

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
1977 BROTHERHOOD DINNER - ARKANSAS REGION  
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

Little Rock, Arkansas

April 28, 1977

It is an honor to be here tonight to participate in this tribute to Margaret Kolb, who is this year's recipient of your 1977 Brotherhood Citation Award. Her contributions to the brotherhood of humankind have been remarkable. She has worked as a teacher, writer, social worker, leader in religious and political affairs, and has served numerous organizations and institutions as a volunteer.

State Senator Bill Walmsley, who is serving as Chairman of tonight's award dinner, is to be commended for making this event such a success.

And I would be remiss if I didn't recognize Walter Davidson, the General Chairman of the Arkansas Regional Board of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

I also want to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Arkansas Region of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Although it is the youngest of the National Conference's regional operations, I am advised that it ranks in the top five or six in the nation in terms of supportive constituency and program accomplishment.

As one who has worked hard in public life to eradicate the barriers of prejudice in this country, I cannot overemphasize the important role the National Conference has played in the civil rights struggle of this nation.

You are an outstanding example of America's commitment to the promotion of justice, understanding, cooperation and the elimination of prejudice from our society.

The National Conference has been true to its creed. Since its inception in 1928, your organization has been instrumental in the monumental achievements we have made in overcoming prejudice in this country.

But we all know that there still is a great deal of work to be done.

We live in a world of rapid change. What took decades to accomplish in the past now takes only weeks. Years are compressed into milliseconds, and generations pass through eras and epochs at mind-boggling speed.

In an age when the world and time are shrinking the dimensions of our lives; at a moment when the power of private and public institutions is growing rapidly, the challenge of preserving democracy as we know it becomes formidable.

What is the basis of this formidable challenge? We have learned that the success of the civil rights struggle has not guaranteed freedom in this country. You and I have played a role in the unprecedented struggle of the past two decades to secure equal rights for all Americans. We have made gains in such areas as equal access to public accommodations, equal job opportunities, non-discriminatory use of federal funds, and protection of the right to vote.

Yet, despite hard-won gains in Congress and the Courts, the struggle for eradication of prejudice and bigotry in America is not over. For there can be no meaningful freedom in America without freedom from poverty, freedom from hunger, and freedom from unemployment. Economic repression is as insipient an evil as political repression.

It is not enough to allow a man or woman the right to sit at a lunch counter if they don't have the money in their pockets to pay for the meal.

The right to full participation in the economic life of our nation is the birthright of every American. And until we can guarantee this freedom to all Americans we cannot call ourselves truly free.

Increasing poverty, high unemployment and widespread urban decay simply cannot be accepted or overlooked any longer. An America divided between rich and poor, white and black, old and young, is in trouble. Freedom for the comfortable cannot endure alongside misery for one-fifth of the American population.

One of our greatest national problems is that of youth unemployment. Teenagers and young adults suffer from higher unemployment rates than any other group of workers. We have 18.9 percent youth unemployment -- almost triple the rate for adults. This enforced idleness affects 3.4 million youths today.

Joblessness tells these young people that they have no productive role to fill in our society, that they have been rejected by society even though they desperately want to participate.

We may not be able to see the psychological and emotional damage, the insecurity, and the alienation that unemployment causes young people. But we can readily understand the consequences in the skyrocketing crime rate that it has caused among those under 24, and the increased drug and alcohol abuse among our nation's youth.

The danger to the future of this country should be readily apparent. For it is the youth of today who will be the leaders of tomorrow. And we would leave a sad legacy if such a large percentage are completely alienated from a society they stand to inherit.

But solving youth unemployment is just the start. Until there is full employment in America we cannot be satisfied. Unemployment adds up to a terrible price in broken families, in the attitudes of our children, in the rising crime rate, in skills forgotten and work habits never formed, in permanent alienation from society and -- the most costly -- loss of self-respect.

