

FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY AM's
December 8, 1966

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
MIAMI, FLORIDA
DECEMBER 7, 1966

Churchmen are accustomed to taking a longer view than politicians. We political leaders often feel we are doing well if we can see to the end of next year -- or to the end of our term of office.

But you churchmen look at events in the aspect of eternity.

Suppose we compromise tonight and talk about what is happening in this decade and in this century.

What has happened in the 1960's is a rebirth of American idealism. It has come under this banner: Equality of opportunity.

What has happened in this century is that we have been forced to recognize the interdependence of the human race. And we must one day go beyond that recognition to march under another banner, the one that reads: Community.

We are seeking to make equality of opportunity real -- to create the living, vital, available opportunity that is so much a part of our American aspiration.

The author Thomas Wolfe, writing in a time of despair and hopelessness, described it in these words: "To every man his chance, to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever things his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This . . . is the promise of America."

I have learned from my old friend Reinhold Niebuhr that a more equal justice is a sort of stand-in, a local representative in the area of politics, for the higher ideal of Christian love.

There is another, even farther-reaching implication of the ideal of love: The fact of our interdependence; the need for community. We will be reminded of that if we look at the date tonight--Dec. 7, 1966.

It has been exactly a quarter of a century since we Americans were blasted out of our isolation. We were forced, in a most painful way, to acknowledge what a preacher said a long time ago: That no man is an island, entire of himself . . . that every man's death diminishes me, for I am involved in mankind.

Since December 7, 1941, we Americans have been struggling to define the meaning of our involvement with mankind, in many fields.

The story of our American effort to help the unfortunate and poorer nations is a great one.

But long before there were any government programs, the churches were there. So were volunteer organizations, philanthropic foundations, socially-conscious business enterprises and trade unions.

But the hardest field, of course, is international politics and national security. We have fought two wars since Pearl Harbor: we are now fighting a third.

We are a long way from achieving a world-wide community of peace with justice.

I am sure the members of this conference would disagree about the ways we should exercise our responsibility to work for that world-wide community. But we all now agree that we must work for it.

--that we do have that responsibility.
--that we cannot escape that involvement.

In these fields, most of all we need what one of your most distinguished lay leaders, John Foster Dulles, used to call the "discipline of the achievable."

But along with that discipline there must also be vision . . . the vision of a just and durable peace . . . the vision of the day toward which we should be moving.

In the nuclear age, a phrase very familiar to you takes on an almost literal meaning: Where there is no vision, the people perish.

That may be true here at home too.

We have come right now to a very important moment in that effort. It is a moment of change, of decision, and of danger.

The question is this: Will the forward movement of the 1960's continue?

When I ask that question I do not have in mind the results of the past election, nor am I predicting what a new Congress will do.

I have in mind something deeper: The mood and purpose of the American people.

What has brought about the remarkable out-pouring of progressive social action in the years just past?

I would want to see due credit given to our political institutions. But the roots lie deeper. One of the most important roots is the work of this organization, of one of its predecessors, the Federal Council, and of all the member churches -- shaping the social conscience of America for more than half a century.

To read through the famous old Social Creed of the Churches that the Federal Council took over from the Methodists is to see how visionary and ahead-of-its-time that document was. And a good deal of it is yet to be achieved.

The point is: You have been preparing the way for a long time.

You passed a resolution endorsing an anti-poverty program two years before we enacted it in Washington.

Churchmen have been writing about the moral outrage of abject poverty in the midst of fabulous riches for much longer than that.

And there is a more direct role of the churches in the recent recovery of social idealism than the writing of books and the passing of resolutions.

You have preached, lobbied, marched, carried out bold and difficult programs from the Mississippi Delta to Chicago, from Watts to Roxbury.

Churchmen have stirred the conscience of the nation when they have "put their bodies on the line" . . . and some whom we remember with the deepest respect have paid with their lives.

If we ask what groups in the American public led in the recently renewed commitment to social justice the answer I think would be these: The American Negro; American young people; and American churchmen.

Now, what about the government's role?

It has been one of your chief agents, to carry out the purposes of the American people.

There is one theory that puts government on one side, under a cloud of suspicion, and the action of private and voluntary groups on the other side, as purer, better, somehow more righteous and desirable.

And there is the implication that government action and non-governmental action are competitive, the more of the one the less of the other.

But I suggest to you that it isn't like that at all.

Rather, the two go together.

Especially, today, they go together.

We are beset by physical and social problems, at home and in the world, which demand a far more efficient and effective allocation of resources than those available either to government or the private sector alone.

Our pluralism is a source of strength. It must be preserved. But it must be preserved in such a balance that it truly meets the priority needs of the times.

What is needed is a partnership in which our public and private institutions, working together, can meet public and private need without any one institution becoming a dominant monolith.

Finally, I would point out that the periods of great government action have also been periods of venturesome action by churches and private groups.

The days of the doldrums have been static times for both church and state.

Think of the difference between 1956 and 1966.

Back then we were not talking about the subjects on your agenda here this week -- the crisis of the cities, the desperate needs of the poor, the next steps in civil rights. Or, if we were talking about those matters, there weren't many listening.

But now the atmosphere has been transformed.

The public has been made aware of the new demands of social justice -- by the parallel and cooperating work of church and state; of foundations; private corporations, labor unions, of volunteer groups and individual writers, preachers and leaders; of federal, state, and local governments.

Something important began when in 1955 a young minister in Montgomery, Alabama, organized a moving, powerful and disciplined social protest -- a bus boycott.

But the movement became much broader with the sit-ins by college students in the spring of 1960 -- actions in which student Christian leaders played a larger role than is generally recognized -- and with the Freedom Rides of the spring 1961, in which clergymen participated.

