think that he believed me for one instant.

But, I had my reasons for confidence. I knew the competitive vigor of our businessmen. I knew the skill of our workers. I knew the productivity of our farmers. I knew the spirit of our people.

I was confident that, if government did its part, our economy could move ahead. As I used to say in those days: "Let's take modern economic policy out of the doghouse and put it in the White House."

Well, almost seven years have passed since then. Taking a leaf from Al Smith's book, let's look at the record.

As I speak to you tonight, we are enjoying our 56th month of continuous economic growth. Profits are up, wages are up, farm income is up, savings are up, the stock market is high, unemployment is down, and the balance of payments deficit is sharply reduced.

The primary credit for this belongs to the American people -- for ours is a free economy, drawing its vigor from personal initiative and private enterprise. But government has a vital part to play, in creating and maintaining the kind of economic climate in which private initiative can flourish.

I think the most important thing we have done in these years is to establish the fact that government, business and labor can do much better working with each other than against each other.

Second, I think we have rejected the idea, shared by old-fashioned conservatives and old-fashioned liberals alike, that the national income is like a cake

whose size is fixed -- and that, if one sector of the community (say labor) gets a bigger slice, another (say business) will have a smaller one. We have come to realize, instead, that if we can keep the national income steadily expanding, everyone can get a bigger slice of cake.

Or, as a farmer friend of mine put it, "There's room for everyone at the hayrack."

A number of positive government policies have played an important part, as well -- the tax cuts, investment credit, the wage-price guidelines, the sophisticated management of our difficult balance of payments problem.

And the gains we have made are real gains -- because, so far, we have held down inflation better than any other major country.

I do not say that I can promise you, here and now, that this expansion can last forever.

I do say that what we have learned to do pretty well, we can learn to do even better. I hope that, at some future date, we shall have to explain to our children what the word "recession" means -- just as we now have to explain to them what the great depression of the 1930's was, and (if we can) how and why we got into it.

I do most emphatically reject the view of some old-fashioned economists that there must be recessions because there always have been -- to me, this seems as dogmatic as Marxism.

Economic growth has brought us prosperity and well-being unknown in our previous history. But economic growth cannot be expected to solve all our problems -- even all our economic problems.

That is why today we make great national investments in the American people -- through education, through medical care, through legislation for equal opportunity and equal rights, through programs to make our cities liveable.

We are building an America to live up to its promise -- through cooperation, through creative public and private leadership, through free institutions.

We are seeking new ways to release the unlimited creative and productive potential of the American people.

We are doing this through a new partnership between government and the people, through understanding and cooperation -- not by dogma of domination.

We move forward toward a Great Society -- a society characterized by a love of beauty and the arts . . . a richness of culture as well as of industry and commerce . . . a fullness of joy as well as of employment . . . a sense of justice as well as of purpose.

We are building. We are growing. We are changing.

We are pioneering.

We are alive and once again filled with hope and optimism.

This is our message -- this would be my response to the challenge leveled at me by Mr. Khrushchev seven years ago.

And what do Mr. Khrushchev's successors have to report?

Well, first of all, they have learned, the hard way, that all the answers are not in Marxism.

They have come to recognize that Russian consumers should be able to buy what they want -- rather than what some bureaucrat thinks they ought to want.

They have found that the old-fashioned emphasis on quantity rather than quality has resulted in a flood of shoddy goods which look good in statistics but not in the shops. They are finding merit in the profit concept as a measure of the efficiency and performance of individual factories or enterprises.

According to a pronouncement by the Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Kosygin, last month, these "revolutionary" new ideas are going to be applied across the board in the Soviet economy.

Even more revolutionary ideas are being talked about -- unemployment insurance where there are supposed to be no unemployed . . . yes, even legal private ownership of land. Once started, such ideas gain momentum.

Historically, the free market in goods has been associated with the emergence of a free market in ideas. People will not be content only to be free to buy what they want. They will seek freedom to speak, to write, to associate with others of their own choosing, and freedom to go where they please . . . to worship where they please, without interference.

Today we see clearly the great movement of our age: the striving by all men, in all countries, toward a life of greater individual freedom and greater individual happiness.

We must recognize this common striving -- and we, who possess the means, must act to create conditions of human betterment and happiness.

