

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

ANNUAL MEETING
UNITED WAY OF THE ST. PAUL AREA

Hilton Hotel
St. Paul, Minnesota

May 28, 1974

I am pleased to be honored by the United Way of the St. Paul area. But the plain fact is that it is your organization and voluntary organizations like yours throughout the United States and the world that deserve to be honored for the hard, dedicated, and vitally important tasks you are performing.

We have a tendency to forget the role played by volunteers in our society. The millions of volunteers and the private nonprofit institutions serving the public good are all too often taken for granted.

But where would we be without them?

I firmly believe that the work you do is absolutely necessary to the social well-being of America.

Voluntary groups in America play a significant role in planning and financing social welfare programs in local communities. This voluntary responsibility is carried out by hundreds of thousands of people who are concerned with financial support of social services in their communities. But they also have a deep sense of caring what happens to people around them.

Americans tend to forget that voluntary organizations receive much of their financial support through local and national United Way fund raising efforts.

Each year United Way organizations support over 37,000 local, state, and national health, welfare and recreation agencies serving more than 34 million families.

The amount of funds raised by the United Way throughout the United States has ~~most~~ doubled over the period from 1960 to 1973, increasing from \$486 million to \$975 million.

This is an impressive resource by itself, but for every dollar the United Way supplies, participating agencies spend three more on the welfare of needy people.

We often think of the value of United Way and voluntary groups in terms of the amount of funds raised each year for social services. But we must also look at the voluntary movement as a genuine, down-to-earth demonstration of brotherhood, expressed in the millions of volunteer manhours spent supporting essential social welfare services in all of our communities.

This voluntary effort has a profound influence on the moral fiber of America. It also has a direct impact upon the socio-economic structure of this nation.

It has been said that if one could accurately calculate the dollar value of this nation's voluntary effort, it would prove to be a respectable proportion of the gross national product. In short, Americans place a high value on human dignity

and hopes and opportunity as the truest expression of what our nation is all about.

Minnesota has been in the forefront of the use of voluntary organizations to help solve social problems and meet the needs of local communities.

And United Way of the St. Paul area has set the pace for other organizations.

When revenue sharing first appeared, city and county government officials sat down with the leaders of the voluntary organizations to determine what priorities were to be served and how to maximize the application of resources to provide the best service to this community. This marriage of government and voluntary organizations helped to improve the quality of social services in St. Paul.

In March of this year, the Minnesota legislature passed the Human Services Act, a pilot program to integrate human services through the direct participation of people in the local communities.

This is one of the most progressive and forward thinking pieces of social welfare legislation in the United States. It recognizes the important value of the voluntary sector and the essential partnership it must play in common with governmental social welfare institutions.

Today the shadow of shame, doubt, and mistrust shroud our entire political process and threaten that vital partnership between government and voluntary associations, between our governmental institutions and the people.

Today, more than ever, we must return to the fundamentals and revive the spirit of our nation.

Today, more than ever, we must not look to government to solve all of our problems.

Today, more than ever, we must look to the spirit of voluntarism -- the brotherhood of people concerned, involved, in helping other people.

A brief look at those basic truths that provide the foundation for our political system is essential.

The Preamble of the Constitution says it all. It indicates the role of the people. It spells out the faith, the aspiration, the purpose of America. It points out the role of people helping other people.

Let me read those hallowed words to you:

"We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

The first three words are the most important. They establish for all time that America is "We the People."

Not "we the government," not "we the political parties," not "we the rich," not "we the white," but "We the People." This is the central reference, the focal point of American government.

As we approach our bicentennial anniversary in 1976, we must forge the people of this country into a "more perfect union" with each other.

But the survival of popular democracy, based on these common purposes, is only assured when there is a partnership between the government and the people that is held together by mutual trust and faith.

The marriage between government and voluntary groups to solve our social problems is an essential part of this partnership.

The United Way and its spirit of voluntarism can be and is a major means through which we can build trust between government and the people.

It is not realistic for government to serve as the only institutional system for the progressive and continuing discovery of unmet needs.

The government cannot be the sole source of financial support for social welfare programs. Our nation must also rely upon the long tradition of voluntarism and brotherhood to solve our growing social problems.

We must restore our faith in self-government -- in self-help. This is the faith and trust that give the social contract of popular government its meaning.

Let us never forget the words in our Declaration of Independence which express that social contract in unmistakably clear terms:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness -- that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. . . ."

"The consent of the governed" -- that means an active, dynamic, involved role for all our people in shaping the purposes of our nation, in making it a better place for every man, woman, and child to live and work and have hope in the future.

It is this vital, driving spirit of the people that must now again be strengthened.

In these days of national pessimism, the prophetic words of Aldous Huxley -- "I have peered into the future, and it won't work" -- come perhaps too frequently to mind.

But, we have been down before. We have seen hard times. We have gone through wars and depressions, internal dissension and civil strife. Each time we have bounced back a stronger nation.

The only obstacle and the only hope for an America and a world that will work is you.

The American people and voluntary groups must find within themselves and for themselves the vision they will pursue, the values they will enshrine, and the leadership and conviction that will move our nation toward them.

Let us approach this task with the vision of Carl Sandburg, who said:

"I see America, not in the setting sun of a black night of despair ahead of us. I see America in the crimson light of a rising sun fresh from the burning, creative hand of God. I see great days ahead, great days possible to men and women of will and vision. . . ."

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- John Myers - United Way
Chairman
- Mayor Larry Cohen

- Marie Slawik
- Carl Drake - chair 1974 United Way Campaign
REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Rev Anderson

ANNUAL MEETING
UNITED WAY OF THE ST. PAUL AREA

HILTON HOTEL
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

MAY 28, 1974

Transcript
"Expectation
Deleted"

Minnesota Symphony
conducted
orchestra
Grace Cook

Jefferson

I AM PLEASED TO BE HONORED BY THE UNITED WAY OF THE
ST. PAUL AREA. BUT THE PLAIN FACT IS THAT IT IS YOUR
ORGANIZATION AND VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS LIKE YOURS THROUGHOUT
THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD THAT DESERVE TO BE HONORED FOR
THE HARD, DEDICATED, AND VITALLY IMPORTANT TASKS YOU ARE
PERFORMING.

