

- Bill Wexler
Pres B'nai

✓ Mrs Shapiro
B'nai women

Ramsey Clark

✓ Arnold Rosenberg

(Times Testimony Sols)

① troubled times -

✓ Vietnam - Czech
- Korea Middle East

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Testimonial

- Dore Schary

✓ Henry Schultz

✓ Ben Epstein

REMARKS

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

WASHINGTON, D.C.

APRIL 21, 1969

Sat Nite

Testimonial

Campus disorders
What are you going to take?

Triennial Convention

Last September, I addressed the Anti-Defamation League

of B'nai B'rith in the opening speech of my campaign for the
Presidency of the United States.

⌞ In this speech I discussed what I considered to be one of
the two principal issues of the campaign -- the issue of racial
justice in America.

⌞ I asked this question: Shall we -- as a nation -- move
forward toward one society of opportunity and justice ... or

② what are you going

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└ shall we abandon this commitment out of fear and prejudice
and move instead toward a fractured and separated society --
black against white, rich against poor, comfortable against
the left-out?

└ The campaign has ended. The Presidency has changed
hands. But this question still prevails ... with an intensity
even greater than when I raised the issue last September.

* * *

└ A little more than a year ago, the National Advisory
Commission on Civil Disorders -- the Kerner Commission --
released its historic report and recommendations.└ On the first
anniversary of this report, Urban America and the Urban
Coalition released a study, One Year Later, which evaluated
our progress to date in meeting the goals of the Kerner Commission.

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This appraisal stated that:

"--Poverty remains a pervasive fact of life ... and the continuing disparity between this poverty and the general affluence remains a source of alienation and discontent.

"--Ghetto schools continue to fail. The small amount of progress that has been made has been counterbalanced by a growing atmosphere of hostility and conflict in many cities.

"--At present, there are no programs that seriously threaten the continued existence of the slums."

And as the Kerner report had warned a year earlier, the study concluded: "For a year later, we are a year closer to being two societies, black and white, increasingly separate and scarcely less equal."

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I was distressed at the meager attention given this important evaluation when it was released six weeks ago. For this report outlined, as did the Kerner Commission before it, the specific actions which must now be taken in America to reverse this alarming pattern of social disintegration,

Butt We must understand the dimensions of our basic challenge: — to achieve not only equity in opportunity but equity in results. And equity in results refers to very concrete goals -- the right to a job at decent pay, the right to an adequate income if one cannot work, the right to an education which releases rather than destroys human creativity, the right to decent housing in safe neighborhoods, the right to good health care and sufficient nutrition.

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⌞ The accumulated wrongs and deprivations of generations cannot be swept away overnight. ⌞ But this obvious fact must not become an excuse for making anything less than the maximum effort to do as much as we can -- now.

⌞ We hear a lot these days about not promising more than we can deliver -- about not raising peoples' expectations over society's capacity to remedy long-standing injustices, All of this is wise and prudent talk ... up to a point.!

--Up to the point of permitting such sentiments to become rationalizations for doing less than the absolute maximum of what we are capable of doing.

--Up to the point ^{where} ~~that~~ this approach suggests to the American people that these terribly urgent and difficult problems can be solved without considerable sacrifice and commitment on their part.

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--And, up to the point ^{where} ~~that~~ we believe our basic error has been in saying to the American people that all should share equitably in the wealth and opportunity of this nation ... and forgetting that, in fact, ^{real} our basic error has been the protracted failure to mobilize the resources and energies of this country to reach this goal.

Let's face one fact squarely: television and advertising will do the job of raising peoples' expectations, regardless of what the government may do or what our political leaders may say. But it is the special responsibility of government and our political leadership to make the decisions and generate the support and confidence that will get this job done.

On the basis of the Administration's reductions of the federal budget in critical domestic areas, -- cities, education, health care, the Job Corps and the poverty program -- I can

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only conclude that they fail to grasp the urgency of our present circumstances ... and that they are profoundly mistaken in believing that gradualism and patience are sufficient in these days of crisis.

↳ The Administration's confusing and often contradictory performance over the enforcement of existing civil rights statutes, moreover, can only create the most serious doubts about ~~their~~ ^{its} basic commitment to healing the divisions and eradicating the inequities of this society,

To illustrate briefly:

↳ The same day that the NAACP Legal Defense Fund went into Federal Court over the Pentagon's refusal to demand equal hiring and housing practices by three textile companies,

the Justice Department sued a textile mill for precisely these violations of federal law.

And the Administration announced its intention to fire Clifford Alexander, the Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the day after Minority Leader Dirksen threatened Alexander with replacement for allegedly "harrassing" employers who are violating the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

As you know, Mr. Alexander has now resigned his position as Chairman, rather than submit to dismissal under these most unfortunate circumstances.

As one of the principal authors of this legislation, I want to commend Mr. Alexander for his faithful and fair conduct of his responsibilities. And I think the vocal advocates of law and order in this society should recognize the severe damage that

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is wrought by ~~such~~ ^{influence or} efforts to intimidate public officials who are only exercising their statutory duties in a responsible and effective manner.

The inconsistency of this record -- the marked disparity between words and deeds -- will only encourage those elements in our society which seek to perpetuate racist policies in jobs, housing, education and public services generally.

↳ The time has arrived for those groups like the Anti-Defamation League to demand publicly that our civil rights laws be enforced to the letter.

↳ Any other course by the federal government can only deal a grievous blow to this nation's efforts to root out the bigotry and racism which increasingly threaten to divide this land and people.

* * *

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In the course of the Presidential campaign another issue arose of overriding importance: the issue of controlling the strategic arms spiral which threatens the survival of all mankind.

↳ Congress and the American people are now faced with a basic decision: Will we accede to the backlogged requests of the military for an entirely new generation of offensive and defensive strategic nuclear weapons ... or will we attempt to negotiate with the Soviet Union an end to the nuclear arms race and thereby open the door for a far greater mobilization of America's resources in the cause of humanity, both at home and abroad?

↳ The opening skirmish in this struggle over national priorities will be fought over money for the initial deployment

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of the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system. But this debate is only indicative of the more fundamental decisions that must

← be reached in the coming year over military spending. — (X)

One thing is certain: the process of shifting significant
sums of federal money from works of war to works of peace
will not be easy. — Budget cut 74 Billion — ^{Bur.} 3 civilian | Last Year
51 Defense | 6 Billion
cut 450 | 1/2 + 1/2

Every positive advance in nuclear arms control has been
 opposed by powerful members of Congress and segments of the
military and defense establishment. Any meaningful agreements
 reached with the Soviets concerning the freezing or reduction
 of our strategic weapons will almost certainly be approved + fought
again. again

But unless this battle is won, the outcome of subsequent
 encounters to secure additional resources for cities, for education,
for health care, for jobs and housing, and related activities

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will be largely decided -- in the negative -- even before the issues get to Congress.

