

Do not Distribute

Speech of Senator Humphrey
of
Americans for Democratic Action

New York
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Is generous to a fault. Loyal to the point of where they have almost lost the friendship of others. But tonight is the moment for forgiveness for all of us. Tonight, we come forth in friendship. And, Marvin, I want to thank you and just let you know once again that one of the great joys of my life, one of the blessings of my personal and public life has been to be your friend, You are a dear man.

I have always said that the biggest reward of public life is the privilege that is given the one to know interesting and really fine people. And that's happened to me again and again, and the Lieutenant Governor of the state of New York is just one of those precious gifts, and she knows I mean it. Mary Ann Krupsak is a fine woman, and she is my friend and she is a great leader for this state and for the rights of women and not only the rights of women but the rights of all of our people. And when you and Marvin keyed up I knew this thing would be a success, even if I came, I knew it was going to be a success.

Mr. Mayor, I want to especially thank you for your presence here

tonight, for the message that you gave to us and for the document that you read. I am going to be able to get that, am I not? You are going to give that to me because I want to take it home and read it to Muriel and I have been telling her that all these things are true time after time and she is not so sure. She has a more subjective view, objective view of me rather than such a subjective one. But you and your lovely lady, Mary, are two of my good friends, and she knows. Mr. Mayor, we had to go through some difficult times here in New York, but I can honestly say that we are sure to get through all these days, because I really do love this great city, New York.

Jack Kaplan you are not 85! It's impossible! If you are, I want to hope that you can ... maybe its that grape juice. Everybody at our table quit drinking that stuff we had over there and said, let's have grape juice. Really, you have been all that has been said about you by our friend, Joe_____. Such a source of help to us, always have, I know that I have been the beneficiary of your kindness and your generosity. And I want to join saluting you tonight for the reward you are getting. You could have every award that anybody could think up because you have done so much for so many. We are grateful to you. And to Ed and Lois Gray, recipients of the Walter E. Reuther Award. Walter Reuther was my friend, and he was an inspiration to me. He was what was said tonight. He was not only a great labor leader, he was a great national leader, he

was a great human leader, and his voice was heard around the world. He was something new on the American labor scene, the American scene, not just the labor scene. And he had such great vision and dreams. They often said that when you had Walter Reuther and Hubert Humphrey on the same program you not only had an extended program, but you had a list of everything that needed to be done for everybody, anywhere and anytime. And I consider that not some kind of joke, I consider it a great honor. Because I felt that it was a rare privilege to be associated with him and to be a part of his circle of friends. Now, behind us is this marvelous photo of FDR and Eleanor. And I hope that _____ to symbolize what we are all about because the New Deal Revolution--that's what it was, is the unfinished business of this country. Oh, I know that isn't the way you know you're supposed to say it because you are supposed to be more modern and newer. But it has been said from this platform tonight the problems that our nation faced then are the problems that race this nation in different degrees, of course, and different dimensions. But those are nothing more or less than the human problems and human conditions. There are still as have been said, people who are poor, ill-housed, ill-fed, and ill-clothed. They are still here, thank God, not as many, but they are still here. There are still people in this country who do not have a lot and some who have too much. There still is the constant threat

to our natural resources. I could not help but think today, as I sat on a committee on Agriculture and Forestry, I said to the new Secretary of Agriculture, what are we going to do about these people who plow up all the sheltered belts around America. Now, maybe in New York that does not mean much to you, but I'm the son of the prairies, and I saw the great top soil, the real wealth, the real physical wealth of this nation, being destroyed. And then I, as a young man, heard and saw Franklin Roosevelt, who told us how to take care of not only our people but our national resources and then I have witnessed here in recent years how we are exploiting both our people and natural resources again. So you see the job is ever unfinished. Franklin Roosevelt and Eleanor! Eleanor Roosevelt honored me by the gift of her friendship. She said some nice things about me for which I am ever grateful. She was really a remarkable and talented woman. A force for good in her own right and I am so pleased that there is a movement on to save her home. To make a brilliant national shrine, which it really should be, and the people of New York should make sure that is the case. I'll work with Congressman Bingham to make sure that we do our part in the Congress of the United States.

And I look over here and see my old friend, Ben Coleman, there is the personification of the New Deal, right there. Ben, stand up.

We have had some exciting days. Most of us in this room have lived in those days, well within our memory. The days of the New Deal and its challenge, the incredible difficult problems of those days and yet the exhilaration, the excitement, which we, those of us in those days were very young, felt them and some of our parents and others felt them. I don't think that anything like it has ever touched America.