WE HAVE A TENDENCY TO FORGET THE ROLE PLAYED BY VOLUNTEERS
IN OUR SOCIETY. THE MILLIONS OF VOLUNTEERS AND THE PRIVATE
NONPROFIT INSTITUTIONS SERVING THE PUBLIC GOOD ARE ALL TOO OFTEN
TAKEN FOR GRANTED.

BUT WHERE WOULD WE BE WITHOUT THEM?

I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT THE WORK YOU DO IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY
TO THE SOCIAL WELL-BEING OF AMERICA.

↳ VOLUNTARY GROUPS IN AMERICA PLAY A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN
PLANNING AND FINANCING SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS IN LOCAL
COMMUNITIES. THIS VOLUNTARY RESPONSIBILITY IS CARRIED OUT BY

HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WHO ARE CONCERNED WITH FINANCIAL
SUPPORT OF SOCIAL SERVICES IN THEIR COMMUNITIES. ~~BUT THEY ALSO~~ *and they*
HAVE A DEEP SENSE OF CARING WHAT HAPPENS TO PEOPLE.

↳ AMERICANS TEND TO FORGET THAT VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS RECEIVE
MUCH OF THEIR FINANCIAL SUPPORT THROUGH LOCAL AND NATIONAL UNITED
WAY FUND RAISING EFFORTS.

EACH YEAR UNITED WAY ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORT OVER 37,000
LOCAL, STATE, AND NATIONAL HEALTH, WELFARE AND RECREATION AGENCIES
SERVING MORE THAN 34 MILLION FAMILIES.

THE AMOUNT OF FUNDS RAISED BY THE UNITED WAY THROUGHOUT THE
UNITED STATES HAS ~~ALMOST~~ DOUBLED OVER THE PERIOD FROM 1960 TO
1973, INCREASING FROM \$486 MILLION TO \$975 MILLION.

THIS IS AN IMPRESSIVE RESOURCE BY ITSELF, BUT FOR EVERY
DOLLAR THE UNITED WAY SUPPLIES, PARTICIPATING AGENCIES SPEND
THREE MORE ON THE WELFARE OF NEEDY PEOPLE.

WE OFTEN THINK OF THE VALUE OF UNITED WAY AND VOLUNTARY
GROUPS IN TERMS OF THE AMOUNT OF FUNDS RAISED EACH YEAR FOR
SOCIAL SERVICES.

BUT WE MUST ALSO LOOK AT THE VOLUNTARY MOVEMENT

AS A GENUINE, DOWN-TO-EARTH DEMONSTRATION OF BROTHERHOOD,

EXPRESSED IN THE MILLIONS OF VOLUNTEER MANHOURS SPENT SUPPORTING

ESSENTIAL SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES IN ALL OF OUR COMMUNITIES.

THIS VOLUNTARY EFFORT HAS A PROFOUND INFLUENCE ON THE
MORAL FIBER OF AMERICA. IT ALSO HAS A DIRECT IMPACT UPON THE
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF ~~THIS NATION~~ *our country.*

IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT IF ONE COULD ACCURATELY CALCULATE
THE DOLLAR VALUE OF THIS NATION'S VOLUNTARY EFFORT, IT WOULD

PROVE TO BE A RESPECTABLE PROPORTION OF THE GROSS NATIONAL

PRODUCT. IN SHORT, AMERICANS PLACE A HIGH VALUE ON HUMAN DIGNITY

AND HOPES AND OPPORTUNITY AS THE TRUEST EXPRESSION OF WHAT OUR

NATION IS ALL ABOUT.

MINNESOTA HAS BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE USE OF
VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS TO HELP SOLVE SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND
MEET THE NEEDS OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES.

AND UNITED WAY OF THE ST. PAUL AREA HAS SET THE PACE
FOR OTHER ORGANIZATIONS.

WHEN REVENUE SHARING FIRST APPEARED, CITY AND COUNTY
GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS SAT DOWN WITH THE LEADERS OF THE VOLUNTARY
ORGANIZATIONS TO DETERMINE WHAT PRIORITIES WERE TO BE SERVED AND
HOW TO MAXIMIZE THE APPLICATION OF RESOURCES TO PROVIDE THE BEST
SERVICE TO THIS COMMUNITY. THIS ^{cooperation} ~~marriage~~ OF GOVERNMENT AND
VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS ^{has} HELPED TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF SOCIAL
SERVICES IN ST. PAUL.

Spem

IN MARCH OF THIS YEAR, THE MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE PASSED
THE HUMAN SERVICES ACT, A PILOT PROGRAM TO INTEGRATE HUMAN
SERVICES THROUGH THE DIRECT PARTICIPATION OF PEOPLE IN THE LOCAL
COMMUNITIES.

THIS IS ONE OF THE MOST PROGRESSIVE AND FORWARD THINKING
PIECES OF SOCIAL WELFARE LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES. *It*
RECOGNIZES THE IMPORTANT VALUE OF THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR AND THE
ESSENTIAL PARTNERSHIP IT MUST *have* ~~BE~~ WITH GOVERNMENTAL
SOCIAL WELFARE INSTITUTIONS.

TODAY THE SHADOW OF SHAME, DOUBT, AND MISTRUST SHROUD OUR
ENTIRE POLITICAL PROCESS AND THREATEN THAT VITAL PARTNERSHIP
BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS, BETWEEN OUR
GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE PEOPLE.

