

UTILITY WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO

ADDRESS OF

THE HONORABLE HUBERT M. HUMPHREY
United States Senator from Minnesota

Red Lacquer Room
Palmer House
Chicago, Illinois

Thursday, October 24, 1963

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, President Pachler; the Officers of the Utility Workers Union of America, my old friend Harold Straub, and this phenomenal, unusual gifted man Andy McMahon, and Bill Munger, and all of the Officers of the Executive Board and you delegates to this, your Thirteenth Constitutional Convention,

I guess one of the reasons I come to these meetings is I like to get bragged up or bragged on like these introducers do it.

I have asked that a tape recording be made of my speech, and somebody asked me awhile ago and said;

"Why do you do that?"

I said;

"I sort of save them and listen to them again and if there is anything good said about me, I play it back to Mrs. Humphrey."

(Laughter.)

And I tell her:

"This is what other folks think."

(Laughter.)

And then she said:

"But they didn't talk to me first."

(Laughter.)

You fellows know what I mean.

I am very pleased that the President of the United States saw fit to send this great Convention his message. It is more than greetings, it is a message.

The President knew that I was to be here because I spoke to him only the day before yesterday, and he asked me personally to bring his greetings, but he apparently thought that I was going to fall down on the job, so he sent a telegram.

(Laughter.)

I will not hold this against him, however, and I will still vote democratic, despite what happened.

(Applause.)

Now your good President, our friend Bill Pachler, has told you that I have the privilege of working with our President, and I do. It is a good privilege. As a matter of fact, every Tuesday

morning at 8:45 I am one of a half dozen that joins with the President for what we call our Legislative Leaders Breakfast.

Now I want you to know there was a time that I expected to have all my meals over to the White House.

(Laughter.)

But it is pretty good just to get breakfast,

(Applause and laughter.)

And at that breakfast meeting, we go right to work.

I must say that we have one of the hardest working presidents that this country has ever known.

I don't recall anyone that puts in the hours and the constant attention to the duties of his office that President Kennedy is doing, in these days, and in these months.

I want to thank you also for sending out to the air port this morning a very distinguished escort committee.

I must say that I wasn't sure whether they were members of the Union or whether they were special emissaries of respective Chambers of Commerce.

First of all, there was a chap by the name of Harry McDonald who has certain well known prejudices, such as thinking that Boston has something to do with this country.

(Applause.)

And there there was another chap by the name of Ed Hall, who had the audacity to try to tell us that Los Angeles was a growing city.

(Laughter.)

And I might add -- mainly with people that left Minnesota.

(Laughter.)

Then there was another chap from Michigan, I believe Lansing, Francis Shepard. He didn't have too much to say because he isn't quite sure how we are going to treat Michigan on the football field in the coming weeks.

I might add that Minnesota isn't doing too well this year. We are not gluttons. We are not

selfish. We only believe in winning about three out of four years, and let the other folks get in and then there is also Alex Roach, from Detroit, Michigan.

We had a very fine visit about your Organization. We bragged on our respective states, and I asked how many locals do you have in Minnesota?

I didn't get very much of a response, but I know that this room is filled with people who once had the good fortune, the blessed privilege of living in Minnesota.

(Laughter.)

And may I say:

"Return, we need you, particularly for the next election."

(Applause.)

Well, I didn't come here just to reminisce with you.

I came here to talk to you about some serious business.

I want to thank the President of your Organization, Mr. Pachler, for making it possible for

me to rearrange my schedule.

I intended to be here tomorrow afternoon and had I been here tomorrow afternoon, I could have been more freewheeling. I could have just given you the whole works, because I wouldn't have had any time limitations upon me.

But, just two days ago, certain things developed which necessitated my change of plans.

Last night I spent a good deal of time with the deputy leader of the British Labor Party, who is visiting in our country, who as some of us sat around with him, three or four hours, discussing relationships between our two countries, and it is entirely possible that the British Labor Party may be in power in Britain within the next year.

Then we also had a meeting, some of us that are deeply interested in the Latin American affairs, with the President of Bolivia, and then about twelve o'clock I got home and started to pack for a trip that I will start on tonight.

The President of the United States has asked two members of the Senate and two members of the

House, along with the Secretary of State, and along with certain officers of our Military to represent this country on Saturday at a great ceremony in Frankfort, Germany, for the dedication of the George Marshall Memorial, and also to be present for certain ceremonies relating to the air lift of an entire armored division.

