

From the Office Of:
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The following is the text of an address by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey before the Women's National Democratic Club on June 23, 1964.

LABORERS WORTHY OF THE HIRE

I want to pay my respects this evening to the Women's Democratic Club for the great role it has played in the big decisions of American politics. The Democratic party and the American people are in your debt.

I do not come here to convince you of the many virtues of the Democratic Party. Rather I am delighted to come to share an advocacy. Democrats are essentially advocates. Let those dwell in negation who are not sure about what they believe. I believe in advocacy, in the affirmation of a positive faith. Here I find myself at home.

Of course there must be substance to our enthusiasm. We must weigh causes carefully and look at the great issues with the impartiality of a judge. But I have looked at the causes to which we have given devotion. I have weighed the issues, and I have come up with one conclusion: We have been right--the Democratic Party is worthy.

I need not remind you either that this is an election year. We must not, however, underestimate the importance of this election year. I believe that this coming campaign will be harder fought than many of us believe. It is our duty now to take an inventory, to find out where we stand, to ask what we have been doing and where we are going. In short we must give a fair account to the American people of our stewardship. We owe that to the American people and we owe it to ourselves. To govern is a responsibility.

I know that a new sense of responsibility came to me when I took the job as the Majority Whip in the United States Senate in January, 1961. When I assumed that responsibility I sacrificed a certain freedom of action. One cannot take on the responsibility of leadership without taking on some extra burdens of that responsibility. It takes more self-discipline. And if one wants party discipline from others, he must have it himself.

When the Democratic Party, through its elected President--our late and beloved John Fitzgerald Kennedy--took on the responsibility of governing this nation, it also assumed many duties and many responsibilities. The nation was confronted with a host of serious problems. But when John Kennedy, with a humility that sensed fully the magnitude of those problems, said simply, "I welcome them," he made us all more adequate to our duties.

I am not here to recount history. The key to the success of the Democratic Party is to attack the problems of the present and to look to the future. We feel no mandate to dwell in the past, much less attempt the impossible of returning to it. We would use the inspiration of the past, its source of reference, its residue of experience, to meet the new duties of new occasions. From the past we have learned responsibility.

Only the inexperienced in politics dream of the luxury of being "free-wheelers." Only the neophyte thinks he can--or even should--be able to pick and choose as he pleases, with an untrammelled independence of action on all issues and occasions. In conscience he may have liberty, but likewise in conscience he is denied license. The Democratic Party has learned that.

This party has governed this nation since 1933 with the exception of eight years. And in six of those eight years the Democratic party had a majority in the Congress. We have learned that we have no right to be frivolous. We have learned that we have no right to look lightly on any subject or issue of the day. We have learned in each year to ask ourselves: "Have we kept the public trust? Has the public consensus been found? Have we protected not only the heritage of the past, but the options of those unborn?"

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A party in power for a long period of time may drain itself of leadership, or become complacent in its sense of cause. Equally, a party long out of power is tempted to seek control for the sake of control--to assault in desperation what it has not earned in merit.

I can speak best for the Democratic Party. That party has been responsible to its trust. The Democratic Party has been able to receive new strength out of the ranks of its members. It has drawn a fresh vitality, year after year for more than thirty years.

Our party has not come just lately to be led by President Lyndon Johnson. One particular attribute of character--one great hallmark of his leadership--began when he was the Majority Leader of the Senate during the six years of the Eisenhower Administration when the Democratic Party controlled the Congress. Lyndon Johnson taught us in those years, he preached to us, lectured us--and sometime cajoled us if you like--on the theme of the Democratic party being responsible to the whole nation. He told us we could not be loose on fiscal policy. He reminded us that foreign policy was above partisanship. On any and every domestic issue he counselled us on the responsibilities of a party entrusted with the responsibilities of government.

Today the President of the United States still exemplifies in word and deed the same thought, the same philosophy and doctrine which he gave us then as the Senate Majority Leader. He insists that the Democratic Party be a party of responsibility. And so I emphasize tonight the theme of responsibility, the theme of being laborers worthy of the hire in the vineyard of democracy.