Then there came Harry Truman and his Fair Deal. Which tried to carry, he and the program, trying to carry through the fulfillment of the objectives of the yet unfinished business of Franklin Roosevelt, and then the quiet interlude. We ought to be thankful for one thing at least, it was quiet. Then came the new spirit on the American political scene. And some new excitement again because the American people are essentially very young people, zealous people, idealistic people. John Kennedy touched that strange, that tradition that is ours and we came alive once again and we continued it until a cruel war interrupted it, and the Great Society. But I happened to be one to believe that the goals of this great society were great goals. Great objectives stated that liberals and progressives and people who believed in the betterment of human beings out to embrace the fact that we did not accomplish then only means that there is work yet to do. I have very little time for people who say, well, you know we didn't succeed. The question is, Did we fail? The truth is that we nearly got

started, and all of life is but a start. Each generation is but a new start to carry on what has once been tried and the work that went ahead. There is no final chapter, there is no millennium in our lifetime. Democracy is known for its beginnings and not its ending. Surely that's the story of this republic. I take great hope in the fact that we do make progress and I have very little time for people who constantly are pessimistic, because one day of pessimism take more out of you than 30 days of enthusiasm. You want to remember that.

I have watched the pearl crowds of people who seem to have, as I said one night, chronic dyspepsia. Trying to portray some kind of concern for which they have no answers. I prefer a much more serene and happy countenance with a mind and heart. A mind at work and a heart full of compassion that seeks to get something done. Oh, I know that it is very easy to spend our time, and we do it, all too often, each of us in our own way, pointing out only those things that are wrong. But I got to tell you that's not enough. To know only what is undone, the challenges yet unmet or unfulfilled is not enough. We've got to also build from your successes. Or at least from some of your achievements. When I see tonight Andrew Young, United States Ambassador to the United Nations, and I think back to what he said here tonight, in 1948, that an all-white primary in Georgia 29 years ago, and I think what has happened in America since then, not that it's enough, not that we have accomplished

all that we should, but we made progress and we got to have this understanding. I have got a few pages here tonight but I'm not going to look at it. I want to just speak to you right then from something that I had said before, and I have redone it so to speak, kind of reboast it, but I am never very good working from a script, and just got now these simple things that are still basic challenges, the basic needs of our country and things from which he said. Remember that America is never a reality, it is a promise. That's what you have got to keep in mind. The whole story of this nation is what we are going to be, not what we have been or what we are. We have lost strength from what we are, we lost strength from what we have done, but the great inspiration is what we are going to be. It is the upbeat--all we have to fear is fear itself. And so on and so on and all the great men of this century have inspired us to think ahead of what we can be. The greatest word in the political lexicone is hope, the hope that people have, the hope of a better day, the hope of better living, the hope of the better job, the hope of success. It is the gliding force that gets people to do things that thought were literally were impossible. Now, the Americans for Democratic Action consisting of many diverse groups, all kinds of different views, really where most of us are mavericks of one kind or another. The Americans for Democratic Action have always had great dreams and great hopes about America and the world. Yes, we have sighted the inequities,

the injustices. We have noted the shortcomings and the failures, but we have always ended upon the upbeat, all we have to do is take a look at the resolutions that we pour out at these conventions. That's the way it ought to be. There has to be forces in America's life, there has to be forces in all the world to keep reminding people what can be done. I met today with some people who said, "Mr. Humphrey, we want you to lead the great crusade". And I said, "not another one". They said, "what we happen to believe is that within the next 20 years we can eliminate the specter of hunger and starvation on the face of the earth," and I said, "I agree". All we have to have is the will to do it. We know how. What we have to have is not only the will but the commitment and the organization to get it done. Here we are a group of well-intention people simplifying the issue to be sure, and thank God they did because there would be plenty of people coming in to louse it up. Simplifying the issue and saying that America ought to be leading the world today in one basic human right above all others. The right to at least live and to have a decent meal. It wasn't merely that we are going to be charitable, compassionate, but we were going to lead, and Andrew, I think we can do it.

I saw something here a few weeks ago that made me a very happy man. For several years our representatives of the United Nations have been on the defensive. We have been trying to explain things

away, we have been under attack, and of course this has aroused antagonism in the Congress where there was only a few of us left that would stand up and defend the United Nations because it wasn't easy. Those that were our critics were very caustic and some times the criticism was bitter and angry and unfavorable. Then a man came to the United Nations by the name of Andrew Young and started to turn things around. Not by the fact of his appointment but of his life, that's the important thing, not merely because he was appointed, not merely because he is a Black American, but because of his life. He represents what is good in this country. And all at once things started to change and the President of the United States came in, and the President of the United States gave a message that represented the hopes and the aspirations and the ideals of the American people. He talked about eliminating hunger and talked about arms control disarmament, he talked of human rights, he faced them and he was cheered. Even to this day, all over the world hundreds of millions of people that never thought they ever had a prayer or a hope of a better day see once again in the United States of America in its leadership another chance. Another chance to be something. It's wonderful we can hold our head high. We have spoken of what's ourself. What is ourself? Human rights, all the hundreds are now saying, is he going too far, has the President gone too far, is he going to jeopardize our foreign policy? Listen, human rights is the soul of America. That's what it's all about.