I am going to leave Washington tonight at eight o'clock. We will pick up the Secretary of State in New York at eleven o'clock.

We arrive in Bonn, Germany tomorrow around nine o'clock.

We visit with the new Chancellor of Germany for a brief period and then fly to Frankfort, Germany, where we have a full day and a half of activities, and we will be back in Washington, D.C. on Sunday afternoon.

There is nothing like a good rest I always say.

(Laughter.)

Then if you add to that the fact that my good friend the Majority Leader of the Senate,

Mike Mansfield -- and if anybody here is from Montana, if you have got any relatives in Montana, if you don't re-elect Mike Mansfield, don't ever invite me back to any labor convention.

(Laughter and applause.)

Well he went out home to visit with the good folks in Montana, and I am his deputy leader, and I am supposed to be back in Washington, and I am going to be back there this afternoon.

I told one of my colleagues that I had some important business and I would turn up around 2:30.

He said, "What is it?"

I said, "Do I probe into your private life?"

"Leave me alone, and I will be back."

So just don't tell him where I have been.

Now, let me get back down to business.

I want to talk to you this morning about what I consider to be the three great fundamental consuming political issues facing this country, in fact, facing the whole world, because whatever faces America today also faces the whole world.

Now, I talk to you about it, because I

know of no particular group, no individual group of people that have a greater stake in, and a greater interest in the outcome of these issues.

The American Labor Movement represents the most powerful force of free men and women organized on an economic basis of any group in the world.

The American people, in fact, the whole people of every country, every country depend upon the American Labor Movement to set a good example of dedication to democratic principle, of dedication to a better standard of living, dedication to better working conditions for the men and women that work in the shops, factories, the mines, and the fields of this country.

The American Labor Movement has the responsibility to be politically alive, politically alert and mature. In other words, the word is, "responsibility".

You have to take part in your local government, your state government and your national government.

You have a responsibility also on the

international scene.

I happen to know that this great organization, The Utility Workers Union of America, has helped build free-trade unions in far away countries, because, and let me make it quite clear to you, there isn't a chance of a democratic government surviving in any part of the world unless there is a solid base of free-trade unionism to support those democratic governments.

(Applause.)

When I travel abroad, and I travel occasionally, I go enough to have at least some idea of what is happening.

I hunt out, I look for the trade unions, and if I find trade unions that are being manipulated by the political leaders, or if I find trade unions that are dominated by the communist forces, I know that that country for all practical purposes, has had it, it is gone or at least it is sick.

But, when I find men and women, and I have found them, thank goodness, in country after

country, particularly as I traveled in South America, in Latin America and Central America, when I find people there in their unions, struggling to maintain free and democratic institutions, struggling to keep a trade union alive as a free independent movement, then I see men and women from America, from our own trade union movement working with them, I know that in the long run, in the long run those countries are going to come through.

They are going to come through as democratic republics.

I say this to you because I happen to know that the AFL-CIO with which you are affiliated, pours in hundreds of thousands of dollars to help build free-trade unionism.

And I have heard members, so help me, I have heard members be critical of this expenditure.

Let me say to every mother and father in this room, that the few dollars that your organization may expend or the great AFL-CIO may expend to help build free-trade unions in other parts of the world, may be the difference between life and death for

yourself and your son or your daughter, because we are in a mighty struggle.

(Applause.)

Therefore, I appeal to you to support this effort.

I appeal to you to encourage your own leaders to do more, and I appeal to you to take an active interest in the political life of this nation; there are peculiar forces at work in America today.

There are forces at work in America that are very loud, very audible, very, very articulate and they come out with very simple answers for the most difficult of problems. They come out with child-like answers for man-like problems. They come out with most -- with almost you may say naive answers for complex problems.

When I hear some of these spokesmen talk, when I read what they have to say, I say, "Thank God the American people up to now at least have rejected this kind of leadership."

Imagine what it would be like my

friends, my fellow Americans, if you had in the White House a president whose immediate response to every challenge was one of belligerency, was one of hate and was one of warlike stature.

This country would be plunged into a nuclear holocaust.

Imagine if you had in the White House today one that didn't want to negotiate from strength, but one that wanted to be belligerent, bellicose and arrogant.

Imagine if you had in the White House today, one who thought that there were simple answers to the problems of the American people; such as:

"Let the old folks take care of the needy."

"We need no Social Security."

I have heard so-called responsible people in public life make utterances like that.

