Excerpts of Remarks by SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY Muss Barbara Brillian C. Keynste Address, Dr. Robert Felix, , Speechog ch this season traditionally given over to the counting of our national blessings, we should be particularly grateful that there is a National Association of Mental Health. Thanks, in large part, to the work of this great voluntary health agency, hundreds of thousands of Americans have been freed from despair and degradation, from the age-old tradition of inhuman confinement and brutal treatment of the mentally ill. - This is Emanagely. Yet, there continues to be a shocking toll taken by psychiatric disorders in America. We have mental Jelness & mental retartation - backlog of unmet psychiatric needs in our communities--care of the sick young and the sick old . . . of the
institutionalized and the "walking wounded" . . . of the
juvenile delinquent and the mixed-up criminal adult . . .
of the potential suicide and the alcoholic.

We can be grateful as a nation this year for the enactment of one of the boldest programs in the field of mental health in the history of the world---the President's mental health law---PL 88-164.

With the authorized \$150 million over the next three years, community health centers can be constructed

which can substantially reduce the population of our large,

centralized, public mental institutions.

Providing preventive services, early diagnosis, comprehensive treatment on both an in-patient and an out-patient basis, these centers will also provide the

Congression,

all-important after-care for discharged hospital patients.

And I know that it takes more than four walls to bring a Community Health Center to life. It takes trained

people. It takes money to instruct them, and to keep them on the job.

Here again, short-sighted, self-styled economy

advocates have precity wasted a dollar to save a penny.

Rather than saving money, such false economy will have

"succeeded" in continuing one of the most shocking and

indefensible wastes in the world:—the waste of human

lives.

Wholly aside from the suffering and anguish caused by failing to move ahead swiftly in the field

national economy are incalculable. I simply cannot understand the point of view that would deny a modest investment now in order to save literally hundreds of millions of dollars in annual tax monies which will otherwise have to be expended for direct welfare purposes, for crime prevention and imprisonment, for paying---in short---the incredible direct costs of mental illness in our society.

We must have more psychiatrists, more psychiatric social workers and related personnel. We need them now.

And, we are going to need them even more urgently each year, as we come to grips with old and emerging problems.

Each of us has an obligation to dedicate our intelligence, and our energy to the soal of providing this nation with the intellectual and professional skills to solve the tragedy of widespread and preventable, curable

orl Cooperation ded-States Prus These are matters of deep concern to the National You need no exhortations Association for Mental Health. give of yourselves in this -- yes, heroic --- cause. Now, I should like to spend a few minutes discussing the role of sanity, of logic, of reason, of emotional stability --- all those goals of mental health --in terms of the life and death of our civilization. For it is not individuals alone who can be afflicted with emotional instability, frustrations, and irrational behavior. Whole groups, entire nations can be swept into patterns of behavior which can have terrible consequences to themselves and to the future of civilization. The continued life of our world---imperfect as it is--depends fundamentally on the mental health and the emotional stability of the world's leaders. For the power available to such men is so incredible that the

world of 1963 literally hangs in the balance upon their decisions.

We live in the kind of a world with no margin for error.

We live in a world in the penalty for rash judgment is monstrously out of proportion, in which the misjudgment or miscalculation of a powerful leader can bring down civilization in death and destruction.

No -- the decisions of "great nation-states"

are not child's play. Matters of peace and war, of

life or annihilation, cannot be left to men who

are dominated by wild emotionalism, or to fanatics,

or to those who see the world as a child sees it.

The possibilities for thermonuclear war do not permit childish answers to the vital man-sized problems between nations.

No rational, mature society will accept "quickie" solutions for complex problems.

I believe -- despite the shrill clamor from
the extremists in our midst -- that the vast
majority of Americans demand in their leaders the
qualities which we associate with the mature and
rational individual: calm and courage in crisis;
a determination to weigh the consequences of
action, and finally, firmness in making decisions
and sticking to them.

consequences, to be firm without being obstinate;

to be resolute without being arrogant; to make the

hard decisions -- these are the hallmarks of the

great leaders and presidents. Everything else:

brilliance of intellect, charm of manner, a

magnificent voice -- all these qualities are of

relatively small consequence.

The keeping of an honorable peace is the over-riding preoccupation of Americans. This is our commitment to a worried and anxious humanity.

We have learned in the Twentieth Century to

deal with mental illness compassionately and intelligently. We no longer recoil before its sign, or panic in its presence. We deal with it. We handle it. / As a society, we take steps --- as we are doing --- to reduce it, to reverse it, to minimize it, to cure it. So too we should deal with that emotional instability that afflicts a significant, but small, minority in our midst that some call the Extreme Right, some the Birchers, some the Wildmen of Reaction. bree We had another small but significant minority that "flew off the handle" in the 1930's --- that swallowed extravagant promises, that thought in terms of slogans and dogma, that represented the fanaticism of the Extreme Left. Today, some of the very leaders of that

fanatic movement of the Left of three decades ago turn

on the Right. They still see the world in total black or white. They are still looking for immediate and final answers. They are still substituting dogma for creative thought. They are still angry, fearful, deeply and fundamentally disturbed by the world around them.