TODAY, MORE THAN EVER, WE MUST RETURN TO THE FUNDAMENTALS
AND REVIVE THE SPIRIT OF OUR NATION.

~~TODAY, MORE THAN EVER, WE MUST NOT LOOK TO GOVERNMENT TO
SOLVE ALL OF OUR PROBLEMS.~~

TODAY, MORE THAN EVER, WE MUST LOOK TO THE SPIRIT OF
VOLUNTARISM -- THE BROTHERHOOD OF PEOPLE CONCERNED, INVOLVED,
IN HELPING OTHER PEOPLE.

h A BRIEF LOOK AT THOSE BASIC TRUTHS THAT PROVIDE THE
FOUNDATION FOR OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM IS ESSENTIAL.

h THE PREAMBLE OF THE CONSTITUTION SAYS IT ALL. IT INDICATES
THE ROLE OF THE PEOPLE. IT SPELLS OUT THE FAITH, THE ASPIRATION,
THE PURPOSE OF AMERICA. IT POINTS OUT THE ROLE OF PEOPLE HELPING
OTHER PEOPLE.

LET ME READ THOSE HALLOWED WORDS TO YOU:

"WE THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, IN ORDER TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION, ESTABLISH JUSTICE, INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY, PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE, PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE, AND SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY TO OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY, DO ORDAIN AND ESTABLISH THIS CONSTITUTION FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."

THE FIRST THREE WORDS ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT. THEY ESTABLISH FOR ALL TIME THAT AMERICA IS "WE THE PEOPLE."

↳ NOT "WE THE GOVERNMENT," NOT "WE THE POLITICAL PARTIES,"

NOT "WE THE RICH," NOT "WE THE WHITE," BUT "WE THE PEOPLE."

↳ THIS IS THE CENTRAL REFERENCE, THE FOCAL POINT OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

action words -
Form, establish, assure,
provide, ⁻⁹⁻ Promote, Secure

AS WE APPROACH OUR BICENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY IN 1976, WE
MUST FORGE THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY INTO A "MORE PERFECT UNION"
WITH EACH OTHER.

BUT THE SURVIVAL OF POPULAR DEMOCRACY, BASED ON THESE
COMMON PURPOSES, IS ONLY ASSURED WHEN THERE IS A PARTNERSHIP
BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE THAT IS HELD TOGETHER
BY MUTUAL TRUST AND FAITH.

Cooperation
THE MARRIAGE BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND VOLUNTARY GROUPS TO
SOLVE OUR SOCIAL PROBLEMS IS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THIS
PARTNERSHIP.

↳ THE UNITED WAY AND ITS SPIRIT OF VOLUNTARISM CAN BE AND IS A MAJOR MEANS THROUGH WHICH WE CAN BUILD TRUST BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE.

↳ IT IS NOT REALISTIC FOR GOVERNMENT TO SERVE AS THE ONLY INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM FOR THE PROGRESSIVE AND CONTINUING DISCOVERY OF UNMET NEEDS.

Administrative

THE GOVERNMENT ~~CANNOT~~ ^{ought not} BE THE SOLE SOURCE OF FINANCIAL ~~SUPPORT~~ ^{and} SUPPORT FOR SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS. ~~GOVERNMENT MUST NOT RELY~~ ^{we can and should}

rely

UPON THE LONG TRADITION OF VOLUNTARISM AND BROTHERHOOD TO SOLVE OUR GROWING SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

In so doing, we
~~we must~~ ^{do} RESTORE OUR ~~LOSS~~ FAITH IN SELF-GOVERNMENT ~~and~~

~~self-help~~ SELF-HELP. THIS IS THE FAITH AND TRUST THAT GIVE THE SOCIAL CONTRACT OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT ITS MEANING.

↳ LET US NEVER FORGET THE WORDS IN OUR DECLARATION OF
INDEPENDENCE WHICH EXPRESS THAT SOCIAL CONTRACT IN UNMISTAKABLY
CLEAR TERMS:

"WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT
ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR
CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG THESE
ARE LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS -- THAT TO
SECURE THESE RIGHTS, GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG
MEN, DERIVING THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE
GOVERNED. . . ."

"THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED" -- THAT MEANS AN ACTIVE,
DYNAMIC, INVOLVED ROLE FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE IN SHAPING THE
PURPOSES OF OUR NATION, IN MAKING IT A BETTER PLACE FOR EVERY
MAN, WOMAN, AND CHILD TO LIVE AND WORK AND HAVE HOPE IN THE
FUTURE.

↳ IT IS THIS VITAL, DRIVING SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE THAT MUST
NOW AGAIN BE STRENGTHENED.

↳ IN THESE DAYS OF NATIONAL PESSIMISM, THE PROPHETIC WORDS
OF ALDOUS HUXLEY -- "I HAVE PEERED INTO THE FUTURE, AND IT
WON'T WORK" -- COME PERHAPS TOO FREQUENTLY TO MIND.

↳ BUT, WE HAVE BEEN DOWN BEFORE. WE HAVE SEEN HARD TIMES.
WE HAVE GONE THROUGH WARS AND DEPRESSIONS, INTERNAL DISSENSION
AND CIVIL STRIFE. EACH TIME WE HAVE BOUNCED BACK A STRONGER
NATION.

↳ THE ONLY OBSTACLE AND THE ONLY HOPE FOR AN AMERICA AND A
WORLD THAT WILL WORK IS YOU.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND VOLUNTARY GROUPS MUST FIND WITHIN THEMSELVES AND FOR THEMSELVES THE VISION THEY WILL PURSUE, THE VALUES THEY WILL ENSHRINE, AND THE LEADERSHIP AND CONVICTION THAT WILL MOVE OUR NATION TOWARD THEM.