In the words of that great Pope, John XXIII:

"The solidarity which binds all men and makes them members of the same family requires political communities enjoying an abundance of material goods not to remain indifferent to those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery and hunger, and who lack even the elementary rights of the human person.

" . . . it is not possible to preserve lasting peace if glaring economic and social inequality among them persist."

Pope John emphasized "the sense of responsibility which weighs upon each and everyone, especially upon those who are more blessed with this world's goods."

America is so blessed. And I am proud when America steps forward and says to the less fortunate of the world:

"We are our brothers' keeper."

We hear many voices these days saying that America is overextended in the world . . . that other people's problems need not be our problems. . . that we ought to close up shop overseas and enjoy our fruits here in the good old U.S.A.

My friends, when that time comes, this nation is doomed. Who in the world will work for democracy if we do not? Who in the world can persevere 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.

We must be firm without being belligerent. We must be resolute without being arrogant. We must be humble without being weak. We must be strong without being domineering.

We stand for something not seen before in the world.

We stand for dignity and fulfillment of individual man and woman. We stand for the chance for each man to make something better of himself.

We stand for free speech and government of the people.

We stand for belief that others, too, in less fortunate places should have opportunity for the blessings of abundance and should be free of tyranny.

We stand for the pledges made by men and women who left the old ways and fought a living out of the soil of a new continent.

Yes, we stand for the belief that the world need not destroy itself by war, and that we Americans can help others, too, find a better society.

We must, in this time of danger, devote ourselves, to converting man's hopes for peace, for progress, for social justice into reality -- despite discouragement, despite dissatisfaction, despite weariness.

Man must be free.

Man will be free.

LA great day - President well on the road to Recovery  
Jimmy Carter - Pitched a great game -  
Hit a home run

Tuins

OCTOBER 13, 1965

Ⓚ His Eminence looking Halcyon, Hearty, Happy -

I. Open with greetings from the President....news about his recovery.

II. Remarks about the World Series. For example:

Seems strange coming to New York at this time of the year and not going up to Yankee Stadium.

III. I've been reminded there's an election going on here in New York. From all I've heard the race for Mayor is turning out to be more like a football game --

Yale versus CCNY.

And of course Yale University didn't help the chances of their illustrious alumni, Bill Buckley and John Lindsay, by coming out with a report on Columbus Day that Leif Ericson discovered America.

Pope -  
Ad Smith  
World Series

Brooklyn Dodger  
in L.A.  
Wash. Senators  
on menu.  
Pope in  
Yankee  
Stadium  
of N.Y.  
with  
Newspaper

Yale  
Yankee

Leif  
Ericson

Ⓚ

Happy Birthday to Harry Hershfeld  
" Tomorrow to Presid Eisenhower 75th  
Eisenhower

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

AL SMITH DINNER

NEW YORK CITY

OCTOBER 13, 1965

*④ Mayor Wagner's message*

TONIGHT WE HONOR A GREAT AMERICAN, A MAN TWO GENERATIONS AHEAD OF HIS TIME — *Alfred Emmuel Smith.*

I HAVE LATELY BEEN RE-READING AL SMITH'S MESSAGES AS GOVERNOR OF THIS GREAT EMPIRE STATE. *Some of* THEY ARE AS TIMELY AS IF THEY HAD BEEN WRITTEN TODAY.

~~IN 1928 HE WROTE: "THE OLD WORLD CONCEPT OF GOVERNMENT WAS THAT THE PEOPLE EXISTED FOR THE GOVERNMENT. THE UNDERLYING THEORY OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT EXISTS FOR THE PEOPLE . . ."~~

AL SMITH SPOKE AND LIVED IN THE TRADITION OF THOMAS JEFFERSON, WHO IN HIS TIME DEFINED THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT *as-* "THE CARE OF HUMAN LIFE AND HAPPINESS IS THE FIRST AND ONLY LEGITIMATE OBJECT OF GOOD GOVERNMENT."

*Thomas Jefferson*

*and* THAT IS PRECISELY WHAT THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM  
IS ALL ABOUT. THAT WAS THE ISSUE IN JEFFERSON'S TIME,  
IN THE ERA OF AL SMITH, AND TODAY.

*This Happy manner*  
AL SMITH PRACTICED AS WELL AS PREACHED HIS DEMOCRATIC  
PHILOSOPHY.

