

~~Bert Kohler (Queens Leader)~~

000243

Maya Wagner

Forum

1st of Forums

Address Before The
National Democratic Club of New York

by
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

January 14, 1960

County Leaders
not Leaders

Jack Se Horowitz
Malko ~~Quendengast~~
Carmine de Sapio

I believe that every American shares the uneasy
feeling that somehow in the past few years, the power
and influence and security of the United States has been
to a great extent ~~simply frittered away~~ *weakened*.

Yet Americans probably do not generally realize
how little attention and hard work has been devoted to
the task of American leadership. They do not because
most of the limited energies of the Republican
Administration during these past seven years have been
funnelled into two channels -- reversing the imaginative

and forceful programs of human welfare developed

under Roosevelt and Truman . . . and ^{caulking} ~~weaving~~ this

Republican wrecking operation behind a smokescreen

of fast-patter ^{black} slogans.

You can't fool the American people forever.

But the Republicans did an effective job for awhile.

Remember those glittering slogans? Remember the

"great crusade"?

There were others.

↳ "A bigger bang for a buck" was designed to

justify the stripping of our conventional military

strength and the painting-our-selves-into-the-corner

policy of reliance on nuclear weapons in every military situation.

"Sound money" and "balancing the budget" were the catchwords designed to cajole public approval of a policy decision to create ~~timidous revenues for the great~~
~~financial institutions of the country through higher~~
~~interest rates.~~

~~The same slogans changed the deliberate~~
restriction of the rate of vital public investment,
in the mistaken idea that a stagnant or creeping
economy was somehow good for American business.

↳ "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.

↳ Today, a new slogan -- "Peace and Prosperity" --

is flying from the Republican masthead, a slogan that does not excite those of us who know that peace is at this stage strictly in the preliminary discussion stage, and that the prosperity much of America enjoys is far less than intelligent policy could have produced -- and can yet produce. / It will certainly not fool the farmers of America.

It will scarcely mean much to the families who live in

areas of chronic unemployment -- areas in which recent

testimony brought out that children -- American children --

were even going without shoes and even food, where there

is little or no medicine available, where despair

has gripped whole counties and sections of states.

It is high time to come clean with the American people -- to stop this sloganeering and to discuss

with them openly and candidly our position in the

world, and the great unsolved problems in our own

society.

If this involves hard work, indeed, distasteful

work, then let us roll up our sleeves and get busy.

There are deep wells of national strength,
reservoirs of ideas and energy that have been
untapped for almost a decade ~~in a period of the~~
~~most rapid and fundamental political and~~
~~technological change.~~ There are men and women in
our colleges and universities who could make far more
substantive contributions to American policy than
the undoubtedly clever men from Madison Avenue.

There are surely ~~as many~~ many Americans in the
labor movement who can make great contributions to
policy decision-making as there are among the boards
of directors of great corporations.

American religious leaders could make a great
contribution to wise policy, without violating the

out

constitutional precept against the involvement of
church and state.

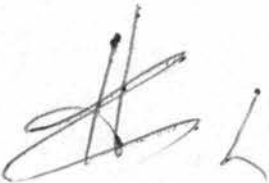
And surely it would be only sensible when
making far-reaching decisions on agricultural policy --
and on other national policies -- to seriously consult
the American farmer and his representative leadership.

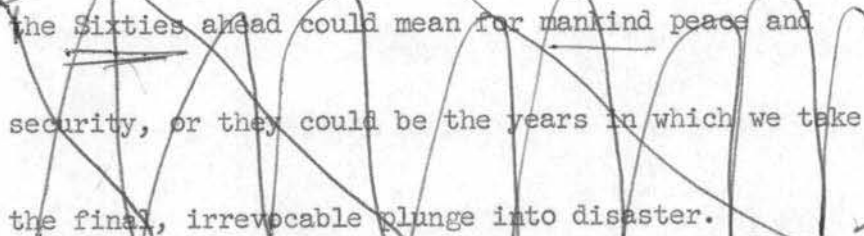
In attempting to bring about more harmonious
relationships between negro and white in the South --
and in the North as well -- surely it would be prudent
and fruitful to consult on a regular and frequent basis
with leaders of both races -- particularly among the
clergy, the schoolmen, and the ^{spokesman for} private non-profit
organizations.

↖ Tens of thousands of such Americans are ready, willing and able to roll up their sleeves and go to work, ~~instead~~, there is a deep and widespread frustration among many highly capable Americans because they find no way to contribute their energies and ability to their nation.


(X) In short -- for the habits of presiding and sloganeering, I would urge that we substitute full-time leadership, candid discussion with the people ~~and~~ active regular consultation with American leaders from every walk of life in the constantly changing task of formulating national programs and policy. (X)

moderation - education

 The overwhelming task of American leadership in the decade ahead is to take the lead in creating conditions for the establishment of a just and peaceful world order. Nothing takes precedence over the attempt to prevent another disastrous world war.

 the Sixties ahead could mean for mankind peace and security, or they could be the years in which we take the final, irrevocable plunge into disaster.

Several illusions widely held by Americans must be destroyed, if peace is to be won.

 First, we must understand that foreign policy does not exist in a vacuum. The national decisions on the great question of war and peace are interwoven

with a score of other national policy decisions.