└ Our military budgets will continue to expand; our domestic allocations will become proportionately smaller. This is precisely the outcome of ~~President Nixon's~~ ^{the} recent cutbacks in the federal budget.

└ We now have the chance to reverse this traditional pattern if we focus our efforts on ending the insanity of the strategic nuclear arms race, while we begin simultaneously the difficult job of ^{allocating -} ~~securing~~ these resources for urgent domestic needs.

This is our opportunity in this moment of crisis and challenge ... Can we now summon the courage and faith so clearly demanded by the times?

#

1 MR. SCHARY: Ladies and gentlemen, may I have
2 your attention, please? I bid you welcome to the luncheon.
3 Before I introduce the guests on the dais I would like to
4 invite on behalf of the New York Chapter of the ADL, to
5 invite all the women to a tea at 3 o'clock, to run from 3 to
6 5. This invitation is extended by Mrs. John Goldwater, the
7 President of the New York Women of ADL. You will all be
8 together, all the women, there will be no men present
9 except maybe Larry Peirez.

10 (Laughter)

11 I hope that is a warning for all of you. The
12 reception will be in the Bird Cage.

13 I now present to you the guests on the dais.
14 Beginning at the extreme left, Judge David Rose, Boston,
15 Massachusetts.

16 (Applause)

17 The Executive Vice President of B'Nai B'Rith,
18 Rabbi Jay Kaufman.

19 (Applause)

20 The Treasurer of the ADL, Richard Lederer.

21 (Applause)

22 The distinguished gentleman, former Secretary
23 of Agriculture, Orville Freeman.

24 (Applause)

25 President of B'Nai B'Rith Women, Mrs. Michael

1 Shapiro.

2 (Applause)

3 The head of the Program Division, National
4 Commissioner of ADL, Samuel Delsimer.

5 (Applause)

6 On my right, National Director of the Anti-
7 Defamation League, Benjamin Epstein.

8 (Applause)

9 The very distinguished former Attorney General
10 of the United States, Ramsey Clark.

11 (Applause)

12 President of the International B'Nai B'Rith, Dr.
13 William Wexler.

14 (Applause)

15 Honorary Chairman, former National Chairman of
16 the ADL Commission for ten years, Mr. Henry Schultz.

17 (Applause)

18 I will find out who this fellow is on my right
19 and I will introduce him later.

20 (Laughter)

21 You know in all political campaigns, the people
22 who are involved with the candidates, in addition to trying
23 to give him a measure of truth of what is going on, has to
24 provide a certain amount of enthusiasm and confidence. Part
25 of the job is to keep telling the candidate he is far in

1 front, he is moving along great.

2 It is like the story of the prizefighter some
3 of you may remember, who after one or two rounds, was rather
4 bloody and battered, and he came to his corner on wobbly
5 knees and his manager said to him, "You are doing great, he
6 is not laying a glove on you." And the prizefighter
7 answered, "Keep your eye on the referee, because somebody is
8 kicking hell out of me."

9 (Laughter.)

10 I have a feeling that our guest today may find
11 himself in that position occasionally, thinking about some
12 months past.

13 He happens to be the nation's best known college
14 professor.

15 (Applause)

16 And my guess is that he is certainly one of the
17 best.

18 (Applause)

19 But that is only a temporary career, because,
20 as you know, this gentleman is accustomed to making history
21 rather than teaching it. For millions of Americans he
22 remains the embodiment of the liberal progressive credo.
23 We will never forget his leadership and enormous contribu-
24 tions to Civil Rights and human needs as Mayor of
25 Minneanapolis, Senator from Minnesota, Vice President of the

1 United States and as candidate for the United States
2 presidency.

3 There was a story told to us at a meeting in
4 New York recently by Senator Muskie. The story described
5 the rather typical attitude of the people in Maine. It was
6 the story of the tourist who was going through Maine and he
7 came to a junction and one road led right and one led left,
8 and both roads had a big sign saying "To Portland." The
9 tourist, rather puzzled, turned to a resident of the area
10 and said, "Does it make any difference which road I take?"
11 And the man answered, "Not to me."

12 (Laughter)

13 Hubert Humphrey would never give that kind of
14 an answer. He would be deeply concerned about trying to
15 figure out what would be the best road to take towards any
16 given goal.

17 (Applause)

18 He has been a friend of mine for long, long
19 years. I think he is a man that inspires enormous affection
20 and loyalty and admiration. He has been honored many times
21 by the Anti-Defamation League. To us he remains a good man.

22 Today he honors us once again by addressing us.
23 So with a real sense of privilege and pride, I present to
24 you our friend, articulate head of the Democratic Party,
25 Hubert H. Humphrey.

(A standing ovation)

1
2 MR. HUMPHREY: Thank you very much my friend,
3 Dore Schary, and to all of our distinguished guests this
4 verbal hello, particularly to Bill Wexler and Mrs. Shapiro,
5 my old friend Henry Schultz and Ben Epstein and my former
6 associates in the Cabinet, Ramsey Clark and Orville Freeman.

7 You notice how at peace they both look. My,
8 what a joy it is to be a free spirit. Particularly in the
9 spring.

10 (Laughter)

11 And it appears we are going to have plenty of
12 chance to be free spirits this spring.

13 (Laughter)

14 I don't want you to read anything into that at
15 all.

16 Dore, I'm sorry I was unable to be with you
17 Saturday night. Or should I say I was not privileged to
18 be with that great audience that herald you on Saturday
19 in a testimonial to this great man who has given so much of
20 himself and of his tremendous talent to the cause of social
21 justice and to human dignity in the United States and
22 throughout the world. I just want to add my own little
23 testimonial to the many that were already given. I consider
24 it a high honor and rare privilege to share in your
25 friendship. It is one of the richest gifts and one of the

1 most generous gifts a man could ever receive, and I think
2 our country is ever indebted to you for the work you have
3 undertaken or the great things that you have accomplished.
4 But more importantly for your daring, your courage and your
5 zest for whatever you do.