The movement has grown and spread since then, in what is really one of the most remarkable stories in the history of American social movements.

It came to great peaks in the Washington March for Jobs and Freedom in 1963; in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; and in the Selma March and Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Churchmen were of fundamental importance in the passage of the Civil Rights Act two and a half years ago. . . . to the point that one of my beleaguered Senate colleagues struck his brow and said, "Oh, the Clergy!"

Many veterans of that disciplined effort are here today, I know. All of us who participated in that historic event will be proud that we did so all of our lives.

In 1965, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews marched together down an Alabama road. One nun was asked by an angry citizen, "What are you trying to do to the white race?" She calmly replied, "Educate it!"

That's what you have been doing -- educating all of our citizens arousing our conscience, pointing to social injustices that are a stench in the nostrils of God.

But now we have come to 1966. And it turns out -- there is still more educating that needs to be done.

The mood of the public has changed. There are two parts in this change of mood, I think -- reaction and disillusionment. You are needed to counteract both.

The reaction was there waiting, frustrated, scared.

The American people haven't turned into angels.

There is prejudice, in all sections of the country; there are vested interests; there are fears -- some legitimate, most illegitimate.

There is, among some, the age-old "hardness of heart" -- the contempt for the poor, the fear of the victim of the ghetto, the grudging attitude toward the woman on welfare.

In 1966 all this has begun to come out in the open again.

And there is also disillusionment.

After all the court decisions and all the laws, most Negro children still go to segregated schools, and twice as many Negroes as whites are unemployed.

Thirty-five million Americans still live in poverty; slum schools still turn out children who can't read the labels on a medicine bottle; many of the children in the Head Start program identify the Teddy bear on the chart as a rat.

And now we learn that for many children the Head Start doesn't stick. Thrown back in a poor inner city school, the early advantage they've had soon washes away.

You can conclude one of two things from that: You could abolish Head Start or you could transform the inner city schools. I vote for the latter -- and I know you do too.

But many people, learning how hard it is to overcome slumism, have begun to be cynical and despairing about our efforts. Right now is when we need your leadership most of all.

We are now in stage two of this wave of social reform -- the tough, working stage of the follow-through, when we find out how hard the job is, how long it will take, how much money it will cost, how many of our efforts need to be revised and improved.

It is a time when all too many crusaders are inclined to leave the march.

As Thomas Paine said so well: "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph."

In the Reconstruction period many of the Northern reformers decided after the war and Emancipation that the job was done, and they withdrew, leaving the Negro to the segregationists, and leading to the lost 100 years in civil rights.

Let us not do that again.

In one of the excellent documents prepared for this conference there is a quotation relevant to this point. The quotation, you will remember, comes from Yale historian C. Vann Woodward:

"Americans have developed over the years a curious usage of the law as an appeasement of moralists and reformers. Given sufficient pressure for a law that embodies reputable and popular moral values, the electorate will go to great lengths to gratify the reformers . . . But having done this much, they are inclined to regard it as rather tedious of the reformers to insist on literal enforcement. Under these circumstances the new law is likely to become the subject of pious reference, more honored in the breach than in the observance, a proof of excellent intentions rather than a means of fulfilling them."

I'm afraid that has often been true. We all now have the responsibility to see that it is not true of the battery of opportunity programs we have started in the sixties.

We in government bear a heavy responsibility to provide the funds, the leadership, the programs, and the follow-through that are necessary.

I believe that we in government, during the 1960's can justifiably assert that we have provided these things on a scale never before attempted.

Yet if there is criticism that we must do better, we welcome it. For we know that what has been done is only the beginning of what must be done if we are to reach the state of opportunity we seek.

We recognize our responsibility to higher levels of effort, creativity, and performance.

Yet we recognize other responsibilities, too -- and here it is time for some plain talk.

We have the responsibility to meet our obligations in the world.

We have, too, the responsibility to help keep on a sound footing the economy which underpins everything we undertake.

To fail in either of these responsibilities would be the surest way I know to guarantee the failure of the course in America to which we are all so deeply committed.

Thus, it is more than ever important that institutions and people outside of government meet their responsibilities in building our freer and better America. I think of the opportunities, for example, that confront you.

You can be the shaper of the public conscience in each city, in each Southern county and each Northern metropolitan area, in each town and region. More and more, that is where the battles will now be fought.

You can leap across the political boundaries of our formless metropolitan areas in a way that government cannot.

You can provide the leaders -- the pragmatic idealists, who stick to the job -- whom we desperately need in every community.

You can encourage those sensitive citizens in the suburbs who care about what is happening in the inner city.

You can pick up the possibilities offered by new federal legislation and make those real in your own community -- the housing projects for black and white, poor and not-so-poor; the supplementary educational centers; the community action agencies to fight poverty.

You can help provide (and I know how much of this you are already doing) the teachers and leaders for Head Start and Upward Bound and remedial reading and basic literacy and foster grandparents.

You can take action within your own institutions -- to examine your investments, your hiring policy, your budgets.

We have been urged by religious leaders recently to move toward the day when we will devote two per cent of our national income to economic development in the poorer nations.

I'm for that. It raises the question about how the churches spend their money.

One statistic I have seen puts the total of Catholic and Protestant expenditure on services to others outside the churches at about 500 million dollars per year -- only 41 cents per month for everyone who belongs to a church in America.

Recently churches have been urging corporations to place the funds they have for investment in socially constructive places such as low and middle income housing. This is a wonderful idea.