Perhaps anyone can preach. At least the world is full of good advice, little of which is taken. President Johnson has not been content with mere preachment. From the heritage of the American past, but projected to the future, he has captured that vision which converts duty into a drive. He has given us a cause in which we can step forward to enlist. He has received the eternal wisdom that "without vision the people perish." We have been given the vision of "The Great Society." It is the same vision of the Founding Fathers. But it is the idiom of the 20th century, speaking to our greater powers to achieve it. The American ideal has been made fresh again.

People need ideals, not just ideas. In the public relation man's jargon, ideas are all too often "gimmicks." They are born in cleverness and die in cynicism. It takes ideals to lift a man, a nation, a party, to restore a spirit and fortify a will. It takes an ideal to lead.

I have said that President Johnson drew his ideal of the Great Society from the spirit of the American past, from the dream that brought forth on this continent "a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." President Johnson has also drawn his ideal from the great commitments of the Democratic Party. Most recently, President Kennedy described our goal as "the New Frontier." That was his way of putting the challenge of new opportunities before this land and people. Partly in jest, one may say of another political party that instead of a new frontier, it has been groping in vain for a "Lost Horizon."

In a recent telecast, President Johnson gave a simple definition, without slogans, of the "Great Society." Reporters asked him: "Mr. President, Franklin Roosevelt had the New Deal; Harry Truman had the Fair Deal; John Kennedy had the New Frontier. What will you call your Administration?" In the quiet, restrained and thoughtful manner so characteristic of him, President Johnson replied: "I suppose that what this Administration seeks for the American people is a better deal, a better life, a better world, a set of better circumstances, not only for the many, but for the few."

This is an enduring commitment of the Democratic party. As Franklin Roosevelt, the early mentor of Lyndon Johnson, stated it, we do not seek to have government add to those who already have too much. We seek a

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government that makes it possible for those with too little to have enough. There is no need to enhance the privilege of a few. There is need to give opportunity to all.

I am emphasizing responsibility, vision, and the better life tonight because I want Democrats to recognize in this year of 1964 that our task is to maintain the high ground of idealism. It is our duty to take the high road of principle. Our job is to speak up for America at its best; for America as we want it to be, and the world as it must become if there is to be peace on earth. This is the responsibility we must not fail. I do not say we would lose the election if we lowered our gaze. Elections can be won on lower roads as well as higher. Politicians can win elections, but only statesmen deserve to. I want the Democratic party on the high road. I want us to win because we are responsible to the trust we seek--the trust of all Americans.

I say this because, frankly, I have the feeling that we shall be opposed this year with more desperation. I fear that some opposition is going to appeal to the passions of the people, instead of to reason. There may even be a tendency to pit group against group, or section against section; to divide the house of America instead of to unite it. I hope it will not be so, but I believe it may be so. In any case we must shun every temptation to fall for that bait, or be involved in such a strategy. Any party that takes that route will be unworthy of the public trust, even though it wins the election.

What I seek to do tonight, then, is mainly to remind you of the high ground, to ask you to stand this year even a little taller, to draw even more deeply of a cleaner air, to think even more in terms of political refinement. I ask you to set your standards a notch higher than usual, and don't be afraid of such a stand.

You have asked me to speak also of Civil Rights and the legislative record. I am pleased to do so because I believe that the record of the Democratic party here gives substance and texture to the theme I would leave with you of meriting the public trust. We have kept the faith.

Let me be brief on Civil Rights--you can read the papers--and clarify the issue as I have seen it.

I became involved in Civil Rights long before I ever came to Congress. My concerns began in a small town in South Dakota. They continued later in a city in Minnesota. The husband of Jane Freeman--Orville Freeman--was a young lawyer just graduated from the University of Minnesota, and was helping me, without pay, when I was Mayor of Minneapolis. Orville Freeman wrote the first municipal fair employment practice ordinance that was ever written in the United States of America. We passed it. We made it a fact of law.

Civil Rights has nothing to do with getting a Negro vote. The Democratic party has been getting Negro votes without civil rights legislation, and the Republicans have been getting some Negro votes without civil rights legislation. I am not sure that being for civil rights is a plus issue in getting votes.

Civil Rights is an issue of morality. It is an issue that goes to the heart of the whole struggle in the world today. It is the issue between the Communist and the freedom man. It is the issue between those who believe in colonialism and those who believe in democracy. It is an issue of human dignity. Civil rights transcends any and all political parties. It goes to the core of democratic thought and experience.