6 I just feel I am a lucky fellow. That's the
7 advantage of being in public life, if only for a while. You
8 get to meet such wonderful people as Dore Schary and his
9 wife, and I want to say how much I appreciate the privilege
10 of knowing both of them.

11 One of our first times together, not the first
12 but one, was when we were sitting in the bleachers in Tel
13 Aviv in Israel on Independence Day in 1957. It was hot but
14 it was wonderful. We had a great chance to visit then
15 about many things in that troubled part of the world.

16 Today I want to talk to you a little bit, not
17 so much about the world trouble beyond our frontiers or
18 borders, but about some of the things that have been going
19 on here in our own country. It has been said that I am a
20 teacher once again. There are those who doubt that but I
21 at least have the title. I have many people who say to me,
22 "How do I address you, what do I call you?" I say, "Well,
23 just keep it clean, that's all." Then I give them a variety
24 of choices. Then I say I would just like to be known as
25 Mr. Humphrey or to my friends as Hubert. There comes a time

1 in your life when it is just good to be a plain citizen. I
2 think being a citizen of the United States of America is
3 about as good a title as you can get.

4 I have been doing a little teaching, I just came
5 back from a visit in the New England states. I did not
6 start the trouble at Harvard, I want you to know, nor did I
7 settle it.

8 (Laughter)

9 But I was at MIT and I was up at the University
10 of Massachusetts at Amherst. Some of you know I served as
11 a member of the Board of Trustees at Brandeis University
12 and had the rare privilege of being associated with Morris
13 Aberman, a gentleman that I consider to be one of the
14 gifted and wonderful people of our country.

15 So I am having a good time, I get a chance to
16 look at the University from the management point of view,
17 from the faculty point of view and the student point of view,
18 and I am here to tell you it is rough from any point of view
19 you want to take. I was busy with a young potential student
20 the other day and I said to him, "What do you plan to take?"
21 He said, "I haven't decided whether it is the Administration
22 Building or the Library."

23 (Laughter)

24 So you can see what is going on. "I wish it was
25 all just in fun, but I am afraid there is more to it than

1 that. It tells us a great deal about what is happening on
2 our campuses. It tells us a great deal of the troubles and
3 torment in the world today, and also it is going to tell us
4 a little bit about how we determine the difference between
5 dissent with a purpose and dissent with no purpose other
6 than destruction.

7 We are going to have to decide that and we are
8 going to have to find out how we come to that conclusion,
9 the process we follow and how we handle each situation. I
10 don't think we really know yet. But I do think that we
11 know what is happening can not long continue without great
12 damage to the very fabric of a free society, which is the
13 right of freedom of inquiry, excellence in education and
14 the intellectual freedom in a climate of reason and
15 restraint, which should be the prevailing climate of a
16 university or a college campus.

17 Well, I didn't come here to talk to you about
18 that. It is just part of our troubles. I want you to know
19 that I am very aware of it and it is tied up with all we
20 speak of here today, troubled times. Vietnam is still with
21 us. We still search for answers and they are not easily
22 come by. The Czechoslovakian crisis deepens. The problems
23 in Korea are intensified. The danger level in the world is
24 continuing to rise. The Middle East is a cauldron of
25 trouble.

1 Again some of you know I have travelled from
2 one end of the country to the other talking to audiences
3 about some of the requirements of the State of Israel in
4 the Middle East, and also hopefully talking some sense
5 about the possibilities of a settlement in that troubled
6 area. I do it because I believe that there is a need for
7 a public understanding in this country of what is going on.
8 Terrorism has become a pattern of international and
9 national conduct and yet we don't quite know how to deal
10 with it.

11 There are the quick critics of the State of
12 Israel who condemn her when she counterattacks and even
13 though one's emotions for the moment may say why did they
14 do it, I have to constantly keep in mind if I were in the
15 government of that country, how could I long survive and
16 ask for the respect of the people if I didn't provide them
17 with some protection.

18 The Middle East is on the agenda of this nation
19 as well as others and peace in that part of the world is
20 of more importance, I think, to the long term safety of this
21 country and of the free world and of the whole world, ours
22 and the Soviet Union, than any particular area and any
23 particular development in any area of the world.

24 (Applause)

25 I have taken the time on other occasions to talk

1 about what I think are the essential elements for a just
2 and abiding peace or enduring peace in that area. I just
3 want to make one quick comment, I do this because I was
4 just advised here about some of the things that transpired
5 here in the conference thus far.

6
7 I know and you know our national will participate
8 in a four power conference. There are many doubts as to
9 what that conference can produce, if anything. It will
10 produce but one thing. The insistence to the end of the
11 stated belligerency in the Middle East on the part of the
12 nation of Israel and possibly a climate of some degree of
13 rationality and restraint would ensue. If that happens then
14 the possibility of bi-lateral negotiations for settlement
15 of other areas in dispute might be possible.

16
17 So there are some things that we can do. What
18 is most important and why I mention it is this: We must not
19 let these matters become special projects of just those of
20 us in this room. There is a battle on for men's minds all
21 over the world about everything, and there is a battle on
22 in this country right now for public opinion about the
23 Middle East. And every person in this room has an obligation
24 to talk to others besides just yourself, your mother, your
25 father, your sister or your brother. Talk to your neighbor,
get some reasonable, understandable discussion of what is
going on before a public opinion has solidified and the
government then responds to a public opinion.

1 I will only summarize by saying this, there
2 never has been a friendly or even-handed policy in
3 the Middle East unless the President of the United States
4 made it so. That's where it comes from, there would have
5 been no recognition without Harry Truman. Now, you put that
6 down. I served with this government a long time. Sixteen
7 years in the Senate, four years in the Cabinet, and I am
8 here to tell you without men like Harry Truman and Dwight
9 Eisenhower, and our beloved President John Kennedy, and
10 Lyndon Johnson, there would have been no even-handed, and
11 that's what it has been, a fair and even-handed policy in
12 the Middle East. Israel knew she had a reasonable,
13 responsible friend in the White House and in the government,
14 and you better make sure that it continues and I think it
15 will.

16 (Applause)

17 Now, that's the hors d'oeuvres. I didn't really
18 plan to say that to you, I decided to toss that in. I
19 always do that. But you have a little time today and so do
20 I, I'm not that rushed any more. Even when I was rushed you
21 got more than you could take.

