

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Kansas Region of
THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

Annual Dinner

Wichita, Kansas

March 18, 1973

Brotherhood -- that is a word that has a deep meaning to all of you gathered here tonight. It reflects the highest aspirations of mankind, to which you are totally committed.

But brotherhood is also a word that is exceptionally difficult to define. Language proves inadequate to describe it, because brotherhood must be lived in the particular time and place and situation that you find yourself.

I want to talk tonight about a time -- this year of 1973; a place -- the United States of America; and a situation -- the challenge to determine where we are headed as a people in the coming decade. And I want to talk about these things in the context of two well-known terms for describing brotherhood. First, that brotherhood means trust. And second, that brotherhood means working together to achieve common goals.

The basic message I want to deliver is that a heavy responsibility rests upon our national leadership in the coming months to restore a genuine sense of trust by the people in their government, and to bring this nation together in working to meet the common needs of people.

I am deeply concerned that recent policies and actions by President Nixon's Administration are creating a serious distrust of government among major sectors of our people. And I am profoundly disturbed that, rather than establishing a partnership between Congress and the President in launching national programs to meet extensive human needs, these Administration policies and actions have led to a confrontation between the legislative and executive branches over whether the federal government will even place a high priority on meeting these needs for decent housing, adequate health care, quality education, liveable cities, jobs and income adequate to meet the rising cost of living, the protection of our environment, equal opportunity and justice for all, continued efforts to end poverty, the control of crime and drug abuse, and a stable economy to prevent the inflation that wipes out limited savings and transforms a family's hope into despair and anguish.

The trust and hope of the people are the true strength of a nation.

But where can 25 million Americans turn when the one symbol of trust and hope they have had in recent years -- the Office of Economic Opportunity -- is now being dismantled by orders of the White House?

How can we expect the average American family to retain full faith in its government, when it sees an escalation in the cost of living, even before price controls were lifted under Phase III? What should a working man feel when the rent on his apartment suddenly jumps up and his wife complains she can no longer afford to buy meat at the supermarket -- yet his wages are still the same?

How far can blacks, Indians, Spanish-speaking, and other minorities trust their government, when the Administration cuts funds to assist desegregation, and when the President leaves vacant the chairmanship of the Commission on Civil Rights for over three months?

Where can there be hope for a better future in our nation when the proposed federal budget for fiscal 1974 presented to Congress calls for substantial cutbacks and the termination of vital programs in housing, urban development, health care, education, and job training and employment opportunities?

And by what value judgment can we justify sweeping cutbacks in Social Services below the \$2.5 billion level authorized by Congress to meet critical needs of children, families, and elderly couples, when that same federal budget includes in small print a \$2.1 billion authorization for a military contingency fund for Vietnam?

This is the kind of harsh questions that must be answered now if the trust and hope of the American people in their government are to be restored.

I have spelled out some of the important answers in a legislative program designed to reorient national priorities toward serving now the needs and expectations of our people.

Through an intensive reevaluation of the budget by Congress, and genuine tax reform where every citizen pays his or her fair share, we can meet these needs and expectations that spell hope and opportunity for millions of Americans. We must not accept a budget that undermines the brotherhood of trust by dividing this country into the haves and the have-nots -- protecting the former, and sending the bill for payment by the latter. We should not call for greater reliance on state and local governments -- with a corresponding retreat from responsibility by the national government -- and then deny these governments the very fiscal resources that are essential to carrying out their responsibilities.

But Congress must not be satisfied with emergency measures that only prevent a slow-down in our nation's progress. The time for building for the coming decade is now. And we must act decisively together to meet that challenge.

We need to think of the long-term growth of this nation -- what our needs will be in 10, 20, or 30 years from now. We need to establish a major national growth and development policy, so that balanced rural and urban development can be accomplished on a comprehensive and carefully-planned basis -- and a solid investment be made in America's future.

This leads me to the second concept of brotherhood -- people working together to achieve common goals. For we are really talking about the kind of nation we as a united people want to pass on to future generations: A nation where the intelligent and compassionate protection and development of our human resources, as well as our natural resources, are of vital importance.

A generation ago the poet, Thomas Wolfe, said that the promise of America is -- To every man his chance: To every man regardless of his birth his shining golden opportunity; To every man the right to live and to work to be himself and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can make him -- this is the promise of America.

During the past decade you and I sought to realize this promise in its most basic form for millions of black Americans, Indians, Spanish-speaking and other minorities for whom racial discrimination in laws, in official policies, and in everyday patterns of life had degenerated this promise into a myth. In securing the enactment of historic civil rights laws, we sought to restore this promise in the removal of a host of legal barriers to civil equality and equal opportunity.

