Tonight we honor a great American, a man two generations ahead of his time.

I have lately been re-reading Al Smith's messages as Governor of this great Empire State. They are as timely as if they had been written today.

In 1928 he wrote: "The Old World concept of government was that the people existed for the government. The underlying theory of American democracy is that the government exists for the people ..."

Al Smith spoke and lived in the tradition of Thomas Jefferson, who in his time defined the role of government: "The care of human life and happiness is the first and only legitimate object of good government."

That is precisely what the struggle for freedom is all about. That was the issue in Jefferson's time, in the era of Al Smith, as today.

Al Smith practiced as well as preached his democratic philosophy. In the 1920's he wrote a series of courageous and hard-hitting messages, vetoing legislation enacted in the hysteria of that time. He said, among other things:

"... the safety of this government and its institutions rests upon the reasoned and devoted loyalty of its people. It does not need for its defense a system of intellectual tyranny which, in the endeavor to choke error by force, must of necessity choke truth as well ..."

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whose size is fixed -- and that, if one sector of the community (say labor) gets a bigger slice, another (say business) will have a smaller one. We have come to realize, instead, that if we can keep the national income steadily expanding, everyone can get a bigger slice of cake.

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I do not say that I can promise you, here and now, that this expansion can last forever.

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We are seeking new ways to release the unlimited creative and productive potential of the American people.

We are doing this through a new partnership between government and the people, through understanding and cooperation -- not by dogma of domination.

We move forward toward a Great Society -- a society characterized by a love of beauty and the arts . . . a richness of culture as well as of industry and commerce . . . a fullness of joy as well as of employment . . . a sense of justice as well as of purpose.

We are building. We are growing. We are changing.

We are pioneering.

We are alive and once again filled with hope and optimism.

This is our message -- this would be my response to the challenge leveled at me by Mr. Khrushchev seven years ago.

And what do Mr. Khrushchev's successors have to report?

Well, first of all, they have learned, the hard way, that all the answers are not in Marxism.

They have come to recognize that Russian consumers should be able to buy what they want -- rather than what some bureaucrat thinks they ought to want.
They have found that the old-fashioned emphasis on quantity rather than quality has resulted in a flood of shoddy goods which look good in statistics but not in the shops. They are finding merit in the profit concept as a measure of the efficiency and performance of individual factories or enterprises.

According to a pronouncement by the Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Kosygin, last month, these "revolutionary" new ideas are going to be applied across the board in the Soviet economy.

Even more revolutionary ideas are being talked about -- unemployment insurance where there are supposed to be no unemployed ... yes, even legal private ownership of land. Once started, such ideas gain momentum.

Historically, the free market in goods has been associated with the emergence of a free market in ideas. People will not be content only to be free to buy what they want. They will seek freedom to speak, to write, to associate with others of their own choosing, and freedom to go where they please ... to worship where they please, without interference.

Today we see clearly the great movement of our age: the striving by all men, in all countries, toward a life of greater individual freedom and greater individual happiness.

We must recognize this common striving -- and we, who possess the means, must act to create conditions of human betterment and happiness.

In the words of that great Pope, John XXIII:
"The solidarity which binds all men and makes them members of the same family requires political communities enjoying an abundance of material goods not to remain indifferent to those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery and hunger, and who lack even the elementary rights of the human person.

"... it is not possible to preserve lasting peace if glaring economic and social inequality among them persist."

Pope John emphasized "the sense of responsibility which weighs upon each and everyone, especially upon those who are more blessed with this world's goods."

America is so blessed. And I am proud when America steps forward and says to the less fortunate of the world:

"We are our brothers' keeper."

We hear many voices these days saying that America is overextended in the world... that other people's problems need not be our problems... that we ought to close up shop overseas and enjoy our fruits here in the good old U.S.A.

My friends, when that time comes, this nation is doomed. Who in the world will work for democracy if we do not? Who in the world can preserve the peace if we do not? Who in the world can set the example, can offer the needed hand, if we do not?