Of course, there are those who are telling us that we simply will have to pay the price and more -- because there just isn't any room for the unemployed in the system. In the early 1960's, three and four percent unemployment was considered too high. Now, five percent unemployment is considered full employment. Will the next decade see a 10 percent unemployment rate as being acceptable?

If it does, we might just as well haul down the flag, lock up the Capitol, go home and admit that we don't have the courage or the imagination to govern ourselves.

Full employment is the broad base on which to build our progress -- the unfinished job of securing both political and economic rights for all Americans. But there is much more to be done.

The neglect of our cities works a terrible hardship on the millions of people who live there. It is a form of national blindness -- because the city is America's tomorrow.

By the end of this century -- which is not far off -- this nation will have over 250 million inhabitants. And 85 percent of them will be living in cities with populations of 50,000 or more.

So when we talk about our cities, we are talking about nothing less significant than the future of more than four out of every five Americans. We are talking about the future of almost all our children and grandchildren.

Quite simply, nothing less than a genuine national policy of full employment coupled with a determination to revitalize our cities and maintain their role as strong centers of trade, culture and communications, will serve to restore economic hope and the promise of productivity to all the American people.

This is our challenge, for if we cannot overcome the economic obstacles to the full participation of our citizens in our society, the hard-won political and civil rights of the last two decades will hold little meaning for millions of our people.

In essence, our democratic institutions are threatened by an acceptance of the blight of poverty in a nation characterized by its tremendous wealth.

Yet, this concern does not stop at our nation's shores. For our country also cannot hope to survive as an island of wealth in a sea of poverty.

We cannot seek democracy and social and economic justice at home and abandon these principles abroad.

We have made significant strides during the first months of President Carter's Administration. Support of democratic government now has become a central tenet of American foreign policy.

The only effective way to combat the tyranny of Communism and the totalitarianism of the "right" is to battle for human and economic rights and democratic values.

A sense of moral values should be an imperative of our foreign policy. Unless it is, we will find it difficult to gain the support of peoples around the world who look to us for moral support in their struggles for freedom.

Nearly two years ago, the United States joined with the Soviet Union and 33 other nations in signing the Helsinki Agreement. The most important articles in that agreement were the Basket Three -- or human rights -- provisions.

The Basket Three provisions are proving to be a most important development in the field of international human rights. While it is true that we don't have the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another country, this does not mean we should not remind the world that human rights are of the highest priority of our government and our people, and that our policies will be directed accordingly.

The message of the United States is not nuclear power. The message of the United States is a spiritual message. It is the message of human ideals; it is the message of the freedom of ideas, speech, press, the right to assemble, to worship, and the message of the freedom of movement of peoples.

It is the message of the Bill of Rights. It is the message of the Declaration of Independence, where we boldly proclaimed to a world dominated by monarchs and tyrants that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, and among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.



This is the message of America. This is the source of our power. This is the source of our strength.

However, it is in our relationships with the developing countries of the world that the problem presents a difficult dilemma for the United States.

Nearly one billion people are believed to live in absolute poverty around the world. The United States and the developing countries may soon find it necessary to jointly consider the basic questions of human rights -- including the difficult and complex relationship between political rights and economic rights.

These different aspects of human rights are quite clearly reflected in the two parts of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Our dilemma is how to advance both types of rights simultaneously.

A growing majority of the developing countries have -- in varying degrees -- authoritarian regimes. This is particularly true in the low-income countries, many of which are characterized by the threatening combination of extreme poverty among the majority of their populations, acute stagflation of their economies, and growing political awareness among their citizens.

Yet the Democratic values of this nation -- those of human rights and political liberties -- will ring hollow in the ears of the people of developing countries if we do not address the basic economic concerns of these people.

Cutting development assistance is usually a weak lever to force governments to restore human rights to the people. Moreover, in recent years, U.S. development assistance programs, although diminished, have concentrated on programs that reach the poorest people within the recipient countries.