22 (Laughter)

23 I was just visiting with Bill Wexler and Henry
24 Schultz about my visit herein September. Last September I
25 addressed the Biennial Convention of B'Nai B'Rith. It was

1 the opening speech in the sense of my campaign for the
2 Presidency of the United States. I'm sorry that I didn't
3 do better but at least you gave me a good sendoff. It was
4 in that speech that I discussed what I considered to be
5 the one or at least one of the two basic and principal issues
6 of the national campaign, and looking upon the campaign as
7 an opportunity to educate as well as to get votes, I
8 discussed the issue of racial justice in America.

9 Now, it is getting more difficult to discuss
10 this issue week after week and month after month because
11 there are so many in our country that are beginning to give
12 up, to say that even the achievements of yesterday meant
13 nothing, that the old Civil Rights coalition no longer means
14 anything, that there is another group that says well, no
15 one appreciates what you do anyhow.

16 Then there is another group that says well,
17 look at the extremists, the militants, et cetera, and I am
18 here to tell you with all of that loose talk and the degree
19 of truth, I suppose, in each and every observation, that
20 the issue of racial justice is still the unsolved issue of
21 this nation, and there is no room for retreat. You can not
22 turn back, you can not become discouraged, you can not in
23 any way let the extremists of right or left take hold and
24 control.

25 (Applause)

1 So I asked the question of that wonderful
2 audience, and I really based my whole campaign on this
3 question, and I am proud that I did so. We talked it out,
4 Orville, Ramsey, myself and others. I said, "Shall we as
5 a nation" -- and I quote exactly from that address -- "move
6 forward towards one society of opportunity and justice or
7 shall we abandon this commitment out of fear and prejudice
8 and move instead towards a fractured and separated society,
9 black against white, rich against poor, comfortable against
10 the left out?"

11 That is still the issue. The campaign ended,
12 the presidency has changed hands, but the question, this
13 fundamental question still prevails, and I might add with
14 an intensity even greater than when I raised the issue last
15 September.

16 Now, a little more than a year ago the National
17 Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders released its very
18 important recommendations. On the first anniversary of
19 this report, Urban America, one of our foundation groups,
20 and the Urban Coalition, released a study entitled "One
21 Year Later." That study evaluated our progress to date
22 in meeting the goals and the recommendations of the
23 Commission and this appraisal stated some things with
24 unbelievable candor and frankness.

25 I quote, "Poverty remains a pervasive fact of

1 life and the continuing disparity between this poverty and
2 the general affluence remains a source of alienation and
3 discontent. Ghetto schools continue to fail. The small
4 amount of progress that has been made has been counter-
5 balanced by a growing atmosphere of hostility and conflict
6 in many cities. At present" -- and listen to this, one
7 year later -- "at present there are no programs that
8 seriously threaten the continued existence of the slums."

9 Ladies and gentlemen, when I read that, and by
10 the way, I think it received all too little attention, I was
11 reminded of the Commission report and what it had warned a
12 year earlier, and then this study one year later said, for
13 a year later we are a year closer to being two societies,
14 black and white, increasingly separate and scarcely less
15 equal.

16 Now, there are some people who want it that way.
17 Some in the black community and some in the white community.
18 They are very limited in number but very demanding and very
19 militant. They are the ones, if you please, that indulge
20 in all forms of extremist action. They are the ones, if we
21 do not watch out, that will frighten us away from the
22 ramparts that we ought to be guarding and frighten us away
23 from the work we ought to be doing.

24 I said that I was distressed to see the meager
25 attention given this important evaluation. For this report

1 outlined, just as the Commission had done
2 before, specific actions which now must be taken in America
3 to reverse this alarming pattern of social disintegration,
4 and we have an alarming pattern of it, ladies and gentlemen.
5 But I think we must also understand the dimensions of our
6 basic challenge and the dimension is simply this: To achieve
7 not only equity of opportunity but equity in results.

8 Now, equity and opportunity is not enough for
9 those persons in our society who for years have been denied
10 opportunity. I used to talk a great deal about the quality
11 of opportunity and then I realized just what a fraud that
12 was. Because when people have been denied so long and have
13 been set back so far and have been pushed down so much, when
14 they were the victims of segregation which was not only
15 separatism but also subjugation and humiliation, then, ladies
16 and gentlemen, equal opportunity for the disinherited, so to
17 speak, for the disadvantaged or the needy, is not enough.
18 You need for a period of time a little more than equal
19 opportunity to get into a bargaining position.

20 (Applause)

21 Now, equity and results referred to some very
22 concrete goals and I list just a few here. One of the first
23 things you have to consider is how do the powerless have a
24 chance to share in power. This is at the heart of it. Many
25 of us have been brought up in the spirit of compassion and

1 charity. I think it cozes from us, particularly in groups
2 like this. But that's not it. That isn't adequate any
3 longer. You can get that in a benevolent dictatorship.
4 That is part of a paternalistic society. The real
5 fundamental issue today is how do those who have never been
6 in the power structure get a chance to move into it. How
7 do you, in other words, get the powerless into power or to
8 share in the power, to share in the decisions that affect
9 their lives?

10 I must just say quickly to you that of course
11 it is going to be difficult. It will never be easy. This
12 is like the birth of a nation.

13 How well I recall when President Johnson spoke
14 at the University of Maryland some four or five years ago
15 and talked to us about the other America, the two
16 Americas, and we almost forgot that historic message. That
17 other America today is coming alive and now the question is
18 is it going to stay another America or are we going to have
19 one? Are we going to learn how to share the power and in
20 the process of doing it be able to have a society
21 sufficiently flexible, adaptable and strong to take the
22 bumps and the foment and the jars and the troubles that will
23 inevitably come with it?

24 You see, I think we have that kind of social
25 structure and that is why I fight for the system. I had a

1 group of young people condemning the system the other day
2 and they said what we need is change and I said that is the
3 system. This system can change. It has adapted itself to
4 a human need, in science, technologies, it is constantly
5 changing. We need to go on the offensive, my dear friends,
6 to talk about this system of ours, not as if it is in a
7 straight jacket or shackles, but it is a system that grows
8 like life and like people and that it changes and it changes
9 primarily by our will and what we determine it to be.

10 Well, one of those concrete goals is the right
11 of the job, we know, and that job doesn't come unless you
12 have skill and that means training. A job at decent pay.
13 These are not new rights, we have been talking about these
14 for a long time. It doesn't mean they are not just as
15 evident or just as much relevant as the new world is. But
16 it is here, the right to an adequate income if one can not
17 work. When I mention that, just removing the tax on the
18 poor is no substitute for some better form of income
19 maintenance.

