

Address Before National Press Club  
Washington, D.C.  
January 5, 1960  
Senator  
Hubert H. Humphrey

*I DO NOT*  
TODAY, ~~I DON'T~~ WANT TO DISCUSS POLITICS, 1960.

WISH TO TALK ABOUT POLICIES FOR THE SIXTIES. *and, Gentlemen,* AS

WE ENTER THE 1960'S, I SEE AMERICA ADRIFT -- WITH MUCH

OF HER ENORMOUS RESERVOIR OF ENERGY, POWER AND

GOOD WILL UNTAPPED -- UNUSED.

THERE ARE POWERFUL CURRENTS IN THE

WORLD TODAY, BUT THEY ARE NOT CURRENTS

OF OUR MAKING OR LIKING. THEY ARE CURRENTS

THAT SWEEP US ALONG. WE ARE THE VICTIM,

NOT THE SHAPER OF EVENTS.

JUST FOUR DECADES AGO, AT THE DAWN OF

THE 1920'S, AMERICA ENTERED UPON THE

"AGE OF NORMALCY."

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THIRTY -THREE YEARS LATER, IN 1953,  
AMERICA ENTERED A NEW ERA: THE "AGE OF  
COMPLACENCY."

A PROFOUND CHANGE CAME OVER THE  
AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. THE DECISION WAS  
MADE TO CONFINE THE SOLUTIONS TO THE

PROBLEMS OF THE NINETEEN FIFTIES WITHIN

RIGID, ARTIFICIAL, BUDGETARY WALLS. *and,*

THAT CHANGE DID MUCH TO SHAPE THE

REMAINDER OF THE FIFTIES. IT SET IN MOTION

A UNILATERAL CUT-BACK OF AMERICA'S

DEFENSE FORCES -- WITH THE RESULT THAT

WE EMBARK ON THE SUMMIT TALKS OF THE 1960'S

NOT MILITARILY SUPREME, BUT SECOND-BEST

IN A VARIETY OF FIELDS.

*The missile*

*gap.*

*Keep*  
"A BIGGER BANG FOR A BUCK" WAS THE SLOGAN  
DESIGNED TO JUSTIFY THE STRIPPING OF OUR  
CONVENTIONAL MILITARY STRENGTH.

"MASSIVE RETALIATION" WAS USED TO COMFORT  
AMERICANS WHO SENSED, BUT WERE NEVER TOLD,  
THAT THE POWER OF THE SOVIET UNION WAS  
GROWING EVER MORE COMPLEX AND SUBTLE.

1953 MARKED THE BEGINNING OF AN ERA  
IN WHICH PROGRAMS AND SOLUTIONS WERE NOT  
MEASURED AGAINST THE SIZE OF THE PROBLEMS  
TO BE SOLVED, BUT WERE TAILORED TO FIT  
THE ECONOMIC STRAIT JACKET ~~WE HAD~~ DESIGNED  
FOR ~~OURSELVES~~.

THE FOREIGN AID PROGRAM FELL VICTIM  
TO THE FIXED-BUDGET PHILOSOPHY, AS THE  
"SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY" BECAME A CONTROLL-  
ING VOICE IN THE FASHIONING OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

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WE APPEARED TO THE WORLD TO BECOME A NATION  
THAT CARED MORE FOR DOLLARS THAN FOR  
HUMAN WELFARE.

IN THE NAME OF "FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY",  
AN ADMINISTRATION THAT KNEW THE COST OF  
EVERYTHING AND THE VALUE OF NOTHING  
SHATTERED THE GREAT PATTERN OF AMERICAN  
WORLD LEADERSHIP.

HERE AT HOME DURING THE FIFTIES,  
THE NUMBER OF SCHOOL CHILDREN GREW FASTER  
THAN THE CLASSROOMS, BUT THERE WAS NO MONEY  
FOR SCHOOL ROOMS OR TEACHERS IN THE  
BUDGETARY STRAIT JACKET.

000219

STREAMS GREW MORE POLLUTED, CITIES MORE  
CROWDED, SLUMS MORE SQUALID, BUT AMERICA,  
IN HER FISCAL STRAIT JACKET, COULD AT BEST  
ATTACK THESE PROBLEMS ONLY HALF-HEARTEDLY.

THE PROBLEMS OF AUTOMATION, Social Welfare,  
OF URBAN LIVING, AND THE TECHNOLOGICAL  
REVOLUTION IN AGRICULTURE WERE NEGLECTED  
AND SHUNTED ASIDE. ( No new Starts - Resources  
neglected - skipped )

THE POPULATION GREW, THE PROBLEMS  
MULTIPLIED, BUT THE BUDGET REMAINED FIXED.

