INFORMAL REMARKS CENTRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY PLANS FOR PROGRESS WASHINGTON, D.C. JANUARY 24, 1967 I'm not going to give a speech tonight, I told the Reverend Leon Sullivan he could give his speech at noon today and I would be more than happy to claim half-ownership. I won't try to compete with him. What I would like to do is visit informally for a few moment about some things that concern all of us here -- and to share a few observations with you. (Mans for fire and the state of President Johnson said in his State of the Union Message that this was a time of testing for Americans. I think many people applied this just to Vietnam, or to our international responsibilities. But this is a time of testing here at home too. Henry chr- defention

Again, in the President's words, "the question is whether we will continue working for better opportunities for all Americans, when most Americans are already living better than any people in history."

We cut back in our efforts toward better opportunities.

There is no question that Vietnam, and our other international obligations, do require resources which might otherwise be devoted to building wider and better opportunity here in America.

And may I say, parenthelically, that our efforts to resist aggression and defend the principle of national independence in Vietnam also have a great deal to do with the building of human opportunity.

But I wonder: Should we <u>cut back</u> here at home?

What are the facts of our American economy?

Take inventory ! - check our

without interruption of our economic expansion -- the longest and strongest expansion in our history -- and that 1967 will be another year of balanced growth.

The fact is that our nation's output, last year, grew more than 5 per cent for the third straight year -- and that's another record for length and strength.

The fact is that the average American's <u>real</u> purchasing power is today almost <u>one quarter higher</u> than it was only six years ago.

The fact is that our Gross National Product is today approaching three quarters of a <u>trillion</u> dollars

The fact is that some 10 million Americans have been reached in the past two years by our national programs for opportunity, and have begun their journey toward becoming self-sustaining, taxpaying citizens.

My friends, the fact is that we <u>can</u> afford to continue our efforts toward full opportunity for <u>all</u> Americans ... toward social justice ... toward making every American citizen a positive and productive citizen who contributes something to his society, and doesn't take away from it.

The fact is we <u>cannot</u> afford <u>not</u> to continue.

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We propose a surtax to go into effect July 1. That moderate surtax -- one which will cost the majority of taxpayers less than 5 dollars a month -- is intended to keep a proper balance in our economy and to combat inflation. It is intended to lessen pressure on credit. It is intended to enable our citizens to share in the burdens of Vietnam, which I believe they want to do.

But it is also intended to help us sustain our programs for opportunity in America And I think we should.

We talk about a revolution of rising expectations in the world. Well, there is a revolution of rising expectations in our own country, too -- and I say it is a revolution that we must carry forward, if we are to be true to ourselves.

Who are well We here in the United States -- the people of the

Declaration of Independence ... of the American Constitution ... of the Emancipation Proclamation ... of the Bill of Rights --

we here are, at long last, finally matching our creed with deed when it comes to human opportunity.

Bat, We shouldn't fool ourselves. It hasn't always been that way.

I talked the other day with a young man who a few months ago was shouting "burn baby, burn" in the ghettoes of one of our big cities ... a young man who had marched against his society ... a young man who had preached hatred on the streets.

Today that young man has self-respect. He is a constructive leader in his community. He is going places. What did it? I asked him.

"Someone had some faith in me," he said. "Someone gave me a job."

But Why did he march in the first place?

"I had to be <u>somebody</u>," he said. "I had to show them. I couldn't stand the frustration any longer."

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Sometimes I wonder how we've come these many years without more outbursts born of frustration.

I read not long ago an interview with a Negro mother whose youngest son has just been graduated from high school with honors and a scholarship to college, while his two elder brothers had made a mess of their lives.

Here is what that mother had to say:

"They say we're lazy and we don't pay much attention to the law, and sure enough I have two boys to prove it and one to disprove it so it's two to one against us in this family.

But I'd like to tell people why I think my two boys went bad.

Those older boys were good boys just like the little one, and I remember when they wanted to study and be somebody, just like him. But they never had a chance. They were born too soon. That was it.

"They went to school until it didn't make any sense to go there, because we had no money and they thought they should try to get jobs. So they left school and tried. They tried and tried and there wasn't anything for them.