But, we must not react emotionally to such emotionalism.

We must not permit ourselves either to be frightened by the fanatics in our midst or to be goaded into impulsive acts of repression against them.

Nor can we afford to let their strident

voices become the dominant theme of the American

Rather we must proceed with the work of the

and to continue building our own imperfect society into something better for our children.

It is no coincidence that peoples of the Soviet Union also want a better life for themselves and for those who will follow after them. I am intrigued and challenged by what appears to be happening in the Soviet Union --- that center of hostile power which we have become accustomed to thinking of as implacable, monolithic and impenetrable. That citadel of terror and oppression under Josef Stalin, that fountainhead of violence and subversion, is showing signs of growing maturity. The world is being let in through the cracks in the once-solid Iron Curtain. I am not so optimistic as to believe that because we have an agreement at last on a nuclear test ban, the long "Cold War" that began sixteen years ago, is "over" or even deferred or "greatly" diminished. But there are important things happening inside the Soviet Union, and inside the satellite nations of

Eastern Europe. Every perceptive visitor who has had the opportunity of comparing his impressions this year with those of earlier years comes back convinced the Curtain is lifting, in Communist Europe, however slowly and cautiously. There are important signs that the Soviet leadership is not paranoid as it once was, that it is beginning to accept the opportunity to communicate. The Voice of America is being allowed to get through - freely to the Soviet people for the first time in many years. Despite the curious and disturbing incident of the arbitrary BARG HOUPY arrest of Professor Barghoorn, travel and inquiry inside the Soviet Union is freer now than 10 years ago. Soviet citizens are being increasingly permitted to travel outside the country. Western books and newspapers and periodicals are increasingly being permitted to circulate --- in however restricted a fashion.

Internally, change is in the air. The Communists have <u>failed</u> to make their Bloc a maximum security prison. Fresh winds are blowing through the iron bars. Orthodoxy is being challenged; dogmas questioned.

How far it will lead no one knows. But we do know these facts:

The secret police are less omnipresent. An intellectual ferment is beginning.

Communist society is changing. Communist theory has been in a head-on collision with 20th Century fact - the breakdown of Soviet Agriculture, the restiveness of intellectuals, the rising demands of consumers, the emergence of a post-Revolution managerial elite.

We need to keep in classest touch with all elements of Soviet society.

I have strongly supported the cultural exchange program. I have gone behind the Iron Curtain three times in the past several years, and I have done my best to communicate and to learn -- from the Kremlin down to the peasant in the field.

I have watched the fast-growing trade developing between our friends and allies in Western Europe and the Communist bloc -- a trade that amounts in exports alone to several billions of dollars annually. So long as such trade is not in strategic materials, I believe that there have been important dividends to the West -- beyond the currency earned. For with trade comes contact and communication. If you are to buy and sell, you have to talk to each other.

We need many more Projects of Peace in which

East and West can work together and can ease

tension and suspicion.

"Work Therapy" will do the Soviet "patients" good.

They could use a "Halfway House" back to the world of reality, a way-station between Joseph Stalin's despotic World of "1984" and, we hope, a better, freer life in the years to come.

No one ever cured a suspicious and withdrawn patient by relegating him to an isolated cell.

And the sick attitude of the Soviet leadership that has "seen enemies on every hand," that has seen "persecutors and tormentors" everywhere has fed on itself. Its own propaganda has tended to convince the Soviet leadership.

But that blind, unthinking, dogmatic and emotional conviction that all the non-Communist world is in league to destroy them, and that the highest purpose of life is to conquer or destroy

the non-Communist world, is clearly giving way to a new and vitally important attitude. Today the old Communism and the new are locked in a struggle.

Thoro are

still those in the Communist world who continue to be imprisoned by their own hatreds and frustrations. We call them Stalinists, or, more often, Peking-line Communists. They decry the theory of "coexistence." They call for war to the death, and if such a war should destroy much of their own civilization, so be it. This is a madness. It is a sickness.

within the Communist world, and that if there may not be atleast friendship in the coming decades, there may yet be a rational leadership in the Soviet Union which can agree with us on common undertakings of mutual benefit.

Such mutual efforts can include:

-The scientific conquest of cancer and heart disease, as well as teamwork in basic research.

-Joint weather research, looking to the day when weather can be controlled for mankind's service.

-Common programs for improved international communication, as through television.

-Expanded cultural exchange.

Such a development of common work and common purposes, such an increase in communication between rational men and women inside and outside the Communist world, offers, it seems to me, the only ultimate way out of the time of nuclear terror.

For it is in men's minds that wars are born, that sound or fatal decisions are made.