20 I have been reading a little bit about what is
21 going on and I am for removing the tax from the poor, but
22 don't let that tell you that that is basic tax reform which
23 the country needs, nor is it a substitute for some form of
24 income maintenance that is far better than this demeaning
25 system of welfare which has grown up over the past forty

1 years. We have to do something better than that.

2 (Applause)

3 And the right to an education, and that right
4 must be protected from those who are the reactionaries who
5 won't let you have the funds for it or the means and from
6 those who are the revolutionaries that would destroy your
7 opportunity even to study. And the right to an education
8 which realizes rather than destroys human creativity and the
9 right to decent housing in safe neighborhoods.

10 I wish this country would get as excited about
11 providing low income housing as we do interstate highways.
12 Now, I don't think it is either/or, but if we were as
13 derelict in providing interstate highways as we are low
14 income rental housing or ownership housing, they would run
15 the Federal Highway Department out of Washington. The
16 Congress of the United States would be up in arms. The
17 state governments would be down here pounding at every
18 Congressman's and Senator's door, demanding an audience with
19 the President.

20 In 1949 this government of ours said as a goal
21 with Robert Taft, a conservative voice, that the goal of
22 America was a decent home for every American family, and
23 we outlined a goal in the next six years to be completed in
24 1955 of 800,000 low income subsidized public housing units.
25 Twenty years later we built 500,000.

I want to tell you that if our Apollo program and our Gemini program and space program ran on such loose standards and so stretched out we wouldn't be to the moon until the year 2,000. But we know how to keep that program on schedule, it will be there in July, don't worry. We will be to the moon. We know how to pretty well keep the interstate highway program on schedule. Why, we even know how to subsidize private airplanes. We spend approximately, for each private airplane per year on aviation services, \$1500. That means you could subsidize the rent of a low income housing for two houses for each airplane.

We spend \$150,000,000 a year to make sure that some of us who are a little more fortunate than others get a chance to fly our Jet into one of these airports. I am not saying it is either/or, maybe we can do both, but we have to have some priorities.

And the right of good health. I am all for heart transplants and I believe in the great wonders of medicine and I spent a lot of time in Congress promoting it, but we still have not learned how to deal with medical economics despite the fact we spend over \$50,000,000,000 a year for medical care. There are millions of people in this country who don't get it. There are still demanding needs of health centers for people of modest and low income. We are still 16th in infant mortality. We still

1 know the mother of a black child has one-half the chance to
2 live than the mother of a white child. We know these things
3 and if I sound scolding that is what I am doing.

4 I believe there is a time and a place for
5 everything, and I think now the time has come. We passed
6 vast amounts of legislation, the statute books are filled
7 with the good works of the Legislative Assembly. Now what
8 is needed is a will to effectuate those statutes and those
9 laws. A national will.

10 (Applause)

11 We have learned a great deal about hunger and
12 about nutrition and I want to say right now that much as I
13 appreciate that there is going to be a budget surplus
14 estimated at \$5,800,000,000 and I know we had deficits for
15 years, the deficit that affects this country is not just a
16 fiscal deficit, that we are getting over with the gross
17 national production, but I know for \$1,000,000,000 we could
18 see to it that every family in America this year could have
19 a decent balanced nutritious diet, and I know that is
20 something we can do.

21 Then I think it is time for the government and
22 the people of the United States to do something about it.
23 You can't ignore those people. I am also well aware that
24 the accumulated wrongs and divisions and deprivations of
25 generations can not be swept away overnight. That is one of

1 the advantages of being a little older. I told a group of
2 my students the other day that I still wanted to come down
3 strong for experience, that I didn't think experience was a
4 liability, that there are some things that you can't just
5 do right now, I said it sometimes takes twenty-one days to
6 hatch an egg. Sometimes it takes a little more time.

7 But I think the fact that you can't sweep some
8 of these things away overnight, that this obvious fact can
9 not become an excuse for not making the maximum effort to
10 do as much as we can here and now. I hear a lot these days
11 about over promising, promising more than we can deliver,
12 and I have had it thrown up to me many times about not
13 raising society's expectations to remedy longstanding
14 injustices. All of this is wise and prudent talk up to a
15 point. Up to the point of permitting such sentiments to
16 become rationalizations for doing less than the absolute
17 maximum of what we are capable of doing. Up to the point
18 where it would suggest that these problems can be solved
19 without considerable sacrifice and up to the point where
20 we believe that our basic error has been in saying to the
21 American people that all should share equitably in wealth
22 and opportunity in this nation and forgetting the fact that
23 our real basic error has been the protracted failure to
24 mobilize the energies and resources of this country to reach
25 this goal.

1 So I am a mobilizer these days. I intend to
2 try to take what we know are the facts, what we know are
3 the wrongs and what we know are the resources to correct
4 these wrongs and face these facts and see if on the one
5 hand by the commitment and the concern of conscience we
6 can not, if our concern of conscience can not be matched
7 by our dedication and our will and our commitment.

8 Let's face one fact squarely, television and
9 advertising will do the job of raising peoples' expectations.
10 Regardless of what the government may or may not do or
11 what our political leaders may or may not say. You don't
12 need to worry any longer about expectations. We have taken
13 care of that, there is no place to hide and everybody sort
14 of knows what everybody has and is doing and it is the
15 special responsibility, however, of government and of our
16 political leadership to make the decisions and to generate
17 the support and the confidence that will get the job done
18 to meet some of these expectations.

19 On the basis of the administration's reductions,
20 and I now must talk to you of some hard facts, of the
21 federal budget, in critical domestic areas, reductions that
22 are modest, I know, reductions in cities, a 10 percent
23 reduction in the model cities program and no projected
24 program for the second year.

25 A 10 percent reduction in education, a reduction

1 in health care, the closing of job corporation centers and
2 reduction in the poverty program. I can only conclude that
3 the administration fails to grasp the urgency of our present
4 circumstances and they are profoundly mistaken in believing
5 that gradualism and patience are sufficient in these days of
6 crisis. I am for lowering the rhetoric but not the budget.
7 I think there is a difference.

8 Now, the administration's confusing and often
9 contradictory performance over the enforcement of existing
10 Civil Rights statutes can only create the most serious
11 doubts about the basic commitment and eradicating the
12 inequities of this society. The same day that the NAACP
13 went into Federal court over the Pentagon's refusal to
14 demand equal hiring by three textile companies, on that
15 same day, while the Pentagon was refusing to act the Justice
16 Department sued a textile mill for precisely the same
17 violation. But the Pentagon and the Justice Department are
18 in the same government and serving the same country. The
19 administration announced its decision to dismiss Mr.
20 Clifford Alexander the day after the minority leader
21 threatened Mr. Alexander with harrassing federal employees.
22 I would like to quote to you a little statement, and the
23 author of this statement is a very important man, and it is
24 about government.