Cutting off economic aid to these groups on the grounds that their government is exercising political oppression may have the effect of punishing them further for the very actions which victimize them and over which they have no control.

Poverty is destabilizing, no matter whether it is a domestic or international concern. With the competition for the world's diminishing resources intensifying, we must bring all our talent and energy to bear in eradicating hunger, disease and illiteracy from the face of the earth.

I often have thought that any nation which can send a man to the moon; which can overcome tremendous technological barriers to explore the last physical frontier of man -- outer space -- also can marshal its talent and resources to eradicate poverty from this country and from the face of this earth. It only requires the will and human compassion to do so.

As a nation, we are a community of people. Americans must participate in this community, both domestically and globally, to achieve common goals.

This is our duty and our responsibility as citizens. If we as Americans do not care about our collective political destiny, and that of other peoples around the world, we must accept the consequences of our own irresponsibility.

America is still a young country.

The American people are builders.

They are restless. They are energetic. They are idealists -- eager to put their ideals to the test.

You and I know who we are and what we are because it is implicit in your organization -- the National Conference of Christians and Jews. We are the most heterogeneous mixture of races, religions and nationalities ever to coexist peacefully under the tent of democracy. And we are the world's largest democracy, which has just completed celebrating two centuries of freedom.

I am an optimist. There is reason to believe that our third century can be not only one of expanding freedom and opportunity for all Americans, but also one in which we can once again exercise leadership in the global assault on the historic plagues of mankind -- the bondage of hunger, disease and illiteracy.

There is every reason to believe that the progressive forces in America and abroad can make great gains in the struggle to eradicate injustice, hunger and poverty wherever they are found.

America's future is a bright one. As the poet and scholar, Carl Sandburg, so eloquently spoke in "The Possible Dream":

"I see America, not in the setting sun of a black night of despair ahead of us. I see America in the crimson light of a rising sun fresh from the burning, creative hand of God. I see great days ahead, great days possible to men and women of will and vision..."

I know that the men and women of will and vision here this evening are ready to join hands and work for the kind of America and world which is in our hopes and dreams.

# # # #

(X) Walter Davidson - Genl Chm Arkansas Regional Bd TNCCS

(X) Mrs Margaret Kolb - Recipient of the National Conference annual citation for devotion to concepts of Brotherhood.

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

(X) State Senator Bill Walmsley - Genl Chairman  
1977 BROTHERHOOD DINNER - ARKANSAS REGION

(X) David Pryor - Governor + Barbara  
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

(X) Dale Bumpers - U.S. Senator  
(Betty)  
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

APRIL 28, 1977

Mr Warmath  
Dr Goldberg

2 Mondays tomorrow.

I always ADVANCE MAN (all men)

(X) Sen. Dale Bumpers  
- Governor  
- Senator  
W.T., Intellect, Perseverance  
Peoples Advocate  
Honest - will die for  
a friend.

Moved next to  
Bumpers

*Margaret Kolb*

IT IS AN HONOR TO BE HERE TONIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN  
THIS TRIBUTE TO MARGARET KOLB, ~~WHO IS~~ THIS YEAR'S RECIPIENT

*Margaret  
Kolb*

OF YOUR 1977 BROTHERHOOD CITATION AWARD. HER CONTRIBUTIONS

TO THE BROTHERHOOD OF HUMANKIND HAVE BEEN REMARKABLE. SHE HAS

WORKED AS A TEACHER, WRITER, SOCIAL WORKER, LEADER IN RELIGIOUS

AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS, AND HAS SERVED NUMEROUS ORGANIZATIONS

AND INSTITUTIONS AS A VOLUNTEER.

*Sen Bill Walmsley*

STATE SENATOR BILL WALMSLEY, WHO IS SERVING AS CHAIRMAN

OF TONIGHT'S AWARD DINNER, IS TO BE COMMENDED FOR MAKING THIS

EVENT SUCH A SUCCESS.