Speaking for the Democratic Party, I say we have no choice as a party worthy of the respect of the nation except to come to grips in our own community with the issue of human dignity. You cannot treat people in a society that is supposed to be united--the United States of America--as if some persons are different than others. You cannot have a first-class citizenship for some and second-class citizenship for others. You cannot deny the morality of human dignity and survive as a free people. And so the Democratic party came to grips with the issue.

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Tonight, in this Democratic Club, I want to praise my Republican associates who put ~~their~~ country above party. Because of this, our nation, and we as elected representatives of the people without regard to party, were able to pass Civil Rights legislation which was long overdue. The Civil Rights legislation, just passed, will do more for this country at home and abroad in the days to come than any single act of this century--and don't you forget it.

The Civil Rights issue illustrates that idealism is the best politics. The essence of politics is not power. Politics deals with power to be sure--but under the moral imperative to order it with justice. The essence of politics is to ask the continuing question: "What is right; what is just?"--and to find the answers a conscience can live with. This is the obligation of a free society.

In the main, the Democratic party has done well with this obligation. No political party can claim perfection. A political party, after all, is made up of people. We are many different people in America, with many different attitudes. America is a large country. There are many different cultural patterns, diverse social and economic interests, and many variant visions of what is good. The rich diversity of the American pluralism is its greatest strength really, but it sets a pace of movement in terms of what we can do together.

I do not believe any section of this country can be condemned as being the only section that practices segregation. I do not believe any section of this country has a monopoly on justice. In some places segregation and discrimination have been sanctioned by law. In others it has been enforced by habit and custom. Neither is good, and I shall be the first to admit that it will be harder to erase the custom of prejudice than it was to remove the inequity in the law.

We have succeeded in establishing a framework in the law, within which we can put the burden where it belongs--on our hearts and spirits--to work out the problems of human relations. The wounds of the law have been ended. The time of healing has only begun.

It is a wonderful, wonderful feeling however, to know that this country has finally reaffirmed the faith it declared in 1776. We have found again that doctrine of the unalienable rights granted to every man by his Creator--the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. As we have found again our own inner heart, we are entitled once again to a decent respect from the opinions of mankind. It will serve us well in the difficult days ahead.

As for the legislative record of the Democratic Party in recent years, it should give a pardonable pride to any party. As a Democrat I am proud of it.

Less than a year ago, the newspapers were giving the 88th Congress a bad time. The 88th they said, was a "do-nothing Congress." It was "paralyzed." It was a "log-jam."

Last September I was in New York and speaking about the 88th Congress. I quoted generously from the press. I quoted the condemnations of Congress as "fumbling, bumbling, dropping the ball, failing to come to grips with the issues of our time." Then I revealed that my quotations were from a report in the New York Times on the 63rd Congress--not the 88th.

There never has been a time when there has not been criticism of the elected representatives in Congress of the American people. I suppose this is to be expected and somewhat desired. But, as I say when I am out in Minnesota on the hustings: "No matter how warm the hen, it takes 21 days to hatch an egg." No matter how diligent the Congress, how able the leadership, or how inept, it takes a certain amount of time to process legislation.

I ask my fellow Democrats and fellow citizens this year, however, to remember the 87th and 88th Congresses. Those are the Congresses that you must base your appeal to the voters on--and believe me, you can do it with pleasure. The 87th Congress, first and second sessions, was a remarkable Congress. The 88th will go down in history with many merit badges and many awards. Let me review the record:

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First of all, don't forget, my fellow Americans, where you were on January 19, 1961. You were not only in a snowstorm; you were not only in Washington. You were in America, in an America that was in retreat. You were in a nation, if you please, that was beginning to lose its sense of dignity, power and majesty. You were in a nation where the economy was falling behind. The rate of unemployment was rising rapidly and the gold reserve was leaving the country. People tend to forget things like this.

One day later, on January 20, 1961, a brave, brilliant, vital, intelligent young man, elected in a hard-fought campaign by a very close margin, stood before the American people and called them to action. It was no uncertain trumpet he sounded. It was a clear charge from the trumpet to go forth and get the country moving again.

President Kennedy's challenge must still be vivid in our memories. "Ask not what your country can do for you," he said, "ask what you can do for your country." Again he reminded: "If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich." On what was to be a recurring theme of peace he noted "Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate." He was electrifying. He gripped not only his fellow Americans--he found the ears of mankind around the world.

