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A SENSE OF PURPOSE

Excerpts from Remarks by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey Meeting of Democratic Chairmen and Chairwomen Washington, D. C.

September 17, 1959

Most of our fellow-Americans have had in the past few

days an opportunity to study Mr. Nikita Khrushchev at some length.

They have found him -- as I found him in the Kremlin last year --

tough, confident, outspoken -- yes, often humorous.

Under the flashes of humor, however we can see a man

who is deadly serious. He is calculating and purposeful. He

is often quite candid.

When he was asked yesterday whether he had said, "We will

bury you," he could have denied it -- as the Soviet delegate to

the UN once denied it on his behalf. M He did not. Straight from

the shoulder, he told us that Communism would prevail over our

way of life because it would out-produce us.

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No one is laughing at that one.

Indeed, Allen Dulles of our CIA has warned us that for the past seven years, Soviet industry has grown at the annual rate of 9.5% -- about four times our own rate of growth. Mr. Dulles pointed out that if this continues, "the United States will be virtually committing economic suicide."

In other words -- if we persist in the fearful, timid policies of the past six years -- we are going to dig ourselves right into the ground -- without any help from Khrushchev!

We must understand that the great struggle goes on -perhaps changed in color, temperature and form -- but it still Conserve gout magable meeting the challenge of

But peace is not passive.

Let us by all means exhaust every possible means to find a way to spare humanity the total disaster of nuclear warfare. Let us strive without ceasing to rid the nations of the crushing

burden of the arms race.

But I for one am not content to drop into the easy chair and turn over to the Communists the task of ordering the world society.

Yes, coexistence is possible.

But -- like it or not - - coexistence is going to be mighty competitive.

The American people are seeing on television and in the newspapers one of the greatest competitors in the world -- a fierce and driving competitor at the head of a nation in headlong career.

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Mr. Khrushchev is not about to settle for a "you-mindyour-business-and-I'll-mind-mine" deal. He may say he will settle
for that proposition. But he will not.

And I would not

I believe in competition. I believe in progress, and I believe that it is the <u>duty</u> of free men and women to work ceaselessly to enlarge the areas of freedom and opportunity in the world. You

are either on the way up or on the way down. The one certainty in this world is change, and growth and decay.

Those who are content to have our nation rest on its laurels, coast, relax, level off, are condemning us to stagnation and defeat.

Lack of Planning - No Goals

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We must regain the sense of dedicated purpose that has carried our nation forward in crisis after crisis -- the spirit that broke us out of the stranglehold of the depression, sustained us through the ordeals of World War II and Korea -- and that in more recent years has been submerged in the increasingly defensive, reluctant, and wavering leadership of the Republican Administration.

Compared to a compared to the resulting that the compared to the resulting that the compared to the resulting that the resulting that the compared to the resulting that the resulting that the compared to the resulting that the result

stampede of the great financial interests to the public trough -under the spurious slogan of "sound money" -- the economy has been
throttled down to a walk.

Desptalism - + Hurry Cahat So-de (Geoples Capitalism)

Aff Republicanism The truth is that the policies of the Republican Administration have condemned us to an on-and-off again, start-and-stop, foot-Waste-Water - Land Timber dragging economy. / From 1953 through the end of 1958, this halting economy has cost us more than 10 million man-years of job opportunity. The average American family has suffered to the tune of almost \$3,000 in potential real buying power. Net farm income has been about \$31 billion dollars less than it should have been, and wage and salary income almost \$100 billion too low. Private business investment opportunity has been approximately \$40 billion dollars too low. The excessive idleness of plant and manpower from 1953 through 1958 caused us to lose more than \$150 billion dollars in national output.

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The Republicans have not only failed to come up with policies to deal with the new problems of the era; they have strangled the Democratic policies designed to deal with the old problems of our society; and they have frustrated and blunted the proposals which we Democrats have been making in an attempt to get some vitality and drive into our economy.

We have had too many Kremlin vetoes in the U.N. -- and too many Warte House vetoes in Washington.

the bankers with high interest rates, the big businessmen who have learned how to jack up prices while production lags, the moneyed men and speculators who have plunged in the soaring stock market.

But here and there, throughout our country, even in this capital city of the free world, stagnant pools of poverty

Some are obvious - like the slums which Khrushchev's entourage busily photographed as their cavalcade was rolling up to Blair House.

Cothers, fortunately, they cannot catch in a snapshot. Here and there in the crowd are older men -- I won't say elderly men because you can all too easily go on the scrapheap nowadays at 50.

These are men who lost their jobs in the recent recession.

But for them the recession has not ended -- they are still, in

growing desperation and despair, looking for a new job.

These are the human casualties of government by veto, of government by slogans and public relations which has replaced action and public welfare.

But there are other casualties, less dramatic but no less

deplorable --

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The underpaid teacher, in overcrowded schools.

The small farmer, caught in the pincers of higher costs and the Bensonite blight of farm income.

Our Negro fellow-citizens, too often denied the rights and privileges of their American citizenship.

Young men and women, doomed to blind alley jobs or souldestroying idleness.

Small businessmen, waging an uphill struggle against monopoly, tight credit, and high interest rates.