Agricultural policy and foreign policy cannot

be divorced, ~~for example~~. What we do in this country

to enlarge or abridge the rights of minority groups

has a direct and heavy impact on our position in

the world. No area of American life fails to bear

directly on American foreign policy.

↙ The critical dilemma of American leadership in
the ¹⁹⁶⁰ Sixties, of course, is how to preserve the spirit

and the letter of freedom while organizing our

society to compete with the monolithic, disciplined,

onrushing system of the Communists.

This dilemma can be solved, ~~but~~ it must be faced.

It will not be solved by a sudden stroke, but only by

patient, persistent active attention to the details

of American life, by forseeing danger, by preventive

measures, by cooperative planning.

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It is absurd to say that "we cannot afford"
the works that must be accomplished if genuine peace
is to be achieved. This is massive nonsense.

As badly distributed as it is, mankind now
controls wealth and real power of fantastic dimensions.

The creation of huge resources of disposable wealth in
North America, and more lately in Western Europe and
the Soviet Union, reflects an historic change in man's
condition: in these areas of the world at least,

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we are capable of producing far more goods and services than we alone can possibly consume. Here in America only a relative few have recognized that our so-called surplus food and fiber production is in reality great wealth of a uniquely useful and noninflationary character.

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 afford it. We must afford it.

There are things we cannot afford.

We cannot afford to ignore the nationalist ferment throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America. And we must recognize that while the Communists have sought to capture the leadership of these revolutionary movements, they spring from more fundamental causes. In one sense they are the fruit of those rising expectations first kindled here in North America in 1776. They have been fed

by a ~~greatly~~^{gradually} rising literacy throughout the world, and they have been blown into flame by the passionate dedication to freedom of men like Ghandi.

In these areas of the world, in which two-thirds of mankind lives and struggles for a bare existence, the Soviet challenge is in the long run most dangerous. For the material achievements of Communism have been considerable. Inevitably the Communist successes in industrialization of primitive societies must make a strong appeal to the billions of people now straining to rise from the mud and filth of centuries of bleak poverty and ignorance.

And it is clearly not the Soviet Union alone that is our concern over the next decade. Russian rockets -- symbolizing the meteoric rise of Soviet power -- have tended to obscure an

even more massive reorganization of an even more economically primitive society by the Chinese Communists. As bloody and ruthless as the Chinese transformation has been, we can no longer permit emotions to blind us to the hard facts of life in the Far East. Prime Minister Nehru has been forced to look at the fact of the new China. ~~In our own way, we, too, must review our thinking about China in a cold and objective manner.~~ China, too, is our competitor -- separate and aside from the challenge of the Soviet Union.

~~Indeed, with the rising living standards in the Soviet Union,~~
we have concurrently observed adjustments in the internal and external political policies of the Soviet leadership. On the other hand, the desperate economic straits of the Chinese people are reflected in the violent and fanatical policies of their leaders. There is reason to believe that the emerging differences between the two major Communist societies is in

part due to the differences in economic well-being between
their peoples.

~~I believe it to be in the national interest of the United~~
It is in our interest

~~States that men and women everywhere -- yes, and including those~~
~~now living under Communist regimes~~ -- should have adequate

food, shelter, medical care, and education. Poverty, indeed,
is "the parent of revolution and crime", and the institutions
of freedom find it difficult, if not impossible, to flourish
where poverty has ground the people into the dust.

In American slums and in the African bush, in the coal fields
of West Virginia and the oil lands of the Middle East, poverty
inevitably breeds despair and often violence -- ranging from what we
call "delinquency" to powerful drives to overturn a whole
society. As peace and security for the citizens of a great
city are not possible in the presence of great slums, so peace
and security for this nation of ours are not truly possible
in a world so largely hungry, sick and illiterate.

✓ We must set our sights on two broad, but definable, goals
in American foreign policy: the commencement of a worldwide
cooperative attack on poverty -- with its evil companions
of disease, hunger, ignorance and fear -- and the achievement
of an arms control system that increases, not lessens, the
national security of the United States.

Do these goals sound grandiose? Then consider the over-
powering alternatives -- increasing turmoil, tension, explosion
and destruction. ~~Civilization cannot for much longer bear~~
~~the strain of the arms race and the consequent~~
~~upward thrust of the colored peoples of the world~~

✓ American leadership in the works of peace should preferably
be exerted through the United Nations and its related agencies,
but it may also be developed through other bilateral and multi-
lateral efforts. ✓ Our medical knowledge, our technological and
administrative experience, our educational techniques, our

capital resources should be pooled with those of any other nation who wishes to join us. Our vast agricultural production capacity makes us uniquely able to spearhead a great Food for Peace effort which would both substitute for and supplement the investment of American capital. I welcome the President's indication in New Delhi recently that he will support the kind of long-range program of using American food and fiber in works of peace that has for so long been advocated by some of us in Congress. Let us hope that in this session of Congress, the promise of his Indian address may be fulfilled in the form of White House support of the International Food for Peace Act.

4 Concurrently we must explore every opportunity to find agreement on a safeguarded system of arms control. The need is so overwhelming that one is shocked to observe how little effort and money has been invested by our Government in the

While there is little comfort to be gained from reciting the tale of past mistakes, I believe that history will record a series of most fateful and damaging decisions in 1953 and 1954 -- decisions based wholly on political expediency and a willingness to gamble with the nation's future. From those decisions ensued a radical and unilateral reduction in our military strength, a slow-down in our foreign aid programs, a reduction in the NATO goals and a general relinquishment of American leadership and responsibility. All these steps were taken in the name of "fiscal responsibility" and a "balanced budget" and "reducing the cost of government".