Our President expressing what is the living spirit of this nation that is long, too long been muted, too long been held under cover, and only all he's saying is this is what we are all about, this is what we stand for, this is America. America is not just its weapon systems which were prepared, if you please, greatly diminished. American is not just its wealth which we are prepared, if you please, to share. But America is the story of our people, their rights, their opportunities, their hopes, their aspirations, and as long as we are on that beam, as long as we are on that wave length, no power on the face of the earth can do us in, no way, because we have right on our side.

Now, my second point that I'd like to tell you about Civil Rights--its no use of reviewing '64 and the voting act and all the civil rights groups, we all went through this together. It was a great day, I know people thought we couldn't do it. There were times I wondered myself. But the important thing is what we are talking about now, what is the one great civil right that many Americans want today: He wants his rights in the market place. He wants to be a part of the economic and social life of this nation, the right to vote has been now guaranteed. We are going to make it even more meaningful right with our new election reforms that are now pending before the Congress. I am happy to tell you that in the last election in the state of Minnesota, we had the largest voter turnout of any state in the union. We had unsight registration.

I am happy to tell you that, and I used to be satisfied by winning by 200 thousand votes or 250 thousands, I won by over a million. I like that, I like that, I know why because a tremendous voter turnout. People came out to vote that never before had voted. Almost 8% of our elected with the eligible voters in our state. So voting rights we have come close to _____ assured. But in this nation tonight, my well-fed, comfortable friends, there are at least 8 million of our

fellow Americans that know not a job, that live on the very edge of economic disaster, whose families are threatened. There are over 3 million young men and women that we call youth, that have no job and over a million and a half have not had a job in ten years. There is no way that this country will have economic recovery and there is no way that we will be able to pay for all the things that you and I want--health insurance, housing and everything else, until we put America back to work, until every person willing to go to work gets a job. Let me say to my Congress friends, I am prepared to take you on. I hear every time that we talk about full employment somebody says inflation. The answer to inflation is production. Productivity and a constant relentless pursuit against those that administer fixed prices. The answer to inflation is improved income, productivity. When you have 80% of your plant capacity used and 20% idle, you are like an eight cylinder car with 6 cylinders used going, and that means heating up the motor and using more fuel.

Why is it that the records show that the periods of highest employment we have the lowest inflation. Why is it that we still have these witch doctors that tell us that if you have full employment you are going to have inflation? More important, my good friends, when I say you can't afford it, I ask you have you ever thought about the price and cost not to do what we ought to do. The Joint Economic Committee which I chaired for two years in a study that lasted four years pointed out that the current unemployment amongst youth is the result--results in 40 billion dollars per year in lost income. Exclusive _____, the revenues and state local governments lose and secure exclusive of the cost of welfare and exclusive of the cost of the crime that follows it. Now, I'm in New York City, I know that you have fiscal problems. The answer to fiscal problems is work production. There aren't any other ways. There is no way to pay for health insurance, there is no way for you to rebuild the homes that we need, there is no way that remodernize the cities as we ought to, and rehabilitate them until we put people to work doing the job, and paying them a decent wage and letting them know that they made a contribution to this society. I heard tonight about workers' education. I started out in workers' education. That's when I got acquainted with the union move. I remember all the ridicule of WPA, well I tell you one thing WPA did for the people: It gave them something to do, and all over America today there are the programs and projects

of the people who are unemployed, creating, building and constructing. I can tell you right now, my urban friends, that there is enough work to do in soil conservation in this country today to save this country, because your land is being destroyed by wind and drought. There is enough work to do in this country to put 2 million young men and women to work to saving our soil. Fifteen years behind in our reform stations, and we got people wondering what to do. We got all these wise people saying, "What are we going to do?" Figuring out tax programs and stuff. My God, all you got to do is put people to work and we know how to do it. We have learned how to do it.

I say to you that those of us that of the establishment and you are in it, you may not think so because you belong to ADA, you are a part of it, that's what we are really doing today. By our malignant neglect of these problems that we are letting them get worse and more costly and more costly and only holding ourselves back from our potential.