AND I WOULD BE REMISS IF I DIDN'T RECOGNIZE WALTER

*Walter  
Davidson*

DAVIDSON, THE GENERAL CHAIRMAN OF THE ARKANSAS REGIONAL BOARD

OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS.

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I ALSO WANT TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO PAY TRIBUTE  
TO THE ARKANSAS REGION OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS  
AND JEWS. ALTHOUGH IT IS THE YOUNGEST OF THE NATIONAL  
CONFERENCE'S REGIONAL OPERATIONS, I AM ADVISED THAT IT RANKS  
IN THE TOP FIVE OR SIX IN THE NATION IN TERMS OF SUPPORTIVE  
CONSTITUENCY AND PROGRAM ACCOMPLISHMENT.

AS ONE WHO HAS ~~DEDICATED MUCH OF HIS~~ LIFE TO ERADICATE

THE BARRIERS OF PREJUDICE IN THIS COUNTRY. I CANNOT OVEREMPHASIZE

THE IMPORTANT ROLE THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE HAS PLAYED IN THE

CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE OF THIS NATION.

YOU ARE AN OUTSTANDING EXAMPLE OF AMERICA'S COMMITMENT

TO THE ~~ELIMINATION OF~~ JUSTICE, UNDERSTANDING, COOPERATION AND

THE ELIMINATION OF PREJUDICE FROM OUR SOCIETY.

Role of  
NCCJ

~~Tolerance, understanding~~  
and



THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE HAS BEEN TRUE TO ITS CREED. SINCE  
ITS INCEPTION IN 1928, YOUR ORGANIZATION HAS BEEN INSTRUMENTAL

IN THE MONUMENTAL ACHIEVEMENTS WE HAVE MADE IN OVERCOMING *Bigotry and*  
PREJUDICE IN THIS COUNTRY. *# But the Agenda of Democracy*

*is never done.*

~~WE~~ WE ALL KNOW THAT THERE STILL IS A GREAT DEAL OF WORK  
TO BE DONE.

*Keep*  
~~WE LIVE IN A WORLD OF RAPID CHANGE. WHAT TOOK DECADES TO  
ACCOMPLISH IN THE PAST NOW TAKES ONLY ~~YEARS~~ *Months* YEARS ARE  
COMPRESSED INTO ~~DAYS~~ *Days*, AND GENERATIONS PASS THROUGH  
ERAS AND EPOCHS AT MIND-BOGGLING SPEED.~~

*ok*  
IN AN AGE WHEN THE WORLD AND TIME ARE SHRINKING THE DIMENSIONS  
OF OUR LIVES; AT A MOMENT WHEN THE POWER OF PRIVATE AND PUBLIC  
INSTITUTIONS IS GROWING RAPIDLY, THE CHALLENGE OF PRESERVING  
DEMOCRACY AS WE KNOW IT BECOMES FORMIDABLE.

WHAT IS THE BASIS OF THIS FORMIDABLE CHALLENGE? WE HAVE  
LEARNED THAT THE SUCCESS OF THE <sup>human</sup> CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE HAS NOT  
GUARANTEED FREEDOM IN THIS COUNTRY. YOU AND I HAVE PLAYED A  
ROLE IN THE UNPRECEDENTED STRUGGLE OF THE PAST TWO DECADES TO  
SECURE EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL AMERICANS. WE HAVE MADE GAINS IN  
SUCH AREAS AS EQUAL ACCESS TO PUBLIC ACCOMODATIONS, EQUAL JOB  
OPPORTUNITIES, NON-DISCRIMINATORY USE OF FEDERAL FUNDS, AND  
PROTECTION OF THE RIGHT TO VOTE.

