

PHILIP M. STERN

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Dear Norm:

In the revised draft, in connection with "The Shame of A Nation", sent you in my absence Tuesday, the word "Foreword" was spelled "Forward".**

I am writing to say Neverfear -- all will be made well -- we will put an exclamation point after the word.

Again thanks for your help.

Phil

* or we might even go to the length of correcting the spelling!

** I now discover we were merely following style as it came over ours! So there, too!

FORWARD

The War against Poverty, to which President Johnson has called us, is one of the most urgent endeavors in which America is engaged.

To win this war will require not only the exercise of governmental leadership, but also the willing dedication of millions of men and women, aroused by the pity and shame of the poverty of America, and determined to engage themselves in a great national effort.

The stark and shocking facts of life among the poor in too many parts of America were brought home to the average American in the Thirties by the compelling art of the photographer and journalist. Through the cameras of Margaret Bourke-White, Dorothea Lange, Carl Mydans, Walker Evans, Arthur Rothstein, Ben Shahn and others, as well as through the reportorial eyes of such men as James Agee, John Steinbeck and Erskine Caldwell, many Americans found their consciences aroused and their emotions engaged.

"The Shame of a Nation" is in that strong photo-journalistic tradition. And it is perhaps even more important than its predecessors of the Thirties. For the Poverty of the Sixties, unlike the poverty of the Great Depression, is tucked away, off the main thoroughfares -- largely out of sight. In the preparation of this book, the author, Philip Stern, and the photographer, George de Vincent, have left the highways, the

well-traveled thoroughfares, and have penetrated the wall
that circumstance has built between affluent America and
impoverished America.

In "The Shame of A Nation," therefore, you will see
conditions you may not have dreamed existed in this wealth-
iest of nations. You will meet some of America's neglected
citizens, face to face. You will learn something of their
lives, their environments, their problems, their needs, and
the lot accorded them by this affluent society.

The pages you will see in this book are not reassuring.
Many of the pictures are not pleasant to look at. One may
disagree at times with the authors' conclusions. But one
cannot ignore the bitter facts that their words and pictures
reveal. Nor should those facts be ignored.

I would hope that every thinking American who opens
this book would be stirred not only to shock and pity, but
also to a powerful determination that such conditions must
not be permitted to continue.

I would hope that one who sees these pictures would be
challenged by them to search his mind and heart, and to ask,
"What can I personally do about these conditions?"

What indeed, can we do about these conditions? We
have begun a massive assault on the condition of poverty in
America. We are dedicating huge human and financial resources
to the struggle. But the problem of poverty far outstrips
what government will be able to muster. What is needed,

is courage, ingenuity, dedication -- and the kind of understanding and insight you will, I believe, gain from "The Shame of A Nation." We need, in short, the harnessing of the intellectual energies and economic power of private enterprise, of labor, of all the great voluntary organizations of America.

We can afford it. We have the wealth, the energy, yes, and the daring and imagination to defeat poverty in America, to relegate to the history books the sad and somber portraits of this volume.

Suggested Forward to Stern's Book

The War against Poverty, to which President Johnson has called us, is one of the most urgent endeavors in which America is engaged.

To win this war will require not only the exercise of governmental leadership, but also the willing dedication of millions of men and women, aroused by the pity and shame of the poverty of America, and determined to throw their shoulders to the wheel of a great national effort.

The stark and shocking facts of life among the poor in too many parts of America were brought home to the average American in the Thirties by the compelling art of the photographer and journalist. Through the cameras of Margaret Bourke-White, Dorothea Lange, Carly Mydans, Walker Evans, Arthur Rothstein, Ben Shahn and others, as well as through the reportorial eyes of such men as James Agee, John Steinbeck and Erskine Caldwell, the literate and more well-to-do of America found their consciences aroused and their emotions engaged.

"The Shame of a Nation" is in that strong photo-journalism tradition. And its pages are perhaps even more important than

its predecessors of the Thirties. For the Poverty of the Sixties , unlike the poverty of the Great Depression, is tucked away, off the main thoroughfares -- largely out of sight. Most of us, the overwhelming majority of us, are very well off indeed.