In fact, the decisions were made to placate the forces of blind conservatism -- forces that were and are incapable of understanding the complex nature of the Communist threat, that are incapable of sensing the well-springs of the social and political ferment throughout the world, forces that do not trust the American

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people nor realize how willing Americans are to accept responsibility and to make necessary sacrifices.

And so the proud nation that had revitalized and rebuilt the Free World was made the victim of domestic politics. In the eyes of the world the United States was to become not the land of the free and the home of the brave, but the land of McCarthyism and the home of the fearful.

Worst of all, ~~in a swift reversal of all that America has stood for since we abandoned isolationism~~, we seemed to become a nation that did not care -- a nation in uncertain withdrawal.

An Administration that knew the cost of everything and the value of nothing shattered the great pattern of American leadership.

There must be very great changes made in the American pattern of American leadership. We must begin by recognizing that we cannot compartmentalize foreign policy, disarmament policy, and military policy. We cannot separate basic economic policy at home from the life and death struggle for national survival.

Today we are told by the timid that we cannot afford to

expand our educational plant, to increase our out put of trained
young men and women, to invest more heavily in research at all
levels.

We are cautioned that we cannot afford to do anything about
the festering slums and the stricken areas of chronic unemploy-
ment in our country that act as a constant drain on the overall
economy.

We are warned that we should slow up on hospital construction,
airport and harbor construction, the conservation of our
great natural resources. Does anyone here seriously believe
that the leadership of the past eight ~~year~~ years would have
undertaken, let us say, the construction of the Tennessee Valley
Authority, or even would have established ~~national~~ the vast
national preserves we set aside in Teddy Roosevelt's time --our
national parks and forests?

*Grand
Popul
Inflation
Common*

necessary research to underpin an effective arms control policy.

Eventual agreement can come only if we are patient and tenacious

in negotiation, alert to the political implications throughout

the world of various arms control positions, and if we can

ultimately successfully negotiate from a position of strength.

L Paradoxically, in order to achieve meaningful disarmament

over the next decade, we may have to increase our bargaining

position by commencing a program to rebuild our military

capabilities to the point where the Communists are convinced they

have nothing to gain by perpetuating the arms race. Aside

from the problem of nuclear and missile arms control, we must

consider the infinitely complex problem of dealing with a bloc

whose so-called conventional arms are so much larger, more

modernized and highly trained than our own. Despite the Soviet

announcement of heavy cuts in troop strength, we must not forget

the three million-man Red Chinese forces.

✓ We are told today to wait about doing something about
our polluted rivers and streams, the problems of our smog-cloaked and
automobile-choked cities, their lack of adequate playgrounds
for children, the incredible and chaotic sprawl of suburban
development that surrounds all of our major cities.

✓ We are, in short, told that what is really wanted in
America is the good old status quo. Every proposal designed
to increase the rate of economic growth of our nation is greeted
with mournful cries of "Inflation" "radicalism, socialism" and so

fourth. Well, nearly every proposal -- the Wall Street Journal,
after having walked up and down Senator Humphrey for daring
to advocate some cooperative planning to increase the rate
of economic growth, remained in stunned silence when a panel
of eminent Republicans later recommended precisely the same
thing.

We can and should at least double the present rate of economic growth. Within five years we can exceed a \$600 billion economy and thereby provide at the same level of taxation sufficient capital and energy to finance the solution of our gravest economic problems at home and the great task of winning the peace as well.

~~McNair~~
America has shown that she can rise to the heights.

But she will not be summoned by men who everywhere see obstacles rather than opportunities, who are so busy saying "no" that they have lost the capacity for affirmative action.

The world cries out for leaders who seek and enjoy endeavor, who will achievement and point the way to it.

The late Eugene Meyer, one of the most revered men in the newspaper 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 will 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.

1/13/60

FOR RELEASE:
Friday AMs, Jan. 15, 1960

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Partial Text of Remarks of

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

National Democratic Club

~~David City, Ind.~~

~~November 11, 1959~~

New York, N.Y.

Thursday, Jan. 14, 1960

Sp File -
Jan 14
NYC

*Amblin
Spencer*

What are the three challenges before the nation?

The three challenges before any political party, and particularly the one that I am privileged to represent today are:

No. 1. the first challenge is to fulfill our true and wholehearted economic potential.

No. 2. Achievement of full dignity, freedom and justice for every American.

And No. 3: The winning of just and enduring peace.

These are the three great challenges before America and its political leadership in the months to come.

Now, No. 1: you can't fulfill your economic potential if you have a government that is wedded to economic and monetary policies that act like a brake on the economy.

America's economy has lagged. It has been designed this way by the economic architects of this Administration. You can't realize your full economic potential when you have in Washington an Administration that is symbolized by these words: No-go, go slow, not now, veto, injunction, administration. It can't be done. We can't realize our full economic potential when people are being conditioned by public leaders to accept three and a half million to four million unemployed as a "normal cushion" in the work force.

An Administration that that shows so little concern about the waste of manpower, the waste of talent and skill, as this Administration does is indeed a no-go, go-slow Administration.