IT WAS BECAUSE OF HIS DEEP COMMITMENT TO BROTHER-  
HOOD, TO HUMAN DIGNITY, TO OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL THAT HE  
BECAME THE TARGET OF THE HATERS, THE BIGOTS, THE KU KLUX  
KLAN. *Then as now-*

AL SMITH WAS A MAN WHO RICHLY MERITED, BY HIS ABILITY,  
HIS WARM HUMANITY, AND HIS OUTSTANDING RECORD OF  
ACHIEVEMENT, THE HIGHEST OFFICE IN THE LAND. I DO NOT  
KNOW WHETHER, IN THE COMPLACENCY -- THE SELF-SATISFACTION --  
PREVAILING IN 1928, HE COULD HAVE BEEN ELECTED, WHATEVER  
HIS FAITH. I DO KNOW THAT HIS RELIGIOUS FAITH WAS MADE,  
UNFAIRLY AND DISGRACEFULLY, A MAJOR ISSUE IN THAT CAMPAIGN.

INDEED, MY OWN FATHER -- WHO ADMIRED AL SMITH AND CAMPAIGNED  
FOR HIM IN SOUTH DAKOTA -- HAD FIRST-HAND AND PAINFUL  
EXPERIENCE OF THIS. HE, TOO, WAS ATTACKED, VILIFIED, AND

RIDICULED.

L I REMEMBER -- YES, I REMEMBER.

L AND THAT IS ONE OF THE REASONS MY CAMPAIGN PLANE LAST YEAR BORE THE NAME "THE HAPPY WARRIOR."

L AL SMITH WOULD HAVE BEEN PROFOUNDLY PLEASSED TO KNOW THAT THIS NATION AND ITS PEOPLE HAVE DECLARED WAR ON BIGOTRY, PREJUDICE, DISCRIMINATION AND POVERTY.

L HE WOULD REJOICE IN LEARNING THAT WE HAD MATURED SUFFICIENTLY TO ELECT A BRILLIANT YOUNG MAN OF CATHOLIC FAITH AS PRESIDENT IN 1960, AND A POWERFUL, GIFTED LEADER -- A SOUTHERNER, A TEXAN -- AS PRESIDENT IN 1964.

L AND IMAGINE HIS JOY AND EXCITEMENT IF HE COULD HAVE BEEN WITH US MONDAY, OCTOBER 4, WHEN FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF OUR REPUBLIC, THE HOLY FATHER, POPE PAUL VI, VISITED THIS CITY AND NATION AND GAVE NEW LIFE AND SPIRIT TO THE UNITED NATIONS.

*Pope Paul VI*

*(The Yankee Stadium Mass - Cardinal Spellman)*

(X)

L YES, WE HAVE COME A LONG WAY IN MAKING THIS "ONE NATION, UNDER GOD, INDIVISIBLE, WITH LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL".

L TONIGHT, IN THE SPIRIT OF THIS OCCASION, I SHOULD LIKE TO REMINISCE.

JUST A LITTLE LESS THAN SEVEN YEARS AGO, I HAD A CONVERSATION WITH A MAN WHOM ALL OF US REMEMBER VIVIDLY -- EVEN THOUGH HE HAS BEEN RATHER CONSPICUOUSLY AND DELIBERATELY FORGOTTEN IN HIS OWN COUNTRY.

I AM SPEAKING, OF COURSE, OF NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV.

I HAD QUITE A TALK WITH HIM -- EIGHT HOURS OF IT, IN FACT.

OUR SYSTEM, HE TOLD ME, WAS WORN OUT AND PLAYED OUT. IT WAS COMMUNISM, HE SAID, WHICH WAS NEW, YOUNG, VITAL, AND BRIMMING WITH ENERGY. *He said come, lets us compete -!*

"CHAIRMAN KHRUSHCHEV," I REPLIED, "WE HAVEN'T EVEN BEGUN TO COMPETE, WHEN WE DO, WE'LL COMPETE YOU RIGHT OUT OF GORKI PARK."

*now* I DON'T THINK THAT HE BELIEVED ME FOR ONE INSTANT.

*L* BUT, I HAD MY REASONS FOR CONFIDENCE. *L* I KNEW THE COMPETITIVE VIGOR OF OUR BUSINESSMEN, I KNEW THE SKILL OF OUR WORKERS. I KNEW THE PRODUCTIVITY OF OUR FARMERS. I KNEW THE SPIRIT OF OUR PEOPLE.