But many people have been disappointed at how slow the churches and non-profit groups have been to take up the government offer to make long-term, low-interest loans available under the 221D3 provision of the Housing Act -- a provision making possible construction of low rent housing.

How much of its own money is the church investing in community organization among poor people in city and country?

How much of the church's budget is going to experiment with new ways of serving the old, the poor, the sick -- ways which go beyond our present welfare practices?

There is much for all of us to do before we reach the day when every man is treated as he should be treated, as a child of God.

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What I have been trying to say in this message is the essence of my religious conviction: Namely, that the way you treat people is the way you treat God.

We are bound together in the common faith of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

How, then, can we be true to our faith in our daily lives?

To me, religious faith must be more than an exercise in theology, dogma, ritual or doctrine. It must be a part of one's life. And the Christian faith, to be an effective force in the modern world, must have practical meaning in the lives of those who inhabit the earth.

I believe that each of us has an obligation to serve God at each level of his existence and within each institution of his society -- from doing honor to one's parents and children . . . to performing his work with dignity and honesty . . . to playing his role within his school, his neighborhood, his church, his community and nation.

The building of a better and more peaceful world will never come from any diplomat's ingenious plan. It will come only from the cumulative acts of men who live their lives in respect for their fellow man, and thus, for God.

I believe it is thus that all men may one day march proudly under the banner: Community.

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REMARKS
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

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Dr Fleming
Bishop Miller
Dr Espy
④ 150th Anniversary
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Society.

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The author Thomas Wolfe, writing in a time of despair and hopelessness, described it in these words: "To every man his chance, to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever things his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This ... is the promise of America."

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The American Negro;

American young people;

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"The Care of human life and
happiness is the first
and only legitimate
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Jefferson

↳ Now, what about the government's role?

It has been one of your chief agents, to carry out the purposes of the American people. Govt of the People

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Many veterans of that disciplined effort are here today, I know. All of us who participated in that historic event will be proud that we did so all of our lives.

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That's what you have been doing -- educating all of our citizens, arousing our conscience, pointing to social injustices that are a stench in the nostrils of God.

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↳ The mood of the public has changed. There are two parts in this change of mood, I think -- reaction and disillusionment. You are needed to counteract both.

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↳ There is prejudice, in all sections of the country; there are vested interests; there are fears -- some legitimate *and* most illegitimate.

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After all the court decisions and all the laws, most Negro children still go to segregated schools, and twice as many Negroes as whites are unemployed. (*Teen Age*)

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Educ, Health, Poverty etc

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↳ You can encourage those sensitive citizens in the suburbs who ^{care} / about what is happening in the inner city.

↳ You can pick up the possibilities offered by new federal legislation and make those real in your own community -- the housing projects for black and white, poor and not-so-poor; the supplementary educational centers; the community action agencies to fight poverty.

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We are bound together in the common faith of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

How, then, can we be true to our faith in our daily lives?

To me, religious faith must be more than an exercise in theology, dogma, ritual or doctrine. It must be a part of one's life. And the Christian faith, to be an effective force in the modern world, must have practical meaning in the lives of those who inhabit the earth.

I believe that each of us has an obligation to serve God at each level of his existence and within each institution of his society -- from doing honor to one's parents and children ... to performing his work with dignity and honesty ... to playing his role within his school, his neighborhood, his church, his community and nation.

↳ The building of a better and more peaceful world will never come from any diplomat's ingenious plan. ↳ It will come only from the cumulative acts of men who live their lives in respect for their fellow man and, thus, for God.

I believe it is thus that all men may one day march proudly under the banner: Community.

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Ted

[Transcript]

national council of the churches of CHRIST in the u.s.a.

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new york, n. y. 10027

BISHOP REUBEN H. MUELLER, PRESIDENT

R. H. EDWIN ESPY, GENERAL SECRETARY

December 9, 1966

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Martin J. McNamara, Jr.
Special Counsel to The Vice President
Office of The Vice President
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear Mr. McNamara:

The Vice President made a tremendous contribution to our General Assembly.

I know that other messages will be coming to you and him voicing our appreciation. The purpose of this brief note, however, is to send on to you promptly, as requested by Ted Rodgers, a tape and stenographic copy of the Vice President's tremendous message and informal comments in our December 7 public meeting.

Thank you for all your assistance in helping to arrange his visit with us.

Sincerely,

Rev. H. Leroy Brininger
Associate General Secretary for Administration

HLB:dc

cc: Mr. Ted Rodgers
Rev. J. Quinter Miller

Transcript

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
of the
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES MEETING

Fountainebleau
Hotel

Miami Beach, Florida

December 7, 1966

I N T R O D U C T I O N

of

Vice President

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

by

BISHOP MUELLER

The next speaker of the program is Mr. Humphrey and it hurts me to say this. He was born in South Dakota. Those of you who were at the dinner preceding this service know what I'm talking about. He, however, rectified all that as soon as he could. He's a graduate with a Baccalaureate Degree from the University of Minnesota. He secured the Bachelor of Arts Degree from the Louisiana State University. The following four years as a pharmacist in Huron, South Dakota. Mr. Humphrey taught political science in Louisiana State University and the University of Minnesota.

Following a period of service with the Man Warpower Commission he was a visiting professor of political science at McAllister College in St. Paul, Minnesota. You notice how he constantly returns to Minnesota. I need to tell the rest of you that I was born in St. Paul, Minnesota. (LAUGHTER)

The following four years as Mayor of Minnesota. Mr. Humphrey was elected Senator from Minnesota in 1948, 1954 and 1960; becoming majority whip in 1961; Vice President of the United States in 1965. He has served as the United States delegate to the United Nations, and the United States delegate to UNESCO Meeting in Paris. He is Chairman of the President's Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, The National Areas

and Space Council, and the Peace Corps Advisory Council. He's also a member of the National Security Council.