And you can't have full employment by just indulging in scare words, trying to frighten the American people out of their mission of the fulfillment of our economic potential.

I do not have the time to tell you the toll that this Administration has taken from this economy. Ten million man years of lost work! Billions of dollars of lost production! Billions of dollars of lost public revenue! Why? Because it seems to be more afraid of so-called inflation (which it generates by its own policies) than it is courageous and fearless in meeting the challenge of economic competition from the Soviet Union and from other nations abroad.

I said the second objective must be to achieve full dignity, freedom and justice for every American, and I mean just that. The best thing that we can do in America today to really protect our strength in this world, the greatest thing that we could do for freedom and peace, is to set an example of social and economic and political conduct that would be the envy of the world.

The way we treat each other is more impressive than the words we say to others. The way we treat our own minorities, the way we regard our old people, is the real test

of American leadership and American morale.

When I say to you that we need to achieve full dignity, freedom and justice for every American, I have some specifics in mind. Let me say this to you: You can just about tell the kind of a government you have, and what its philosophy is, by the way it treats three groups in our society -- the young, the children who are in the dawn of life; the elderly who are in the shadows of life, or the twilight of life; and the handicapped, the disabled and the sick who are in the storm clouds of life.

I say to you that this Administration is guilty of callous neglect of all three.

It refuses to balance the moral budget as it worships the fiscal budget.

Federal aid to schools? The Administration says: "We can't afford it." When every mother and father and every citizen in this nation knows that the lack of proper education in America is one of our weaknesses. It may be the Achilles heel in the struggle to come.

What about our elderly people? The same Administration that says you can't expect to get bonds sold unless you raise interest is the same Administration that says to every grandmother and grandfather in America: "You will have to wait."

A million two hundred thousand widows in this country under social security getting less than \$56 a month, and this Administration has the unmitigated gall to say that \$56 is adequate and that an increase is inflationary.

Now, then, that other area of human dignity, Civil Rights. Civil Rights is nothing more than citizenship rights. That is all. It is on civil rights, constitutional rights and American rights and natural rights and God-given rights, that we either nobly win or lose the moral and spiritual battle being waged in this world today.

I hope that every person in this hall will heed my words: even if the so-called subject of civil rights was not morally and politically right -- and it is -- and even if one didn't want to justify this on the basis of ethics and morality, I remind this audience that the population centers of the world that represent power, represent victory represent survival for us, that those population centers are people of so-called color.

Now, in conclusion, the final of our great challenges - and I believe this is the greatest of them all -- is the winning of a just and enduring peace. Peace is not passive. Peace is active. Peace is not appeasement. Peace is strength.

It has become impossible, literally, for a conservative government to understand people and the social forces that are at work in this world.

They can't understand this revolution of rising expectations in Asia, Africa and Latin-America. The

conservatives understand things, not people. They never were able to identify themselves with the hopes and aspirations of people even here in America.

There can be no doubt about it that the number one problem is the securing of a just and enduring peace. I remind you; that it is not easy and it is going to require an understanding of the world in which we live. It is going to require a liberal program at home so that we have a sensible foreign policy abroad. You cannot treat Americans one way and expect the people abroad to think they are going to be treated another way.

So I lay down to you what I think are certain effective measures to be taken. First of all, high on the agenda should be with American initiative the seeking of a responsible program of disarmament under international inspection. Yes, so that we can convert our tools into the instruments of peace, so that we can release the energies of man-kind in constructive work.

I have the feeling that this audience senses with me some of the things that we might do instead of crying about this God-given abundance of food and fiber. My friends, in a world where half of humanity is hungry, let's translate food and fiber surpluses into food and fiber power for peace and for people and for progress throughout the world.

And it can be done: food for peace and freedom. Imagine what old Khrushchev would be doing if he had enough wheat today for 60 billion loaves of bread. We have that much! And the Biblical stories of the loaves and fishes can be applied today throughout all this world. There are people yearning for one good meal as America wallows in its so-called surpluses.

I tell you, my friends, there can be no peace in a world of the hungry. There can be no peace in a world of the sick -- and there are more people today that are sick than are well. And here is America, blessed with the greatest medical science that the world has ever known, failing to demonstrate what we mean by our kind of democracy by mobilizing the health resources, the medical research, by expanding our programs of medical care not only here but abroad in conjunction and cooperation with others, in a mighty attack upon man's ancient enemy of disease.

We should proclaim to the world that we are prepared to launch a mighty war against poverty wherever it may be, against disease and destitution, and that we are prepared to do our level best to give to mankind enlightenment, to obliterate from the face of this earth illiteracy, that we are prepared to be our brother's keeper.

Σελίδα

National Democratic Club of New York

by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

January 14, 1960

I believe that every American shares the uneasy feeling that somehow in the past few years, the power and influence, and security of the United States has been to a great extent simply frittered away. ~~xxxx~~
~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

~~Классическое искусство и классика~~

Yet Americans probably do not generally realize how little attention and hard work has been devoted to the task of American leadership. They do not because ~~they have been subjected to the most massive program of~~ limited most of the/energies of the Republican administration during these past seven years ~~has~~ have been funnelled into two channels ~~translating the~~ ~~portmanteau of American government into a conservative distortion and~~ reversing ~~that or sliding down~~ the imaginative and forceful programs of human welfare developed under ~~the late~~ Roosevelt and Truman . . . and veiling ^{this} the Republican wrecking operation behind a smokescreen of fast-patter slogans.