LET US APPROACH THIS TASK WITH THE VISION OF CARL

SANDBURG, WHO SAID:

"I SEE AMERICA, NOT IN THE SETTING SUN OF A BLACK NIGHT OF DESPAIR AHEAD OF US. I SEE AMERICA IN THE CRIMSON LIGHT OF A RISING SUN FRESH FROM THE BURNING, CREATIVE HAND OF GOD. I SEE GREAT DAYS AHEAD, GREAT DAYS POSSIBLE TO MEN AND WOMEN OF WILL AND VISION. . . ."

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Senator Hubert Humphrey
Annual Meeting - May 28, 1974

John, I was led to believe by my mother that Christmas came only once a year and that your birthday was only once a year and that you ought to expect presents only once a year. I've had two Christmases this year; one that was on December 25, and the one when I got my report from the hospital. That was my delayed Christmas present and I've had several birthday gifts already. Yesterday, having been my birthday, I received some very kind and friendly cards; in fact, I've Oh, I left them in the car; I had one that was a pip. But I was going to read it to you and now today I received a kindly, the finest, and the most generous gift I've ever received and that is your very flattering, and may I say, your hearty introduction. I want to express my thanks to you as a friend and my thanks to this fine community for your kindness to me over the years.

Well! I've got to tell you now why I planned on being here when John expected me to be but he said that I wouldn't speak before 1:00. I felt that if I was around before then he might feel motivated to put me on too soon and that would keep you here a little longer. The real truth is I was out at my home at Waverly. I called up my associate at the office and I said "Freddy, would you stop down to Elmer Olson's and pick up my 25 horse-power Johnson motor." I always have Minnesota names attached to these things, as you noticed. He said he would do so and he went down to pick it up way out in Minneapolis, Bloomington area, I guess it was. When he got there they said, "Well, we don't have any motor for Senator Humphrey," and I already called them and they told me they did have, I'd had it repaired there. My pontoon boat was motorless. I felt this was no way to have a boat docked out my way, so after having spent about an hour cussing around out there, they found a motor. I hope it's mine! When I left, I said "Just drop it; we haven't any more time." I said "John Myers is going to fire me and he's going to denounce me and its going to spoil a beautiful day." So we came in and if there are any of the Governor's representatives here, any law enforcement officers; we abided by the law most of the way. I knew the mayor would be here; we did cheat a little in St. Paul; I have to be honest with you about that, Mr. Mayor. I won't say how much I appreciate Larry's being here and I think, as a matter of fact, when I heard this deal that you made, that's a fair deal. A guy has to go a long way these days to get a vote. I'm sure your Rabbi will be generous about the whole thing, Larry.

There are many here today that we should salute and I want to join all of you in saluting the volunteers that have received awards today. Because, of course, the whole purpose of this meeting is to honor them and to thank each and every one of you for

what you do to help others. It was said here by John Meyers that I hadn't been invited back to the Minnesota Symphony Balls since that time I conducted that orchestra and I think I should tell you why. But I don't want this to discourage you. After I was privileged to conduct the orchestra, I made a generous contribution. I haven't been invited back since; they got my money and they left me off the guest list ever since. ¶ Now don't you let this get out anywhere because this will injure your United Way finance program. Now, I know that all of you, as you go from place to place and community to community in this Great St. Paul Area, are finding that people respond generously and readily to you. I'm sorry I wasn't here for Marie Slawik's presentation and for Carl Drake's words. I want to compliment both of them on the work that they do for this community over the years; not just now.

Now, I'm going to talk to you today about what Thomas Jefferson said that the only legitimate objective of government is the health and well being of the people. That's the only legitimate objective of government. I also want to talk to you a little bit about this partnership between the people and their government which is, of course, the unique feature of the American political social order. ¶ There is no place in the world in which volunteerism (voluntary action) is so evident as in the United States of America. You can go to any country, whether its Britain from whence we draw much of our law and our culture. Or go to the continent, the countries of France and Germany, the Scandinavian countries; wherever you wish to go. While many of those countries are respected for their good government and for their citizenship, for their social welfare programs, there is none of them that even comes close to having the kind of cooperative endeavor between the government and the people as we have here. Or to put it bluntly, volunteerism is a unique American development. ¶ Way back in the Mid 19th century a Frenchman by the name of Alexis DeTocqueville made observations about the United States and, interestingly, also about Russia. This man had the gift of prophesy. He predicted, for example, that in the 20th Century the two giants of the earth would be the United States and Russia. ~~He had many things that he said, and I~~ have studied him as a student of political science, and frequently quote from his writings. He said many things that relate to our times, ~~and~~ ^{As} I was coming here, I picked out of my briefcase a little, ~~I have a little book here~~ of sayings that I have gathered together which one of these days I am going to publish. This is my sort of layman's political bible, so to speak. I have statements here from everybody from Socrates to Churchill to Roosevelt, Eisenhower to Gandhi, you name them and they're in this little book. Well, here is a Alexis DeTocqueville speaking about America and this is in the 19th Century. Here is what he said, "These Americans are the most peculiar people in the world. In a local community, in their country, a citizen may conceive of some need which is not being met and what does he do? He goes across the

street and discusses it with his neighbor. Then what happens? A committee comes into existence. Then the committee begins functioning on behalf of that need." ¹⁸³¹ ^{WHO FOUND} This is the beginning of the United Way. Here was a man in ~~the 1830's~~ and 1840's that ~~since then were~~ something different and unique about the American experiment, ~~and~~ From the earliest days of this republic volunteerism ^(HAS BEEN) ^(GOVERNMENT IN) People helping each other, neighbor to neighbor, ~~person to person,~~ people to people, ~~as being~~ characteristic of our social order, ~~and~~ That's why ~~to me~~ it is so important that we understand the proper place of government in our society. ^{GOVERNMENT AND VOLUNTEER ACTION:} ¹ I have never believed that government ought to do everything for everybody, because if government can do everything for you, it can do almost anything to you. I have always believed that there must be a blending, a balance, ^{BETWEEN} ~~and let me quickly say, just I forget it, that no matter how extensive the governmental programs are and when I speak of government,~~ I'm not just talking of Washington, but Federal, State, Local, County governments, ~~there are cases~~