I say to you good men and women of the trade union movement, you have a responsibility today second to none because of the wild men of the radical right, the wild men of the radical right are

trying to overwhelm the American people with nonsensical propaganda, with easy answers to tough problems, and unless we face up to our responsibility, and unless we understand that there are no easy answers, that there are no short-term answers, that we are living in a period of change, that we have unbelievable problems before us, and it is going to take statesmen to answer these problems and men and women of conviction and dedication; unless we understand this, this country is going to be in serious trouble, and if America is in trouble, the whole world is.

As a friend of mine once said to me, when I was visiting in Europe, he said:

"When you Americans catch cold we get pneumonia."

What did he mean by that?

He means that when we falter, when we vacillate, when we are doubtful, when we don't do what we ought to do, then the rest of the world suffers immeasurably.

So if there is going to be a better world, we are going to help make it.

It doesn't mean that we are the entire force for good in the world, not at all, because that would mean trying to claim too much credit.

It means that we have the responsibility for leadership and I can tell you that the officers of this Union know that to be a leader, and to take the responsibilities of leadership doesn't mean that you yield every moment to the first cry that comes out for some kind of erratic or irresponsible action.

You have to chart a course and you have to be able to stand up against the temporary currents that may sweep you away, unless you have your feet firmly planted on solid ground.

Now what are then the issues that face us?

The first great issue is the one about people, human rights.

All over America, all over the world and I will be quick with it, because time doesn't permit me to go into detail.

But let me say this my friends, that if

we cannot solve here in America the problems of American citizenship, and that is all we are talking about, if we cannot provide equal opportunity for our own people in America, regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin, then how do we expect to offer leadership to a world in which the majority of the people are not Caucasian, are not of our religious faiths, or are not of our color?

We have to find the answers and we can.

What is your President asking of the Congress today?

What is he asking of America?

He isn't asking for anything that is radical or extreme.

He is asking that we undertake the responsibility of fulfilling the commitments of the Constitution of the United States, a sacred document.

That Constitution says that no state shall deprive any citizen of the United States of life, liberty or property without due process of law, and no citizen shall be denied the equal protection of laws and all citizens shall have equal rights and

immunities, that is all. I paraphrased it.

And it puts a responsibility upon the states and upon the Congress of the United States, and upon the President of the United States, and the courts of the United States to do just one thing:

See that every citizen is treated as a citizen, not a white citizen, not a colored citizen, not a Catholic citizen, not a Statescitizen, or Jewish citizen, but as a citizen.

And let me say right now, the greatest honor that any person in the world can have, is to be known as a citizen of the United States of America.

(Applause.)

I want to see the great power that this country represents released and emancipated.

I want us to give people a chance to participate to their fullest in the life of this America, and I will say to you that the program that your President has laid down in what he calls his Civil Rights Program, is not only politically right, it is not only economically right, it is morally right.

I am happy to ask for the help of every decent American citizen to get that program through.

We need it, and I ask you to speak to your members in Congress, to quit this dilly-dallying around, to quit playing footloose and fancyfree with an issue that involves the life of this nation and the lives of our people, and if you don't do anything else after this speech, you write to your member of Congress and tell him to get on the stick and get that job done before we leave here this year.

(Applause.)

Now what is the second great issue?

There is no use in talking about equal opportunity.

The second great issue is progress.

I hear many people say:

"Well, we want fair employment practices."

Great, so do I. I am the author of the first fair employment practices ordinance in the United States enforceable, in 1945, when I was

Minneapolis Mayor.

I know a little bit about this.

I have been in this fight for years, but you can have all the laws in the world and if you don't have any jobs, you don't have any opportunity.

If you enforce certain kinds of rules and regulations for one group, when you don't have an expanding economy, it means that you penalize another group.

What we need in America is not merely to divide up the present pie a little better, but we need a bigger pie.

There are more Americans. This is a changing country. It is growing by leaps and bounds. If you don't believe so, just ask your children.

I am a granddaddy twice and things are going great.

(Laughter.)

These youngsters today, they really plan on moving ahead in every way. They are producers. This is a growing nation.

Now we have today unemployment, not

great, but too much and it is the duty of every American and it is the duty of this government to erase from our national scene and our nation's -- what you might call our national face, this ugly blotch of unemployment.

Unemployment is costly in terms of economics. The cost of unemployment my dear friends, if we had the people that are presently unemployed, employed, we wouldn't have any federal deficit, not at all, and I wish that some of the fellows in Congress that are constantly worrying about the so-called budget deficit were as worried about the human deficit, the deficit that comes from men and women who want a job, not being able to get one.