Фоксслонгхтінхсіндхуатесхисх

You can't fool the American people forever. But they did an effective job for awhile. Remember those glittering slogans? Remember the "Great Crusade"? ^Q There were others.

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world.

First of all, in the sixties, we must ^{get rid of} disenchant ourselves of the illusion ^{all, I will} that we have already "arrived." ~~The fact is~~ that with the jockey asleep on the horse, we have not even left the starting gate. We must tear away the seven veils of illusion that obscure the real state of the nation -- veils of fast-patter slogans that were designed to ~~seduce the public~~ charm the ~~public~~ American public into acceptance of dangerous and harmful decisions. ?

^{It is a huge} "bang for a buck" was ^(designed to justify) the stripping of our conventional military strength and the painting-ourselves-into-the-corner ~~policy of forcing ourselves to reliance~~ policy of ~~reliance~~ on nuclear weapons in every military situation.

"Sound money" and "balancing the budget" were the catchwords designed to cajole ^{public approval to a} ~~a favorable response to a fundamental~~ ^{policy} decision to create tremendous revenues ^{for} the great financial institutions of the country through higher interest rates, ~~and~~

^{The same slogans obscured the} ~~and on the other~~ to deliberately restrict ⁱⁿ the rate of ~~public~~ vital public investment, ~~in the mistaken~~

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— Pledge that no national
policy is unrelated to the great
task of establishing a just +
peaceful world. —

— can it be that agreements under
considering the FR implications, the

Working our Way: The Sixties

I do not think that we should discuss Politics 1960/ today
but rather Policy for the 60's. ^{(In the first place,} ~~Most of you gentleman~~
~~were on Capitol Hill~~ ^(the other day) to query me about 1960. ~~Nothing is further~~
~~So~~ So let us move on from the appetizer to the main course.

~~This audience, I feel, is particularly suited to the theme~~
of my discussion today -- "Working our Way: ~~The Sixties.~~" ~~It~~
~~is my hope that the working press~~ The working press ~~is~~
~~accustomed to turning out at all hours of the~~ -- accustomed to turning out at all hours of the
day or night, weekends ^{and} holidays ^{included} -- ~~is~~ ^{understands} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~seated in the concept of~~
hard work. Hard work ~~is~~ -- and the kind of intensively concentrated
hard work ~~is~~ capable of producing accurate, thoughtful news
stories and articles -- is going to be in very heavy demand in this
coming decade. We have used up in the past several years most if
not all of the margin for error in leadership. ~~We~~ ^W have permitted
more than enough part-time, ~~leadership~~ dilettante leadership to
put this nation of ours in a seriously compromised position in the

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idea that ~~this policy was an attempt to prevent~~ a stagnant or creeping economy was somehow good for American business.

"Massive retaliation" was used to comfort Americans who

3A sensed, but were never told, that the power of the Soviet Union was growing ever more complex and subtle.

~~quite understand that Soviet power was being projected in the most flexible and sophisticated of economic and political ventures, backed in many cases by the realities of Soviet military strength.~~

a new slogan --

Today ~~"Peace and Prosperity"~~ is flying from the Republican masthead, ~~as the slogan of a new era~~ a slogan

that does ~~which will~~ *excite* not ~~excite~~ those of us who know that peace is at this

stage strictly in the preliminary discussion stage, and *(that the)* prosperity

~~much~~ much of America enjoys is far less than intelligent policy could have produced *and* can yet produce. It will certainly not

fool ~~enchant~~ the farmers of America, *(and)* ~~the millions of American urban~~

~~families whose lack of income has forced the mother of the family~~

~~to take a job to supplement income. and It will scarcely mean~~

families much to the additional millions of men and women who live in

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areas of chronic unemployment -- areas in which recent testimony brought out that children -- American children -- were often going without shoes and even food, where there is little or no medical care available, where ~~the~~ despair has gripped whole counties and sections of ~~the~~ states.

It is high time

~~We need the~~ to come clean with the American people -- *to stop*

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1 to discuss with them ~~very~~ openly and candidly our position in the

and world, the great unsolved problems in our own society. ~~We must~~

It is

indeed, involves hard work, ~~distasteful~~ distasteful work, No one likes

~~to be the one who says there is no Santa Claus. But it has to be~~

then let us roll up our sleeves and get busy.

There ~~is a lot of~~ are deep wells of national strength,

~~untapped~~ reservoirs of ideas and energy that have been untapped

for almost a decade -- in a period of the most fast-paced and

fundamental political and technological change, ~~in the world.~~

There are men and women in our colleges and universities ~~who~~

could make far more substantive contributions to American policy

than the undoubtedly clever men from Madison Avenue, ~~New York.~~

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There are surely as many Americans in the labor movement who can make great contributions to ^{policy} ~~the~~/decision-making as there are among the boards of directors of great corporations.

~~It would be a mistake to expect~~

~~when the clergy in the~~

American religious leaders could make a great contribution to wise policy, without violating the constitutional precept against the involvement of church and state. *# And* surely ~~that~~ it would be *only*

sensible ~~and prudent~~ when making far-reaching decisions on

-- and in other national policies --
agricultural policy, to seriously consult the American farmer and his representative leadership.