''Most people keep busy, so the time flies along and they don't know what it is to just sit and feel useless ... I'll tell you what happens, you just fold up and die.

"That's what drugs and liquor mean. They mean you've died. I mean you have hung up on the world, because you keep on calling and there just ain't no answer on the other end of the line.

I watched my boys go bad like milk you know is standing too long. There's no use for it, so it gets sour.

''Now, at least one is going to be O.K. And I'll tell you, it's because he was born at the right time. I know it in my bones that he would have turned out just like the others, except for what's happening now, with the integration and all that.

"He says he's glad it happened to him, but he feels bad because people think he's so special. But the truth is he was given a choice and his brothers weren't, so he feels dishonest sometimes. But I tell him, it's not you who are dishonest, son, it's the world, and they are finally coming around to knowing it, so we should all thank God for that."

Perhaps I've taken too much of your time in reading that passage.

But I ask this question: Who among us in this room wants to tell another generation of children that they were born too soon wattu Wrang time!

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aı	nd watch the valuable human resources of this society wasted
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As for material resources, there is no question that

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The only question concerns our resources of endurance and of patience and of ingenuity.

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We are awake, too, to the possibilities of a new working partnership among all elements of our society -- government, business, labor, the university, the voluntary organization, and the individual citizen -- without regard for old jurisdictions and animosities ... a partnership of free men, working through free insitutions, for a common goal.

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neighborhood, of a new school, of a new opportunity.

 Finally, may I say this:

We Americans have always been a people of self-renewal ... a vital people filled with energy, striving and optimism.

We have been tested in the past -- and we have always proved equal to the test. The history of our republic gives us convincing evidence that ours has been a people at times confused, but never afraid ... at times weary, but never daunted.

And this is why I believe we can, and shall succeed.

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REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY BEFORE THE PLANS FOR PROGRESS FIFTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE JANUARY 24, 1967

I'm not going to give a speech tonight. I told the Reverend Leon Sullivan he could give his speech at noon today and I would be more than happy to claim half-ownership. I won't try to compete with him.

What I would like to do is visit informally for a moment about some things that concern all of us here -- and to share a few observations with you.

President Johnson said in his State of the Union Message that this was a time of testing for Americans.

But this is a time of testing here at home too.

Again, in the President's words, "the question is whether we will continue working for better opportunities for <u>all</u> Americans, when <u>most</u> Americans are already living better than any people in history."

I read a document the other day that suggested we cut back in our efforts toward better opportunities.

There is no question that Vietnam, and our other international obligations, do require resources which might otherwise be devoted to building wider and better opportunity here in America.

(And may I say, parenthetically, that our efforts to resist aggression and defend the principle of national independence in Vietnam also have a great deal to do with the building of human opportunity.)

But I wonder: Should we cut back here at home?

What are the facts of our American economy?

The fact is that we have gone 70 straight months without interruption of our economic expansion -- the longest and strongest expansion in our history -- and that 1967 will be another year of balanced growth.

The fact is that our nation's output, last year, grew more than 5 per cent for the third straight year -- and that's another record for length and strength.

The fact is that the average American's <u>real</u> purchasing power is today almost one quarter higher than it was only six years ago.

The fact is that our Gross National Product is today approaching three quarters of a trillion dollars.

The fact is that some 10 million Americans have been reached in the past two years by our national programs for opportunity, and have begun their journey toward becoming self-sustaining, taxpaying citizens.

My friends, the fact is that we <u>can</u> afford to continue our efforts toward full opportunity for <u>all</u> Americans . . . toward social justice . . . toward making every American citizen a positive and productive citizen who contributes something to his society, and doesn't take away from it.

The fact is we cannot afford not to continue .

We propose a surtax to go into effect July 1. That moderate surtax -one which will cost the majority of taxpayers less than 5 dollars a month -- is
intended to keep a proper balance in our economy and to combat inflation.

It is intended to lessen pressure on credit. It is intended to enable our citizens to share in the burdens of Vietnam, which I believe they want to do.

But it is also intended to help us sustain our programs for opportunity in America. And I think we should.

We talk about a revolution of rising expectations in the world. Well, there is a revolution of rising expectations in our own country, too -- and I say it is a revolution that we must carry forward, if we are to be true to ourselves.