The factories that are not producing to capacity, this is the deficit.

The deficits that face America today are the deficits, if you please, in the fulfillment of citizenship rights.

The deficits that come from plants without full capacity, without the use of full capacity, the deficit in our educational structure that is inadequate, the deficits of unemployment, but the very

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people who get the headlines today are the ones
who say:

"We have got a deficit in the
budget."

All the Federal budget reflects is some of the inadequacies of America. That is what it does. It puts it in figures and when you see a Federal budget deficit, my friends, in times like these, you can rest assured that one of the reasons the deficit is there is because a certain part of America is not being permitted to produce the goods and services of which it is capable.

The answer to the Federal deficit is not merely watching Federal spending.

The answer to the Federal deficit is to see to it that every American that wants to go to work can have a job and to see to it that he is trained for that job, that he is upgraded in that job and that the factories of America are permitted by the demands of consumption to move ahead and fulfill the needs of the American people.

That is the answer to your deficit.

(Applause.)

What are we faced with?

We have five million unemployed today.

Well, let me give you the bad news.

We need 32 million jobs in 1960 to 1970;

24 million because of technological advance and automation; 8 million because of population increase.

We are going to have 26 million more jobs required for the young people that come of job age from 1960 to 1970.

We had one million more 16 year olds this year than any time in American history.

This country is moving ahead. We need, my friends, 80,000 jobs every week for the next ten years.

We need 300,000 jobs almost, 290,000 jobs to 300,000 jobs every month at a minimum and we will still have an unemployment rate of three percent to four percent.

Now, what kind of jobs?

Skilled jobs.

The day of the unskilled worker is coming to an end.

Fewer and fewer unskilled workers, more and more skilled workers, white-collar workers, more and more people who are in the services, as we say.

I look upon people today who are highly

skilled.

You have got to be, if you are going to live, you have got to be skilled on the job or off the job.

Technology, science, automation, new processes requires that we train our people.

So we not only have to think in terms of jobs, but we have to think in terms of how people are trained for those jobs and that is why we need tremendous programs of education.

This is why we must see to it that every boy and girl in America not only has a high school education, and we must attack the drop-out problem.

We are going to have, according to estimates seven and a half million school drop-outs in this decade.

Let me tell you, my friends, in the school drop-out, is where you have your teenage unemployment.

I don't say that every school drop-out is unemployed. It is ridiculous, and I don't say that everybody that gets a high school education is great because that is ridiculous. You can't make statements like that.

But I am saying that a high school education is a minimum and I am saying something else; that what we are going to have to do is to provide community colleges by the hundreds for our young people so that they can afford to go to school close to home.

We are going to have to expand our university plants, in fact, my fellow Americans, we are going to have to expand education, between now and 1980, so that we double the number of teachers, double the number of classrooms of America's present educational system.

Now, don't tell me we can't do it, because if we can't do it, we have to fold up and quit.

We have to do it, so when your President, or one of your members of Congress or your Governor, whoever he may be, or one of your citizens gets up and says:

"Look, we must invest in education."

He isn't a dreamy-eye radical, or idealist. He is as practical as can be.

If we don't expand our educational plants, if we don't expand the kind of education that trains

people for jobs and at the same time, if we don't keep strong our union movement, so that when we train people that they can go into a union and have job protection, and job security and better working conditions, if we don't do these things together, my friends, America is going to slip, and if America slips, the rest of the world will break its back, and the forces of tyranny and dictatorship and oppression will win victory after victory.

This fellow Khrushchev cannot beat us, unless we let him, and that man that he is arguing with in China can't beat anybody unless we let him.

Now, I have been in these countries. I have had a chance to witness Soviet industry, Soviet agriculture, Soviet cities, Soviet farms, Soviet people, and you and I know that America is so far ahead in terms of industrial production and efficiency, in our agricultural production and efficiency, so far ahead of the Communist world that there is no comparison and we need to stay that way.

They are determined that they are going to catch up and I am determined that they won't.

I told this Khrushchev in 1958, when I sat with him for eight hours and twenty-five minutes, in argument and conversation, I said:

"Mr. Chairman, you have been having it easy because in many countries in the world too many tired old men are in charge. But I want to tell you something:

"In the next election my crowd is coming in in America and they are going to be young and they are going to be vigorous and we are going to run you right out of Gorki Park."

(Applause.)