SLOGANS WERE SUBSTITUTED FOR PROGRAMS.

PUBLIC RELATIONS REPLACED PUBLIC SERVICE.

AND THESE POLICIES OF "SLOGAN AND  
SLOW-DOWN" HAVE COST US DEARLY.



*L* THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

IS GOING TO INHERIT A SERIES OF PROBLEMS

THAT HAVE BEEN SWEEPED UNDER THE RUG --

WHERE THEY HAVE BEEN FESTERING AND

INTENSIFYING. *L* SOME ONE -- THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

ULTIMATELY -- MUST PAY THE PRICE OF THIS

OSTRICH-LIKE ATTITUDE. AND IT WILL BE A PRICE

THAT HAS BEEN ACCUMULATING <sup>*with*</sup> COMPOUND INTEREST!

*L* WE WILL HEAR MUCH TALK ABOUT "PEACE  
AND PROSPERITY" IN THE MONTHS AHEAD.

*L* WE ALL WANT PROSPERITY. BUT THE  
PROSPERITY WE WANT MUST NOT BE LOPSIDED.

*cut keep*  
IT SHOULD BE A PROSPERITY THAT SPRINGS FROM AN  
EXPANDING ECONOMY WITH FULL SHARES FOR ALL--  
BUSINESSMEN, FARMERS, WORKING PEOPLE, THE YOUNG AND  
THE ELDERLY.

*W* WE SEEK A PROSPERITY FOR AMERICA THAT INSURES  
SOCIAL JUSTICE.

*LW* WE ALL WANT PEACE: PEACE IS NO PARTISAN  
ISSUE. BUT THE PEACE WE WANT MUST BE ENDURING.  
IT MUST HAVE DEEP ROOTS.

*Keep* PEACE IS NOT PASSIVE: IT IS ACTIVE.  
NOR CAN PEACE BE WON BY SLOGANS. *But*

*L* THERE CAN BE NO PEACE IN A WORLD PLAGUED  
BY POVERTY, HUNGER, DISEASE AND ILLITERACY.

*L* THERE CAN BE NO GENUINE AND LASTING PEACE  
IN A WORLD PLUNGED HEADLONG IN A RECKLESS  
AND UNRESTRAINED ARMS RACE.

*L* ARISTOTLE RIGHTLY SAID THAT POVERTY IS  
"THE PARENT OF REVOLUTION AND CRIME."

000222

~~THEN WHY TOLERATE IT~~ -- WHEN MANKIND HAS  
AT ~~ITS~~ HAND WEALTH AND REAL POWER OF  
FANTASTIC DIMENSIONS?

*Keep!*  
IN AMERICA'S SO-CALLED "SURPLUS" FOOD  
AND FIBER PRODUCTION, WE POSSESS WEALTH  
OF A UNIQUELY USEFUL CHARACTER --  
NOT A CURSE, BUT A BLESSING.

*Keep*  
~~WE~~ CAN, AND WE MUST, USE THIS ENORMOUS  
WEALTH FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL MEN--

NOT ONLY BECAUSE IT IS THE RIGHT AND JUST THING  
TO DO, BUT ALSO BECAUSE IT IS FUNDAMENTALLY  
IN OUR OWN INTEREST. ~~WE~~ CAN AND WE MUST GIVE  
LEADERSHIP TO A WORLD-WIDE COOPERATIVE  
ATTACK UPON POVERTY AND IGNORANCE --  
THE ETERNAL ENEMIES OF PEACE AND FREEDOM.



h AT THE SAME TIME, WE MUST EXPLORE  
EVERY OPPORTUNITY --RELENTLESSLY,  
TENACIOUSLY, PATIENTLY -- TO FIND AGREEMENT  
ON A SAFEGUARDED SYSTEM OF ARMS CONTROL.

h THE JOB OF THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE  
UNITED STATES IS TO TAKE OFF THE WRAPS--

h TO LIBERATE AMERICA'S ENERGIES AND RESOURCES--

AND TO TELL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THE PLAIN

TRUTH. FOR THE CRITICAL DILEMMA OF AMERICAN

LEADERSHIP WILL BE HOW TO PRESERVE THE SPIRIT

AND THE LETTER OF FREEDOM IN AMERICA, WHILE

ORGANIZING OUR SOCIETY TO COMPETE WITH

THE MONOLITHIC, DISCIPLINED, AND ONRUSHING

COMMUNIST SYSTEM.