No matter how broad and how comprehensive these programs of social welfare may be, they do not fill the total need, ~~or~~ To put it even more directly, as these governmental programs grow and seem to extend their power and influence, all the more need for the voluntary group. All the more need for the individual participation because that individual participation lends soul and spirit to what we call meeting social needs or the needs of people who are less fortunate than some of us. ^{AND} ¹ I travel often and to many places and I watched, for example, in our foreign assistance program, ^{SAHEL} It was mentioned here today that I was the author of Public Law 480, Food For Peace, ~~and that is true.~~ This is one of the things of which I'm, may I say immodestly, somewhat proud, because we were able in those days when we had vast food surpluses in this country to convert those food surpluses into meeting human needs and we didn't do it just government-to-government. Most of that food was used by voluntary groups, Church World Service, The Care program, Caritas, Catholic Relief, ~~a host of other programs, and they were well.~~ Those programs were well administered. ^{AND} ¹ In fact, may I say ^{SAHEL} Today, ~~that even as~~ starvation plagues West Africa in the countries of the ^{SAHEL} ~~Swahili~~, the seven west Africa countries, ^{THI? AREA} As the desert seems to move deeper and deeper into the heart of Africa, much of what we are doing in disaster relief, (and I just authored the disaster relief bill ^{FOR} and it has passed the Congress of the United States), much of that money, money of those resources, now goes into the voluntary groups. ~~Yes, indeed,~~ The International Red Cross, ~~but not just that,~~ ^{AND} the many different religious and the many non-sectarian groups ~~that~~ are working and doing a remarkable job. I hope all of us realize ^{OR} ¹ ^{SAHEL} that the voluntary effort ^{MAKE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO ALLEVIATING} ~~adds so much to the total effort which our nation seeks to~~ ~~THE SUFFERING OF THE PEOPLE OF THE SAHEL.~~ ^{make}

Now you have honored me today by this wonderful citation and I cherish it, I'll be frank with you, these things mean everything to me privately and publicly, but

really, as I said, you are the ones that are to be honored, ^(YOU ARE THE ONES WHO) and have honored all of us. You are the privates in the army of voluntary action. You are really the soldiers in the front line of our struggle against ill fortune, destitution, poverty, ^{AND} human need.

^P I noted as I have lived these years the tremendous and significant role that the voluntary groups have played in the financing the supporting and the initiating of effective social welfare programs. Hardly a single ^(GOVERNMENTAL) program ~~that becomes governmental,~~ ~~hardly a single one~~ is without its genius ^{AND} its initiation at the private and local level. So in many ways you are like a pilot program, sometimes, but at all times you are a partner in the effort. ^P Each year United Way organizations, I've been told, support over 37000 local, state and national health and welfare and recreation agencies, reaching more than 34 million families in this great land of ours. That's a tremendous assignment and a significant achievement in the amount of funds raised; at this point almost a billion dollars. ^A As I understand, ^{YOUR FUNDRAISING HAS} more than doubled in the last decade, and yet you and I know that this is a continuing task. ^P We've got to raise even more as we go along, but I think we need to recognize that this voluntary effort has had a profound influence upon the moral fiber of America. It has ~~also added~~ ^A direct impact upon the social and economic structure of our country. It has been said that if we could accurately calculate the dollar value of this nation's voluntary effort, it would prove to be a respectable proportion of the total gross national product. The millions and millions of hours of voluntary service that are given by people of talent and ability and station and prestige is really an amazing contribution to the well-being of our country, ~~and~~ I'm happy to say that Minnesota as usual, the North Star State, has been in the forefront of the development and the use of the voluntary organizations to help find answers to these difficult and complex social problems that beset us and to help meet the needs of local communities.

I've said many times that the symbol of the North Star should tell us much about our state. We are in a sense the state from whence many get direction or find their bearings, so to speak. It has been said in the 1920's and 1930's that much of what we call the social legislative policy today of the government of the United States had its inception here in Minnesota and Wisconsin, and under the leadership of a man like Al Smith in New York. ~~What I'm attempting to say is that~~ ^{THEY} Ideas that have ^A lasting effect generally come from the bottom on up, ~~are~~ seldom superimposed from the top ~~on~~ down. The United Way in this St. Paul Area has set the pace for other organizations, and you are justly proud today of this remarkable record.

Your bulletin here, of course, cites for you and for all that wish to see it the variety of services which you provide. When revenue-sharing first appeared, and again, may I add, that that was a bipartisan effort of Howard Baker of Tennessee, and myself, who were the sponsors of revenue-sharing in the United States Senate. ⁹ When that first

appeared, ^{OUR} the city and county governmental officials, ~~right here in this county and this city,~~ sat down with the leaders of the voluntary organizations to discern what priorities were to be served, and how to maximize the application of resources to provide the best service to this community.

I'd like to say to anybody that's here from government, that the best way that I know to maximize the effectiveness of the taxpayer's dollar that is directed toward social service is to combine it in an effective partnership with the voluntary agencies. The cooperation of government and voluntary organizations has obviously improved the quality of services here in this capitol city of St. Paul, Minnesota, as it has indeed all along, all throughout our State. Then in March of this year, the Minnesota legislature passed the Human Services Act, a pilot program to integrate human services through the direct participation of people in local communities. Now here again, my fellow-Minnesotans, this is one of the most progressive, forward-thinking pieces of social welfare legislation that has ever been passed in the United States. It's a pilot program; it's a test run, but I think it will work and I'm a pragmatist about these things. If it doesn't work, then we'll try something else, but try, we must. To resign ourselves to indifference and neutrality, is morally wrong and politically unacceptable.