The pages you will see in this book by Philip Stern and the photographer, George de Vincent, are not reassuring. The pictures are not pleasant to look at. One may disagree at times with the authors' conclusions. But one cannot ignore the bitter and hateful facts that their camera reveals. Nor should those facts be ignored.

I would hope that every thinking American who opens this book would be stirred not only to pity and revulsion, but also to a powerful determination that such conditions must not be permitted to continue.

I would hope that one who sees these pictures would be challenged by them to search his mind and heart, and to ask, "What can I personally do about these conditions?"

What indeed, can we do about these conditions? We have begun a massive assault on the condition of poverty in America. We are dedicating huge resources of capital and people to the struggle. But the problem of poverty far outstrips what government will be able to muster. What is needed also

is the dynamism of the entire economy, the harnessing of the intellectual energies and economic power of private enterprise, of labor, of all the great voluntary organizations of America.

We can afford it. We have the wealth, the energy, yes, and the daring and imagination to defeat poverty in America, to relegate to the history books the sad and somber portraits of this volume.

Revised
draft
Bene

The War against Poverty ~~is~~, to which President Johnson has called
is one of the most urgent endeavors in which America is engaged.

To win this war ~~will need~~ will require not only the exercise of
 governmental leadership, but also the willing dedication of millions of
 and women
~~to~~/ aroused by the pity and shame of the poverty of America, and
 a great
 determined to throw their shoulders to the ~~great~~ wheel of national effort.

Хушхуа

The stark and shocking facts of life/in too many parts of America
brought home to ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the average American
and journalist.
the Thirties by the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ compelling art of the photographer/
Lange,
ugh the cameras of Margaret Bourke-White, Dorothea Lange, Carl Mydans, Walker
Evans, Arthur Rothstein, Ben Shahn and others, as well as through
reportorial eyes of such men as James Agee, John Steinbeck and Erskine
Well, the literate and more well-to-do of America ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~
stand found their consciences aroused and their emotions engaged.

"The Shame of A Nation" is in that strong photo-journalism tradition. Its pages are perhaps even more important than its predecessors of the 1930s. Unlike the Poverty of the Great Depression, or the Poverty of the Sixties, is tucked away, off the main shelves -- largely out of sight. Most of us, the overwhelming majority, are very well off indeed.

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The pages you will see in this book by Philip Stern and the
photographer, George de Vincent, are not reassuring. ^{The pictures} ~~They~~ are not
~~particularly~~ pleasant to look at. One may disagree at times ~~with~~
the authors' ~~their~~ conclusions. But one cannot ignore the bitter and hateful
facts that ~~the~~ camera reveals. ^{It} ~~Those pictures should be studied and~~
~~restudied, and then~~ those facts ~~they~~ must not be ignored.

I would hope that every thinking American who ~~reads~~ opens this
book would be stirred not only to pity and revulsion, but ^{also} to a powerful
determination that such conditions ~~must not~~ be permitted to continue.

I would hope that ~~every~~ one who sees these pictures would be
~~challenged~~ challenged by them to search his mind and heart, and to ask "What
can I personally do about these conditions?"

What indeed, can we ~~all~~ do about these conditions? We have begun a
massive assault on the condition of poverty in America. We are dedicating
huge resources of capital and people to the struggle. But the problems ^{far} of
poverty ~~are~~ ^{these} outstrip what government will be able to muster. What is needed ^{also}
is the ~~mustering of resources~~ dynamism of the entire economy, the
intellectual energies and economic power
harnessing of the ~~resources~~ of private enterprise, of labor, of all the great
voluntary organizations of America.

We can afford it. We have the wealth, the energy, yes, and the daring
to defeat poverty in America, to
and imagination ~~to use it constructively~~ to relegate the history books the
~~pictures~~ sad and somber portraits of ~~the present~~ this ~~new~~ volume.

FOREWORD

(to which President Johnson has called us)

The War Against Poverty is one of the most urgent endeavors in which America is engaged.