In attempting to bring about more harmonious relationships between negro and white in the South ~~and~~ -- and in the North as well -- surely it would be prudent and fruitful to consult on a regular and frequent basis with ~~members~~ leaders of both races -- particularly among the clergy, the schoolmen, and the private non-profit organizations.

Tens of thousands of such Americans are ready, willing and able to roll up their sleeves and go to work; indeed, there is a deep and widespread frustration among many highly capable Americans because they find no way to contribute their energies and ability to their nation.

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the habits of presiding
In ~~short~~ short -- for ~~participative leadership~~ and sloganeering,

I would urge that we substitute full-time ~~exclusive~~ leadership,
candid discussion with the people as a whole, and active ^{regular}/consultation
with American leaders from every walk of life in the constantly
changing task of formulating national programs and policy.

~~None of these~~

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The overwhelming task of American leadership in the
decade ahead is to take the lead in creating ~~long-range~~
conditions for ^{ment}the establishment of a just and peaceful world order,
Nothing takes precedence over the attempt to prevent another
disastrous world war. For the Sixties ahead could mean for
mankind peace and security, or they could be the years in which
we take the final, irrevocable plunge into disaster.

*Several illusions widely held by Americans must be destroyed, if
peace is to be won. First, we must understand that foreign policy does not
paraphrase -- The national decisions on this great*

question of war and peace are interwoven with a score of other
national policy decisions. Agriculture ^{al} and foreign policy cannot
be divorced, ^{for example.} What we do in this country to enlarge or abridge the

rights of minority groups has a direct and heavy impact on our

... it is a museum.

Students must be educated
 Administrators, administrators
 & officials
 education

Davidson's Special

Central fact of our times is
 interdependence — task to
 preserve national independence &
 individual freedom in an
 interdependent world. —

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position in the world. No area of American life fails to bear directly on American foreign policy.

The critical dilemma of American leadership in the Sixties, of course, is how ~~the~~ to preserve the ~~structure and the~~ ^(and the letter of) spirit/~~the~~ freedom while organizing our society to compete with the ~~unrelenting, disciplined, organizing system of~~ ^{unrelenting, disciplined, organizing system} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~enrushing, dedicated, hard-working societies of the Communists.~~

This dilemma can be solved, but it must be faced. It will not be solved by a sudden stroke, but ^{only} by patient, persistent active attention to the details of American life, by foreseeing danger, by preventive measures, by cooperative planning.

~~THE INSERT 74-7~~
~~and surely we shall never be able to lead the American people~~
~~along the path to peace in the Sixties~~
~~One of the tasks of a leader will be to destroy~~
~~A second illusion: that "we cannot~~
~~afford" the task that must be accomplished~~
~~if peace is to be achieved.~~ ^{genuine} ~~For this is massive nonsense.~~
^{works}

As badly distributed as it ~~is~~ ^{is}, mankind now controls wealth and real power of fantastic dimensions. The creation of huge resources of disposable wealth in North America, and more lately in Western Europe and the Soviet Union, reflects an historic change in man's condition: in these areas of the world at least,

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outline
we are capable of producing far~~y~~ more goods and services than we can possibly consume. Here in America only a relative few have

recognized that our so-called surplus food and fiber production is in reality ^{great} wealth of a uniquely useful and noninflationary

character. ~~Food, power, and food can be used~~

We can, and we must, use this ~~wealth~~ enormous wealth for the benefit of all men -- not only ~~in our own self-interest~~ because it is the right and just thing to do, but ^{also} because it is fundamentally in our own interest. We can afford it. We must afford it.

~~We cannot afford to~~

There are things we cannot afford.

We cannot afford to ignore the nationalist ferment throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America~~y~~. And we must recognize that while the Communists have sought to capture the leadership of these revolutionary movements, they spring from more fundamental causes. On one sense they are the fruit of those rising expectations first kindled here in North America in 1776. They have been fed by a gradually rising literacy throughout the world, and they have been blown into flame by the passionate dedication to freedom of

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men like Gandhi.

In these areas of the world, in which two-thirds of mankind lives and struggles for a bare existence, the Soviet challenge is in the long run most dangerous. For the material achievements of Communism have been considerable. Inevitably the Communist successes in industrialization of primitive societies must make a strong appeal to the billions of people now straining to rise from the mud and filth of centuries of bleak poverty and ignorance.

And it is clearly not the Soviet Union alone that is our concern over the next decade. Russian rockets -- symbolizing the meteoric rise of Soviet power -- have tended to obscure an even more massive reorganization of an even more economically primitive society by the Chinese Communists. As bloody and ruthless as the Chinese transformation has been, we can no longer permit emotions to blind us to the hard facts of life in the Far East. Prime Minister Nehru has been forced to look^{at} the fact of the new China. ~~In the~~ In our own way, we ~~must~~ too, must review our thinking about China in a cold and objective manner. China, too, is our competitor -- separate and aside from the challenge of the

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Soviet Union.

Indeed, with the rising living standards in the Soviet Union, we have concurrently observed adjustments in the internal and external political policies of the Soviet leadership. On the other hand, the desperate economic straits of the Chinese people are reflected in the violent and fanatical policies of their leaders. There is reason to believe that the emerging differences between the two major Communist societies is in part due to the differences in economic well-being between their peoples.