Key  
L YET, DESPITE HARD-WON GAINS IN CONGRESS AND THE COURTS,  
THE STRUGGLE FOR ERADICATION OF PREJUDICE AND BIGOTRY IN  
AMERICA IS NOT OVER. L FOR THERE CAN BE NO MEANINGFUL FREEDOM  
IN AMERICA WITHOUT FREEDOM FROM POVERTY, FREEDOM FROM HUNGER,  
AND FREEDOM FROM UNEMPLOYMENT.

ECONOMIC REPRESSION IS AS INSIPIENT AN EVIL AS POLITICAL + Social

REPRESSION.

IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO ALLOW A MAN OR WOMAN THE RIGHT TO  
SIT AT A LUNCH COUNTER IF THEY DON'T HAVE THE MONEY ~~IN THEIR~~  
~~POCKET~~ TO PAY FOR THE MEAL.

THE RIGHT TO FULL PARTICIPATION IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF  
OUR NATION IS THE BIRTHRIGHT OF EVERY AMERICAN. AND UNTIL WE  
CAN GUARANTEE THIS FREEDOM TO ALL AMERICANS, WE CANNOT CALL  
OURSELVES TRULY FREE.

INCREASING POVERTY, HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT AND WIDESPREAD  
URBAN DECAY SIMPLY CANNOT BE ACCEPTED OR OVERLOOKED ANY  
LONGER. AN AMERICA DIVIDED BETWEEN RICH AND POOR, WHITE AND  
BLACK, OLD AND YOUNG, IS IN TROUBLE.

L FREEDOM FOR THE COMFORTABLE CANNOT <sup>long</sup> ENDURE ALONGSIDE MISERY

FOR ONE-FIFTH OF THE AMERICAN POPULATION.

L ONE OF OUR GREATEST NATIONAL PROBLEMS IS THAT OF YOUTH  
UNEMPLOYMENT. L TEENAGERS AND YOUNG ADULTS SUFFER FROM HIGHER  
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES THAN ANY OTHER GROUP OF WORKERS. L WE HAVE

<sup>19</sup>  
~~19.9~~ PERCENT YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT -- ALMOST TRIPLE THE RATE FOR

ADULTS. THIS ENFORCED IDLENESS AFFECTS 3.1/2 MILLION YOUTHS

TODAY,

L JOBLESSNESS TELLS THESE YOUNG PEOPLE THAT THEY HAVE NO  
PRODUCTIVE ROLE TO FILL IN OUR SOCIETY, THAT THEY HAVE BEEN

REJECTED BY SOCIETY EVEN THOUGH THEY DESPERATELY WANT TO

PARTICIPATE.

youth  
unemployment

WE MAY NOT BE ABLE TO SEE THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND EMOTIONAL  
DAMAGE, THE INSECURITY, AND THE ALIENATION THAT UNEMPLOYMENT  
CAUSES YOUNG PEOPLE. BUT WE CAN READILY UNDERSTAND THE  
CONSEQUENCES IN THE SKYROCKETING CRIME RATE THAT IT HAS CAUSED  
AMONG THOSE UNDER 24, AND THE INCREASED DRUG AND ALCOHOL ABUSE  
AMONG OUR NATION'S YOUTH.

THE DANGER TO THE FUTURE OF THIS COUNTRY SHOULD BE READILY  
APPARENT. FOR IT IS THE YOUTH OF TODAY WHO WILL BE THE LEADERS  
OF TOMORROW. AND WE WOULD LEAVE A SAD LEGACY IF SUCH A LARGE  
PERCENTAGE ARE COMPLETELY ALIENATED FROM A SOCIETY THEY STAND  
TO INHERIT.

BUT SOLVING YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT IS JUST THE START. UNTIL  
THERE IS FULL EMPLOYMENT IN AMERICA WE CANNOT BE SATISFIED.



UNEMPLOYMENT ADDS UP TO A TERRIBLE PRICE IN BROKEN FAMILIES, IN THE  
ATTITUDES OF OUR CHILDREN, IN THE RIISING CRIME RATE, IN SKILLS  
FORGOTTEN AND WORK HABITS NEVER FORMED, IN PERMANENT ALIENATION  
FROM SOCIETY AND -- THE MOST COSTLY -- LOSS OF SELF-RESPECT.