Old-age pensioners, leading a dreary and cramped existence

with inadequate income, diet, housing and medical care.

Yes, my friends, the casualties of this government by veto -- 1/1/0 Gra-

and go slow - run into the millions. One sober student has

written of "Our 50 Million Poor." and has called them "The

forgotten men of our affluent society."

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Do these words have a familiar sound? Have we known poverty in the midst of plenty before -- and have we forgotten what FDR did about it?

He did two things --stimulated a lagging economy into growth, and laid a solid foundation of social services and social investment to support it.

Our problems are new in appearance, perhaps even in character -- but the basic principles remain the same.

There are solutions. There is a framework of liberal, progressive thought within which these problems can be solved

-- the Democratic Platform of 1956 and the one we shall write in 1960.

It was on this platform that we ran a splendid Presidential candidate and on this same platform we campaigned and elected an overwhelming Democratic majority in the Congress in

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unanimously by a great assemblage in Chicago. It reflects

the finest traditions of our Party. It gives us the guide
lines and the inspiration to enact -- or at least try to

enact, strong, vigorous, affirmative legislation in the

face of blunt Republican negativism in the White House

It is a difficult task, I wish to point out to my

friends who do not serve in the Congress, to pass legislation

which requires not a simple majority, but a two-thirds

majority. But that was the situation time after time during

this past session when Congress sent to the President legis
lation which was meaningful, constructive, and sufficient to

the task.

When every proposal is measured by one yardstick only

-- the fiscal year's budget -- obviously there is little hope

for the survival of proposals which require sustained investments,

some of which begin to return interest only after the passage of several years.

Capital Budset Yet this preposterous yardstick was used to turn back time and time again legislation which would have given impetus and momentum to our economy and prepared us for the long haul competition with the Communist world. By veto and the threat of veto, legislation was driven back and even

Throughout our Party there is understandable frustration and anger that the huge majority we sent to Congress last year has been so largely checkmated by the Republican veto power.

Nowhere has this feeling been more eloquently expressed than by the Democratic National Chairman and the Democratic Advisory Council. The Council has forthrightly championed the Democratic Platform, and has given effective expression to

millions of our Democratic Party members in our State,

local, and precinct organizations. Certainly we owe a

real debt of gratitude to such eminent Americans as Harry

Eleanor Roosevelt

Truman, Adlai Stevenson,/Estes Kefauver, Pat Brown, Governor

Williams, and Governor Freeman, who have put so much effort

into make the Advisory Council the significant force in

American life which at the American life which are the American life which at the American life which at the American life which are the American life which at the American life which are the American life which at the American life which are the American life which are

it is today.

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Advisory Council -- and he has done much else -- he would go down in history as a great Chairman. Butler is doing best to keep the Democratic Party on the only rational and logical road there is to victory -- along the road of Franklin D.

Roosevelt and Harry Truman and Adlai Stevenson -- along the road of genuine, responsible, humanitarian liberalism.

Our Party does see the road it must travel - and it is no dead will that the loop of the V Capital Will.

Convinced of it. And we will gather our forces during the

the voters not only a strong liberal platform, but a strong all attendate

liberal candidate to head our ticket and to carry with him into

the White House the highest ideals and hopes of our Party.

Make no mistake about it -- the Republican Party will put up a candidate who will be plausible, well-financed, and tough to beat/ We are not going to win back the White House by default.

And it is surely no foregone conclusion that a Democrat will be

President in 1961

But we can win, and we should win.

And when we win, we will have the spirit and the ideas to lead our people boldly into the future.

We can do all these things

If we fully marshall our economic potential, we can in the next five years lift our 460 billion dollar economy to much better than a 600 billion dollar economy.

We can increase the average annual income of American,

families, measured in real buying power, by about \$2,000.

We can diquidate most of the private poverty, which

still bears down upon millions of our people.

We can have prosperous farmers as well as prosperous industry; small business can thrive alongside the corporate giants. In short, we can lift those at the bottom without penalizing those at the top.

We can combine the American system of different rewards

for different abilities and efforts with the American system of equal opportunity for all and social justice.

And on the productive foundation of this private economic progress, we can check the impoverishment of our vital public services, and put an end to the neglect of our greatest national and worldwide priorities of need.

and realize our dream of abundance. — We Candott however, trely by ansourced that believe and the track that we began business and butter our track that

We can attain full dignity and liberty for every man, woman and

child within our borders. We can work tirelessly toward the

elimination of intolerance and discrimination and bigotry.

This should be our constant goal.

1960 Election - Republicans - Plauseble, reasonable, offable

personable,

And so, as we take perhaps a more careful and searching

look at ourselves this week, as we try to catch a glimpse of ourselves

as visitors from strange lands must see us, let us make a new

determination to press forward.

Instead of thinking that every great task is beyond our means,

let us measure the greatness of our capacity.

Instead of filling the air with fear, let us fill men's hearts

with hope.

Instead of being overwhelmed by the dangers of the world,

let us be inspired by the challenge to surmount these dangers.

Danger World

Instead of worrying about the future, let us labor to create it.

In the words of a great American President,

"We must move forward with strong and active faith!"

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