We live in a time when everything is complex, when there are no more rapid or easy answers. We live in a time when we must exert our patience as never before.
We must be firm without being belligerent. We must be resolute without being arrogant. We must be humble without being weak. We must be strong without being domineering.

We stand for something not seen before in the world.

We stand for dignity and fulfillment of individual man and woman. We stand for the chance for each man to make something better of himself.

We stand for free speech and government of the people.

We stand for belief that others, too, in less fortunate places should have opportunity for the blessings of abundance and should be free of tyranny.

We stand for the pledges made by men and women who left the old ways and fought a living out of the soil of a new continent.

Yes, we stand for the belief that the world need not destroy itself by war, and that we Americans can help others, too, find a better society.

We must, in this time of danger, devote ourselves, to converting man's hopes for peace, for progress, for social justice into reality -- despite discouragement, despite dissatisfaction, despite weariness.

Man must be free.

Man will be free.
I. Open with greetings from the President.... news about his recovery.

II. Remarks about the World Series. For example:

Seems strange coming to New York at this time of the year and not going up to Yankee Stadium.

III. I've been reminded there's an election going on here in New York. From all I've heard the race for Mayor is turning out to be more like a football game -- Yale versus CCNY.

And of course Yale University didn't help the chances of their illustrious alumni, Bill Buckley and John Lindsay, by coming out with a report on Columbus Day that Leif Ericson discovered America.
REMARKS
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
AL SMITH DINNER
NEW YORK CITY
OCTOBER 13, 1965

TODAY WE HONOR A GREAT AMERICAN, A MAN TWO GENERATIONS AHEAD OF HIS TIME. - ALFRED EMANUEL SMITH

I HAVE LATELY BEEN RE-READING AL SMITH'S MESSAGES AS GOVERNOR OF THIS GREAT EMPIRE STATE. THEY ARE AS TIMELY AS IF THEY HAD BEEN WRITTEN TODAY.

IN 1928 HE WROTE: "THE OLD WORLD CONCEPT OF GOVERNMENT WAS THAT THE PEOPLE EXISTED FOR THE GOVERNMENT. THE UNDERLYING THEORY OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT EXISTS FOR THE PEOPLE..."

AL SMITH SPOKE AND LIVED IN THE TRADITION OF THOMAS JEFFERSON, WHO IN HIS TIME DEFINED THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT AS THE CARE OF HUMAN LIFE AND HAPPINESS IS THE FIRST AND ONLY LEGITIMATE OBJECT OF GOOD GOVERNMENT."
AND THAT IS PRECISELY WHAT THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IS ALL ABOUT. THAT WAS THE ISSUE IN JEFFERSON'S TIME, IN THE ERA OF AL SMITH, AND TODAY.

AL SMITH PRACTICED AS WELL AS PREACHED HIS DEMOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY.

IT WAS BECAUSE OF HIS DEEP COMMITMENT TO BROTHERHOOD, TO HUMAN DIGNITY, TO OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL THAT HE BECAME THE TARGET OF THE HATERS, THE BIGOTS, THE KU KLUX KLAN.

AL SMITH WAS A MAN WHO RICHLY MERITED, BY HIS ABILITY, HIS WARM HUMANITY, AND HIS OUTSTANDING RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT, THE HIGHEST OFFICE IN THE LAND. I DO NOT KNOW WHETHER, IN THE COMPLACENCY -- THE SELF-SATISFACTION -- PREVAILING IN 1928, HE COULD HAVE BEEN ELECTED, WHATEVER HIS FAITH. I DO KNOW THAT HIS RELIGIOUS FAITH WAS MADE, UNFAIRLY AND DISGRACEFULLY, A MAJOR ISSUE IN THAT CAMPAIGN.

INDEED, MY OWN FATHER -- WHO ADMIRE AL SMITH AND CAMPAIGNED FOR HIM IN SOUTH DAKOTA -- HAD FIRST-HAND AND PAINFUL EXPERIENCE OF THIS. HE, TOO, WAS ATTACKED, VILEFIED, AND RABIDILO.
I REMEMBER -- YES, I REMEMBER.