Now let me just broaden my message a bit. Today, the shadow of shame and doubt and mistrust shroud our entire political process and threaten that vital partnership between government and voluntary associations, between governmental institutions and the people. And let me say that no one is immune from this in public life. Somehow or another, things got out of hand and a day of reckoning has arrived. The time for, in a sense, repentance and confession of error is long overdue, but what's most important is not to go around sobbing and beating one's chest in grief and sorrow or even shame, but rather to face up to what the needs are and start to live anew; in other words, to learn from our troubles and to march on.

A brief look ~~at the~~ at some of the basic tenets of ~~American governmental life,~~ or, I should say, of the the American political system, can be helpful to us today. I've been spending a lot of my time, these recent years, with young people. Every day of my week in Washington, I give not less than an hour of my time to young Americans that gather from all over the nation. We have a sort of a gathering, some hour of the day. I can't always predict the time that it will be, but as people come to my office and want to visit (I happen to like young people); (I noticed this lovely young lady that came here to be cited today for her voluntary services and a member of the explorers) I addressed that group recently in Washington, a grand and just a tremendous group of young Americans doing great things for their country and for themselves. Well, I spend time with these young people because I've had a lot of

A CLASSIC
ASIDE

experience in government and I ^{TAUGHT} ~~use to teach~~ American government and realized now how little I knew about it. I sometimes think I owe all my students a refund. So, I joined with them and it's a sort of, you know, free-for-all questions and answers. Last week I had students from Duke University, from Hanover, from Smith College. I had Project Close-up; just a large number of students; they run into the hundreds and sometimes into the thousands and it's a give and take and I feel that maybe now that's something that I can do that's worthwhile. ^POne of the things I try to give to them is what I call the Hubert Humphrey short course in American government, because you know we make everything so complicated and it doesn't really need to be that way. The first thing we need to understand about government is not so much its structure but its purpose. We need to understand where the power is and how it is to be used. The preamble to the American Constitution says it all. I should quickly say to you that as you read the Constitution of the United States, and it's good reading these days; good reading for all of us who are in public life. I don't think any of us ought to start walking around as if we are angels because I haven't met one yet or saints. My name is Hubert and there is a Saint Hubert but that's not me. I know that full well. But in the ^Constitution there is not one single phrase, word, section or article that is designed to protect the government from the people but there is section after section, sentence after sentence that has been written and designed to protect the people from the possible abuse of power by those in government. If we understand that, then we began to clear up our thinking.

Now, the preamble starts out with certain words that I think need to be repeated so let me just repeat those and you ponder them for a moment. "We the people (haven't heard that for a long time) of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our prosperity, do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States of America." ^PNow ponder with me, tarry with me a moment. First of all, that is written in the present tense the word "do" not "did". We at this moment are writing that Constitution; as far as we are concerned, in our life-time. Today is the first day of the rest of our lives and it is the day that is important and the only day that is important is the one that you pray for that may come tomorrow. The past is prolonged....gone; Lessons to be learned but not to be relived.

Now if you look at the preamble and study it, you begin to get what is fundamental, ~~also~~ basic, about voluntary organizations as well. First of all, the first three words were chosen very carefully by the men at that time who had gone through a cruel and difficult experience of seeking their freedom and independence and trying to construct a government that could assure the meaning of their victory. So, they centered upon

what we call popular sovereignty. "We the people," not "we the government" not "we the rich" not "we the poor" "we the white" "we the black" or "we the rural" or "the urban" but just "we the people of the United States." ^P Then the next line is important; "in order to form a more perfect union," knowing full well that what we had was imperfect and knowing that with all the many customs and cultures and ethnic groups, and the wide variety of climate, the diversities of peoples, that it would be a constant struggle to hold together that which had been fashioned; namely, a nation. Therefore, the challenge and the charge is made that "we the people of the United States in order to form a more perfect union," that's the first challenge, then to establish justice to insure domestic tranquillity not apathy not indifference but tranquillity like the Hebrew word "shalom" which is a kind of harmony of mankind with nature and people to people provide for the common defense. These men knew that freedom was in dangered by powerful forces from without as well as the possibility of the erosion of strength from within and then this word promote the general welfare - - everybody. ~~Who was it that said?~~ John Stewart Mill once said "Let a man have nothing to do for his country and he shall have no love for it." The whole lesson of America is opening up a place for everybody for every person to realize their potentiality; for every person to be looked upon as sacred; after all, remember this democracy of ours was created not just as a layman's thought but in a spiritual concept; in the fatherhood of God; in the brotherhood of Man. If you don't understand that, you can never understand the true spirit and meaning of democratic living or democracy itself. Then these words "to secure the blessings of liberty"; isn't it interesting "the blessings of liberty"; not just to secure liberty but "the blessings of liberty", and the blessings of liberty are self-expression; the right to be different. The true test of democracy is whether or not you can be different, and whether you can be unpopular and still be accepted.