Our Vice President is a man of great social vision and deep ethical commitment. He knows of the ecumenical work the church has carried forward together through their National Council of Churches. He's a member of the United Church of Christ, a valued consultant on many of its social action concerns and has been an inspiring speaker at numerous sessions of the Washington Seminar sponsored by the National Council of Churches. He will now address us on the subject:

"OUR LIBERTIES - ONE AND INDIVISIBLE"

I give you the Vice President of the United States of America.

(APPLAUSE)

Vice President
Hubert H. Humphrey

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Thank you. Thank you, Bishop Mueller, my fellow Minnesotan; Dr. Fleming and Dr. Este, and the officers of the National Council of Churches; the Delegates to this great Conference, and the many guests and visitors and my fellow public servants.

I think that the omen is at hand when I should divulge to this great Assembly some of the earlier proceedings of the evening in the sense that Bishop Mueller has already alluded to them. But, before I do so I want to thank Bishop Mueller for his very gracious and generous and flattering introduction. My beloved friend, Adlai Stevenson, once said:

"Flattery is alright if you don't inhale it,"

(LAUGHTER) but I inhale it. (LAUGHTER) That's one of the limited privileges of being Vice President (LAUGHTER) (APPLAUSE), and I'm sure you wouldn't want to deny me that privilege (LAUGHTER).

I've been meeting tonight with the establishment. I'm not going to tell you all of the members but I've been with the "in" group earlier. And I'll tell you it's something that gives you a sense of humility. As I said to them a little earlier: when you meet with Presidents and Bishops, and Chairmen and Executive Secretaries and General Secretaries, and you're just Vice President (LAUGHTER) (APPLAUSE) you get a good BIG dose



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of Christian humility, I'll tell you, and I surely have it right now.

I notice that Bishop Mueller talked about the fact that whenever I wander about in my life I've always returned to Minnesota. I wish he wouldn't emphasize that too much. (LAUGHTER) (APPLAUSE) Unless you mean that I can return just occasionally for a pleasant weekend. There are those that have many nefarious plans afoot to see that the return is more permanent (LAUGHTER), and I just want to assure them that I enjoy commuting (LAUGHTER).

May I join tonight with all of you in congratulating the American Bible Society on its 150th Birthday. And I was much impressed - as I am sure you were - by the splendid remarkable record of achievement of the American Bible Society. I have looked forward to this evening and to this Conference. I have looked forward to it for many reasons but above all because I owe a debt of gratitude to the National Council of Churches, and this evening, I hope that I might, in some way, repay it or at least tell you of my sincere gratitude.

Now churchmen are accustomed to taking a much longer view of things and politicians. You see we political leaders often feel that we're doing well if we can see to the end of



next year, or a dream of dreams is to the end of our term of office. But you churchmen - you look at events in the aspect of eternity - and that's a long time. And it reminds me what my wife once told me, and I think it's a good time for me to remind myself of it and it's been recited many times. She said, "Hubert, your speeches do not have to be eternal to be immortal," (LAUGHTER) and I suppose I ought to say that early because from here on out I'll most likely forget it. I'm going to get even with some that I have heard on Sunday, (LAUGHTER) (APPLAUSE) but now I'm prepared in typical political stance to propose a compromise tonight. I think that rather than being eternal I think we ought to talk about what is happening in this decade and possibly in this century.

Now what has happened in the 1960s, a very important period of our national life, is a rebirth as I see it of American idealism and in a very real sense of American spirituality; it has come under this banner: "Equality of Opportunity." What has happened in this century is that we have been forced to recognize by the facts of science and technology the interdependence of the human race. And we must one day go even beyond that recognition to march under another banner, the one that will read "Community."

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We're seeking to make Equality of Opportunity in this land of ours genuine and real. To create the living a real vital available opportunity that is so much a part of the American dream and aspirations. The author Thomas Wolfe writing in a time of despair and hopelessness in the depression years describe this American promise and this American dream in these words, and you've heard it again and again but it's good secular text:

"To every man his chance. To every man regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity. To every man the right to live and to work - to be himself - and to become whatever things his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This is the promise of America."

This is what we aim to do. And my fellow Americans the fact that we have not accomplished it all is not nearly so important as the fact that we are determined to accomplish it. I've learned from my old dear friend, Rheinhold Niebur, that a more equal justice is sort of a stand in; a local representative in the area of politics for the higher ideal of Christian love, and the scriptures tonight spoke so beautifully once again of that

concept; that fact of Christian love and its power. There is another even farther reaching implication of the ideal of love. The fact of our interdependence. The need for community. And I believe that we will be reminded of it if we look at the date-line tonight, December 7, 1966. It has been exactly a quarter of a century we Americans were blasted out of our isolation. I repeat blasted out of our isolation. We were forced in a most disgraceful and painful way to acknowledge what a preacher said a long, long time ago:

"That no man is an island, entire of himself.

That every man's death diminishes me for I am involved in mankind."

That's Brotherhood, that is Community. That is Equality in its fullest nature. Since December 7, 1941, we Americans have been struggling to define the meaning of our involvement with mankind, in many, many fields. The story of our American effort to help the unfortunate, in the poor nations, is a great and a moving story. But long before there were any government programs the churches were there; so were the volunteer organizations; philanthropic organizations; socially conscious business enterprises and trade news; they were there. But the hardest field, of course, the most difficult, is international politics and national security.