*Inflation*  
OF COURSE, THERE ARE THOSE WHO ARE TELLING US THAT WE SIMPLY  
WILL HAVE TO PAY THE PRICE <sup>*of unemployment*</sup> ~~AND MORE~~ -- BECAUSE THERE JUST ISN'T ANY  
ROOM FOR THE UNEMPLOYED IN THE SYSTEM <sup>*yet,*</sup> IN THE EARLY 1960'S, THREE

*COST*  
*living*  
AND FOUR PERCENT UNEMPLOYMENT WAS CONSIDERED TOO HIGH, <sup>*Now, five + 6%*</sup>  
PERCENT UNEMPLOYMENT IS <sup>*being advanced as the new definition of*</sup> ~~CONSIDERED~~ FULL EMPLOYMENT, <sup>*Will the next*</sup>

DECADE SEE A 10 PERCENT UNEMPLOYMENT RATE AS BEING ACCEPTABLE?

IF IT DOES, WE MIGHT JUST AS WELL HAUL DOWN THE FLAG, LOCK  
UP THE CAPITOL, GO HOME AND ADMIT THAT WE DON'T HAVE THE COURAGE  
OR THE IMAGINATION TO GOVERN OURSELVES.

L FULL EMPLOYMENT IS THE BROAD BASE ON WHICH TO BUILD OUR  
PROGRESS -- THE UNFINISHED JOB OF SECURING BOTH POLITICAL AND  
ECONOMIC RIGHTS FOR ALL AMERICANS. BUT, THERE IS MUCH MORE TO  
BE DONE.

## # Cities

L THE NEGLECT OF OUR CITIES WORKS A TERRIBLE HARDSHIP ON THE  
MILLIONS OF PEOPLE WHO LIVE THERE. L IT IS A FORM OF NATIONAL

BLINDNESS -- BECAUSE THE CITY IS AMERICA'S TOMORROW.

*It is also a new form of Racism + discrimination, because it is*

L BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY -- WHICH IS NOT FAR OFF -- THIS  
*in our cities where the Blacks, the Puerto Ricans, the Chinese, the elderly*  
NATION WILL HAVE OVER 250 MILLION INHABITANTS. AND 85 PERCENT *reside*

OF THEM WILL BE LIVING IN CITIES WITH POPULATIONS OF 50,000 OR MORE.

L SO WHEN WE TALK ABOUT OUR CITIES, WE ARE TALKING ABOUT  
NOTHING LESS SIGNIFICANT THAN THE FUTURE OF MORE THAN FOUR  
OUT OF EVERY FIVE AMERICANS.

h WE ARE TALKING ABOUT THE FUTURE OF ALMOST ALL OUR CHILDREN  
AND GRANDCHILDREN.

h QUITE SIMPLY, NOTHING LESS THAN A ~~MAJOR~~ NATIONAL POLICY  
OF FULL EMPLOYMENT COUPLED WITH A DETERMINATION TO REVITALIZE  
OUR CITIES AND MAINTAIN THEIR ROLE AS STRONG CENTERS OF TRADE,  
CULTURE AND COMMUNICATIONS, WILL SERVE TO RESTORE ECONOMIC HOPE  
AND THE PROMISE OF PRODUCTIVITY TO ALL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

h THIS IS OUR CHALLENGE, FOR IF WE CANNOT OVERCOME THE  
ECONOMIC OBSTACLES TO THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF OUR <sup>own</sup> CITIZENS  
IN OUR <sup>own</sup> SOCIETY, THE HARD-WON POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS OF THE  
LAST TWO DECADES WILL HOLD LITTLE MEANING FOR MILLIONS OF OUR  
PEOPLE.