(Trade - wars!  
on  
Expansion -

000224

*and* ~~LE~~ THERE MUST BE DEMOCRATIC PLANNING  
AND PURPOSE. ~~LO~~ OUR NATIONAL POLICIES CANNOT  
BE COMPARTMENTALIZED. THE GREAT DECISIONS  
OF WAR AND PEACE ARE INTERWOVEN WITH A  
SCORE OF OTHER NATIONAL POLICY DECISIONS.

*Keep*  
~~AGRICULTURAL POLICY AND FOREIGN POLICY~~  
~~CANNOT BE DIVORCED. WHAT WE DO IN THIS COUNTRY~~  
~~TO ENLARGE OR TO ABRIDGE THE RIGHTS OF~~  
~~MINORITY GROUPS INEVITABLY HAS A DIRECT AND~~  
~~HEAVY IMPACT ON OUR POSITION IN THE WORLD.~~

~~NO~~ MAJOR AREA OF AMERICAN EFFORT FAILS  
TO BEAR DIRECTLY ON OUR RELATIONS WITH  
THE REST OF THE WORLD. } *Interdependence*

~~BUT, PLANNING IN AMERICA CANNOT~~  
~~BE DICTATED.~~

IN A DEMOCRACY, NO MAN CAN LEAD BY ORDERING  
AND DIRECTING, BUT ONLY BY PERSUASION.

Thus THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

MUST BE MORE THAN AN EXECUTIVE. HE MUST  
IN A VERY REAL SENSE BE AN EDUCATOR.

HE WILL LEAD SUCCESSFULLY ~~ONLY~~ BY BUILDING  
A CONSENSUS BEHIND A TOTAL NATIONAL EFFORT--  
EMBODYING THE NATIONAL WILL AND EXPRESSING  
THE NATIONS'S PRIORITIES.

IN HIS ROLE OF EDUCATOR, HE MUST TELL  
THE PEOPLE THAT IF THE <sup>11</sup>AGE OF COMPLACENCY  
CONTINUES, AMERICA WILL SOON BECOME  
A SECONDD-CLASS POWER.

HE MUST TELL THEM THAT WE HAVE ALREADY  
BEEN SURPASSED IN A NUMBER OF MILITARY AND  
SCIENTIFIC FIELDS, AND THAT A VAST EFFORT  
WILL BE NEEDED TO REGAIN THE POSTURE OF  
STRENGTH NECESSARY TO NEGOTIATE WITH  
THE SOVIETS IN ANY FIELD INCLUDING DISARMAMENT.

✓ HE MUST UNDERSTAND THAT SCIENCE HAS GIVEN POLITICS  
NEW DIMENSIONS IN WHICH TO WORK -- NOT JUST  
*more importantly*  
FOR WAR, BUT FOR PEACE.

✓ HE MUST TELL THEM THAT AMERICA NEEDS  
STRENGTHENING INSIDE, THAT SHE HAS BEEN  
STARVED FOR THE "PUBLIC AND SOCIAL SERVICES,"  
"THE RESEARCH AND DISCOVERY, THAT MUST  
UNDERGIRD A GROWING NATION AND AN EXPANDING ECONOMY.

YES, HE MUST TELL THEM THAT THESE PROGRAMS  
WILL COST MONEY, AND WILL HAVE TO BE PAID FOR.

I MYSELF AM CONVINCED THAT THEY CAN BE  
PAID FOR IF WE CAN STIMULATE OUR ECONOMY  
TO THE GROWTH RATE AMERICA ACHIEVED BEFORE  
THE 1950'S AND THAT IT CAN AND MUST HAVE  
IN THE 1960'S. THEY CAN ALSO BE MET, IN PART,  
BY CLOSING TAX LOOPHOLES.

BUT IF THE NEEDS SHOULD PROVE LARGER,  
THEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SHOULD BE ASKED  
TO FACE UP TO THAT PROSPECT AND PAY THE BILL.

THEY SHOULD IN ANY EVENT BE DISABUSED OF THE  
NOTION THAT THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1954  
IS AS IMMUTABLE AND HEAVEN-SENT AS THE  
SCRIPTURES.



*(Pause)*  
*L* WE CAN AFFORD TO DO WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE.

BUT THERE ARE SOME THINGS AMERICA  
CANNOT AFFORD, AND THE NEXT PRESIDENT MUST  
MAKE THIS ABUNDANTLY CLEAR.

*H* WE MUST TELL OUR PEOPLE THAT WE CANNOT  
AFFORD A SECOND-BEST DEFENSE, OR INADEQUATE  
SCHOOLS, OR UNDERPAID TEACHERS, OR  
SECOND-CLASS CITIZENSHIP FOR ANYONE.