It is also one of the most difficult, for American poverty has its roots in long years and decades of neglect and mal-education -- years and decades that will not be quickly or easily overcome.

No problem can be solved unless it is fully understood. For decades, America has to a large extent ignored its poor. Many have come to look on them with condescension or with scorn. An opinion poll showed that a majority of Americans believe that poverty is the fault of the poor, rather than of circumstances.

But it will profit us little to scold our poor. When our children fall ill, we do not berate them; we try to understand the nature and cause of their illness; we seek to cure it. In the same way, all of us must seek to understand

the nature and causes of poverty. Only in this way will we find the cures (for there are many) to this disease which afflicts our society.

During the Great Depression of the Thirties, photo-journalism, then an infant art, brought vividly to America's attention the plight and need of the nation's most impoverished. We were enabled to look through the cameras of Margaret Bourke-White, Dorothea Lange, Carl Mydans, Walker Evans, Arthur Rothstein, Ben Shahn, and others, as well as through the reportorial eyes of such men as James Agee, John Steinbeck and Erskine Caldwell. Through their words and pictures, we were able to meet the stricken of America, face to face.

"The Shame of A Nation" is in that tradition. But its brand of photo-journalism has an even more important role today than it had in the Great Depression. Thirty years ago, disaster, poverty, despair were everywhere, visible -- no, unavoidable -- to anyone with eyes to see. Today that is not

the case. The poverty of the Sixties is tucked away, off the main thoroughfares -- largely out of sight, (and hence, largely out of mind). But today's poverty is not confined to remote, untraveled pockets like Appalachia. It may be squatting, unseen, within a few blocks of where you live. It may be your neighbor.

In the preparation of this book, the author, Philip Stern, and the photographer, George de Vincent, have left the highways, the well-traveled thoroughfares, and have penetrated the wall that circumstance has built between affluent America and impoverished America.

In "The Shame of A Nation," therefore, you will see conditions you may not have dreamed existed in this wealthiest of nations. You will meet some of America's neglected citizens, face to face. You will learn something of their lives, their environments, their problems, their needs, and the lot accorded them by this affluent society.

You will probably conclude there is much to be done,
many wrongs to be righted, many gaps to be closed, and decades
of lost time to be made up.

And you will be right. The challenge is severe,
the problems deep-rooted. No one can doubt that this richest
of nations has the material resources to meet them. What is
needed is courage, ingenuity, dedication -- and the kind of
understanding and insight you will, I believe, gain from
"The Shame of A Nation."

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REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT
Hubert H. Humphrey
to
American Society of Magazine Editors
and
Magazine Publishers Association
on
Magazine Day in Washington
March 25, 1965
at
Statler Hilton Hotel, Washington, D. C.

This evening I want to talk about travel.

You know about travel. Travel is something which
is an adventure before you do it ... a fond memory
after you do it ... and an ordeal when you do it.

In any case, Americans have been traveling more --
and lately their government has been enjoying it
less.

We have a balance of payments deficit which
causes us concern. Travel abroad by Americans has
contributed to that deficit.

Last year Americans traveling overseas spent 1.1 billion dollars more overseas than foreign visitors spent here. If we add the money spent by Americans on foreign-flag airline and steamship tickets, our "travel gap" stood at 1.6 billion dollars -- almost half our 1964 payments deficit. I remind you of these facts because travel is one of the places where we can meet our payments problem. It is harder, and not in our interest, to meet the problem by reducing foreign aid, military, and other obligations which have to do with national security.

President Johnson called particular attention to our travel gap last month in his balance of payments message. In that message, he emphasized the need for a positive program to encourage more foreign visitors to visit the United States and

also to stimulate greater travel here by our own citizens.

I want to make clear tonight that this Administration is not going to be in the business of forcing American citizens to stay at home against their will. The United States government has been fighting too long for liberalized travel, for removal of travel barriers, and for lowering of travel costs to change its mind now. We are for an open society, not a closed one.

There have been one or two incidents which have created the false impression that this government means to adopt a restrictive travel policy. This is not true.

How then do we reduce the travel gap?