It may rightly be said that we helped achieve a veritable revolution in many of the social standards and institutions of our land. But it must never be forgotten that the path to this goal was extremely difficult, and that it was only by our forming a decisive coalition that these barriers to civil rights could be overcome.

Tonight I suggest to you that the time has come for a new definition of civil rights. Together, we must identify the struggle for civil rights as a struggle for the rights and privileges and duties of all Americans. We must create a climate of identity of interests between the needs, the hopes, and the fears of the minorities, and the needs and the hopes and the fears of the majority.

In straight terms, this means identifying the cause of civil rights with the establishment of a new Bill of Rights for all Americans:

- the right to decent living conditions;
- the right to quality education for all our children;
- the right of all Americans to good health care, at low cost, and immediately accessible;
- the right to a meaningful life, free from poverty;
- the right to full and equal protection of the law;
- the right of everyone who needs and wants a job to productive and gainful employment; and to advance in that job on the basis of merit alone;
- the right to a clean and decent neighborhood;
- the right to life free from violence or terror;
- the right to privacy, free from official or private invasion;
- the right to be free from hunger;
- and the right to a clean and wholesome environment, with protection of resources for recreation and leisure.

These rights belong to all the American people -- yet for too many, such rights are myths. Without these vital rights, without these rights being applicable and accepted, there are no real civil rights.

It is not enough to have laws establishing such rights. There were laws under Hitler and Stalin. It is the practice in which these rights are genuinely affirmed that counts. The talk of human dignity on Sunday must not be followed by the

practice of human degradation on Monday. We betray our nation's purpose when we accept the existence of a run-down school in the central city or in a poverty-stricken rural area, when we do nothing about the malnutrition that afflicts children at all income levels, or when we allow a family to live in a rat-infested tenement, and force that family to go miles to find a doctor.

What I am suggesting is that the time has come to establish a new civil rights coalition -- a brotherhood of men and women working together to establish as the highest national priority the meeting of the critical needs of our people.

I ask you to join me not in a child-like optimism -- as in the decade of the '60's, the establishment of these human rights will take long, hard work. I do ask you to join me in a resolve to put together in this country the coalition of economic and political forces that can move mountains. We have done much; but what we have done is only an indication of what we can do and what we must do.

Each person here has a special obligation to join this brotherhood. He has an obligation to himself; to his family; and to his community. But far more than this, each of you has an obligation to work for the fulfillment of the highest purposes of this nation.

#

001339

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

KANSAS REGION OF
THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS
ANNUAL DINNER

WICHITA, KANSAS

MARCH 18, 1973

BROTHERHOOD -- THAT IS A WORD THAT HAS A DEEP MEANING TO
ALL OF ~~US~~ ^{us} GATHERED HERE TONIGHT. IT REFLECTS THE HIGHEST
ASPIRATIONS OF MANKIND, ~~TO WHICH YOU ARE TOTALLY COMMITTED.~~

✓ BUT BROTHERHOOD IS ALSO A WORD THAT IS EXCEPTIONALLY
DIFFICULT TO DEFINE. LANGUAGE PROVES INADEQUATE TO DESCRIBE
IT, BECAUSE BROTHERHOOD MUST BE LIVED IN THE PARTICULAR TIME
AND PLACE AND SITUATION THAT YOU FIND YOURSELF.

✓ I WANT TO TALK TONIGHT ABOUT A TIME -- THIS YEAR OF 1973,
A PLACE -- THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; AND A SITUATION --
THE CHALLENGE TO DETERMINE WHERE WE ARE HEADED AS A PEOPLE IN
THE COMING DECADE. ✓ AND I WANT TO TALK ABOUT THESE THINGS IN
THE CONTEXT OF TWO WELL-KNOWN TERMS FOR DESCRIBING BROTHERHOOD.

L FIRST, THAT BROTHERHOOD MEANS TRUST. AND SECOND, THAT

BROTHERHOOD MEANS WORKING TOGETHER TO ACHIEVE COMMON GOALS.

L THE BASIC MESSAGE I WANT TO DELIVER IS THAT A HEAVY

RESPONSIBILITY RESTS UPON OUR NATIONAL LEADERSHIP IN THE

COMING MONTHS TO RESTORE A GENUINE SENSE OF TRUST BY THE

PEOPLE IN THEIR GOVERNMENT, AND TO BRING THIS NATION TOGETHER

IN WORKING TO MEET THE COMMON NEEDS OF PEOPLE.