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We have fought two wars since Pearl Harbor and we're now fighting the third. We are a long, long way from achieving a worldwide community of love, of peace, with justice. A long way. I'm sure that the members of this Conference would disagree about the ways that we should exercise our responsibility to work for that worldwide community, but I do believe that we agree that we must work for it. I do believe that we agree that we have that responsibility. That we cannot escape our involvement. You can't say, "stop the world, I want to get off." You're in it. And on it. And it may very well seem sensible to try to make the best of it.

Now in these fields, most of all, we need what one of your most distinguished lay leaders, John Foster Dulles, used to call, "The Discipline of the Achievable," and I remind my dear and good friends of the Council of Churches that the discipline of the achievable does not in any way limit your faith or reduce your idealism. It merely measures your judgment. But along with that discipline there must also be vision. The vision and dream of a just and a durable peace. The vision of a better day towards which we should be moving. But vision without perseverance is but an ideal. Vision with perseverance can be reality. In a nuclear age a phrase very familiar to you takes on almost a literal meaning. Where there is no vision said the poet, people perish.

Now that may be true at home as well as abroad. We have come right now to a very important moment in that effort and in this need of vision. It's a moment of change. Fantastic change taking place. Sometimes appalling change and we are at a time of decision and of danger. May I say to many of my argumentative friends, and I am one of them; and to those of us that enjoy so much dialogue, and I am one of them; that democracy is more than just dissent and debate and dialogue. It also is decision. There comes the time when the luxury and the joy of the debate and the dialogue must face up to the cold and hard realities of decision. The question is: will the forward movement of the 1960s of which you've been a part will have continued. Now when I ask that question I do not have in mind the results of any election, particularly the past election, nor am I predicting what a new Congress will do. I don't know. You will be able to determine that much more than I. I have in mind something much deeper. I have in mind the mood and the purpose of the American people. What has brought about this remarkable outpouring of progressive social action in the years just past. What is it that happened all at once that seemed to break the dam that had held back so long the hopes and aspirations of so many.

Well, I want to see due credit given to our political institutions and our political leaders; and there's plenty of room

for both parties to share in that honor. But I think the roots are much deeper. There is for example the work of this organization, and one of its predecessors, the Federal Council, and also of the member churches shaping the social conscience of America for more than a half of century; and that's what you've been doing. To read through the famous old social creed of the churches that the Federal Council took over from the Methodist and I remember it is to see how visionary and ahead of its time that document was; and a good deal of it is yet to be achieved.

I had listed one time in this draft of speech all those resolutions and, my, when they came out the Federal Council was denounced by the practical men of our time. The point is that you've been preparing the way for a long, long time and I'm happy to say that I've been walking alongside of you and most of the time, I hope, with you. You passed a Resolution endorsing an anti-poverty program two years before we enacted it in Washington, and your leaders were writing of poverty in America, when many people were saying that it just doesn't exist. Churchmen had been writing about the lower outrage of abject poverty amidst the fabulous riches, much longer than just your Resolution date.

But, there's a more direct role of the churches in the recent recovery of social idealism, than the writing of books and

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the passing of resolutions. You have preached, and you have lobbied, marched and carried out bold and difficult programs from the Mississippi Delta to Chicago; from Watts to Roxubry, churchmen have stirred the conscience of the nation. When they have literally put their bodies on the line; like patriots of earlier days who pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor, so churchmen of all faiths have literally put their lives on the line, and some whom we remember with the deepest respect tonight that paid with their lives.

Now, if we asked what groups in the American public led this recently renewed commitment to social justice. What were the groups that sensed this moment of history? That were a part of this great continuing revolution which is America. Remember the American Revolution will never be completed until every American, everyone, lives in the full privilege, with all privileges and rights guaranteed by our Constitution. Well, I would think that you could at least identify about three groups out of many that have been in the forefront. The American Negro; American young people, and the American churches. Now what about your government's role. Well, it has been one of your chief agents to carry out the purposes of the American people. And it should be. This is Government of the People, By the People, For the People. There's one

theory, of course, that puts government on one side, under a cloud of suspicion, and the action of private and voluntary groups on the other side, as pure, better, somewhat more righteous and desirable. And there is the implication by some that government action and non-governmental action are contrary, competitive; the more of the one, the less of the other.

But, I've come here tonight to suggest that it isn't like that at all. Rather the two, the government and the non-government go together; especially today they must go together, because we are beset by physical and social problems of such immense proportions at home and throughout the world, which demand a far more efficient and effective mobilization and allocation of resources than we have ever known before. And far more effective mobilization and allocation than those available to either government or the private sector alone. You know Thomas Jefferson once said that:

"The care of human life and happiness is the first and the only legitimate objective of government."

So, to those who think that government is taking too much interest in people why don't you complain to Jefferson, not to me. I think Jefferson was right. But I also think that in a society such as

ours that we need to ever remember that pluralism is our source of strength. That government is but part of this society, and in a very real sense, a small part. That most of what is America is private, it is you, it is the church, it is the voluntary organization, it is the school, it is the neighborhood, it is local, state, not just national. And this pluralism that I speak of must be preserved but it must be preserved and used in such a balance that it truly meets the priority needs of our times. It does no good to talk about the pluralistic society that is inept and impotent, and unable to meet current and continuing requirements. What we need to perfect in our democracy is a formula and a way and a means to mobilize the sources of strength, both public and private, without the loss of identity of either. What is needed is a partnership, in other words, in which our public and private institutions working together can meet public and private need without anyone institution becoming a dominant monolith.