First of all, we must try harder to encourage more travel in the United States by people from overseas.

I was co-sponsor of legislation four years ago which authorized establishment of the U.S. Travel Service within the Department of Commerce. Within the limits of a small staff and small budget, the Travel Service has helped increase the number of overseas visitors in this country from 516 thousand in 1961 to 962 thousand last year. In the past three years travel from France and Germany is up 100 per cent ... from Britain, 73 per cent ... from Japan, 65 per cent. But still we must realize that five of the six million foreign visitors who came here last year were from Canada. We welcome our Canadian friends and hope they'll continue to come in even greater numbers. But we have to attract more tourists from other parts of the world. The Travel Service has requested from

Congress a budget increase of 500 thousand dollars this year. This deserves your support. Even with the increase, the total Travel Service budget would be only 3.5 million dollars -- and this does not go far in international advertising and promotion.

This Administration has chosen a second way to reduce the travel gap. Legislation will shortly be introduced to reduce from 100 dollars to 50 dollars the duty-free travel allowance to returning travelers. This is not intended to restrict travel by Americans. It is intended to discourage overseas spending sprees -- and what husband does not support this legislation with all his heart?

Finally, we support wholeheartedly an ambitious positive See the USA program here in

the United States. Many organizations and companies in the travel industry have already undertaken their own See the USA promotions. More plans are underway. We must remind our citizens that there are some wonderful attractions worth seeing here in the United States. At the same time we must improve our travel facilities. The See the USA program will tie-in closely with the President's highway and beautification programs. It will tie-in closely with the New York World's Fair and other major tourist events taking place in the country.

The fact is that our domestic tourist industry is underdeveloped. Just look through the travel section of your Sunday newspaper.

Better yet, take a close look at one of the 70 travel magazines in this country. You'll find we've forgotten how to promote domestic travel.

Travel dollars are great multipliers. It's estimated that each travel dollar multiplies into 3 dollars when it enters the economic mainstream. Travel dollars are new dollars for states and cities. Travel is a 30 billion dollar domestic industry in this country, outranked only by manufacturing and agriculture. But we've barely begun. More than 80 million Americans took no trip anyplace last year. Almost 80 per cent of our citizens have never been on an airplane. More than 60 per cent have never spent a night in a hotel or motel. And 52 per cent of our people have never been more than 200 miles away from home.

I have the honor of serving as chairman of a special Presidential task force now laying plans for the See the USA effort. Our task force includes the Secretaries of Treasury, Interior, and Commerce ... Governor Buford Ellington, who is in charge of coordinating programs of the Governors ... and Sargent Shriver, head of the Economic Opportunity program. But although this is a governmental task force, we look for the greatest part of the effort to come from private industry.

I am happy to announce that Washington, D.C. has been chosen by our task force as a special See the USA pilot project.

Secretary of the Interior Udall will be in charge of a coordinated government-private effort here to make Washington, D.C., a showplace of tourist-handling. There's no better place to begin.

We've simply got to get this country geared up for tourism -- tourism by both overseas visitors and our own citizens. We must look to improving our services, our tourist attractions, our ticket costs and other prices, and, finally, our promotion.

As I said earlier, the pages of our leading consumer and travel publications are filled with foreign travel ads. But almost no domestic travel advertising can be found. Part of this is the fault of those in the travel

industry who are not aware of the tremendous, waiting domestic market. But part of the fault also lies with the publishers. How aggressive are your advertising representatives in approaching domestic travel advertisers? How much of your editorial material is devoted to domestic travel? How many of you plan See the USA editorial-advertising tie-ins? It is clearly in the interest of both the travel industry and the magazine-publishing industry to make a success of See the USA.

There is little time left before the 1965 travel season. But there is still time enough to develop at least part of our domestic travel potential.

In closing, then, let me emphasize again the three ways we can overcome our travel gap:

First, by stepping up our promotion
overseas.

Second, by encouraging less spending by
U.S. tourists overseas.

Finally, by a constructive See the USA
program here in the United States which will gear
the economy for handling of foreign and domestic
tourists alike.

We ask your help.

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