Now, let me say, Mr. Mayor, work on our cities. The cities are the future of America. By the end of this century, there will be at least 250 million Americans, 85% of them are going to be living in cities of 50 thousand or more. For this country to pretend that it can ignore the plight of the cities, it is for me to pretend that I can ignore the disease that hit me. It is ridiculous, we've got to get at it. I've spoken on it too many times before tonight, but we know what to do. We know that it is

going to take financing and long-term capital financing. We know that it is going to take planning. We know that it may be going to take new governmental structures, but there is no way that you're going to meet the needs of the cities with all their bitter details, and all their problems, until people who live in those cities feel that they have a chance; feel that there is something for them to do. Until you can get these youngsters off your streets and working, until you can put the people the craftsman of this country who are today suffer adventures tonight that building trades of America. Twenty percent of the most skilled labor in the world is unemployed in this country. Every time we talk about doing away with the B-1 bombers, someone says, "we can't do that because you are going to put someone out of a job." I hope to God we never get into a situation where the only way we can pick how to employ somebody is the new weapon system.

We now have a president who sincerely believes in arms control disarmament. We have heard the news, we have read it. Soviets say, that they have broke off the discussions. Then today they said they didn't break them off, we broke them off. It is interesting because Mr. Carter went on the offensive yesterday about America. The whole world knew that he was telling the truth and right away Mr. Gromyko has to get up and explain, it wasn't us that broke them off, it was the Americans. Because,

the Russian leader as well as the Americans leaders know, that the people on this troubled earth have come to recognize the incredible waste, the incredible waste of the arms race. President Carter is sincere in what he is trying to do, I have talked to him about it length, and he knows of my interest in it. I initiated the first subcommittee on Arms Control in the United States Congress. I under authorize the Arms Control and disarmament agency. I served on the Arms Control Committee. I am here to tell you that there is no security in arms race, but there is security in mutual arms reduction, and ultimate arms disarmament. That's the real security for the world. President Carter believes this, and it is a part of his administration policy. He is not going to veer away from it because, in his own quiet manner he is firm and you might even say stubborn, and perservering. So we have before us great issues, the continuing war on poverty and I've heard so many of my good liberal progressive friends almost want to give up on this thing. I've heard many of you join in and say that the programs of yesterday did not work, you never gave them a chance, we didn't give them a chance to work. This would be like trying to put a man in the ring against Muhammed Ali that is a anemic, and expect him to put on a good fight. The war on poverty was under finance and when we had Mr. Nixon come in, he threw in the white towel, and ran up the white flag right away. That was the first

war he ended. He said he had a way to end a war right away, he did it.

For there are things you have to do, nuclear arms liberation. Incredible danger is the preliberation of nuclear weapons, thank God again we have an administration that understands it. Now, there are going to be many people going around who don't like going to second guess what's going on down there in Washington, and I am no patsy, I am a member of the Senate, I am going to exercise independent judgment, I have already told the administration that their programs in dealing with the unemployment, I consider, to be inadequate. I will not be shut up, I will not hush, I will state my case in what worst I am persistent cuss, I get up early and work late and I will continue to do so.

I expect to see the legions of my friends in labor and the other progressive organizations to be as demanding as some of us are. Because we are no stronger than the support that we have. The President of the United States needs to know that he has support. Because there are built-in conservative structures in this government. They are there, they are there in the Civil Service, and they are there in the Office of Management and Budget, they are there in the under the pressure of public opinions. Only the other night, I submitted two of our top officials, two distinguished men and I hold great respect and attention. And

right there they got me off in a corner and said go with inflation. Well I said I'm not aware of that, we had a cold winter, fuel costs are up, we have had drought, it had some affect on food prices, but I said, "you know what best in word is it is a code word for doing little or nothing about unemployment." I have been around too long to be fooled. I won't say I haven't been fooled in the past. I won't say I won't be fooled in the futue, but not as easily as I once was. So I leave you tonight with a message of challenge, and I also want to leave you tonight with the hope that you will be people not only that are philosophical about these problems but, you'll deal with them in a sense of dialogue and communications but you are enthusiastic because life is action, and you have to have passion for action if you are going to get anything done. One of the founders of our great organization the ADA, was Rynald Nevour. Rynald, what a great man, and you who knew him so well remember what he wrote, "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible but, Man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary," just another way of saying, that we have to preserve these democracy institutions, we have to be politically active. We must be involved in the work of our times and the life of our time. We must never give up, we must never toss in the towel and we must never pull down the flag. We need constantly remember that the work of good government is a ceasely and endless project, and if you ever

doubt it go back and read some of the things that our beloved friend, Adlai Stevenson, used to say to us, and remind us, and then I think that we will be in a sense revived. I'm not going to ask you to be reborn, I'm going to ask you to live and act and have zeal to be courageous, to be daring, better to make a mistake, daring to try, than to be guilty of making the mistake because you dared not to do anything.

Goodnight.

Thank you.



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