IN ESSENCE, OUR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS ARE THREATENED BY  
AN ACCEPTANCE OF THE BLIGHT OF POVERTY IN A NATION CHARACTERIZED  
BY ITS TREMENDOUS WEALTH,

✓ YET, THIS CONCERN DOES NOT STOP AT OUR NATION'S SHORES. ✓ FOR  
OUR COUNTRY ~~WE~~ CANNOT HOPE TO SURVIVE AS AN ISLAND OF ~~ISOLATION~~ *abundance*  
IN A SEA OF POVERTY.

✓ WE CANNOT *proclaim* ~~SEEK~~ DEMOCRACY ~~AND~~ SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE  
AT HOME AND ABANDON THESE PRINCIPLES ABROAD.

✓ WE HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT STRIDES DURING THE FIRST MONTHS  
OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S ADMINISTRATION. ✓ SUPPORT OF *Human* ~~DEMOCRACY~~

*Rights* ~~GOVERNMENT~~ HAS BECOME A CENTRAL TENET OF AMERICAN FOREIGN  
POLICY.

THE ~~ONLY~~ EFFECTIVE WAY TO COMBAT THE TYRANNY OF COMMUNISM  
AND THE TOTALITARIANISM OF THE "RIGHT" IS TO BATTLE FOR HUMAN  
AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DEMOCRATIC VALUES.

A SENSE OF MORAL VALUES SHOULD BE AN IMPERATIVE OF OUR  
FOREIGN POLICY. UNLESS IT IS, WE WILL FIND IT DIFFICULT TO GAIN  
*THE SUPPORT OF PEOPLES AROUND THE WORLD WHO LOOK TO US FOR MORAL*  
THE SUPPORT IN THEIR STRUGGLES FOR FREEDOM.

NEARLY TWO YEARS AGO, THE UNITED STATES JOINED WITH THE  
SOVIET UNION AND 33 OTHER NATIONS IN SIGNING THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT.

THE MOST IMPORTANT ARTICLES IN THAT AGREEMENT WERE THE BASKET  
THREE -- OR HUMAN RIGHTS -- PROVISIONS.

THE BASKET THREE PROVISIONS ARE PROVING TO BE A MOST  
IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT IN THE FIELD OF INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS.



WHILE IT IS TRUE THAT WE DON'T HAVE THE RIGHT TO INTERFERE IN  
THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER COUNTRY, THIS DOES NOT MEAN  
WE SHOULD NOT REMIND THE THE WORLD THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ARE OF  
THE HIGHEST PRIORITY OF OUR GOVERNMENT AND OUR PEOPLE, AND  
THAT OUR POLICIES WILL BE DIRECTED ACCORDINGLY.

THE MESSAGE OF THE UNITED STATES IS NOT NUCLEAR POWER. THE  
MESSAGE OF THE UNITED STATES IS A SPIRITUAL MESSAGE. IT IS THE  
MESSAGE OF HUMAN IDEALS; IT IS THE MESSAGE OF THE FREEDOM OF  
IDEAS, SPEECH, PRESS, THE RIGHT TO ASSEMBLE, TO WORSHIP, AND THE  
MESSAGE OF THE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT OF PEOPLES.

IT IS THE MESSAGE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS. IT IS THE MESSAGE  
OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, WHERE WE BOLDLY PROCLAIMED  
TO A WORLD DOMINATED BY MONARCHS AND TYRANTS THAT ALL MEN ARE

CREATED EQUAL, AND THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH  
CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, AND AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY  
AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.

THIS IS THE MESSAGE OF AMERICA. ~~THIS IS THE SOURCE OF OUR  
POWER.~~ THIS IS THE SOURCE OF OUR STRENGTH.

HOWEVER, IT IS IN OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE DEVELOPING  
COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD THAT THE PROBLEM PRESENTS A DIFFICULT  
DILEMMA FOR THE UNITED STATES.