25 "I don't want a government of yes men, but one

1 drawn from the broadest possible base. Only if we have an
2 administration broadly enough based philosophically to
3 assure a true ferment of ideas and through an interplay of
4 the best minds in America can we be sure of getting the
5 best and most penetrating ideas. Officials of a new
6 administration will not have to check their consciences at
7 the door or leave their powers of independent judgement at
8 home."

9 That is the statement of the President of the
10 United States when he was candidate for the presidency of
11 the United States. I submit all Mr. Alexander was doing
12 was exercising his judgement and fulfilling the
13 responsibilities of the law.

14 (Applause)

15 Mr. Alexander, as you know, resigned rather than
16 submit to dismissal under these most unfortunate circum-
17 stances, and as one of the principal authors of this equal
18 employment, I want to commend him for his responsible action.

19 I think that the advocates of law and order in
20 this society should recognize the severe damage that is
21 wrought by efforts to influence or intimidate public
22 officials exercising their statutory duties in a responsible
23 and effective manner. That is law and order.

24 (Applause)

25 The time, I think, has arrived for those groups

1 like the Anti-Defamation League to demand and continue to
2 demand publicly that our Civil Rights Law be enforced to the
3 letter. To have disparity between words and deeds will only
4 encourage those elements in our society which seek to
5 perpetuate racist policies in jobs, housing or education,
6 public services generally.

7 Any other course for the Federal government than
8 to enforce the law can only deal a devious blow to this
9 Nation's efforts to root out bigotry and bigotry. So I
10 say the fight is still on and while it is a little quieter
11 in Washington, the countryside is in ferment, in trouble and
12 there are voices being raised of people who want action.

13 Let us listen to them rather than wait until
14 disorder is the pattern of the day.

15 Now, in the course of the Presidential campaign
16 another issue arose of overriding importance and it is tied
17 to the first, the issue of controlling the strategic arms
18 race spiral which threatens the survival of all of mankind.

19 I made those two issues knowing that neither one
20 of them is very popular.

21 This is my first chance to talk to you since
22 then. I did not delude myself for a moment in believing
23 by going to the countryside, speaking of desegregation and
24 one being asked would you slow it down or would you speed
25 it up, I knew just as well as you know people in this room

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1 that to go to the countryside as to Czechoslovakia and to
2 talk about arms control and say we must negotiate with the
3 Soviet Union, I knew that wasn't particularly popular.

4 In fact, I read the polls. My poll wasn't too
5 good and the issues on which I was basing the campaign
6 didn't seem to be too popular. But, ladies and gentlemen,
7 we have to face up to them.

8 The Congress and the American people, and I want to
9 put the emphasis on the first, Congress and the American
10 people are now faced with a basic decision. Will we
11 accede to the backlog request of the military for an entirely
12 new generation of offensive and defensive strategic nuclear
13 weapons, a shopping list that is as long as your arm or
14 longer or will be attempt, at least try to negotiate with
15 the Soviet Union an end to the nuclear arms race and thereby
16 hopefully open the door for a far greater mobilization of
17 America's resources in the cause of humanity both at home and
18 abroad.

19 You are going to have to make some decision. An
20 \$80 billion defense budget stands there facing you and the
21 only way I know you are going to get additional funds for
22 the things that you think need to be done in this country is
23 to see if you cannot take some money out of that defense
24 budget without sacrificing security or to raise taxes. And
25 I think we had better take a look at the first alternative.

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1 The opening skirmish in this struggle of National
2 priorities will be fought over the money for the initial
3 deployment of the safeguard and anti-ballistic missiles
4 system. I know this is an issue in which there is great
5 controversy.

6 I say to my friends, when you ask for more money
7 for cities, for housing, for education, health, you have to
8 ask where are you going to get it. It isn't unlimited.

9 And when we debate the ABM, I think we ought to
10 know that we are really debating a part of the whole
11 equation of military spending. It is symbolic, it is
12 important. I think it's deployment is a bad decision, you
13 know what my view is, I felt so in the Johnson administration
14 as well as in this administration.

15 I spoke on it in the campaign, I have not traveled
16 under false colors. I said yesterday on the television that
17 there are four factors in a defense budget that you have to
18 consider.

19 What are your fine policy commitments?

20 Again, what contingencies do you plan?

21 What size of forces in nature of forces are needed
22 to meet these contingencies, and,

23 Finally, what kind of weapons do you need for the
24 forces?

25 The ABM refers to the last of the four, what kind

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1 of weapons do you need. But weaponry relates to the size of
2 your forces and the size of your forces relates to the
3 contingencies that you may expect and the contingencies
4 relate to the scope of your foreign policy.

5 We need a complete and total reassessment of our
6 national commitments and I call upon the Congress of the United
7 States, with the backing of the American people, not to enter
8 into any preconceived judgment but rather than just to debate
9 the anti-ballistic missile system, whether it is reliable,
10 whether it will work, whether we ought to have it, whether it
11 costs too much that we take a good hard look at the whole
12 subject of our defense budget.

13 It hasn't been created by mean and nasty men. There
14 is no conspiracy here. I do not believe in the conspiracy
15 theory of government. I do happen to believe, however, that
16 like many other things it can tend to grow.

17 We have to ask ourselves do we really need 15
18 attack carrier forces. I don't know, maybe we do, maybe we
19 don't. Maybe we once did, do we need it now? Business does
20 this all the time.

21 You see, government and universities are going to
22 have to examine long established policies and traditions.
23 Or both of them are going to be in serious trouble.

24 One thing is certain, the process of shifting
25 significant sums of Federal money from the works of war to the

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1 works of peace will not be easy, even when the war in Vietnam
2 is over.

3 The defense budget this year is up \$6 billion over
4 any moneys that go to Vietnam. Take out the Vietnam money
5 and the non-Vietnam expenditures are up \$6 billion. Yet when
6 the budget cut came, \$3 billion came out of civilian programs,
7 \$1 billion out of the defense budget.

8 Now, maybe that is right, I want a careful scrutiny
9 of it. I think it is at the heart and core of much of our
10 problem today.