There are decisions that must meanwhile be made, actions that must be undertaken in our own society to build a still finer America.

We ought to consider that society for a moment -- that imperfect, and for many millions of our people, frustrating and soul-searing society of poverty, deprivation, discrimination and humiliation.

Psychiatry tells us: Give a child or a man or a woman room - room to grow, to develop, to fulfill himself.

We are not giving the tenth of America represented by our Negro citizens the "room" to make their fullest contributions to our democracy.

We cannot expect almost twenty million

Americans to be contented with living for the

most part in the filth of slums, or with being

denied the jobs their brains and skills qualify

them for, denied the respect and equal treatment

they deserve from their fellow citizens.

There are no easy solutions to this foremost of American dilemmas. But there is a constructive work which must be done on every front to make the U. S. Constitution and the American dream a living reality for the Negro. This will demand tremendous effort, understanding and self-restraint on the part of both Negroes and Whites, and patient perseverance.

There are other Americans, whose lot is not so desperate as that of our Negro citizens, but which is sufficiently frustrating and deadening. I am thinking of our fifteen million over-65 Americans --

boredom and stagnation. Some societies make the later years the golden years of respect, of close family affection, of usefulness. Regrettably, we seem to have fallen into a pattern of indifference to our elderly that results for very many of them in loneliness and despair. It is no mere coincidence that the ranks of the Extreme Right are swelled from this age group, whose experiences have tended to make them bitter, and cynical and who want to strike out in their frustration and anguish.

There are the swelling ranks of the unemployed -- displaced by automation, left high and dry in the mining and timber areas of our Nation by radical changes in industry planning -- men and women who want to work, to hold up their heads, to pay their way - but who are abandoned by society to the dole, to the welfare rolls, to private charity. What does this treatment do to proud people -- who have never asked for more than the chance to work at a decent wage?

What does it do to a good farmer who finds because he and his fellow-farmers are efficient that he has overproduced himself right out of a decent living? There is despair and heartbreak

through the hills and across the plains of America, as farmer after farmer grows old and sees his sons and daughters leave the life of rural America for an uncertain and too often unprepared life in the city. We are permitting vast and heedless economic forces to transform the vital living patterns of whole classes of Americans without taking steps to make change something more than a painful and cruel uprooting of families.

Meanwhile, in our cities, we introduce more efficient machines into our factories without considering what will happen to the factory producers thus displaced -- especially those over forty.

We tear down slums for urban renewal without helping to renew the lives of the lower income groups who occupy some of the new buildings or who are displaced to still more crowded areas.

And what of the women of America -- still discriminated against in job opportunities, tens of millions of them discouraged and effectively barred from the benefits of higher education and the opportunity for personal fulfillment once their families have grown up?

The boredom, frustration and purposelessness of so many groups of Americans is dramatically illustrated by the facts of tranquilizer consumption -- an estimated $3\frac{1}{2}$ million people taking tranquilizers daily -- by the illegal traffic in amphetamine and barbiturate pills that amounts to five billion pills each year.

Too many of the youth of our country -- far too many -are rootless and unchallenged, cynical and bored. Too often
they are unemployed, too often they are trapped into premature
sexual experimentation and ugly forced marriages or humiliating
motherhood out of wedlock.

Is our society so barren of ideas that we cannot come up with the excitement of purposeful work, of useful, challenging employment?

We could put young men to work to improve the badly-neglected outdoor recreational areas of our Nation, in a Youth Conservation Corps.

We could put our young men and women -- and our older

the terrible social and economic problems of our slum areas.

The overseas Peace Corps, now in its third year, has demonstrated that there is an underlying hunger for service in our people, a yearning to do something of significance and honor, to create something, to bring refief from hunger, ignorance and oppression.

I deeply believe that William James was right when he called for a "moral equivalent of war" -- for the development of programs of national policy which could strike fire in the hearts of young Americans, which could call forth the same noble outpouring of generous giving of themselves that patriotism has brought forth in time of war.

Mental health, as you know, is not a negative concept.

It is not simply the absence of mental illness, but the achievement of a positive, constructive attitude toward life.

Surely, the good life in the United States does not have to be confined to consumption -- to possessing, to watching, to being

a bystander of a world passing by.

There is no easy, "instant" answer to the good life or to peace or to any other great goal.

The real answer comes much harder. It requires plans to
investment - hard work to build the America/which our people
are entitled.

Science has learned that not just the young must grow, but people of all ages - if their lives are to be full and productive.

If this Nation is to grow at the rate it should, we must continue to be a bold, "can-do, will-do" people. We must not allow old, tired voices which say "mustnt-do" - "can't do" - to restrain our rate of achievement.

We must, in Emerson's words, proceed to "put our creed into our deed."

Our creed is health -- not as an end in itself, but as the means for building a better life for ourselves, and for all mankind.

Let us "write" this creed proudly into the events of today's and tomorrow's world.

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