Speaking of many problems, he said simply "Let us begin." And we did begin. Your Congress and your Executive worked together from the beginning. We did not perform miracles, but we did begin the job of governing. We started to rebuild our foreign policy. We began to strengthen our national security. We started on domestic issues of many kinds, not the least being to improve the economy.

It is no miracle or mystery why Mr. Khrushchev is more respectful of the United States of America today than he was, let us say, five years ago. Today he confronts a nation with superlative power. He knows that we have the will to use that power if necessary, the self-confidence to restrain it when it is not needed, and the wisdom to know the difference. He respects a firmness that is not belligerent, and he does not mistake forbearance for weakness.

Mr. Khrushchev knows also that he confronts a nation that is as strong economically as it is politically and militarily. And it is not any miracle that we have this strength because we planned to have it that way. We started out with one program after the other--housing, minimum wage, Social Security, agriculture, investment-tax credit. We did begin.

The Democratic party has always included labor, minority groups, and various underprivileged in the consensus it has sought. We shall continue to do so, of course, as a party of all the people. Yet I want you to remember also that no political party in the history of America has ever been more responsible and more earnest about the American system of free enterprise, than has the Democratic Administration of Kennedy and Johnson. We have legislated tax-credits. We have given accelerated depreciation allowances. We have passed in this 88th Congress the greatest and largest tax reduction in the history of this republic. The purpose has been to free the productive powers of our private economy to achieve its potential in growth, and its power to service our people in jobs as well as goods and services.

We can remember the 87th and 88th Congresses for higher education. Not since the time of Abraham Lincoln has there been enacted a broader program for education. We have not yet finished this task, but we have made a great and significant start.

If the 88th will be known as the Education Congress, it will also be known as the Health Congress. This Congress launched for the first time by the government a frontal attack upon mental health and the problems of mental retardation.

For passing Civil Rights legislation the 88th will be known as the Freedom Congress.

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The 88th Will also be the Congress of Economic Opportunity for its programs of public works, area redevelopment, tax credit, and tax reduction.

These are the milestones we can take to the American people.

We have had our heartaches in the past four years and much to grieve about. But what a test it was of our whole system of government and of our people on that black Friday of November 22, 1963. I do not wish to dwell on those emotions. Suffice it to say that all of us, with millions around the world, felt the pain of suffering and sorrow. But America did not stop moving. And I suppose that just as John F. Kennedy will always be remembered for saying "Let us begin," that the words of Lyndon Johnson in his address to Congress on the 27th of November will also be immortal. They were: "Let us continue."

I want to say to Democrats here tonight that this commitment to continuity is more than a political commitment to a man. Ours was a commitment to the platform we laid out in 1960. It was a commitment to continue the Kennedy-Johnson program developed in concert with the leaders of Congress.

I have been a part of those discussions. I have heard the President of the United States speak to his legislative lieutenants and to his Vice President. I have heard the Vice President of the United States give his views to the President. I witnessed the formation and development of the program we call the Kennedy-Johnson Administration program. I watched these two men develop it together and I saw what went into it.

President Johnson then was no stranger to the tasks that became his to administer. He came into it as a working partner. When he spoke of continuing, he spoke of that to which he had given of his own thought, and work, and energy. And so we did continue what we had begun. We passed the legislation in the Congress. That was "Let us continue."

We can go to the American people with this record. I believe that the American people will respond as the master of the house responded to those servants who used their talents well. In that great Parable of Jesus, you remember that each of the servants was given talents to do with as he wished. Some were given more than others, and one servant was given only one talent. After a period of time the master called each servant to account to see what he had done. All but one had invested or put to use his talents in various ways and made them productive. The man with one talent had been fearful, however, that he might lose what he had, so he buried it to protect it. To those who had increased their holdings the master expressed pleasure and rewarded them with even more. But with the man who buried his talent, he was angry, and took even what he had away. The master was not angry with the caution or prudence of the servant who buried his talent. I do not even think he objected to the conservatism of wanting to save. I believe the master's anger was over his servant's suspiciousness, his lack of initiative and desire to improve--and above all over his lack of trust and faith in his fellow men and in his employer.

The Democratic party has not buried its talents. It has invested them for the welfare and improvement of the people it serves, and I believe the people will continue our stewardship.