~~THE~~, ALMOST SEVEN YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE THEN.  
TAKING A LEAF FROM AL SMITH'S BOOK, LET'S LOOK AT THE  
RECORD.

*7 yrs  
later  
look at  
the record*

AS I SPEAK TO YOU TONIGHT, WE ARE ENJOYING OUR  
56TH MONTH OF CONTINUOUS ECONOMIC GROWTH. PROFITS ARE  
UP, WAGES ARE UP, FARM INCOME IS UP, SAVINGS ARE UP, THE  
STOCK MARKET IS AT AN ALL-TIME HIGH, UNEMPLOYMENT IS DOWN,  
AND THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICIT IS SHARPLY REDUCED.

THE PRIMARY CREDIT FOR THIS BELONGS TO THE AMERICAN  
PEOPLE -- FOR OURS IS A FREE ECONOMY, DRAWING ITS VIGOR  
FROM PERSONAL INITIATIVE AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE. BUT  
GOVERNMENT HAS A VITAL PART TO PLAY, IN CREATING AND  
MAINTAINING THE KIND OF ECONOMIC CLIMATE IN WHICH PRIVATE  
INITIATIVE CAN FLOURISH. - *and govt has helped create  
that environment.*

*Lower* ECONOMIC GROWTH HAS BROUGHT US PROSPERITY AND  
WELL-BEING UNKNOWN IN OUR PREVIOUS HISTORY. BUT  
ECONOMIC GROWTH CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO SOLVE ALL OUR  
PROBLEMS -- EVEN ALL OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

THAT IS WHY TODAY WE MAKE GREAT NATIONAL INVESTMENTS  
IN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- THROUGH EDUCATION, THROUGH  
RESEARCH AND MEDICAL CARE, THROUGH LEGISLATION FOR EQUAL  
OPPORTUNITY AND EQUAL RIGHTS, THROUGH PROGRAMS TO MAKE  
 OUR CITIES MORE LIVEABLE. *our rural areas more modern*

TOGETHER, WE ARE BUILDING A BETTER AMERICA.

WE ARE FINDING NEW WAYS TO RELEASE THE UNLIMITED  
CREATIVE AND PRODUCTIVE POTENTIAL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE,

*and* WE ARE DOING THIS THROUGH A NEW PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN  
GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE, THROUGH UNDERSTANDING AND  
COOPERATION -- NOT BY DOGMA OR DOMINATION.

WE MOVE FORWARD TOWARD <sup>the goal of a</sup> GREAT SOCIETY -- CHARACTERIZED  
 BY A LOVE OF BEAUTY AND THE ARTS . . . A RICHNESS OF  
 CULTURE AS WELL AS <sup>property of</sup> INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE . . . A FULLNESS  
 OF JOY AS WELL AS <sup>but</sup> EMPLOYMENT . . . A SENSE OF JUSTICE AS  
 WELL AS PURPOSE.

WE ARE BUILDING. WE ARE GROWING. WE ARE CHANGING.

WE ARE PIONEERING.

*We are moving forward.*

WE ARE ALIVE AND ONCE AGAIN FILLED WITH HOPE  
AND OPTIMISM -- YES HIGH HOPES.

THIS IS OUR MESSAGE -- THIS WOULD BE MY RESPONSE  
TO THE CHALLENGE LEVELED AT ME BY MR. KHRUSHCHEV SEVEN  
YEARS AGO.

*I was right.*

AND WHAT DO MR. KHRUSHCHEV'S SUCCESSORS HAVE TO  
REPORT?

WELL, FIRST OF ALL, THEY HAVE LEARNED THE HARD  
WAY, THAT ALL THE ANSWERS ARE NOT IN MARXISM!