*L* WE CANNOT AFFORD CITIES CLOGGED WITH TRAFFIC,  
CLOAKED IN SMOG AND RIDDLED WITH SLUMS.

WE CANNOT AFFORD PROLONGED RECESSIONS AND  
UNEMPLOYMENT.

*#* ABOVE ALL, THE NEXT PRESIDENT MUST  
REMIND THE PEOPLE OF A *Lesson* VITAL LESSON OF HISTORY:

— THAT AMERICA CAN DO ANYTHING SHE WILLS TO DO.

AMERICA DID NOT STOP FIGHTING WORLD WAR II  
OR PULL OUT OF KOREA JUST BECAUSE SHE COULDN'T  
BALANCE THE BUDGET.

AMERICA HAS SHOWN THAT WHEN SUMMONED  
TO THE HEIGHTS, SHE CAN RISE TO THE HEIGHTS.

BUT SHE WILL NOT BE SUMMONED BY MEN  
WHO EVERYWHERE SEE OBSTACLES RATHER THAN  
OPPORTUNITIES.

SHE WILL NOT BE SUMMONED BY MEN FOR WHOM  
GOOD INTENTIONS ARE A SUBSTITUTE FOR ACTION.

THE WORLD cries out FOR LEADERS WHO SEEK  
AND ENJOY ENDEAVOR, WHO WILL ACHIEVEMENT  
AND POINT THE WAY TO IT.

(Parker)  
THE LATE EUGENE MEYER, ONE OF THE MOST  
*honored*  
~~REVERED~~ MEN IN YOUR PROFESSION, ONCE TOLD  
A SENATE COMMITTEE IN A TIME OF CRISIS:

"ALL THAT WE VALUE IN CIVILIZATION  
HAS COME ABOUT THROUGH THE AGENCY OF MEN  
WHO REFUSED TO ALLOW NATURE TO TAKE  
ITS COURSE -- MEN OF HEROIC HOPE WHO USED  
THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THEIR SPIRIT AND THE  
LIGHT OF THEIR REASON TO FORCE THE PROOF  
THAT THE HUMAN PERSON CAN MAKE HIS OWN  
PURPOSES PREVAIL IN THE FACE OF BLIND FORTUNE."

✓ MEN AND NATIONS CAN FORGE THEIR  
OWN DESTINIES IF THEY BUT WILL TO EXERT  
THE "SOVEREIGNTY OF THEIR SPIRIT AND THE LIGHT  
OF THEIR REASON." BUT FOR MEN AND NATIONS  
TO WILL THIS, THEIR LEADERS MUST WILL IT FOR  
THEM AND WITH THEM. ||

000231

Bill Lawrence

Mother + Mrs 14

Krusch - wanted to  
get out of  
town

for  
Nixon!

~~I FEEL QUITE COMFORTABLE AMONG~~  
Gentlemen  
~~YOU JOURNALISTS, FOR~~ WE HAVE ONE THING

VERY MUCH IN COMMON: WORDS PLAY AN  
IMPORTANT PART IN BOTH OUR LIVES.

I LIKE TO THINK WE HAVE SOMETHING ELSE  
IN COMMON, TOO: RESPECT FOR THE TRUTH  
AND DISDAIN FOR DISSIMULATION AND SHAM.

SOME MONTHS AGO, YOU MAY REMEMBER,  
TWO OF MY MINNESOTA FRIENDS,

GOVERNOR FREEMAN AND SENATOR MCCARTHY,

PUT FORWARD THE RASH NOTION THAT I SHOULD BE  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. <sup>and</sup> WHEN I FAILED  
TO DISOWN OR DENOUNCE THEM, I WAS IMMEDIATELY  
PROCLAIMED A CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

YOU WILL RECALL THAT THIS EVENT  
HARDLY SET THE COUNTRY OR THE DEMOCRATIC  
PARTY ON FIRE. IN FACT, THE ONLY DISCERNIBLE  
RESULT WAS TO GET ME BOUNCED OFF  
A NETWORK TELEVISION SHOW. —!

BUT NOW THAT I AM AN AVOWED AND  
UNABASHED CANDIDATE FOR THE NOMINATION,  
I AM, I MUST SAY, GREATLY RELIEVED.

IT WAS BECOMING INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT  
TO EXPLAIN TO YOU PERCEPTIVE GENTLEMEN  
WHY I WAS DASHING FROM STATE TO STATE WHEN,  
AFTER ALL, THERE ARE JUST SO MANY MINNESOTANS  
IN THE COUNTRY, AND MOST OF THEM ARE  
CONCENTRATED IN MINNESOTA!  
ONE STATE.





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