I would point out that the periods of great government action have also been periods of venturesome actions by churches and private groups. One group comes alive so does the other. And the days of the doldrums have been the static times for both church and state. Think of the difference, for example, twenty years ago 1946; ten years ago 1956; and now 1966. Back then not too many

people were really talking about the subjects that are on your agenda here this week. The crisis of our cities and I can tell you that the cities have been in critical condition, much longer than the last year or two. I was Mayor of a city of one-half million people and it faced almost impossible problems then, in 1945. The desperate needs of the poor are not new; there were more poor ten years ago than now; twenty years ago, and the next steps in Civil Rights; or if we're talking about those matters and if we were these years past, there weren't very many people listening.

And the few that did listen seemed to be quite critical, I know. I once made a proposal before a political party convention and I was called a destroyer. The man who divided, the one who sought to weaken rather than strengthen, but now I can tell you the atmosphere has been transformed. It's no longer unpopular to be for cities and people, and it is no longer considered to be un-American to want to see that people have a better break in life. The public has been made aware of the new demands of social justice by the parallel and cooperating work of the church and state; of foundations and private corporations, labor unions and volunteer groups; and individual writers and preachers and leaders. Something important began when in 1955, a young minister in Montgomery, Alabama, organized a moving powerful and disciplined social protest

called a "Bus Boycott." But the movement became much broader with the sit-ins by college students in the Spring of 1960; actions in which Christian leaders played a larger role than is generally recognized and with the Freedom rides of the Spring of 1961 in which clergymen and young people together participated. The movement has grown and spread since then, and what is really one of the most remarkable stories in the history of American social movements. It became the great peace of glory and the Washington march for jobs and freedom in 1963; and the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964. And in the Selma march and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. I thank God I've been alive when these things happened. (APPLAUSE)

Churchmen were of fundamental importance in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of two and one-half years ago, I know, I was the foreleader. We fought that battle from March through June, two hundred and fifty amendments and unlimited protest and filibuster. We fought and churchmen were in the vanguard to the point that one of my beleaguered Senate colleagues struck his brow and said, "Oh, the clergy." Not in praise, I can tell you (LAUGHTER). Now, many veterans of that disciplined effort are here today, I know. But all of us who participated in that historic event, I think we will be proud that we did so all

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of our lives. We'll remember it as a day of glory. In 1965, Catholics, Protestants and Jews marched together down an Alabama road and one Nun was asked by an angry citizen, "What are you trying to do to the white race?" Calmly, she replied, "Educate it." Now, that's what you've been doing. Educating all of our citizens, arousing our conscience, pointing to social injustices that are a stench in the nostrils of God.

But, now we have come to 1966. I have given you the past history and it turns out that there is still more educating that needs to be done; the work is yet undone. Unfinished. The mood of the public I think has changed. There are two parts in this change of mood: reaction and disillusionment. And you are needed now to counteract both. And I'm here to ask your help. The reaction was there, waiting, frustrated, scared; the American people have not turned into angels. There is prejudice and it's in all the sections of the country. There are vested interests; there are fears; some legitimate and most illegitimate. There is among some of us the age old hardness of heart, the contempt of the poor; the fear of the victim of the ghetto; the grudging attitude towards the woman on welfare. In 1966, all of this, all of these pent up feelings have begun to come out into the open again. The ugliness of man is showing itself clearly. And there

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is also disillusionment. After all the court decisions and all the Acts of Congress and State Legislatures, most Negro children still go to segregated schools. Twice as many of our Negro brothers and sisters are unemployed as whites; and the rate of teen-age Negro unemployment is dangerously high. Over 30 million - they estimate 35 million Americans - still live in poverty. Not all in cities either, rural poverty grinds down upon human kind. Slum schools still turn out children who can't read the labels on a medicine bottle. And many of the children like the little Americans in the Headstart Program identify the teddy bear on the chart as a "rat." They've seen many rats. And now we learn that for many children the Headstart Program doesn't stick. I happen to think the Headstart Program is one of the finest efforts we've ever had. (APPLAUSE)

But it has problems to be continually meaningful when the child is thrown back into the inner city and the inner city dilapidated second rate school, in a broken home, in a filthy obsolete broken down neighborhood. With those conditions the early advantage of Headstart soon washes away. Scriptures say a little child shall lead them, and a child under Headstart can lead this nation right back to the sources of trouble, if you follow the child from his Headstart classroom back to the community and the home and the environment from whence he came;

and then start to do something there; there in the community - in the neighborhood - in the home - in the hovel. Now you can conclude one or two things about what I said. You can abolish - you could abolish Headstart - and say it just doesn't work; or you could get to work on the inner city and inner cities schools and start to rebuild the neighborhoods. You see, I vote for the latter. And I know you do too. I have been reading your resolutions. And let me just digress for a moment. I happen to be Chairman of the Space Council. By Act of Congress. Congress imposed two heavy responsibilities on the Vice President of the United States: one to be Chairman of the Space Council and one to be Chairman of the Council of Oceanography. You'll notice that anything they give me to do is either "out of this world" or in "the bottom of the sea." (LAUGHTER) (APPLAUSE)

I don't know if I'm supposed to read anything into that at all, but I tried to fulfill those responsibilities. Let me say this without going into any detail. That any nation that can afford to make the investment that we are making, and I think rightly so, so that you do not misunderstand me, because I think there are plenty of dividends and plenty of assets that come from our Space Program. But, any nation that can afford to make the investments that are required to put a man on the moon ought to be willing to make the necessary investment to help put a man on

his feet right here on earth. (APPLAUSE)

This I believe and I say privately, publicly, officially, and importantly. But many people learning how hard it is to overcome slumism and that is a phrase that encompasses much - not just broken down buildings - not just dilapidated neighborhoods, but broken people, defeated people, despairing people, hopeless people, bitter people; that's slumism and that's why the task is so difficult. It's not too difficult to make new buildings, but what a job for a man to try to remake himself. To become once again self-respecting. So many people learning how hard it is to overcome slumism have begun to become cynical and despairing about our efforts. So right now is when we need your leadership once again. To the barricades, in other words, we need your help. We are now at Stage 2 in this stage of social reform; Stage 2 the tough working stage on the follow through; when we find out how hard the job really is; how difficult it is to win the war on poverty; how long it will take and how much money it will cost; the heartache and the frustrations and how many of our efforts need to be revised and improved; and it is now, a time when all too many of the crusaders are inclined to lead the march when some people who feel that they are liberal and progressive, want to leave the fight.