THEY HAVE FOUND THAT THE OLD-FASHIONED EMPHASIS  
ON QUANTITY RATHER THAN QUALITY HAS RESULTED IN A FLOOD  
OF SHODDY GOODS WHICH LOOK GOOD IN STATISTICS BUT NOT  
IN THE SHOPS. THEY ARE FINDING MERIT IN THE PROFIT  
CONCEPT AS A MEASURE OF THE EFFICIENCY AND PERFORMANCE  
OF INDIVIDUAL FACTORIES OR ENTERPRISES

*And Helms* THE SOVIET PRIME MINISTER, MR. KOSYGIN, LAST  
MONTH SAID THESE "REVOLUTIONARY" NEW IDEAS ARE GOING  
TO BE APPLIED ACROSS THE BOARD IN THE SOVIET ECONOMY.

*Profit incentives*

*Why*  
~~YES~~ EVEN MORE REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS ARE BEING TALKED  
ABOUT -- UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE WHERE THERE ARE SUPPOSED  
TO BE NO UNEMPLOYED . . . *Even* ~~YES~~ LEGAL PRIVATE  
OWNERSHIP OF LAND, ONCE STARTED, SUCH IDEAS GAIN MOMENTUM.

*L* HISTORICALLY, THE FREE MARKET IN GOODS HAS BEEN  
ASSOCIATED WITH THE EMERGENCE OF A FREE MARKET IN IDEAS.

*L* PEOPLE WILL NOT BE CONTENT ONLY TO BE FREE TO BUY WHAT  
THEY WANT. THEY WILL SEEK FREEDOM TO SPEAK, TO WRITE,  
TO ASSOCIATE WITH OTHERS OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING, AND  
FREEDOM TO GO WHERE THEY PLEASE . . . TO WORSHIP WITHOUT  
INTERFERENCE.

*L* TODAY, WE SEE CLEARLY THE GREAT MOVEMENT OF OUR  
AGE: THE STRIVING BY ALL MEN, IN ALL COUNTRIES, TOWARD  
A LIFE OF GREATER INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND GREATER INDIVIDUAL  
HAPPINESS.

*L* WE MUST RECOGNIZE THIS COMMON STRIVING -- AND WE,  
WHO POSSESS THE MEANS, MUST ACT TO CREATE CONDITIONS OF  
HUMAN BETTERMENT AND HAPPINESS.

↳ IN THE WORDS OF THAT GREAT AND BELOVED POPE,  
JOHN XXIII - *speaking of the human family* -

~~THE SOLIDARITY WHICH BINDS ALL MEN AND MAKES THEM MEMBERS OF THE SAME FAMILY, REQUIRES POLITICAL COMMUNITIES ENJOYING AN ABUNDANCE OF MATERIAL GOODS NOT TO REMAIN INDIFFERENT TO THOSE POLITICAL COMMUNITIES WHOSE CITIZENS SUFFER FROM POVERTY, MISERY AND HUNGER, AND WHO LACK EVEN THE ELEMENTARY RIGHTS OF THE HUMAN PERSON.~~

"... IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO PRESERVE LASTING PEACE IF GLARING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY AMONG THEM PERSIST."

↳ POPE JOHN EMPHASIZED "THE SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY WHICH WEIGHS UPON EACH AND EVERYONE," ESPECIALLY UPON THOSE WHO ARE MORE BLESSED WITH THIS WORLD'S GOODS."

*and,* AMERICA IS SO BLESSED, AND I AM PROUD WHEN AMERICA STEPS FORWARD AND SAYS TO THE LESS FORTUNATE OF THE WORLD: "WE ARE OUR BROTHERS' KEEPER."

*we will help - we are friends*

WE HEAR MANY VOICES THESE DAYS SAYING THAT AMERICA IS OVEREXTENDED IN THE WORLD . . . THAT OTHER PEOPLE'S PROBLEMS NEED NOT BE OUR PROBLEMS . . . THAT WE OUGHT TO CLOSE UP SHOP OVERSEAS AND ENJOY OUR FRUITS HERE IN THE GOOD OLD U.S.A.

MY FRIENDS, WHEN THAT TIME COMES, THIS NATION IS DOOMED. WHO IN THE WORLD WILL WORK FOR FREEDOM 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?

*Leadership is not the cloak of comfort - it is the robe of responsibility.*

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.

WE MUST BE FIRM WITHOUT BEING BELLIGERENT. WE MUST BE RESOLUTE WITHOUT BEING ARROGANT. WE MUST BE HUMBLE WITHOUT BEING WEAK. WE MUST BE STRONG WITHOUT BEING DOMINEERING. LET US REMEMBER -

*We stand for something*

WE STAND FOR DIGNITY AND FULFILLMENT OF INDIVIDUAL MAN AND WOMAN. WE STAND FOR THE CHANCE FOR EACH MAN TO MAKE SOMETHING BETTER OF HIMSELF.