So there it is, now is the thrust of it all, it's all action oriented. These were young men; the average age of the signer of the Declaration of Independence was 36 and the average age of the signer of the Constitution of the United States, even with old Ben Franklin in his 80's, was 44. They were men of purpose, men with vitality. They had learned through experience as well as through education, and everything they had to say was about the people, people, people and the words like form, forming, not just letting it happen but forming something; a perfect union, establish justice, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, secure the blessings of liberty, action, no neutrality; a government that was not to close eyes to the inequities of the society or people. In other words, a government that would not be frozen in the ice of its own indifference but rather one that would be active. That's voluntary business too. You're in the United Way because you know that this country can do

better. You're in it because you know that you want a better society for yourselves and for your children, and I can't think of a greater inspiration for any of us. Well, let me just (I keep you too long) let me again philosophize with you. I happen to be one that believes in this partnership theory between government and the people, and I know that when trust and confidence is destroyed by any of us who are in public life, that great damage is done to the body public and to the moral fiber of the nation because that which holds this unique society of ours together in common purpose is called trust and confidence, faith of the people in their government, trust and confidence of the people in their government, and trust and confidence of the government in the people. If either one is lacking on either side, it all falls apart. That's why there is something about this society of ours.....there's more, there's more than legislation or things or materialism. There is a spirit to it and it is that spirit which today seems to have slipped away from us or at least seems to be neglected. Now, lest you think I'm a pessimist, let me assure you I'm not. I know many people are today of the mind that.....(Oh, everybody is disenchanted and senile) everything is rotten and, by the way, it isn't only the politics that is corrupt. Corporations they say are corrupted, the church no longer serves the needs, they say the family is breaking up, the school system doesn't work. You have people today who will recite for you a litany of failure in this country that can make you literally paralyzed with the agony of it all. Some people specialize in this. I'm one that believes that we must know our problems but I'm not one that believes that you just live with them. You adapt, you seek to do something about them. These profits of doom and gloom have no historical base on which to make long-term predictions, because this nation has been in trouble many times in its history and out of each difficulty has come a stronger people and a better people. I am a student of history and I can remember the earliest days of this republic; how we almost fell apart. I can remember how our currency wasn't worth a continental. The first currency became worthless. I can remember the history of how people grabbed the public lands and made vast fortunes and yes, skinned everybody they could. We've heard of the Robert Bearings that went across this country raping our natural resources. A war between the states, the bloodiest war that the world has ever known, took place in the United States of America. Secessionists, the first chief of staff of the United States Army in the pay of the Spanish Emperor; corruption in government the likes of which the world has never known after the Civil War. An economic system that collapsed in the late 20's and the early 30's, but ladies and gentlemen, out of every one of those sad experiences came a stronger and better America. We are strong and we are mighty and we are rich. We have all that anyone ever needed to do anything that we ever wanted, if we have the will to do it, and at all times in the past we were able to find the will. Will and vision, and I'm one of

those who happens to believe that today despite the difficulties of what we call two-digit inflation, despite the possibilities of war again in the Middle East which we hope and pray does not happen, despite the difficulties that we see even as the atomic powers spread with India exploding an atomic weapon, despite Watergate, despite the unresponsiveness of government, despite the fact that Congress itself doesn't seem to be able to seize and grab hold of things and do what needs to be done, despite it all, despite the fact that the dollar is devalued, the stock market is in trouble and all of these things, ladies and gentlemen, are current events but each and everyone will fade away into insignificance, or but a paragraph in the history of this land, if we understand that this nation is dedicated to "we the people," the government is here to serve and not to master. If ultimately all the forte is derived from the people and the purpose of our system is the enrichment of the lives of each and everyone of us and that everybody, every mind, every soul, every spirit is precious and that we have a unique system in which we as a people and a government work together, that's what the Declaration of Independence told us about those enabling rights, and that's what those men who wrote that Declaration said; that government is established in order to secure the rights, If we but remember it, then I can assure you that we will succeed. Churchill told us that democracy - - remember it's so good, I often remind the students of it who become very disenchanted; you know they said the whole system is loused up. I say listen remember what Winston Churchill said. He said democracy is the worst possible form of government except all others that have ever been tried, which is only a way of saying that government is essentially human relations. Democracy is more human and has more relations than any other kind but it yields more benefits than any other not perfect. It's fallible, not infallible; limited, not all-powerful. So today as you think of your work in this community, just remember that what we have to do as individuals is to put it all together; sort of one by one. We can't do it all at the same time and we can't do everything that we would like to do. I had a little poem here that I wanted to reach to you from Carl Sandberg if I can find it in this mix-up of papers I have here but if I can't you can get along without it. But it is pretty good. Ohhh yes, it's very good and I found it, and I want to read it to you. Here is what it says: (because he's my man; everybody has to have their favorite poet these days. You know if you're in politics they always ask what is your favorite scripture. You know right away you're supposed to know the Bible by heart where you can pick one right out. But I'm always a little worried about that. Then somebody else will say "Well now, what's your favorite musician?" You just got to be a expert at the same time you're a generalist and, of course, if you're too much an expert, they say your a phony and if your too much a generalist, they say you don't know what your talking about. So you're really in trouble but nevertheless I love it and nobody is going to

tell me I don't.) So to the doubting Thomases and to the specialist's in doom and gloom, to those who think we've had it and want to throw in the towel and I'm not one of any of those, let me just tell you what old Carl Sandberg had to say. He said, "I see America not in the setting sun of the black night of despair ahead of us, I see America in the crimson light of a rising sun, fresh from the burning creative hand of God. I see great days ahead, great days possible to men and women of will and vision." Carl Sandberg said it right.

AND ~~XXXXX~~ 1930's

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It has been said that much of the social legislative policy ~~is~~ today of the United States government had its inception here in Minnesota and Wisconsin in the 1920's and 1930's. Ideas that have a lasting effect generally come from the bottom on up. They are seldom superimposed from the top down. The United Way in the St. Paul area has set the pace for other organizations, and you can be justly proud ~~today~~ of ~~xxxx~~ this remarkable record.

Your bulletin cites the variety of services which you provide. When revenue sharing first appeared our city and county governmental officials sat ^{down} ~~down~~ with the leaders of the voluntary organizations to discern what priorities were to be served, and how to maximize the application of resources to provide the best service to ^{this} ~~the~~ community. May I add that revenue sharing was a bipartisan effort of Senator Baker of Tennessee and myself when we sponsored it in the United States Senate.