11 Any positive advance in any form of arms control
12 has been fought in the Congress. I think you remember one
13 when Adlai Stevenson recommended first a nuclear test ban
14 treaty and how he was ridiculed all across this country.
15 There isn't any defense now, agreements reached with the
16 Soviet Union or anybody else concerned in the freezing our
17 armaments of reduction of strategic weapons will be fought
18 over again and the purveyors of fear will be hard at work
19 upon us, but I say unless this battle is won the outcome of
20 subsequent endeavors to secure additional sources for the
21 cities where you live, and you can't run away any longer
22 because the problems have moved to the suburbs, will largely
23 be decided in the negative, even before the issues get to
24 Congress.

25 I say our military budget will continue to expand,

1 our domestic allocations will be proportionately smaller and
2 this is precisely the outcome of the recent but modest cutback
3 from the Federal budget.

4 It isn't the amount, it is the proportion. When we
5 made a cutback two years or a little over a year and a half
6 ago and the Congress demanded a cutback of \$6 billion in
7 expenditure, it was \$3 billion in defense and \$3 billion in
8 the civilian. At least half and half. Now it is \$3 billion
9 in civilian and \$1 billion in defense.

10 Ladies and gentlemen, while it is not something
11 large in terms of the total budget, it indicates a trend and
12 I want to stop the trend before it becomes a habit because
13 before it becomes a pattern.

14 (Applause)

15 Well, this is my concern. Do I think we can do it,
16 yes, and I will tell you why.

17 The American people generally do what they have to
18 do. I simply ask us to keep our perspective. It is so easy
19 to become angry. It is so easy when you are insulted or
20 falsely accused, and you are misunderstood, yes, even
21 unappreciated to say, "Oh, I am going to kick the whole thing
22 over, I don't care any longer."

23 I have said this in a moment of emotion, in a
24 moment of anger, probably can't afford to do it. I have been
25 on college campuses where I have had youngsters say things to

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1 me where, under ordinary circumstances, it would drive a man
2 away from the classroom. But you can't let that happen
3 because then the forces of the rationality have won the
4 struggle.

5 There is always a brute, a bully let loose in
6 practically every area of social organization. Sometimes
7 these bullies are on campus, sometimes they are in the
8 ghetto, sometimes they are in a white sheet, sometimes they
9 are in the Congress, sometimes they are in the club or a
10 social organization.

11 I simply say that a democracy cannot afford to be
12 governed by the attitudes and the actions of bullies. I
13 think what we have to have is a reasoned approach, yes, but
14 one with action behind it.

15 I hope that this great organization will not only
16 rely upon its studies, but that you will be action oriented,
17 unafraid to challenge government, unafraid as you always
18 have been to challenge any organization in the country and
19 to demand one thing above all, that those great reports
20 placed before the public and lost in the headlines, reports
21 like the Kerner Commission, the Commission on Violence, the
22 Commission on Rural Poverty, the Commission on Health, the
23 Commission on Automation, just a few of the commissions that
24 have represented the finest talent in the country, that have
25 had the resources of the Federal Government and entire

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1 American community at its disposal, that those reports will
2 not become documents for the archives but marching orders
3 for the soldiers of peace.

4 I would like to make sure that an organization
5 like ADL take a look at those records and keep them on the
6 desk and has a check list and checks it up all the way to the
7 President and says what are we doing about these things.
8 Because nothing is worse to know what is wrong and to know
9 that you can do something about it and not do something about
10 it.

11 The worst sin of all is indifference and
12 indifference compounded by apathy and cynicism and is
13 unforgiveable.

14 Thank goodness the Anti-Defamation League has never
15 been guilty of those things. So I charge you today and say
16 let's move mountains if need be, let's not let the militants
17 who feel they need to destroy in order to achieve, let's
18 not let them have their way but let's have those of us who
19 believe even the democratic processes and who believe in
20 social action be sure it is the right way.

21 Thank you very much.

22 (Standing ovation.)

23 MR. SCHARY: Thank you very, very much, sir.

24 As I indicated to you before, our speaker has told us that it
25 does make a difference to him which road we take and I think

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1 pointed out the correct signpost for this group of people.

2 I thank you very, very much on behalf of the entire League
3 for coming here and I hope that you will always remember that
4 when you want to have a platform or an audience that responds
5 to you, just whistle.

6 (Applause)

7 And now, ladies and gentlemen, again my thanks for
8 coming here and those of you who are involved in our
9 commission meetings please return immediately to the Empire
10 Room, we have work to do.

11 We are delighted you were here, we hope you enjoyed
12 the lunch and I know darn well you enjoyed our speaker.

13 (Luncheon session concluded at 2:40 o'clock, p.m.)
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HUMPHREY SCORES RIGHTS 'DISPARITY'

Charges Administration With Restricting Critical Aid

By **IRVING SPIEGEL**

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 21—Former Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, in his strongest criticism to date of the Nixon Administration, questioned today its "basic commitment" to civil rights and the eradication of poverty.

He accused the Administration of "a confusing and often contradictory performance" in enforcing "existing civil rights statutes" and a "failure to grasp the urgency of present circumstances" in restricting expenditures for "critical" domestic programs.

He addressed the 58th annual meeting of the Anti-defamation League of B'nai B'rith at the Shoreham Hotel.

Mr. Humphrey said the Administration was inconsistent and showed a "marked disparity between words and deeds" when the Pentagon refused to demand equal hiring and housing practices by three textile companies while at the same time the Justice Department sued a textile mill for identical violations of Federal law.

The reference was to a suit started by the Justice Department on April 8 against Cannon Mills. On the same day, the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund, and Education, Inc., went into Federal court because the Pentagon had refused to demand equal hiring and housing practices from three of its suppliers, Dan River Mills, Burlington Mills and the J. P. Stevens Company.

Employers Harassed

Mr. Humphrey also deplored the resignation of Clifford Alexander as chairman of the equal Employment Opportunity Commission. He said the Administration announced its intention "to fire Clifford Alexander the day after Minority LEader Dirksen threatened Mr. Alexander with replacement for allegedly harassing employers who are violating the Civil Rights Act on 1964."

"As one of the principal authors of this legislation," Mr. Humphrey said, "I want to commend Mr. Alexander for his faithful and fair conduct of his responsibilities. And I think the vocal advocates of law and order in this society should recognize the severe damage that is wrought by such efforts to intimidate public officials who are only exercising their statutory duties in a responsible and effective manner."