*opportunities*

WE STAND FOR FREE SPEECH AND GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE. *We stand for opportunity for every man*

WE STAND FOR BELIEF THAT OTHERS, ~~and~~, IN LESS FORTUNATE PLACES SHOULD HAVE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE BLESSINGS OF ABUNDANCE AND SHOULD BE FREE OF TYRANNY.

YES, WE STAND FOR THE BELIEF THAT THE WORLD NEED NOT DESTROY ITSELF BY WAR, AND THAT WE AMERICANS CAN HELP OTHERS, TOO, FIND A BETTER SOCIETY.

WE MUST, IN THIS TIME OF DANGER, DEVOTE OURSELVES TO CONVERTING MAN'S HOPES FOR PEACE, FOR PROGRESS, FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE, INTO REALITY -- DESPITE DISCOURAGEMENT, ~~or~~ DISSATISFACTION, ~~or~~ WEARINESS,

MAN MUST BE FREE --- AND <sup>GOD</sup> ~~AND~~ WILLING *without* *commitment,* MAN WILL BE FREE. *This is the American Promise -*

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Al Smith spoke and lived in the tradition of Thomas Jefferson, who in his time defined the role of government: "The care of human life and happiness is the first and only legitimate object of good government."

That is precisely what the struggle for freedom is all about. That was the issue in Jefferson's time, in the era of Al Smith, <sup>and</sup> ~~as~~ today.

Al Smith practiced as well as preached his democratic philosophy. In the 1920's he wrote a series of courageous

and hard-hitting messages, vetoing legislation enacted in the hysteria of that time. He said, among other things:

" . . . the safety of this government and its institutions rests upon the reasoned and devoted loyalty of its people. It does not need for its defense a system of intellectual tyranny which, in the endeavor to choke error by force, must of necessity choke truth as well . . . "

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"Chairman Khrushchev," I replied, "we haven't even begun to compete ~~yet~~. When we do, we'll compete you right out of Gorki Park."

I don't think that he believed me for one instant.

But, I had my reasons for confidence. I knew the competitive vigor of our businessmen. I knew the skill of our workers. I knew the productivity of our farmers. I knew the spirit of our people.

~~I was confident that, if government did its part, our economy could move ahead. As I used to say in those days: "Let's take modern economic policy out of the doghouse and put it in the White House."~~

Well, almost seven years have passed since then.

Taking a leaf from Al Smith's book, let's look at the record.

As I speak to you tonight, we are enjoying our 56th month of continuous economic growth. Profits are up, wages are up, farm income is up, savings are up, the stock market is high, <sup>at an all-time</sup> unemployment is down, and the balance of payments deficit is sharply reduced.

The primary credit for this belongs to the American people -- for ours is a free economy, drawing its vigor from personal initiative and private enterprise. But government has a vital part to play, in creating and maintaining the kind of economic climate in which private initiative can flourish.

I think the most important thing we have done in these years is to establish the fact that government, business and labor can do much better working with each other than against each other.

Second, I think we have rejected the idea, shared by old-fashioned conservatives and old-fashioned liberals alike, that the national income is like a cake whose size is fixed -- and that, if one sector of the community (say labor) gets a bigger slice, another (say business) will have a smaller one. We have come to realize, instead, that if we can keep the national income steadily expanding, everyone can get a bigger slice of cake.

Or, as a farmer friend of mine put it, "There's room for everyone at the haystack."

A number of positive government policies have played an important part, as well -- the tax cuts, investment credit, the wage-price guidelines, the sophisticated management of our difficult balance of payments problem.

And the gains we have made are real gains -- because, so far, we have held down inflation better than any other major country.

I do not say that I can promise you, here and now, that this expansion can last forever.

I do say that what we have learned to do pretty well, we can learn to do even better. I hope that, at some future date, we shall have to explain to our children what the word "recession" means -- just as we now have to explain to them what the great depression of the 1930's was, and (if we can) how and why we got into it.

I do most emphatically reject the view of some old-fashioned economists that there must be recessions because there always have been -- to me, this seems as dogmatic as Marxism.