AND THAT IS ONE OF THE REASONS MY CAMPAIGN PLANE LAST YEAR BORE THE NAME "THE HAPPY WARRIOR."

AL SMITH WOULD HAVE BEEN PROFONDLY PLEASED TO KNOW THAT THIS NATION AND ITS PEOPLE HAVE DECLARED WAR ON BIGOTRY, PREJUDICE, DISCRIMINATION AND POVERTY.

HE WOULD REJOICE IN LEARNING THAT WE HAD MATURED SUFFICIENTLY TO ELECT A BRILLIANT YOUNG MAN OF CATHOLIC FAITH AS PRESIDENT IN 1960 AND A POWERFUL, GIFTED LEADER -- A SOUTHERNER, A TEXAN -- AS PRESIDENT IN 1964.

AND IMAGINE HIS JOY AND EXCITEMENT IF HE COULD HAVE BEEN WITH US MONDAY, OCTOBER 4, WHEN FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF OUR REPUBLIC, THE HOLY FATHER, POPE PAUL VI, VISITED THIS CITY AND NATION AND GAVE NEW LIFE AND SPIRIT TO THE UNITED NATIONS.

YES, WE HAVE COME A LONG WAY IN MAKING THIS "ONE NATION, UNDER GOD, INDIVISIBLE, WITH LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL."

TONIGHT, IN THE SPIRIT OF THIS OCCASION, I SHOULD LIKE TO REMINISCE.
JUST A LITTLE LESS THAN SEVEN YEARS AGO, I HAD A CONVERSATION WITH A MAN WHOM ALL OF US REMEMBER VIVIDLY -- EVEN THOUGH HE HAS BEEN RATHER CONSPICUOUSLY AND DELIBERATELY FORGOTTEN IN HIS OWN COUNTRY.

I AM SPEAKING, OF COURSE, OF NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV.

I HAD QUITE A TALK WITH HIM -- EIGHT HOURS OF IT, IN FACT.

OUR SYSTEM, HE TOLD ME, WAS WORN OUT AND PLAYED OUT. IT WAS COMMUNISM, HE SAID, WHICH WAS NEW, YOUNG, VITAL, AND BRIMMING WITH ENERGY.

"CHAIRMAN KHRUSHCHEV," I REPLIED, "WE HAVEN'T EVEN BEGUN TO COMPETE. WHEN WE DO, WE'LL COMPETE YOU RIGHT OUT OF GORKI PARK." I DON'T THINK THAT HE BELIEVED ME FOR ONE INSTANT.

BUT, I HAD MY REASONS FOR CONFIDENCE. I KNEW THE COMPETITIVE VIGOR OF OUR BUSINESSMEN. I KNEW THE SKILL OF OUR WORKERS. I KNEW THE PRODUCTIVITY OF OUR FARMERS. I KNEW THE SPIRIT OF OUR PEOPLE.
ALMOST SEVEN YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE THEN.
TAKING A LEAF FROM AL SMITH'S BOOK, LET'S LOOK AT THE
RECORD.

AS I SPEAK TO YOU TONIGHT, WE ARE ENJOYING OUR
56TH MONTH OF CONTINUOUS ECONOMIC GROWTH. PROFITS ARE
UP, WAGES ARE UP, FARM INCOME IS UP, SAVINGS ARE UP, THE
STOCK MARKET IS AT AN ALL-TIME HIGH, UNEMPLOYMENT IS DOWN,
AND THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICIT IS SHARPLY REDUCED.

THE PRIMARY CREDIT FOR THIS BELONGS TO THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE -- FOR OURS IS A FREE ECONOMY, DRAWING ITS VIGOR
FROM PERSONAL INITIATIVE AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE. BUT
GOVERNMENT HAS A VITAL PART TO PLAY, IN CREATING AND
MAINTAINING THE KIND OF ECONOMIC CLIMATE IN WHICH PRIVATE
INITIATIVE CAN FLOURISH.