I want to emphasize tonight that just as President Johnson has put vision into a duty, he has added humanity to statistics. Our record tonight is not embalmed in economic indicators, in bits of information that the Gross National Product has soared well over \$600 billion, or the other charts that say we are indeed moving ahead.

President Johnson's eye has fallen on the individual who cannot be pictured on a graph. He has noticed the persons who have fallen through the cracks of the affluent society, the impoverished elderly lost on the back street, the nameless youth who can't get a job, the man whose skill has been made obsolete but who still has a family to support. Lyndon Johnson has noted this with the eye of compassion. He has reminded us

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that to do something about it is part of our spiritual doctrine, and therefore must be part of our political doctrine.

In the midst then of unprecedented prosperity the President has called attention to unfinished business. He is unconcerned about what the Communists may make of it at home. He has identified a flaw in our social body and has declared without qualification that "We are going to declare war on poverty in America."

It is not only the poverty of the purse, not only the poverty of income, which must be conquered. It is the poverty of the spirit, the poverty of illiteracy, the poverty of sickness, the poverty of hopelessness, the poverty of frustration and the poverty of bitterness that must be vanquished. The President has not asked for a token battle. He has demanded an all-out war. This is a new challenge to the American conscience.

There is nothing new about poverty. The Scriptures record that "the poor ye have always with you." That was not noted as a counsel of complacency however, but rather as an urgency to help them. What is new about poverty today is that we can do something about it. Therefore we must. We have the means to eliminate it. We are a people graced and blessed with the technology, the science, the resources, and the intelligence to give opportunity for all above the level of privation. We can do no other than wage a war on poverty. We have a moral responsibility.

I am delighted as a Democrat that I have been privileged to enlist in this cause. We can win it and we ought to make it a great crusade. We ought never to rest one single day as a party or as individuals until we have made sure that everyone in America has the opportunity to stand in economic independence.

In the long run this means a major investment in education in America, for here is the chief source of the new wealth in America. The development of brainpower plus character is the key to the Great Society. We must see to it that everyone in America has an opportunity for the best of education to the limits of his ability. The most serious deficit this nation faces is in education. It is not the budget deficit that hurts us. It is the intellectual deficit that is allowing people to fall behind in the economic struggle and which is putting brakes on our power to create new wealth. We must invest money to make money. We must pour much more of our substance into education. This is not waste. This is not even spending. This is genuine investment--this is finding talent and putting it to work to increase many times over. This party of ours ought to champion the cause of enlightenment and have no fears of these who talk about it as waste.

And we can win the struggle to help our elderly people. This society has been generous with youth. It provides much for those in the full-bloom of life. Surely we can, and surely we will provide for those in the twilight of life. Therefore, we can pass Medicare, we can pass hospital and nursing-home care. We have an obligation and responsibility here too. Old age should be lived in serenity and dignity. The young who do not respect age, will come to hate their own future.

Towering over all our other concerns of course, in this latter half of the 20th century, is the concern for peace. Since the close of World War II the world seemed to be on a slow but steady collision course with disaster. The accelerated race for thermonuclear weapons pinned us on a pervasive anxiety. Yet since 1960 there have been great movements toward peace. The world is not yet safe, and peace is not secure, but we have a new lease on hope, and a new reason to believe that we can take the first steps in a new direction away from war.

We began to sense it in President Kennedy's address at American University on June 10, 1963. The point that "peace is a process" was made simply, but eloquently clear. The truth that "war is not inevitable" was given a new conviction and determination. This address will surely be one of the great state papers of all time. If Democrats, Americans, Republicans will study it, we shall be less impatient, we will be more understanding,

and we shall have a new determination to heed the President's words when he said "we must persevere" in the cause of peace.

In these last four years we have had striking evidence of that perseverance for peace from at least four apostles of peace who gave their lives for it.

Dag Hammarskjold gave his life for peace in a very real sense. He died in the Congo while seeking the answers, relentlessly pursuing the formula for peace in that part of the world. Indeed the quest for peace had come to dominate his every concern as Secretary General of the United Nations.

In these years too we lost that great lady, Eleanor Roosevelt, and we realized that she too had given her life for peace. She has been in this club many times. She inspired us so frequently. I never knew her to speak unkindly of anyone. She died as she lived, in lifelong dedication to the cause of peace.