Thomas Paine said it in another revolutionary period and I think he said it very well. I might just toss these lines in because it explains what I'm trying to say. You remember those great words of his:

"These are times that try mens' souls. They are now due. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis["] said, "Thomas Paine, shrink from the service of their country, but he that stands it now deserves the love and the thanks of man and woman. Tyranny like hell is not easily conquered. Yet we have this consolation with us: that the harder the conflict the more glorious the triumph."

May I just say that you can substitute one word in that final sentence: slumism like hell is not easily conquered. Yet, we have this consolation with us. The harder the conflict the more glorious the triumph. That's the spirit you must have and not weaken and not run; and not have people tell you that the backlash is upon us. If it is, then we must find ways and means of bringing truth to those who do not get understanding. One of the excellent documents prepared for this Conference is a quotation relevant to this point. The quotation you will

remember comes from the Yale historian, C. Van Woodward and it's a good one:

"Americans," he said, "have developed over the years a curious new siege of the law as an appeasement of moralists and reformers. Given sufficient pressure for a law that embodies reputable and popular moral values, the electorate will go to great lengths to gratify the reformers. But having done this much they are inclined to regard it as rather tedious of the reformers to insist on little enforcement. Under these circumstances the new law is likely to become the subject of pious reverence. More honored in the breach than in the observance. A proof of excellent intentions rather than a means of fulfilling them."

Doesn't that fit the many experiences that you've known and doesn't it describe many individuals that you've known. I'm afraid that what Mr. Woodward said has often been true. We all now have the responsibility to see that it is not true of the battery of Opportunity Programs that we have started in the 60's. We in government, I know, bear a heavy responsibility to provide

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the funds, the leadership, the programs of follow through that are necessary. But I want to say to this audience right now. That if you think that it was easy to get a Billion 750 Million Dollars for the Poverty Program last year - you're wrong. It was a hard fight, months of it; and every effort was made, I was in the midst of it, day and night, so was your President; so was the leaders of the Congress and we barely made it. And I can only say this: that it won't be as easy in the 90th Congress. Not anywheres near. So, if you want the funds and the programs remember that Congress is like a mirror; it is representative government and unless it represents what you want you'll not get it.

I believe that we in government, during the 1960s, can justifiably assert that we have provided these things on a scale never before attempted. We haven't done enough maybe but we have done many things never before dreamed or ever attempted. I came to Congress voting for Federal Aid Education. It was either killed on the basis of laism or religion. Every session. The child they forgot, the school that was left; there was almost some demagogue reavailable that could destroy the efforts to do something for our schools. Today, we have programs in the field of education, of health, of cities, of urban development, and the scale never dreamed

of five years ago; never even proposed. Yet you and I know if there is criticism that we must do better. That criticism is valid and that we welcome it. For we know that what has been done is only the beginning of what must be done, if we are to reach the state of justice and opportunity that we seek. We recognize our responsibility of higher levels of effort and performance. Yet we recognize other responsibilities, too, and here is the time for some plain talk. Part of the plain talk is that we're doing more than ever has been done before. Not enough, but much more than most of you ever dreamed possible. I had somebody ask me not long ago, what happened to the liberal program. "Mr. Humphrey, what happened to you and the liberal program?" I said, "Well, I got elected and the liberal program is adopted." Now, I hope that doesn't upset anybody but that's what happened. You see I'm not one that happens to believe in liberalism, is synonymous with defeat and I don't think that you prove yourself to be a progressive by constantly saying that it's better if it weren't done so that I can complain.

No, I think that you make accomplishments step by step. Steady, forward progress. Hopefully large steps. But always moving ahead. But we have many responsibilities. We have the responsibility to meet our obligations in the world and they're growing; a world of poverty; a world of hunger; a world of aggression and violence; and this world needs our attention. We have, too, the responsibility to help keep on a sound footing this economy which underpins everything

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that we undertake; an economy out of hand does not help win the war on poverty. Inflation takes its toil first upon the poor. Upon the pensioner; the wage earner; the little man. So to fail in either of these responsibilities - at home or abroad - would be the surest way that I know to guarantee the failure of all that we seek to do. Thus, it is more than ever important that institutions and people outside of government meet their responsibilities in building our freer and better America. The government ought not to do everything. I've had many people say well, you ought to do more and I agree again, but let me say this that even if the federal government could do it all it would be wrong. Because in our kind of a society we do not expect nor want a welfare state. What we want is a state of justice and opportunity where people can earn and develop their own way of life; and their own riches and their own opportunities. (APPLAUSE)

So as I see government programs; some of them turned back. My plea to you is you moved into the breach, step forward; and I speak now to private corporations, to trade unions; I appeal tonight as I have before to trade unions to show new militancy; new social concern; and I say to American business that has developed a sense of social consciousness redouble it, demonstrate to the whole world that our system, our economy, can not only

produce goods, but can rectify and can indeed regress grievances; can be just, as well be profitable; can be kind and compassionate as well as efficient.