ECONOMIC GROWTH HAS BROUGHT US PROSPERITY AND
WELL-BEING UNKNOWN IN OUR PREVIOUS HISTORY. BUT
ECONOMIC GROWTH CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO SOLVE ALL OUR
PROBLEMS -- EVEN ALL OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.
THAT IS WHY TODAY WE MAKE GREAT NATIONAL INVESTMENTS
IN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- THROUGH EDUCATION, THROUGH
RESEARCH AND MEDICAL CARE, THROUGH LEGISLATION FOR EQUAL
OPPORTUNITY AND EQUAL RIGHTS, THROUGH PROGRAMS TO MAKE
OUR CITIES MORE LIVEABLE.

TOGETHER, WE ARE BUILDING A BETTER AMERICA.

WE ARE FINDING NEW WAYS TO RELEASE THE UNLIMITED
CREATIVE AND PRODUCTIVE POTENTIAL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

AND WE ARE DOING THIS THROUGH A NEW PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN
GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE; THROUGH UNDERSTANDING AND
COOPERATION -- NOT BY DOGMA OR DOMINATION.

WE MOVE FORWARD TOWARD A GREAT SOCIETY -- CHARACTERIZED
BY A LOVE OF BEAUTY AND THE ARTS . . . A RICHNESS OF
CULTURE AS WELL AS INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE . . . A FULLNESS
OF JOY AS WELL AS EMPLOYMENT . . . A SENSE OF JUSTICE AS
WELL AS PURPOSE.

WE ARE BUILDING. WE ARE GROWING. WE ARE CHANGING.
WE ARE PIONEERING.
WE ARE ALIVE AND ONCE AGAIN FILLED WITH HOPE AND OPTIMISM -- YES HIGH HOPES.

THIS IS OUR MESSAGE -- THIS WOULD BE MY RESPONSE TO THE CHALLENGE LEVELLED AT ME BY MR. KHRUSHCHEV SEVEN YEARS AGO. I WAS RIGHT.

AND WHAT DO MR. KHRUSHCHEV'S SUCCESSORS HAVE TO REPORT?

WELL, FIRST OF ALL, THEY HAVE LEARNED THE HARD WAY, THAT ALL THE ANSWERS ARE NOT IN MARXISM.

THEY HAVE FOUND THAT THE OLD-FASHIONED EMPHASIS ON QUANTITY RATHER THAN QUALITY HAS RESULTED IN A FLOOD OF SHODDY GOODS WHICH LOOK GOOD IN STATISTICS BUT NOT IN THE SHOPS. THEY ARE FINDING MERIT IN THE PROFIT CONCEPT AS A MEASURE OF THE EFFICIENCY AND PERFORMANCE OF INDIVIDUAL FACTORIES OR ENTERPRISES.

THE SOVIET PRIME MINISTER, MR. KOSYGIN, LAST MONTH SAID THESE "REVOLUTIONARY" NEW IDEAS ARE GOING TO BE APPLIED ACROSS THE BOARD IN THE SOVIET ECONOMY.
EVEN MORE REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS ARE BEING TALKED ABOUT -- UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE WHERE THERE ARE SUPPOSED TO BE NO UNEMPLOYED . . . YET, EVER LEGAL PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF LAND. ONCE STARTED, SUCH IDEAS GAIN MOMENTUM.

HISTORICALLY, THE FREE MARKET IN GOODS HAS BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH THE EMERGENCE OF A FREE MARKET IN IDEAS. PEOPLE WILL NOT BE CONTENT ONLY TO BE FREE TO BUY WHAT THEY WANT. THEY WILL SEEK FREEDOM TO SPEAK, TO WRITE, TO ASSOCIATE WITH OTHERS OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING; AND FREEDOM TO GO WHERE THEY PLEASE . . . TO WORSHIP WITHOUT INTERFERENCE.

TODAY, WE SEE CLEARLY THE GREAT MOVEMENT OF OUR AGE: THE STRIVING BY ALL MEN, IN ALL COUNTRIES, TOWARD A LIFE OF GREATER INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND GREATER INDIVIDUAL HAPPINESS.

