

Mr Schary +
Mrs Field!

Gov Stevenson!
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Mr Roosevelt - Sen Lehman
Mayor Wagner
U.N. Representatives

EXCERPTS FROM THE ADDRESS BY

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

to the NATIONAL ROOSEVELT DAY DINNER
OF AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

New York City, January 28, 1960

(Humble - inadequate in this electronic company)!!

Stimson

"To some generations," President Roosevelt once said,
"much is given. Of other generations, much is expected." - and how true!

To our generation, more has been given than to any in
history. And of us even more is expected.

and ~~to~~ us falls the supreme task of finding peace in a
most un-peaceful world -- a world divided by antagonisms and
boiling with revolutions, armed as the world was never armed
before, with the capability of total destruction.

~~Tonight,~~ By striving with our minds and our hearts towards
the goal of a just and enduring peace, we best honor Franklin
D. Roosevelt. - The

I am not one who believes that peace can be assured simply by reminding ourselves and our adversaries of the unspeakable horrors of war.

Peace is more than a wish - a hope!

Neither do I believe that peace can be secured by one-sided disarmament -- whether based on principle or parsimony.

and Co-existence is not peace. It is two garrisoned states walled in by mutual fear and distrust.

A policy with no goal beyond co-existence does not lead to peace.

~~Slow death - a process of self-destruction~~ *it leads to*

Now Let me say wherein I see the hope for peace

Peace is not passive - Active

yes ~~I believe~~ we must first have a vision of the kind of world where peace can dwell..

*Not Appas, But Stg H
Not slogan
- Program*

In my vision I look toward a world in which power will no longer be polarized between two giant forces, but balanced

among many. In which Europe, revived and united, will be
a powerful middle force. In which a democratic and prosperous
India will speak with the full authority of her land and her
people. In which the states of Africa will join in taming
their rich continent. *In which the vast potentiality of*
In which the new technology will *Latin*
spread its blessings to the ends of the earth and unto *America*
all the inhabitants thereof. *comes to*
living
reality.

I look toward a time when the "chinks" in the Iron
Curtain will become windows and doors through which ideas
and people can pass freely, eastward and westward; when the
maturing of the Soviet economy will bring in its train the
liberalizing influence of a higher standard of living; when
thought will break the bonds of dogma and politics. *!!*

I look toward a world in which differences among nations
will be eroded by time and understanding; where common interests

will overshadow mutual antagonisms; where, perhaps, a new
world civilization will be in the making, building on the
best the old world has to offer.

So let us look ahead - not too far - about 40 yrs
The Twenty-first Century could be the century of the

f United Nations. In such a world there could be peace, under
law. *Interdependence*

and I believe we have it in our power to bring that
kind of world into being. *f* But, we will have to be idealistic
enough to seek it, and realistic enough to recognize what
we must do to achieve it. And we will have to do better than
we have been doing -- far better. *and with much more daring and confidence!*

Three great tests challenge us:

f For the first time in history men everywhere have
seen the vision of banishing want from their daily lives.

Poverty Can be Conquered!

People - yes people in ⁻⁵⁻ faraway places

~~They~~ see the means at hand, and they demand the opportunity.

Are we appointed to tell them it is not yet time, that they should be patient with poverty?

Shall we expect them to understand about balanced budgets and balance of payments, until we can shake loose *or*

conveniently give -
what we can spare of our affluence?

I say it is given to us to use our ^{own} wealth and our inexhaustible technology to help men make a reality of rising expectations. Not grudgingly and in dribblets, but to the limit of our capacity *in cooperation with others!*

Can we do this? Yes, we can. *— and we must!*

But Will we? That is the test. It is not alone the Soviet challenge that demands it, but the challenge of a world in

which peace is possible. — *We need not be just anti Commie — but Pro-freedom!*
All to join together!!

A second test lies closer at home: the test of our ability to declare our purposes, to muster our resources, to plan our future. — to set our own standards —
 Hi — Higher standards!

We do well to recall these words of Demosthenes to the Athenians: — and Listen Now!

"The worst feature of the past is our best hope for the future. What, then, is that feature? It is that your affairs go wrong because you neglect every duty, great or small; since surely, if they were in this plight in spite of your doing all that was required, there would not be even hope of improvement.

But in fact it is your indifference and carelessness that Philip has conquered. Your city he has not conquered. Nor have you been -- no! You have not even made a move." — and —

We, too, have not even made a move. We are lost in our indifference and carelessness. We are indifferent to the persistence of poverty in our own country. Indifferent to

the neglect of our public investments and public services.

Careless of the rights and liberties of millions of

American citizens. Heedless of the needs of our growing
population.

I say it is time to stop this. *Time to* ~~Let us~~ stop gloating

over the size of our national product and ask ourselves what

we are doing with it. *Time to* ~~Let us~~ stop congratulating ourselves

on the miraculous rise of productivity in industry and

agriculture and ask ourselves how to harness it to our

most important needs. *We need a* ~~Let us have a~~ little less preaching

of freedom and a little more practice of civil rights. !