Mr. Humphrey said that the Nixon Administration was "profoundly mistaken in believing that gradualism and patience are sufficient in these days of crisis." He said that not promising more than could be delivered was "wise and prudent up to a point," but warned against permitting prudence to become "rationalization for doing less than the absolute maximum of what we are capable of doing."

port and recommendations. On the first anniversary of this report, Urban America and the Urban Coalition released a study, *One Year Later*, which evaluated our progress to date in meeting the goals of the Kerner Commission.

This appraisal stated that:

"Poverty remains a pervasive fact of life . . . and the continuing disparity between this poverty and the general affluence remains a source of alienation and discontent.

"Ghetto schools continue to fail. The small amount of progress that has been made has been counterbalanced by a growing atmosphere of hostility and conflict in many cities.

"At present, there are no programs that seriously threaten the continued existence of the slums."

And as the Kerner report had warned a year earlier, the study concluded: "For a year later, we are a year closer to being two societies, black and white, increasingly separate and scarcely less equal."

I was distressed at the meager attention given this important evaluation when it was released six weeks ago. For this report outlined, as did the Kerner Commission before it, the specific actions which must now be taken in America to reverse this alarming pattern of social disintegration.

We must understand the dimensions of our basic challenge: to achieve not only equity in opportunity but equity in results. And equity in results refers to very concrete goals—the right to a job at decent pay, the right to an adequate income if one cannot work, the right to an education which releases rather than destroys human creativity, the right to decent housing in safe neighborhoods, the right to good health care and sufficient nutrition.

The accumulated wrongs and deprivations of generations cannot be swept away overnight. But this obvious fact must not become an excuse for making anything less than the maximum effort to do as much as we can—now.

We hear a lot these days about not promising more than we can deliver—about not raising peoples' expectations over society's capacity to remedy long-standing injustices. All of this is wise and prudent talk . . . up to a point.

Up to the point of permitting such sentiments to become rationalizations for doing less than the absolute maximum of what we are capable of doing.

Up to the point that this approach suggests to the American people that these terribly urgent and difficult problems can be solved without considerable sacrifice and commitment on their part.

And up to the point that we believe our basic error has been in saying to the American people that all should share equitably in the wealth and opportunity of this nation . . . and forgetting that, in fact, our basic error has been the protracted failure to mobilize the resources and energies of this country to reach this goal.

Let's face one fact squarely: television and advertising will do the job of raising peoples' expectations, regardless of what the government may do or what our political leaders may say. But it is the special responsibility of government and our political leadership to make the decisions and generate the support and confidence that will get this job done.

On the basis of the Administration's reductions of the federal budget in critical domestic areas—cities, education, health care, the Job Corps and the poverty program—I can only conclude that they fail to grasp the urgency of our present circumstances . . . and that they are profoundly mistaken in believing that gradualism and patience are sufficient in these days of crisis.

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY BEFORE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH, WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 21, 1969

Last September I addressed the Anti-Defamation League of B'nei B'rith in the opening speech of my campaign for the Presidency of the United States.

In this speech I discussed what I considered to be one of the two principal issues of the campaign—the issue of racial justice in America.

I asked this question: Shall we—as a nation—move forward toward one society of opportunity and justice . . . or shall we abandon this commitment out of fear and prejudice and move instead toward a fractured and separated society—black against white, rich against poor, comfortable against the left-out?

The campaign has ended. The Presidency has changed hands. But this question still prevails . . . with an intensity even greater than when I raised the issue last September.

A little more than a year ago, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders—the Kerner Commission—released its historic re-

The Administration's confusing and often contradictory performance over the enforcement of existing civil rights statutes, moreover, can only create the most serious doubts about their basic commitment to healing the divisions and eradicating the inequities of this society.

To illustrate briefly:

The same day that the NAACP Legal Defense Fund went into Federal Court over the Pentagon's refusal to demand equal hiring and housing practices by three textile companies, the Justice Department sued a textile mill for precisely these violations of federal law.

And the Administration announced its intention to fire Clifford Alexander, the Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the day after Minority Leader Dirksen threatened Alexander with replacement for allegedly "harrassing" employers who are violating the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

As you know, Mr. Alexander has now resigned his position as Chairman, rather than submit to dismissal under these most unfortunate circumstances.

As one of the principal authors of this legislation, I want to commend Mr. Alexander for his faithful and fair conduct of his responsibilities. And I think the vocal advocates of law and order in this society should recognize the severe damage that is wrought by such efforts to intimidate public officials who are only exercising their statutory duties in a responsible and effective manner.

The inconsistency of this record—the marked disparity between words and deeds—will only encourage those elements in our society which seek to perpetuate racist policies in jobs, housing, education and public services generally.

The time has arrived for those groups like the Anti-Defamation League to demand publicly that our civil rights laws be enforced to the letter.

Any other course by the federal government can only deal a grievous blow to this nation's efforts to root out the bigotry and racism which increasingly threaten to divide this land and people.

* * *

In the course of the Presidential campaign another issue arose of overriding importance: the issue of controlling the strategic arms spiral which threatens the survival of all mankind.

Congress and the American people are now faced with a basic decision: Will we accede to the backlogged requests of the military for an entirely new generation of offensive and defensive strategic nuclear weapons . . . or will we attempt to negotiate with the Soviet Union an end to the nuclear arms race and thereby open the door for a far greater mobilization of America's resources in the cause of humanity, both at home and abroad?

The opening skirmish in this struggle over national priorities will be fought over money for the initial deployment of the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system. But this debate is only indicative of the more fundamental decisions that must be reached in the coming year over military spending.

One thing is certain: the process of shifting significant sums of federal money from works of war to works of peace will not be easy.

Every positive advance in nuclear arms control has been opposed by powerful members of Congress and segments of the military and defense establishment. Any meaningful agreements reached with the Soviets concerning the freezing or reduction of our strategic weapons will almost certainly be fought once again.

But unless this battle is won, the outcome of subsequent encounters to secure additional resources for cities, for education, for health care, for jobs and housing, and related activities will be largely decided—in the negative—even before the issues get to Congress.

Our military budgets will continue to expand; our domestic allocations will become proportionately smaller. This is precisely the outcome of President Nixon's recent cutbacks in the federal budget.

We now have the chance to reverse this traditional pattern if we focus our efforts on ending the insanity of the strategic nuclear arms race, while we begin simultaneously the difficult job of securing these resources for urgent domestic needs.

This is our opportunity in this moment of crisis and challenge. . . . Can we now summon the courage and faith so clearly demanded by the times?



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