WE MUST RECOGNIZE THIS COMMON STRIVING -- AND WE, WHO POSSESS THE MEANS, MUST ACT TO CREATE CONDITIONS OF HUMAN BETTERMENT AND HAPPINESS.
IN THE WORDS OF THAT GREAT AND BELOVED POPE, JOHN XXIII, speaking of the human family:

"THE SOLIDARITY WHICH BENDS ALL MEN AND MAKES THEM MEMBERS OF THE SAME FAMILY REQUIRES POLITICAL COMMUNITIES ENJOYING AN ABUNDANCE OF MATERIAL GOODS NOT TO REMAIN INDIFFERENT TO THOSE POLITICAL COMMUNITIES WHOSE CITIZENS SUFFER FROM POVERTY, MISERY AND HUNGER, AND WHO LACK EVEN THE ELEMENTARY RIGHTS OF THE HUMAN PERSON.

"IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO PRESERVE LASTING PEACE IF GLARING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY AMONG THEM PERSIST."

POPE JOHN EMPHASIZED "THE SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY WHICH WEIGHS UPON EACH AND EVERYONE, ESPECIALLY UPON THOSE WHO ARE MORE BLESSED WITH THIS WORLD'S GOODS."

AND, AMERICA IS SO BLESSED. AND I AM PROUD WHEN AMERICA STEPS FORWARD AND SAYS TO THE LESS FORTUNATE OF THE WORLD: "WE ARE OUR BROTHERS' KEEPER.

WE WILL HELP. WE ARE FRIENDS."
WE HEAR MANY VOICES THESE DAYS SAYING THAT AMERICA IS OVEREXTENDED IN THE WORLD . . . THAT OTHER PEOPLE'S PROBLEMS NEED NOT BE OUR PROBLEMS . . . THAT WE OUGHT TO CLOSE UP SHOp OVERSEAS AND ENJOY OUR FRUITS HERE IN THE GOOD OLD U.S.A.

MY FRIENDS, WHEN THAT TIME COMES, THIS NATION IS DOOMED. WHO IN THE WORLD WILL WORK FOR US TODAY IF WE DO NOT? WHO IN THE WORLD CAN PRESERVE THE PEACE IF WE DO NOT? WHO IN THE WORLD CAN SET THE EXAMPLE, CAN OFFER THE NEEDED HAND, IF WE DO NOT?

WE LIVE IN A TIME WHEN EVERYTHING IS COMPLEX, WHEN THERE ARE NO MORE RAPID OR EASY ANSWERS. WE LIVE IN A TIME WHEN WE MUST EXERT OUR PATIENCE AS NEVER BEFORE.

WE MUST BE FIRM WITHOUT BEING BELLIGERENT. WE MUST BE RESOLUTE WITHOUT BEING ARROGANT. WE MUST BE HUMBLE WITHOUT BEING WEAK. WE MUST BE STRONG WITHOUT BEING DOMINEERING. LET US REMEMBER - WE STAND FOR SOMETHING.

WE STAND FOR DIGNITY AND FULFILLMENT OF INDIVIDUAL MAN AND WOMAN. WE STAND FOR THE CHANCE FOR EACH MAN TO MAKE SOMETHING BETTER OF HIMSELF.
WE STAND FOR FREE SPEECH AND GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE. WE STAND FOR OPPORTUNITY FOR THE BELIEF THAT OTHERS, IN LESS FORTUNATE PLACES SHOULD HAVE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE BLESSINGS OF ABUNDANCE AND SHOULD BE FREE OF TYRANNY.

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YES, WE STAND FOR THE BELIEF THAT THE WORLD NEED NOT DESTROY ITSELF BY WAR, AND THAT WE AMERICANS CAN HELP OTHERS, TOO, FIND A BETTER SOCIETY.

WE MUST, IN THIS TIME OF DANGER, DEVOTE OURSELVES TO CONVERTING MAN'S HOPES FOR PEACE, FOR PROGRESS, FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE, INTO REALITY -- DESPITE DISCOURAGEMENT, DISSATISFACTION, WEARINESS.