We have just lived through a time also when a peasant who was a parish priest rose to become the chief prince of his Church, and gave his life for peace. Pope John XXIII will be remembered as will few in our time, or any time. His great Easter "gift" as he called it--Pacem in Terris--is one of the most moving and magnificent documents for peace and justice that has been given to mankind. Again the overtones of this message soared beyond its content. He addressed "all men of good will." His astounding faith that there were such, everywhere, penetrated both the disillusioned of spirit and the hard of heart. He addressed the natural reason of men, even behind the Iron Curtain. Perhaps no one on our time got closer to the heart of humanity than did Pope John.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy gave his life for peace--for peace at home and abroad. He fell indeed the victim of a tormented mind. Even more, he was the victim of a tormented society, a society that has been infected with hate, bitterness, and extremism. His was indeed a sacrifice for peace at home. But a world shared our grief because they believed his cause encompassed theirs.

I could give other evidences of change in the world, of movements in foreign policy and in the actions of nations, which would also suggest that this still untidy and restive world is wrenching itself away from the path of war. But what I say to my fellow Democrats is this: That because we have had such a close association with all of these great personalities and with all of the policies and programs I have mentioned, we cannot approach the campaign of 1964 as if it were just another election. It is not, in any sense. Every election in America is important, but elections now in America are vital. They determine not only the future of this Republic. They hold in balance the fate of the world. Once again then I make the appeal with which I began. I appeal to the Democratic Party to take the high road of principle and ideals of vision and courage.

The American people want to be better; they want to believe; they want to be good; they want to have faith; they want to have ideals. Above all they want political leaders and a political party that makes them understand the importance of those ideals. Therefore, whether you are a precinct worker, a Congressman, a Senator, an officer in this Club, a member of the Democratic National Committee, or just a plain citizen--whatever you are--you have a responsibility in this campaign. We must be worthy in our conduct of the memory of John F. Kennedy. We have an obligation to carry forward the declaration of faith and the program of this party of Lyndon Johnson. We have the obligation to prove that we are worthy of the faith and trust of the American people as a party that is responsible, constructive, progressive and idealistic. In the words of John Wesley's great hymn "We have a charge to keep."

That is why I came to you tonight, to urge you to be worthy of it.

Thank you.

###

ORO Freeman
Jane

Geo McEwen
+ Eleanor

Muriel

WOMEN'S NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB

Horace
Hoff

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

I am sure that whoever said, "It's a man's world"
never ran for public office. There are more women
than men in the United States today. Women control
more money than men. They are healthier and they live
longer.

Opzel
Huber

Women run our homes, plan the menus, and raise
the children. And the women like to let the men think
they are taking care of the big decisions - like war
and peace, taxes, foreign aid, education and civil
rights.

Ed Morgan
Wendy

Circle R + S
Mimontus - men

George Rogers
didn't ask
I knew she
was
Repeat

Bruce +
matty
pauline

You know far better than I that the women really run our political campaigns and keep our political machinery going. For example, it's common knowledge in Washington that if you want to find anything out, or you want to get anything done - you get in touch

with someone like Lindy Boggs, Carrie Davis or the President of your club, Florence Hoff.

I need not remind you that this is an election

year. And before we plunge into the battle, I think

it's appropriate that we stop for a moment and take

stock of our party. What do we stand for? Where are

we going? Do we deserve to remain in power?

Lindy
Carrie
Mary
Florence

~~Florence Hoff~~
~~Mary Kapsch~~
~~President of your club~~
~~Florence Hoff~~
~~Mary Kapsch~~

✓

Great Society

- 3 -

Our President has a phrase that appeals to me.
He talks about "The Great Society." Lyndon Johnson
and his Administration are looking forward to the
Achievement of "The Great Society"

The issue in November will be clear. The
Republican Party has proclaimed its yearning for the
simplicity of the past. They would cope with the
issues of the 1960's by retreating into the 19th
Century. Their goal is the Lost Horizon. — *ours the*

new frontier —

*• Their promise is the same old
deal — ours a Better Deal*

Now, I don't scoff at nostalgia in its proper place. Some of you may have seen the television show about my childhood in South Dakota. I had a wonderful time reminiscing, but nostalgia is not an acceptable issue for the Campaign of 1964. Retreat into the past does not solve the problems that confront us today.