I must say for Khrushchev, he said,

"I accept the challenge."

Well, we have been doing pretty good.

I was in Gorki Park in August of this summer. I talked to their citizens. I had on a suit of clothes that I paid less than \$60 for. It wasn't much of a suit, but it was good enough for the occasion and I had a group of young Russians around me.

(Laughter.)

And I must say that I had one of the most

interesting evenings in my life.

I was arguing with them. We were arguing about human rights and civil rights, and I told them that we knew we had our problems but we talked about them, and we did something about them.

"Now, what about your problems?

"Why don't you do something about yours?

"Why don't you quit arguing with us and start arguing with yourselves?"

And one young man spouted off and he said:

"Moscow is perfect."

And another young man about 20 feet away said:

"He is a fool and he is a liar."

Now that is not bad.

One other fellow spoke up and said:

"What we need is a change of government in Russia."

(Laughter.)

I wanted to get out of the park. I thought maybe I would be locked up.

(Laughter.)

But one workers came up to me and I want to say for these Russian people, I didn't find any hostility towards America except in the -- except from the hard-core Communists.

Most of the people were sentimental about America.

One told me that his father had fought with us in the war.

One young man asked to be remembered to certain areas of America where he had known people.

They were friendly and I said to this one young man, I said:

"You see this suit of clothes?

"This suit of clothes represents about one-half a week's pay for an American worker, a skilled worker.

"Your suit of clothes that you have on represents one month's work for you."

I took my coat off and put it on this young man. He was about my size and he felt it and he looked at it, and I think I won the argument without many words, and he thought so too.

I said finally:

"Who do you think has the worker's paradise?"

I don't want to answer your question, you think about it.

We have in America today, my friends, the finest establishment, economic establishment, economic system that the world has ever known, but we want it better because I am of the opinion that this struggle between the forces of Communism and the forces of freedom will be settled one of two ways, if it is settled.

If it is settled the first way, there will be no victor worthy of the name.

If it is a settlement on the field of battle with nuclear weapons anybody here with any sense at all, and you have all got it, knows that a nuclear war spells disaster for western civilization.

The only ones that will be left will be maybe a few in Asia or a handful in Africa and all that we have known as western civilization will be consumed in flame and gas and destruction.

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So the task of statemanship today is not to rattle the saber and to run around with the nuclear weapon threatening its use.

The task of statesmanship is to control this weapon, yes, to maintain it, but to control it, and thank God we have been able to do it up to now.

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Therefore, if that alternative is not to be used, then what is the other one?

The other one is a test of economic strength, a test of moral strength, and a test of philosophical strength and if we can't win that, then we don't deserve to win.

I know we can, but we have to gear ourselves for it.

This is why the tax program that will release purchasing power and investment is necessary.

I don't think the tax bill that is before the Congress is perfect. No one ever wrote a perfect tax bill but I know this, we have got to change the tax law.

I know that we have to have more purchasing power for the American people and I know that we have got

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to release capital so that it can be invested to expand and improve and modernize America and this Senator isn't going to be looking for perfection, he is going to do the best he can in order to release the potential of America to make this a better and bigger country, and a more prosperous economy for America.

(Applause.)

Now, finally, because time goes on, the third great issue and I want to repeat, I want to summarize this.

The first one, number one, the human rights issue is tied in with the economic issue.

Human rights are theoretical unless there are jobs and economic opportunities and jobs and economic opportunities depend upon workers of every race, creed and color, people of every race, creed and color, being given every opportunity to use what God almighty gave them, let them be themselves; release the tremendous talents and capabilities that is here.

Quit going around taking skin tests, but instead take brain tests.

Let the brain, the heart and the mind and

the body do what it can for self-improvement, for community improvement, for national strength, and any people that don't do that, insist on winning and fighting a battle with one arm tied behind his back, and we can't win our battle with any arms tied behind our back.

The third great issue, most important of all, is the quest for peace.

Let me make it quite clear. You don't prove yourself a coward or an appeaser because you seek peace.

The search for peace is man's noblest adventure. Blessed are the peace makers, indeed.

And what is more the search for peace requires greater statesmanship, greater wisdom, greater prudence, greater judgment and greater strength of character and greater courage than to be a warrior.

Any fool can plunge this world into war, but only a man as wise as Solomon and as gifted as the prophets of old can preserve this world from the dangers of war.

I want to say to you that if President

Kennedy has made one contribution to our times, and he has made many, I say that his contribution to this decade and to the history of our country, will be that he had the courage to search for peace.