I believe it to be in the national interest of the United States that men and women everywhere -- *yes, and including* ~~including those living under~~ *those now living under Communist regimes* ~~Communist regimes~~ -- should have adequate food, shelter, medical care, and education. Poverty, indeed, is "the parent of revolution and crime", and the institutions of freedom find it difficult and if not impossible to flourish where poverty has ground the people into the dust. ~~Great text~~

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In American slums and in the African bush, in the coal fields of West Virginia and the oil lands of the Middle East, poverty inevitably breeds despair and often violence, ranging from what we call "delinquency" to powerful drives to overturn a whole society. As peace and security for the citizens of a great city are not possible ~~with~~ in the presence of great slums, so peace and security for this nation of ours ~~is~~ are not truly possible in a world so largely hungry, sick and illiterate.

We must set our sights on two broad, but definable, goals in American foreign policy: the commencement of a world-wide cooperative attack on poverty -- with its evil companions of disease, hunger, ignorance and fear -- and the achievement of an arms control system that increases, not lessens, the ~~military~~ national security of the United States.

Do these goals sound grandiose? Then consider the overpowering alternatives [—] increasing turmoil, tension, explosion and destruction. Civilization can ^(not for much longer) ~~not~~ bear the awful ~~burden~~ pressures of the arms race and the ^{eminent} ~~looming~~ upward thrust of the colored peoples of the world.

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~~Wexshondideneaxxcseleendtheaxxoidaxidaxctaxx~~

American leadership in the works of peace should preferably be exerted through the United Nations and its related agencies, but it may also be developed through ~~axkaxexx~~ other bilateral and multilateral efforts. ~~Wexaxexaxixquelyxaxaxedaxexaxexequiopeax~~

~~axolaxtax~~ Our medical knowledge, our technological and administrative experience, our educational techniques, our capital resources should be pooled with those of any other nations who wish to join us. ~~axaxx~~

~~axaxx~~ Our vast agricultural productive capacity makes us uniquely able to spearhead a great Food for Peace effort which would both substitute for and supplement the investment of American capital. I welcome the President's indication in NewDehhi recently that he will support the kind of long-range program of using American food and fiber in works of peace that has for so long been advocated by some ~~axaxx~~ of us in Congress. Let us hope that in ^{this} ~~the coming~~ session of Congress, the promise of his Indian address may be fulfilled in the form of White House support of ~~the~~ International Food for Peace Act.

18

explore

Concurrently, no matter what the cost, we must ~~persist~~ *explores* in every ~~effort~~ *opportunity* to find agreement on a safeguarded system of arms control. The need is so overwhelming that one is shocked to observe how little effort and money has been invested by our Government in ~~the effort to develop the research~~ the necessary research to underpin an effective arms control policy. Eventual agreement ~~may~~ can come only if we are patient and tenacious in negotiation, alert to the political implications/throughout the world of various arms control positions, and if we can ultimately ~~negotiate~~ *successfully* ~~from~~ *from* ~~our opponents~~ *come only achieve lead from* a position of strength.

Paradoxically, in order to achieve meaningful disarmament over the next decade, we ~~shall certainly~~ *way* have to increase ~~our~~ *all* bargaining position by ~~rebuilding~~ *commencing* a program to rebuild our military capabilities to the point where the Communists are convinced they have nothing to gain by perpetuating the arms race. Aside from the problem of nuclear and missile arms control, ~~we~~ *we* must ~~be~~ consider the infinitely complex problem of dealing with a bloc whose ~~conventional~~ *so-called* arms are so *Despite the Soviet announcement of army cuts in troop strength, we must not forget the 3 million trained Chinese forces.* much larger, more modernized and highly trained than our own.

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While there is little comfort to be gained from ~~reading~~ ⁰⁰⁰²⁹³ the tale of past mistakes, I believe that history will *record* ~~record that~~ a series of most fateful and damaging decisions ~~were made~~ in 1953 and 1954 -- decisions based wholly on political expediency and a willingness to gamble with the nation's future. From those decisions ensued a radical and unilateral reduction in our military strength, a slow-down in our foreign aid programs, a reduction in the NATO goals and a general relinquishment of American ~~responsibility for the~~ leadership and responsibility. All these steps were taken in the name of "fiscal responsibility" and a "balanced budget" and "reducing the cost of government".

In fact, the decisions were made to placate the forces of blind conservatism -- forces that were and are incapable of understanding the complex nature of the Communist threat, ~~the~~ *That are* incapable of sensing the well-springs of the social and political ferment throughout the world, forces that do not trust the American people nor realize how willing Americans are to accept responsibility and to make necessary sacrifices.

And so ~~the military establishment was weakened~~ the proud nation that had revitalized ~~the Free World~~ and rebuilt the Free World was made the victim of domestic politics. In the eyes *not the land of the free and the home of the brave, but* of the world the United States was to become ~~the~~ the land of ~~the~~ McCarthyism and the home of the fearful. *H* Worst of all, in a swift reversal of all that America has stood for since we abandoned isolationism, we seemed to become a nation that did not care ~~a~~ a nation in ~~uncertain~~ uncertain withdrawal.

An administration that Those ~~who~~ knew the cost of everything and the value of nothing ~~was~~ shattered the great pattern of American leadership.