The test is whether a democratic country can plan its

future and manage its affairs to good purpose and to good

effect. That is a test we took in our stride during two

and world wars. We can do it again for peace. !!

Stevenson 1956 - Nixon Ridiculed.
Now For It!

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now

The third test is to lift the shadow of nuclear war, to gain the time in which peace can be secured. This can be done only by agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union.

- But time is meaningless unless used for good purpose.


Such an agreement cannot wait on the settlement of all the complex political and territorial questions that divide West and East. We must be prepared to negotiate, and we must negotiate, on any aspect of the control of armaments where there is the least hope for a workable agreement. But we must know what we want.

Keep
Not once in all the long series of conferences has the United States entered the negotiations adequately prepared.

Not once has our government known what it wanted to achieve.

We have a mere handful of people working on this vast and

technical subject on which the future of civilization itself depends. We have never allocated enough from the "budget's billions for studies needed to translate the ideal of disarmament into a series of practicable steps toward that ideal.


L In six weeks we will be entering disarmament negotiations with 9 countries. We still have ^{clear cut} no policy. We still do not know what we want to propose there. Again, we will be forced to negotiate within the Soviet frame of reference.

L Again the Soviet Union will have the initiative and will reap the reward in world opinion.

L But there is too much at stake for partianship. I remain convinced that the indispensable first step toward disarmament is an agreement for the cessation of nuclear testing under effective inspection and control. The United

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States must not start testing again as long as negotiations
show that there is real hope for such an agreement. And
we must put all the skill and determination of both of
our political parties behind achieving that agreement.

But,

Even as we explore every possibility of agreement
we must use the time to build our own strength. If there
is one thing more than any other that will encourage the
Soviets to drag their feet in negotiations for arms control,
it is the hope that an American government will do for
them what they could not do for themselves: reduce the
United States to a second-class power.

Yes,

The Russians know as well as you and I the effects of
seven long years of Republican rule *and Budget Myopia* on the strength of the
United States.

In seven years we have lost that preeminence in science
and technology, which was our first and firmest line of
defense.

L Our foreign economic programs have fallen behind the
revolution in economic development.

L Our schools and colleges labor under an accumulating
deficit of neglect.

L Our housing and our cities deteriorate faster than
we can renew them.

L Everywhere are unmet needs, neglected opportunities.
These -- not the \$15 billion added to the national debt --
are the measures of the failures of these last seven years.

and L The Russians know this, without spying. The American
people know. The whole world knows.

Administration
Only the ~~President~~ and the Treasury are unmoved.

↳ No more frightening or shocking statement has come
out of Washington than ~~that~~ *the one the* the President made in a
revealing moment of pique, when he was asked about the
Soviet claim to be able to hit any place in the world with
a nuclear-armed missile. He replied: *— Stalin —*

"They (the Russians) also said that they invented
the flying machine and the automobile and other things
... Why should you be so respectful of this statement
this morning if you are not so respectful of the
other three?"

new last year,
Does this reasoning make our defenses adequate?

↳ The same answer might have been given on overseas
investment, or education, or hydro-electric development.

The Russians didn't invent them, but they know how to turn
them to their purposes.

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h The Russians didn't invent the automobile and the flying machine, but they did invent Sputnik and they planted a rocket on the moon.

h They didn't invent the Marshall Plan, but they see the strategic importance of investment in developing countries. *and*

on that!
h They didn't invent TVA, but they understand its economic and political significance. *and are advocating building!*

h And they can read the President's Budget. They can learn how little our government has learned.

h They ~~can~~ see that the prospect of paring the national debt is more important to our government than an adequate long range program of investment in the countries where the future of peace and democracy will be decided. Some call this investment "foreign aid"; I call it self-preservation.

*They can see the emphasis on fear of inflation
at the expense of closing the*

yes Mr Kard

The Russians can see in the budget that we are stubbornly determined to neglect our own national needs:

our education system, our metropolitan ^{Areas} ~~cities~~, our farms, our forests, our resources of flowing and falling waters.

We can see it too. If, as the new doctrine has it, intentions rather than capabilities are the determinants of power, we must appear weak indeed.

Oh, for a government of courage and vision and action,

with the firm intent to use our great capabilities for power,

and strength

and for justice!

PEACE
FOOD
Health
Educa

The greatest danger is not that we cannot reach our

destiny, but that we will neglect to grasp for it. Complacency

and flaccid ease can defeat us, where nothing else could. It

is our supreme business -- yours and mine -- to see that they

do not.

My friends, I have great hopes and great confidence
in this country and its people. I think if they have
not answered the summons, it is because they have not
~~heard it.~~ They have not heard it because it has been
muffled and uncertain. I know that when it is loud and
clear and unmistakable, they will rise to the tasks that
history has laid upon this generation.

Our declaration of faith
is in progress with FDR.

"We must move forward - with a strong and
active faith"



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