We here in the United States -- the people of the Declaration of Independence . . . of the American Constitution . . . of the Emancipation Proclamation . . . of the Bill of Rights-- we here are, at long last, finally matching our creed with deed when it comes to human opportunity.

We shouldn't fool ourselves. It hasn't always been that way.

I talked the other day with a young man who a few months ago was shouting "burn baby, burn" in the ghettoes of one of our big cities . . . a young man who had marched against his society . . . a young man who had preached hatred on the streets.

Today that young man has self-respect. He is a constructive leader in his community. He is going places. What did it? I asked him.

"Someone had some faith in me," he said. "Someone gave me a job."

Why did he march in the first place?

"I had to be <u>somebody</u>," he said. "I had to show them. I couldn't stand the frustration any longer. How can anybody who <u>cares</u> keep holding in that frustration?"

Sometimes I wonder how we've come these many years without more outbursts born of frustration.

I think it is largely because the people who have lived in frustration have set an example for all of us by their patience, dignity and faith.

I read not long ago an interview with a Negro mother whose youngest son has just been graduated from high school with honors and a scholarship to college, while his two elder brothers had made a mess of their lives.

Here is what that mother had to say:

"They say we're lazy and we don't pay much attention to the law, and sure enough I have two boys to prove it and one to disprove it so it's two to one against us in this family. But I'd like to tell people why I think my two boys went bad.

"I preached and hollered at all three the same. Those older boys were good boys just like the little one, and I remember when they wanted to study and be somebody, just like him. But they never had a chance. They were born too soon. That was it.

"They went to school until it didn't make any sense to go there, because we had no money and they thought they should try to get jobs. So they left school and tried. They tried and tried and there wasn't anything for them.

"Most people keep busy, so the time flies along and they don't know what it is to just sit and feel useless...I'll tell you what happens, you just fold up and die.

"That's what drugs and liquor mean. They mean you've died. I mean you have hung up on the world, because you keep on calling and there just ain't no answer on the other end of the line. I watched my boys go bad like milk you

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Perhaps I've taken too much of your time in reading that passage.

But I ask this question: Who among us in this room wants to tell another generation of children that they were born too soon?

Who among us is going to tell young people that they will one day have a choice and a chance -- but not this year or next?

That answer is that we cannot and $\underline{\text{will}}$ not stand by and watch the valuable human resources of this society wasted and embittered and turned away from the mainstream.

How do you "cut back" on programs to bring young men out of the streets and into productive work?

You don't.

And that is why I think that, in this time of testing we -- who in the President's words, "are already living better than any people in history" -- must get on

with our work for better opportunity for all Americans.

As we do, I think it would be well to see the challenge in perspective.

The problems we face are of a scale far larger than others we have faced.

Yet, so are our resources far greater than ever before.

As for material resources, there is no question that we have more than enough.

The only question concerns our resources of endurance and of patience and of ingenuity.

Our country is awake to the possibilities of a society where every citizen belongs and is a full participant.

We are awake, too, to the possibilities of a new working partnership among all elements of our society -- government, business, labor, the university, the voluntary organization, and the individual citizen -- without regard for old jurisdictions and animosities . . . a partnership of free men, working through free institutions, for a common goal.

The question is: Have we the will to see it through?

Yes, this is a time of testing for us.

We are turning a new page in the continuing revolution of America.

In our urban ghettoes, we are moving from a protest to progress.

The same restless energy borne of frustration and despair that compelled our fellow Americans to take to the streets is now being redirected -- in many instances by the very same people -- to rebuilding of our cities, to rehabilitating the lives of their fellow Americans, to redressing old grievances, and creating new opportunities.

The protest of the marcher -- yes, even the protest of the riot -- is becoming the progress of a new job, of a new neighborhood, of a new school, of a new opportunity.

These are difficult days, sometimes frustrating days -- but they are exhilarating.

Finally, may I say this:

We Americans have always been a people of self-renewal . . . a vital people filled with energy, striving and optimism.

We have been tested in the past --- and we have always proved equal to the test. The history of our republic gives us convincing evidence that ours has been a people at times confused, but never afraid . . . at times weary, but never daunted.

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