I'd like to say to ^{THOSE} ~~anybody~~ ~~that's~~ here from government, that the best way I know to maximize the effectiveness of the taxpayer's dollar that is directed toward social service is to combine ~~it~~ with an effective partnership with voluntary agencies. The cooperation of government and voluntary organizations has obviously improved the quality of services here in the capitol city of St. Paul, Minnesota, as it has throughout the state. In March of this year, the Minnesota legislature passed the Human Services Act, a pilot program to integrate human services through ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ the direct participation of people in local communities. Here again, my fellow-Minnesotans, this is one of the most progressive, forward-thinking ~~x~~ pieces of social welfare legislation that has ever been passed in the United States. It's a pilot program; a test run, but I think it will work, and I'm ~~a pragmatist about these~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~things~~. If it doesn't work, then we'll try something else, but try, we must. To resign ourselves to indifference and neutrality, is morally ~~w~~ wrong and politically unacceptable.

Now let ^{me} ~~my~~ broaden my message a bit. Today, the shadow of shame and doubt and mistrust shroud our ~~xxxxxx~~ entire political process and threaten that vital partnership between government and voluntary associations, between governmental institutions and the ~~xx~~ people. What we must do is face up to what the

Today is the first ^{DAY} ~~day~~ of the rest of our lives, and it is this day that is important. ^{THE} ~~This~~ past is prologue - ^{LESSONS} ~~lessons~~ to be learned but not to be relived.

Now if you look at the preamble and study it, you begin to get what is fundamental, basic, about voluntary organizations as well. First of all, the first three words were chosen very carefully by the men at that time who had gone through a cruel and difficult experience of seeking their freedom and independence and trying to construct a government that could assure the ~~MEANING~~ meaning of their victory. They centered ^{UPON} what we call popular sovereignty. "we the people," not "we the government" not "~~x~~ we the rich" ^{NOT} ~~not~~ "we the poor" "we the white" "we the black" or "we the rural" or "the urban" but just "we the people of the United States."

The next line is important; "in order to form a more perfect union," knowing full well that what we had was imperfect and knowing that with all the many customs and cultures and ~~x~~ ethnic groups, the wide variety of climate, the diversities of peoples, that it would be a constant struggle to hold together that which ^{HAD} ~~had~~ been fashioned; namely, a nation. Therefore, the challenge ~~and the charge is made that~~ "we the people of the United States in order to form a more perfect union," ~~that's the first challenge,~~ then to establish justice to insure domestic tranquillity, ^{"THIS BRINGS TO MIND} ~~like~~ the Hebrew word "shalom" which ^{MEANS} ~~is~~ ~~an~~ a kind of harmony of mankind with nature, ~~and people to people provide for the common defense.~~ These men knew that freedom was endangered by powerful forces from without as well as the possibility of the erosion of strength from within and then ^{THESE} ~~this~~ words ^{"to} promote the general welfare, ^{FOR EVERYONE.} ~~everybody.~~

John Stewart Mill once said ~~x~~ "Let a man have nothing to do for his country and he shall have no love for it." The whole lesson of America is opening up a place for everybody, ^F for every person to realize their potentiality, ^F for every person to be looked upon as sacred. ^A After all, ^{ONE MUST} remember this democracy of ours was created not just as layman's thought but in a spiritual concept, ^{IT WAS ORDAINED} in the fatherhood of God; in the brotherhood of Man. If you don't understand that, you can never understand the ^{TRUE} ~~true~~ spirit and ^{MEANING} ~~meaning~~ of liberty. ^I Isn't it interesting ^{THAT THEY WROTE} "the blessings of liberty", ^H not just to secure liberty, but "the blessings of liberty". ^A And the blessings of liberty are self-expression; the right to be different. The true test of democracy is whether or not you can be different, and

~~STILL~~
~~STILL~~ be accepted.

The Founding Fathers were men of action, they ~~x~~ were young men; the average age of the signer of the Declaration of Independence was 36 and the average age of the signer of the Constitution of the United States, even with old Ben Franklin in his 80's, was 44. They were men of purpose, men with vitality. They had learned through experience as well as through education, ~~XXXXX~~ Everything they had to say was about the people. They used words like "TO FORM" "forming" - meaning not just letting something happen but ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{GOVERNMENT SHAPE} ~~xxx~~ giving ~~it~~ form and substance. A perfect union, establish justice, " provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, secure the blessings of liberty, ^{" THESE WORDS MEAN "} action, no neutrality, ^A government that was not to close ^{ITS} eyes to the inequities of the society or people. In other words, a government that would not be frozen in the ice of its own ~~indifference~~ indifference but rather ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ one that would be active. Voluntary organizations must operate in much the same manner. You're in the United Way because you know that this country can do better. You're in it because ~~xx~~ you know that you want a ~~xxxx~~ better society for yourselves and for your children, and I can't think of a greater inspiration for any of us.

I happen to be one that believes in this partnership theory between government and the people. I know that when trust and confidence is destroyed by any of us who are in public life, that great damage is done to the body public and to the moral fiber of the nation, ~~because~~ that which holds this unique society of ours together in common purpose is called trust and confidence, ^{IT IS THE} faith of the people in their government, ^{IT IS THE} and trust and confidence of the government in the people. If either one is lacking on either side, it all ~~falls~~ ^{FALLS} apart.

Churchill told us ~~xxx~~ that democracy ~~xx~~ is the worst possible form of government, ^{IT IS BETTER THAN} except all others that have ever been tried, ~~which~~ ~~is a way of saying that~~ government is essentially ~~xxxx~~ human relations. Democracy ~~xx~~ can yield more benefits than any other form of government. But even a democracy is not perfect; it is fallible, limited.

Carl Sandberg expressed the days ahead for volunteerism and our country well when he said, " I see American not in the setting sun of the black night of despair ahead of us, I see American in the crimson light of a rising sun, ^{HAND} fresh from the burning creative ~~had~~ of God. I see great days ahead, great days possible to men and women of will and vision." Carl Sandberg said it right.



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