These are the challenges for us as individuals. Now you can be the shaper of public conscience; in each city, in each Southern county, in each Northern metropolitan area, in each town and region; more and more that is where the battles will be fought. And I remind this distinguished audience that in the Review of the recent Reform proposals in Government and Social Policy in the recent elections, proposals to enhance the revenue power of state and local government; proposals to improve education, health and welfare. That over 90 per cent of them were rejected by a New York Times survey recently published. Rejected. So our path is to once again to home and to ask people to stop, look, and listen; to remind them that they are their brother's keeper. There is no way that one can deny it. That we are of one blood, as Paul said, In this of Man, This Brotherhood of Man. You, therefore, can leap across the political boundaries of our formless metropolitan areas in a way that government cannot. You can provide the leaders - the pragmatic idealists who stick to the job; who we desperately need in every community. You can encourage those sensitive citizens in the suburbs who care about what is happening in the inner city.

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And let's not make our inner city just a laboratory for social workers. Let's make the inner city a real lively community with schools and business institutions and governmental institutions a true neighborhood, rather than a ghetto for do-gooders.

(APPLAUSE)

You can pick up the possibilities offered by new legislation. And you can make those real in your own community. Housing projects for black and white, poor and not so poor, supplementary educational centers; the community action agencies to fight poverty. This can't be done out of Washington, my fellow Americans. It has to be done where we live. Not just where the big government is located. You can help provide and I know how much of this you already are doing; the teachers and the leaders for Headstart and Upward Bound; the remedial reading and basic literacy and Foster Grandparents. You can take action, in other words, within your own institutions to examine your own investments; your own hiring policy and churches; your own budgets. We've been urged by religious leaders recently to move towards the day that we will devote two(2%) per cent of our national income to economic development in the poorer nations. Excellent idea! I'm for it. Unqualifiedly, but it raises the question about how the churches spend their money.

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You see we're examining each other. One statistic I've seen puts the total of the Protestant and Orthodox churches expenditures on service to others outside the churches at about \$500 Million Dollars per year. That's only 41 cents per month for every one who belongs to a church in America. Now we have much talk about voluntarism, and I hear many people say that we ought not to have too much government. Let's have voluntary action. Well, let's make it more than 41 cents per month (APPLAUSE).

Recently churches have been urging corporations to place the funds they have for investment in socially constructive places, such as low and middle income houses. This is wonderful! It's a good idea, and get ahold too of the health and welfare funds of the union; encourage that kind of investment. But many people have been disappointed in how slow the churches and the non-profit groups have been to take up the government offer to make long term low interest loans available under provisions of the Housing Act. The technical provision is that two, 21-D projects, a provision making possible construction of low rent houses. Do you know how much trouble we had to get a rent supplement through Congress. I would - before church people I don't even want to confess how we did it. (LAUGHTER) You've heard a bit about arm twisting;

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have you heard about shoulder separation? (LAUGHTER) Now how much of its own money I ask is the church investing in community organization among the poor, in city and county. (APPLAUSE) How much, how much of the church budget is going to experiment with new ways of serving the old - the poor - and the sick. Ways which go beyond our present welfare practices because you know there's something wrong with the present welfare practices. They aren't working as they should. There's much for all of us and I include government, myself, everyone of us to do before we reach the day when man is treated by his fellow man as a child of God.

Yes, there's much to do before America is what we say it is in solemn oath. You remember that pledge of allegiance to the flag that we ask every little boy and girl to take every day in school. There it is - there's our flag. I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States, to the Republic for which it stands. And now comes the words, one nation, under God, indivisible with liberty and justice for all. Ask yourself tonight, is it really one nation, or is it a nation for most of us well-to-do and another America for the poor and the deprived. Is it a nation under God? For we really understand that we are the children of God. And democracy has a spiritual basis to it. Is it an America that is indivisible, or is it divided on racial, geographical ethnic lines;

and is there liberty and justice for all?

Each of us must ask that question and answer it in our own way. Well, here's my benediction. What I've been trying to say in this message and it surely has been one of some duration. is the essence of my religious conviction? I'm too busy just to be interested in religion on Sunday. To be quite candid about it. (APPLAUSE) Oh yes, I know that we must and should mark a day of reverence, respect and communication with our God. An expression of our faith.

But, what I've been trying to say is this, and this is my religion. That the way you treat people is the way you treat God. (APPLAUSE) We're bound together in the common faith of the fatherhood of God, and of the brotherhood of man. How then, I ask can we be true to our faith in our daily lives. Well, for me religious faith must be more than the exercise and exercise in theology. Dogma, ritual or doctrine; all of which have their place. It must be a part of one's life, and the Christian faith is an active faith, and to be an effective force in the modern world, that Christian faith must have practical meaning in the lives of those who inhabit the earth. Because religion was not only made for heaven, and for angels, it was made for earth and for man. I believe that each of us has an

obligation to serve God at each level of his existence. And within each institution of his society. And from doing honor to one's parents, and children, to performing his work with dignity and honesty, to playing his role within his school, his neighborhood, his church, his community and his nation. Because I believe that the building of a better and a more peaceful world will never come from any diplomat's ingenious plan. As I read the scriptures it said:

Blessed are the peace makers.

Not the peace wishers but the workers, the makers. And that will come only from the cumulative acts and deeds backed by an abiding and deep faith of men who live their lives in respect for their fellow man and in respecting the finest of God's creation, man himself, to exemplify and demonstrate our respect and love for God. I believe that it is thus that all men may one day march proudly under the banner of community, the brotherhood of mankind. In one world under God, indivisible with liberty and justice for all.

THANK YOU



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