I AM DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT RECENT POLICIES AND ACTIONS BY

Government - yes

PRESIDENT NIXON'S ADMINISTRATION ARE CREATING A SERIOUS

DISTRUST OF GOVERNMENT AMONG MAJOR SECTORS OF OUR PEOPLE.

Plenty of allegiance.

Budget

OEO

-3-

AND I AM PROFOUNDLY DISTURBED THAT, RATHER THAN ESTABLISHING
A PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT ~~IN LAUNCHING~~

~~NATIONAL PROGRAMS~~ TO MEET EXTENSIVE HUMAN NEEDS, *certain*

ADMINISTRATION POLICIES AND ACTIONS HAVE LED TO A CONFRONTATION

BETWEEN THE LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE BRANCHES, *There is* ~~OVER WHETHER~~

A serious doubt that
~~THE~~ FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WILL EVEN PLACE A HIGH PRIORITY ON

MEETING ~~THESE~~ *the* NEEDS FOR DECENT HOUSING, ADEQUATE HEALTH CARE,

QUALITY EDUCATION, LIVEABLE CITIES, JOBS AND INCOME ADEQUATE

TO MEET THE RISING COST OF LIVING, THE PROTECTION OF OUR

ENVIRONMENT, EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL, CONTINUED

EFFORTS TO END POVERTY, THE CONTROL OF CRIME AND DRUG ABUSE,

~~AND A STABLE ECONOMY TO PREVENT~~ *And the Control of* INFLATION THAT WIPES OUT

LIMITED SAVINGS AND TRANSFORMS A FAMILY'S HOPE INTO DESPAIR

AND ANGUISH. *You, doubt and fear, have*

Challenging trust and hope.

-4-

001343

yet, THE TRUST AND HOPE OF THE PEOPLE ARE THE TRUE STRENGTH OF
A NATION.

L BUT WHERE CAN 25 MILLION AMERICANS TURN WHEN THE ONE SYMBOL
OF TRUST AND HOPE THEY HAVE ^{known} ~~had~~ IN RECENT YEARS -- THE OFFICE
OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY -- IS NOW BEING DISMANTLED BY ORDERS
OF THE WHITE HOUSE?

L HOW CAN WE EXPECT THE AVERAGE AMERICAN FAMILY TO RETAIN
FULL FAITH IN ITS GOVERNMENT, WHEN IT SEES AN ESCALATION IN
THE COST OF LIVING, EVEN BEFORE PRICE CONTROLS WERE LIFTED
UNDER PHASE III? WHAT SHOULD A WORKING MAN FEEL WHEN THE RENT
ON HIS APARTMENT SUDDENLY JUMPS ~~UP~~ AND HIS WIFE COMPLAINS SHE
CAN NO LONGER AFFORD TO BUY MEAT AT THE SUPERMARKET -- YET
HIS WAGES ARE STILL THE SAME?

Elderly

How far can blacks, Indians, Spanish-speaking, and other minorities trust their government, when the administration cuts funds to assist desegregation, and when the president leaves vacant the chairmanship of the Commission on Civil Rights for over three months?

Where can there be hope for a better future in our nation when the proposed federal budget for fiscal 1974 ~~presented to~~ ~~Congress~~ calls for substantial cutbacks and the termination of vital programs in housing, urban development, health care, education, and job training and employment opportunities?

-6-

AND BY WHAT VALUE JUDGMENT CAN WE JUSTIFY SWEEPING CUTBACKS
IN SOCIAL SERVICES (BELOW THE \$2.5 BILLION LEVEL AUTHORIZED BY
CONGRESS) TO MEET CRITICAL NEEDS OF CHILDREN, FAMILIES, AND
ELDERLY ~~people~~ WHEN THAT SAME FEDERAL BUDGET INCLUDES IN
SMALL PRINT A \$2.1 BILLION ~~fund~~ FOR A MILITARY
CONTINGENCY FUND FOR VIETNAM?

THIS IS THE KIND OF HARSH QUESTIONS THAT MUST BE ANSWERED
NOW IF THE TRUST AND HOPE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN THEIR
GOVERNMENT ARE TO BE RESTORED. !

I HAVE SPELLED OUT SOME OF THE IMPORTANT ANSWERS IN A
LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM DESIGNED TO REORIENT NATIONAL PRIORITIES
TOWARD SERVING NOW THE NEEDS AND EXPECTATIONS OF OUR PEOPLE.