Peace is a process, says our President. You work at it. You struggle for it, you plan for it, you negotiate for it, you commit yourself to it, and we ought to be not only intent upon winning the victory, but winning the victory with peace.

The President of the United States doesn't show weakness when he sits down with the worst of the dictators. He shows fearlessness.

Any man can stand up in the Congress of the United States and rail and rile against these dictators with his Congressional immunity, telling the President he ought to be tough, and I find generally that those that talk the toughest vote the least for the defense of the country.

Those that talk the toughest when it really gets right down to the fine line where we may be forced to stand up and be counted, they are absent.

No, President Kennedy and his advisors

and his associates have the courage to meet with anybody anywhere at any time, if it will mean a better world, and a more peaceful world without the sacrifice of democratic principle or our convictions.

Yes, I have said the President would meet with the devil himself in hell if need be to save the peace of the world.

We are not going to give away freedom, but we are not going to lose the chance to advance it either.

Ladies and gentlemen, who do you think is winning?

Who is over trying to get food?

The Communist!

Whose industrial system is creaking and bursting at the seams from inefficiency?

The Communist!

Who is having the main trouble in their alliances?

The Communist!

The Soviet system today is even finding its captive nations, its satellites demanding more

freedom and economy and we ought to encourage it. Every move that we make, every policy that we pursue, should be designed to get a little more freedom, a little more freedom of movement to everyone of the European, Eastern European states.

We ought to talk to their people. We ought to do business with them when it is in our interest and we ought to try to loosen them from the shackles that have been holding them down so long.

And then, my friends, we ought to project our message to the peoples of the world every day. The people of the world, the little people, they are afraid of war, and rightly so, and when America only talks of its massive engines of destruction, when voices of this country only talk about our supersonic bombers, only talk of our Strategic Air Command, only talk of our nuclear arsenal, we don't frighten the Russians. They already know that. We just frighten the living daylights out of everybody else and they think we are warmongers.

Now, you and I know that all of these things, the nuclear arsenal, the Strategic Air Command, they are but shields of defense.

But we have some people who like to talk about them as if they are play things to be used willy-nilly to frighten people.

The kind of power that counts, my friends, is the power that is real and the power that is used judiciously and wisely and quietly.

Teddy Roosevelt was right:

"Speak softly but carry the big stick."

We have got too many people that want to carry a little stick and speak awfully loud.

President Kennedy has built the strength of this country by his leadership.

America today stands as the most powerful nation that the world has ever known militarily. There has never been anything like it.

We stand today as the richest nation that the world has ever known. There has never been anything like it.

We stand today with the greatest social system that the world has ever known, and I for one do not cringe in fear when Mr. Khrushchev lets off a blast, or that pip-squeak down in Cuba --

(Laughter.)

-- that doesn't bother me particularly either.

What we need to do is to see to it that there are no more Castros in Latin America.

We need to help the people there that want freedom, to build freedom and we need to meet head-on subversion wherever we see it.

We need to be sure that in Europe and Eastern Europe as well as in Western Europe, wherever there is a little ray of light, wherever there is a little breath of fresh air of freedom, that we open the window a little more and we turn on the light a little more.

I predict if you have the patience and the perseverance that within this century, and within this -- indeed, within this generation, if we pursue the course of being firm but not belligerent, of being resolute but not arrogant, of negotiating from strength and seeking peace through strength, I predict that it will not be the United States and the free world that goes Communistic, but it will be the Communist areas that become more and more free and this should be our

goal; peace a process, peace through strength, peace through dedication, peace through the strength of will, peace through the strength of our economy, peace through the strength of sacrifice, peace through the strength of our diplomacy, peace with our allies and above all, peace with our intellectual and moral strength; we can get it.

If I didn't think so, I wouldn't have taken the time to come out here this morning, but I am tired of having the people frighten the American people.

I come to you this morning with a message of good news. We are winning. The tide is in our favor.

The people of the world want what we have. They want the experience of living the Democratic life.

Let's show them that we can maintain it.

Let's show them that we cannot only maintain it here, but that we can export it there.

Let's show them that we never cringe from fear before any dictator nor do we seek to arouse

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the passions of men that would destroy the world.

I want to, therefore, ask you to join with your President and your country and it is your country, and you are good citizens of this country, join to make America strong enough for the days ahead to survive any test, and above all, to give leadership to people that need it.

end

Thank you, very much.



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