(misinformation)

There must be very great change made in the American pattern of American leadership. We must begin by recognizing that
~~Try as we may,~~ we cannot compartmentalize foreign policy,

disarmament policy, and military policy. ~~And try as we may~~

We cannot separate basic economic ⁴⁵⁰ policy at home from the life and ~~death~~ death struggle for national survival,

Today
 We are told by the timid that we cannot afford to expand our educational plant, to increase our output of trained young men and women, to invest more heavily in research at all levels.

We are cautioned that we cannot afford to do anything about the festering slums and the stricken areas of chronic unemployment in our country that act as a constant drain on the overall economy.

We are warned that we should slow up on hospital construction, airport and harbor ~~and~~ construction, the conservation of our ~~national~~ great natural resources. Does anyone here seriously believe that the leadership of the past eight years would have

undertaken, let us say, the construction of ~~the St. Lawrence Seaway,~~ *or even would have established* the Tennessee Valley Authority, ~~the establishment of~~ the vast

we set aside in Teddy Roosevelt's time --
 national preserves ~~in the form of~~ our national Parks and Forests?

today

We are told, to wait about doing something about our polluted
rivers and streams, the ~~abysmal~~ problems of our
smog-cloaked and automobile-choked cities, their lack of adequate
playgrounds for children, the incredible and chaotic sprawl of
suburban development that surrounds all of our major cities.

We are, in short, told that what is really wanted in America
is the good old status quo ~~xx~~. ~~The~~ Every proposal designed to
increase the rate of economic growth of our nation is greeted with
~~acathrenox of exarbox~~ ^{*inflation*} mournful cries of "radicalism, socialism" and
^{*every proposal --*} so forth. Well nearly ~~a~~ -- the Wall Street Journal, after having
walked up and down Senator Humphrey for daring to advocate some

~~thoughts and intentions~~ cooperative planning to increase the rate
of economic growth, remained ~~in~~ stunned silence when ~~the Rockefeller~~ ^{*(?)*}

a panel of eminent Republicans

~~Report~~ later recommended precisely the same thing.

at least

economic

We can and should double the present rate of growth ~~and~~
within 5 years we can exceed a 600 billion dollar economy, and
thereby provide at the same level of taxation sufficient capital and

energy to finance the solution of our gravest ~~problems~~ economic
problems at home and the great task of winning the peace as well.

*after first action
as for the task of
making the
system into an
advantage - unsuited by a*

(TO PAGE 4 OF STERN DRAFT)

next page

America has shown that ~~when summoned to the heights~~, she can rise to the heights.

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But she will not be summoned by men who everywhere see obstacles rather than opportunities, *who are so busy saying "no" that they have lost the capacity for affirmative action.*
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.

The late Eugene Meyer, one of the most 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.

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January 22, 1960

Memo to Ginni

From Senator

This is the DeSapio introduction of me in New York. Make some copies. *done* Send copies to Bob Barrie, Jim Rowe, Karl Rolvaag, Governor Freeman. Do this as soon as possible. Be sure to keep the original in our files, with my speech before the Democratic Club Forum in New York. Vi has the speech. This is quite important for me to have. It is quite an endorsement from DeSapio in New York, when you really read it.

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DE SAPIO: NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB
1960 FORUM SERIES,
"SALUTE TO DEMOCRACY" ...
Thursday Evening,
January 14, 1960

Distinguished guests, my good friends
and fellow-Democrats...

This evening we open our 1960 forum
series which your committee has aptly
named "Salute to Democracy". Tonight
and during the succeeding weeks, you will
have the opportunity to meet the outstanding
leaders and spokesmen of our party, at the
same time that they will be able to meet
and exchange views with you.

The forums this year are of unprecedented significance, because the Presidential election this year is of inestimable importance to every human being on the face of the earth.

1960 finds the world poised between the brink of disaster on the one hand, and limitless horizons of progress and achievement on the other. Which way the world moves depends, in very large measure, on the role which the United States will play in world affairs during the next few years.

If our country is strong and united behind a program of aggressive and progressive world leadership, the tide of events will reach new heights of human attainment. If we, on the other hand, are weak and vacillating and passive, disaster inevitably will result.

Our nation and the world hunger for leadership -- imaginative leadership-- the kind of leadership which traditionally has characterised the Democratic party.

A truly outstanding personification of just this kind of leadership is our guest speaker this evening.

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All of his thinking; all of his actions;
all of his deeds and his dreams and his
works are conceived in and attuned to the
liberal, the progressive, the forward-looking
heritage of our party. He is dedicated
with every fibre of his soul, to the
well-being of the people...of the people
in New York, in Sacramento, in Minneapolis,
in Bombay, in London, in Rome, in Paris...
of the people all over. He is dedicated
to their security and to their welfare,
and has devoted his life to the fulfillment
of their needs. His compassion, his
understanding and his deep sense of humanity
both symbolize and epitomize a simple and
forceful truth: he is a Democrat.

This distinguished American has declared his candidacy for the Democratic Presidential nomination. His ten achievement-filled years in the Senate of the United States; his world travels; his keen awareness; his sensitivity to the needs, the wants and the aspirations of the people, qualify him beyond question for that great office.

My good friends, my fellow-Democrats, I am privileged to present to you a teacher of government, a student of humanity, a public servant of great knowledge and vision...and a strong and dynamic leader... the distinguished Senator from the state of Minnesota...Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey.



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