MAN MUST BE FREE -- AND WILLING WITHOUT COMMITMENT, MAN WILL BE FREE. THIS IS THE AMERICAN PROMISE.
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prevailing in 1928, he could have been elected, whatever his faith. I do know that his religious faith was made, unfairly and disgracefully, a major issue in that campaign. Indeed, my own father -- who admired Al Smith and campaigned for him in South Dakota -- had first-hand and painful experience of this. He, too, was attacked, vilified, and ridiculed.

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We are seeking new ways to release the unlimited creative and productive potential of the American people.

We are doing this through a new partnership between government and the people, through understanding and cooperation -- not by dogma or domination.

We move forward toward a Great Society -- a society characterized by a love of beauty and the arts ... a richness of culture as well.
as of industry and commerce ... a fullness of joy as well as employment ... a sense of justice as well as of purpose.

We are building. We are growing. We are changing.

We are pioneering.

We are alive and once again filled with hope and optimism.

This is our message -- this would be my response to the challenge leveled at me by Mr. Khrushchev seven years ago.

And what do Mr. Khrushchev's successors have to report?

Well, first of all, they have learned, the hard way, that all the answers are not in Marxism.
They have come to recognize that Russian consumers should be able to buy what they want -- rather than what some bureaucrat thinks they ought to want. They have found that the old-fashioned emphasis on quantity rather than quality has resulted in a flood of shoddy goods which look good in statistics but not in the shops. They are finding merit in the profit concept as a measure of the efficiency and performance of individual factories or enterprises.

According to a pronouncement by the Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Kosygin, last month, these "revolutionary" new ideas are going to be applied across the board in the Soviet economy.

Even more revolutionary ideas are being talked about -- unemployment insurance where there are supposed to
be no unemployed . . . yes, even legal private ownership of land. Once started, such ideas gain momentum.

Historically, the free market in goods has been associated with the emergence of a free market in ideas. People will not be content only to be free to buy what they want. They will seek freedom to speak, to write, to associate with others of their own choosing, and freedom to go where they please . . . to worship where they please, without interference.

Today we see clearly the great movement of our age: the striving by all men, in all countries, toward a life of greater individual freedom and greater individual happiness.

We must recognize this common striving -- and we, who possess the means, must act to create conditions of human betterment and happiness.
In the words of that great Pope, John XXIII:

"The solidarity which binds all men and makes them members of the same family requires political communities enjoying an abundance of material goods not to remain indifferent to those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery and hunger, and who lack even the elementary rights of the human person.

"... It is not possible to preserve lasting peace if glaring economic and social inequality among them persist."

Pope John emphasized "the sense of responsibility which weighs upon each and everyone, especially upon those who are more blessed with this world's goods."

America is so blessed. And I am proud when America steps forward and says to the less fortunate of the world: "We are our brothers' keeper."
We hear many voices these days saying that America is overextended in the world... that other people's problems need not be our problems... that we ought to close up shop overseas and enjoy our fruits here in the good old U.S.A.

My friends, when that time comes, this nation is doomed. Who in the world will work for democracy if we do not? Who in the world can preserve the peace if we do not? Who in the world can set the example, can offer the needed hand, if we do not?

We live in a time when everything is complex, when there are no more rapid or easy answers. We live in a time when we must exert our patience as never before.

We must be firm without being belligerent. We must be resolute without being arrogant. We must be humble
without being weak. We must be strong without being domineering. — Let us Remember —

We stand for something not seen before in the world.

We stand for dignity and fulfillment of individual man and woman. We stand for the chance for each man to make something better of himself.

We stand for free speech and government of the people.

We stand for belief that others, too, in less fortunate places should have opportunity for the blessings of abundance and should be free of tyranny.

We stand for the pledges made by men and women who left the old ways and fought a living out of the soil of a new continent.
Yes, we stand for the belief that the world need not destroy itself by war, and that we Americans can help others, too, find a better society.

We must in this time of danger, devote ourselves to converting man's hopes for peace, for progress, for social justice into reality -- despite discouragement, despite dissatisfaction, despite weariness.

Man must be free. God willing

Man will be free.

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