Economic growth has brought us prosperity and well-being unknown in our previous history. But economic growth cannot be expected to solve all our problems -- even all our economic problems.

That is why to today we make great national investments  
in the American people -- through education, through *research*  
+ medical care, through legislation for equal opportunity  
and equal rights, through programs to make our cities *more*  
liveable.

*Together,* ~~We are building an America to live up to its promise~~ *a better*  
~~through cooperation, through creative public and private~~  
~~leadership, through free institutions.~~

We are ~~seeking~~ *finding* new ways to release the unlimited  
creative and productive potential of the American people.

We are doing this through a new partnership between  
government and the people, through understanding and  
cooperation -- not by dogma or domination.

We move forward toward a Great Society -- ~~a~~  
~~society~~ characterized by a love of beauty and the  
arts . . . a richness of culture as well

of  
as/industry and commerce . . . a fullness of joy as well  
as of employment . . . a sense of justice as well as of  
purpose.

Keep

↳ We are building. We are growing. We are  
changing.

↳ We are pioneering. ~~and we are not~~

↳ We are alive and once again filled with hope and  
optimism. yes High hopes

This is our message -- this would be my response  
to the challenge leveled at me by Mr. Khrushchev seven  
years ago.

And what do Mr. Khrushchev's successors have  
to report?

Well, first of all, they have learned, the hard way,  
that all the answers are not in Marxism.

~~They have come to recognize that Russian consumers should be able to buy what they want -- rather than what some bureaucrat thinks they ought to want.~~ They have found that the old-fashioned emphasis on quantity rather than quality has resulted in a flood of shoddy goods which look good in statistics but not in the shops. They are finding merit in the profit concept as a measure of the efficiency and performance of individual factories or enterprises.

~~According to a pronouncement by~~ the Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Kosygin, last month, <sup>said</sup> these "revolutionary" new ideas are going to be applied across the board in the Soviet economy.

<sup>yes,</sup> Even more revolutionary ideas are being talked about -- unemployment insurance where there are supposed to

be no unemployed . . . yes, even legal private ownership of land. Once started, such ideas gain momentum.

↳ Historically, the free market in goods has been associated with the emergence of a free market in ideas. People will not be content only to be free to buy what they want. They will seek freedom to speak, to write, to associate with others of their own choosing, and freedom to go where they please . . . to worship ~~where they please~~, without interference.

↳ Today, we see clearly the great movement of our age: the striving by all men, in all countries, toward a life of greater individual freedom and greater individual happiness.

↳ We must recognize this common striving -- and we, who possess the means, must act to create conditions of human betterment and happiness.

*and beloved*

In the words of that great <sup>a</sup> Pope, John XXIII:

"The solidarity which binds all men and makes them members of the same family requires political communities enjoying an abundance of material goods not to remain indifferent to those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery and hunger, and who lack even the elementary rights of the human person.

". . . It is not possible to preserve lasting peace if glaring economic and social inequality among them persist."

Pope John emphasized "the sense of responsibility which weighs upon each and everyone, especially upon those who are more blessed with this world's goods."

America is so blessed. And I am proud when America steps forward and says to the less fortunate of the world: "We are our brothers' keeper."

We hear many voices these days saying that America is overextended in the world . . . that other people's problems need not be our problems . . . that we ought to close up shop overseas and enjoy our fruits here in the good old U.S.A.

My friends, when that time comes, this nation is doomed. 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.

We must be firm without being belligerent. We must be resolute without being arrogant. We must be humble

without being weak. We must be strong without being domineering. — *Let us Remember* —

*We stand for something not seen before in the world.*

We stand for dignity and fulfillment of individual man and woman. We stand for the chance for each man to make something better of himself.

We stand for free speech and government of the people.

We stand for belief that others, too, in less fortunate places should have opportunity for the blessings of abundance and should be free of tyranny.

~~We stand for the pledges made by men and women who left the old ways and fought a living out of the soil of a new continent.~~

Yes, we stand for the belief that the world need not destroy itself by war, and that we Americans can help others, too, find a better society.

We must in, this time of danger, devote ourselves, to converting man's hopes for peace, for progress, for social justice into reality -- despite discouragement, despite dissatisfaction, despite weariness.

Man must be free. *and God willing*

Man will be free.

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