-7-

THROUGH AN INTENSIVE REEVALUATION OF THE BUDGET BY CONGRESS,
AND GENUINE TAX REFORM WHERE EVERY CITIZEN PAYS HIS OR HER
FAIR SHARE, WE CAN MEET ^{the} ~~THESE~~ NEEDS AND EXPECTATIONS THAT
SPELL HOPE AND OPPORTUNITY FOR MILLIONS OF AMERICANS. ^{WE}
~~MUST NOT ACCEPT~~ ^{politics or Rhetoric} ~~THE BUDGET~~ THAT UNDERMINES THE BROTHERHOOD
OF TRUST BY DIVIDING THIS COUNTRY INTO THE HAVES AND THE
HAVE-NOTS -- ~~PROTECTING THE FORMER, AND SENDING THE BILL FOR~~
~~PAYMENT BY THE LATTER.~~ WE SHOULD NOT CALL FOR GREATER
RELIANCE ON STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS -- WITH A CORRESPONDING
RETREAT FROM RESPONSIBILITY BY ~~THE~~ NATIONAL GOVERNMENT --
AND THEN DENY THESE GOVERNMENTS THE VERY FISCAL RESOURCES THAT
ARE ESSENTIAL TO CARRYING OUT THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES.

your
BUT CONGRESS MUST NOT BE SATISFIED WITH EMERGENCY

MEASURES THAT ONLY PREVENT A SLOW-DOWN IN OUR NATION'S

PROGRESS, THE TIME FOR BUILDING FOR THE COMING DECADE IS

NOW. AND WE MUST ACT DECISIVELY TOGETHER TO MEET THAT

CHALLENGE.

[WE NEED TO THINK OF THE LONG-TERM GROWTH OF THIS NATION --

WHAT OUR NEEDS WILL BE IN 10, 20, OR 30 YEARS FROM NOW.

[WE NEED TO ESTABLISH A MAJOR NATIONAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

POLICY, SO THAT BALANCED RURAL AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT CAN BE

ACCOMPLISHED ON A COMPREHENSIVE AND CAREFULLY-PLANNED

BASIS -- AND A SOLID INVESTMENT BE MADE IN AMERICA'S FUTURE.

*after
Korea*

#2 THIS LEADS ME TO THE SECOND CONCEPT OF BROTHERHOOD --

PEOPLE WORKING TOGETHER TO ACHIEVE COMMON GOALS. FOR WE ARE
REALLY TALKING ABOUT THE KIND OF NATION WE AS A UNITED PEOPLE
WANT TO PASS ON TO FUTURE GENERATIONS: A NATION WHERE THE
INTELLIGENT AND COMPASSIONATE PROTECTION AND DEVELOPMENT
OF OUR HUMAN RESOURCES, AS WELL AS OUR NATURAL RESOURCES, ARE
OF VITAL IMPORTANCE.

L A GENERATION AGO THE POET, THOMAS WOLFE, SAID THAT THE
PROMISE OF AMERICA IS -- TO EVERY MAN HIS CHANCE: TO EVERY
MAN REGARDLESS OF HIS BIRTH HIS SHINING GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY;
TO EVERY MAN THE RIGHT TO LIVE AND TO WORK TO BE HIMSELF AND
TO BECOME WHATEVER THING HIS MANHOOD AND HIS VISION CAN MAKE
HIM -- THIS IS THE PROMISE OF AMERICA.

-10-

During the past decade you and I sought to realize this promise in its most basic form for millions of black Americans, Indians, Spanish-speaking and other minorities for whom racial discrimination in laws, in official policies, and Education, and in everyday patterns of life had degenerated this promise into a myth. In securing the enactment of historic civil rights laws, we sought to restore this promise in the removal of a host of legal barriers to civil equality and equal opportunity.

It may rightly be said that we helped achieve a veritable revolution in many of the social standards and institutions of our land. But it must never be forgotten that the path to this goal was extremely difficult, and that it was only

-11-

BY OUR FORMING A DECISIVE COALITION THAT THESE BARRIERS TO
CIVIL RIGHTS COULD BE OVERCOME.

TONIGHT I SUGGEST TO YOU THAT THE TIME HAS COME FOR A
NEW DEFINITION OF CIVIL RIGHTS. TOGETHER, WE MUST IDENTIFY
THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS AS A STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHTS
AND PRIVILEGES AND DUTIES OF ALL AMERICANS. WE MUST CREATE
A CLIMATE OF IDENTITY OF INTERESTS BETWEEN THE NEEDS, THE
HOPES, AND THE FEARS OF THE MINORITIES, AND THE NEEDS AND
THE HOPES AND THE FEARS OF THE MAJORITY.