↳ The Democratic Party is not afraid to look into the future and work for the full development of each man's potential and the creation of the Great Society.

The Great Society no doubt means something a little
different to each of us. But I believe we can all
agree on the indispensable elements of the Great
Society.

First, we mean a society where ^{man kind can be} ~~all men are~~ free
^{where} and equal opportunity is the promise & the fact.

Second, we aim for a society of abundance for
all - both economic and cultural.

Third, we seek a world where freedom and abundance - ^{man kind}
may flourish in peace.

We have come a long way down this road, but there still is much to be done. The Civil Rights bill stands as a guarantee to each American of his right to vote, equal opportunity to compete for a job and equal opportunity for education.

Am
RTS

But merely stating something doesn't make it so.

↳ We will require full compliance with the law throughout the land. We are dedicated to the task of seeing that the same national consensus that produced this law will get behind the observance of it.

↳ I was asked here tonight to give you ~~what~~ ~~Gizella Huber called~~ a "legislative roundup." This is a subject I like to talk about because it gives me a chance to set the record straight.

Leg
Round
up

You remember the rash of gloom and doom articles about Congress not so long ago. The 88th Congress was being branded as the Do-Nothing Congress - and the most serious menace to America since Typhoid Mary.

There was hardly a political pundit worthy of the name who didn't have some harsh words for Congress. Almost overnight, criticism of Congress became America's favorite parlor game, and the more advanced players were ready to give a deep ^{psychiatric} ~~psychological~~ analysis with or without the benefit of a couch.

It was all pretty heady stuff for the critics, --- but they were wrong because they were too impatient to wait for all the votes to be counted.

Now, we've gone far enough down the road to realize that the "Can-Do" 88th Congress will be hailed as one of the greatest in the history of the United States.

Can-Do

By the time we adjourn for the 1964 campaign we will have enacted more major legislation than any Congress since New Deal days.

Heading that list, of course, is the historic civil rights bill that is awaiting final passage in the House. This is the most significant piece of social legislation Congress has had before it in this century, Passage of the civil rights bill alone will entitle the 88th Congress to a secure place in history as the Freedom Congress.

Freedom Congress!

But the "Can-Do" Congress also will be known as the Congress that did more for education than any other Congress in this century ^{'''} as the Congress that did more for mental health and mental retardation than any other Congress ^{'''} the Congress that enacted the largest tax cut in history ^{'''} and the Congress that ratified the test ban treaty.

*The Educ
Cong,*

*The Health
Cong -*

*The Prosper
Congress*

*The humane
congress*

We are going to add to that record by carrying out President Johnson's plans for the all-out War on Poverty and by starting a program of hospital and nursing care for the elderly.

This is hardly the record of what you would call a "Do-Nothing Congress." But those are the very words the critics were using not so long ago.

We Democrats have a proud record to take to the American people this fall. The record of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration is one of the greatest records of accomplishment ever made by a political party in just four years.

We've done so much, many people tend to forget many of our accomplishments, but in addition to the civil rights bill, I'd like to cite a few:

---The largest tax cut in history - a \$12 billion reduction that is the most significant economic legislation since the Employment Act of 1946. Tax

---The most far-reaching Trade Expansion Act since the Reciprocal Trade program of Cordell Hull. Trade

---Establishment of the Peace Corps - a stirring example of the humanitarian and idealistic character of the American people. Peace Corp

---The Alliance for Progress - the most significant economic and social program in American foreign policy since the Marshall Plan.

Alliance

---The most comprehensive program of aid to higher education any free nation in the world has ever known. A huge expansion of aid to vocational and technical education and aid to medical schools, schools of pharmacy, schools of nursing and other professional schools.

*Higher
Ed*

*Voc
Ed*

---The greatest advance in the field of mental health and the first major attack on mental retardation by any country in the history of the world.

*Mental
Health*

Know this record. Be proud of it. This just didn't happen. It was worked on. It was planned. It had to be legislated. And it had to be executed and administered. And we did it.

*Space, Ague
Housing*

This fine record was started by our late beloved President John F. Kennedy. Now it is being carried forward by another great President, Lyndon B. Johnson. Our job this year is to see to it that President Johnson is given the tools to continue that task.

And just as the central theme of his administration is "Let Us Continue," let those three words be our pledge and our watchword this fall.

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