IN STRAIGHT TERMS, THIS MEANS IDENTIFYING THE CAUSE OF
CIVIL RIGHTS WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW BILL OF RIGHTS
FOR ALL AMERICANS:

3

-12-

- THE RIGHT TO DECENT LIVING CONDITIONS;
- THE RIGHT TO QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL OUR CHILDREN;
- THE RIGHT OF ALL AMERICANS TO GOOD HEALTH CARE, AT
LOW COST, AND IMMEDIATELY ACCESSIBLE;
- THE RIGHT TO A MEANINGFUL LIFE, FREE FROM POVERTY;
- THE RIGHT TO FULL AND EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAW;
- THE RIGHT OF EVERYONE WHO NEEDS AND WANTS A JOB TO
PRODUCTIVE AND GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT; AND TO ADVANCE IN THAT
JOB ON THE BASIS OF MERIT ALONE;
- THE RIGHT TO A CLEAN AND DECENT NEIGHBORHOOD;
- THE RIGHT TO LIFE FREE FROM VIOLENCE OR TERROR;

-13-

-- THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY, FREE FROM OFFICIAL OR PRIVATE
INVASION;

-- THE RIGHT TO BE FREE FROM HUNGER;

-- AND THE RIGHT TO A CLEAN AND WHOLESOME ENVIRONMENT,
WITH PROTECTION OF RESOURCES FOR RECREATION AND LEISURE.

THESE RIGHTS BELONG TO ALL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- YET FOR
TOO MANY, SUCH RIGHTS ARE MYTHS. WITHOUT THESE VITAL RIGHTS,
WITHOUT THESE RIGHTS BEING APPLICABLE AND ACCEPTED, THERE ARE
NO REAL CIVIL RIGHTS.

IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO HAVE LAWS ESTABLISHING SUCH RIGHTS.
THERE WERE LAWS UNDER HITLER AND STALIN. IT IS THE PRACTICE
IN WHICH THESE RIGHTS ARE GENUINELY AFFIRMED THAT COUNTS.

L THE TALK OF HUMAN DIGNITY ON SUNDAY MUST NOT BE FOLLOWED BY THE

PRACTICE OF HUMAN DEGRADATION ON MONDAY. WE BETRAY OUR

NATION'S PURPOSE WHEN WE ACCEPT THE EXISTENCE OF A RUN-DOWN

SCHOOL IN THE CENTRAL CITY OR IN A POVERTY-STRICKEN RURAL

AREA, WHEN WE DO *all too little about* ~~NOTHING ABOUT THE~~ MALNUTRITION THAT AFFLICTS

CHILDREN AT ALL INCOME LEVELS, OR WHEN WE ALLOW A FAMILY

TO LIVE IN A RAT-INFESTED TENEMENT, AND FORCE THAT FAMILY

TO GO MILES TO FIND A DOCTOR.

L WHAT I AM SUGGESTING IS THAT THE TIME HAS COME TO ESTABLISH

A NEW CIVIL RIGHTS COALITION -- A BROTHERHOOD OF MEN AND WOMEN

WORKING TOGETHER TO ESTABLISH AS THE HIGHEST NATIONAL

fulfilling meetings
PRIORITY ~~THE MEETING~~ THE CRITICAL NEEDS OF OUR PEOPLE.

*Yes - Human Needs - Know no Race,
Creed, or Color - Human Needs are People
in need.*

-15-

L You + I know that
 I ASK YOU TO JOIN ME NOT IN A CHILD-LIKE OPTIMISM

AS IN THE DECADE OF THE '60's, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THESE *basic*

HUMAN RIGHTS WILL TAKE LONG, HARD WORK, *we must*

~~MEET A PERSON~~ PUT TOGETHER ~~IN THIS COUNTRY~~ THE COALITION

OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FORCES THAT CAN MOVE MOUNTAINS!

L WE HAVE DONE MUCH; BUT WHAT WE HAVE DONE IS ONLY AN INDICATION

OF WHAT WE CAN DO AND WHAT WE MUST DO.

L EACH PERSON HERE HAS A SPECIAL OBLIGATION TO JOIN THIS

BROTHERHOOD. *L* HE HAS AN OBLIGATION TO HIMSELF; TO HIS FAMILY;

AND TO HIS COMMUNITY. *L* BUT FAR MORE THAN THIS, EACH OF YOU

HAS AN OBLIGATION TO WORK FOR THE FULFILLMENT OF THE HIGHEST

PURPOSES OF THIS NATION,

#####



Minnesota Historical Society

Copyright in this digital version belongs to the Minnesota Historical Society and its content may not be copied without the copyright holder's express written permission. Users may print, download, link to, or email content, however, for individual use.

To request permission for commercial or educational use, please contact the Minnesota Historical Society.



www.mnhs.org