NEARLY ONE BILLION PEOPLE ARE BELIEVED TO LIVE IN ABSOLUTE  
POVERTY AROUND THE WORLD. THE UNITED STATES AND THE DEVELOPING  
COUNTRIES MAY SOON FIND IT NECESSARY TO JOINTLY CONSIDER THE  
BASIC QUESTIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS -- INCLUDING THE DIFFICULT AND  
COMPLEX RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS.

THESE DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ARE QUITE CLEARLY REFLECTED IN THE TWO PARTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. OUR DILEMMA IS HOW TO ADVANCE BOTH TYPES OF RIGHTS SIMULTANEOUSLY.

[ A GROWING MAJORITY OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE -- IN VARYING DEGREES -- AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES. THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE IN THE LOW-INCOME COUNTRIES, MANY OF WHICH ARE CHARACTERIZED BY THE THREATENING COMBINATION OF EXTREME POVERTY AMONG THE MAJORITY OF THEIR POPULATIONS, ACUTE STAGFLATION OF THEIR ECONOMIES, AND GROWING POLITICAL AWARENESS AMONG THEIR CITIZENS.

YET THE DEMOCRATIC VALUES OF THIS NATION -- THOSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES -- WILL RING HOLLOW IN THE EARS OF THE PEOPLE OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IF WE DO NOT ADDRESS THE BASIC ECONOMIC CONCERNS OF THESE PEOPLE

*[Handwritten scribbles]*  
CUTTING DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE IS USUALLY A WEAK LEVER  
TO FORCE GOVERNMENTS TO RESTORE HUMAN RIGHTS TO THE PEOPLE.

*[Handwritten scribbles]*  
MOREOVER, IN RECENT YEARS, U.S. DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS,

ALTHOUGH DIMINISHED, HAVE CONCENTRATED ON PROGRAMS THAT REACH

THE POOREST PEOPLE in the developing countries.  
~~WITHIN THE RECIPIENT COUNTRIES~~

*[Handwritten scribble]*  
CUTTING OFF ECONOMIC AID TO THESE GROUPS ON THE GROUNDS

THAT THEIR GOVERNMENT IS EXERCISING POLITICAL OPPRESSION MAY

HAVE THE EFFECT OF PUNISHING THEM <sup>even</sup> FURTHER FOR THE VERY ACTIONS

WHICH VICTIMIZE THEM AND OVER WHICH THEY HAVE NO CONTROL.

*[Handwritten scribble]*  
POVERTY IS DESTABILIZING, NO MATTER WHETHER IT IS ★ DOMESTIC  
OR INTERNATIONAL. ~~COUNTRY~~ *[Handwritten scribble]* WITH THE COMPETITION FOR THE WORLD'S

DIMINISHING RESOURCES INTENSIFYING, WE MUST BRING ALL OUR TALENT

AND ENERGY TO BEAR IN ERADICATING HUNGER, DISEASE AND ILLITERACY

FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH.

I OFTEN HAVE THOUGHT THAT ANY NATION WHICH CAN SEND A MAN  
TO THE MOON; WHICH CAN OVERCOME TREMENDOUS TECHNOLOGICAL BARRIERS  
TO EXPLORE THE LAST PHYSICAL FRONTIER OF MAN -- OUTER SPACE --

*ought to be able to*

~~also can~~ MARSHAL ITS TALENT AND RESOURCES TO ERADICATE POVERTY

*and thereby set an example*  
~~FROM THIS COUNTRY AND FROM THE FACE OF THIS EARTH. IT ONLY~~

*to the world, particularly the Plan and*  
~~REQUIRES THE WILL AND HUMAN COMPASSION TO DO SO.~~

*Yes, the challenge is massive and*  
~~As a nation, we are a community of people. Americans must~~  
*staggering. It will require*  
~~PARTICIPATE IN THIS COMMUNITY, BOTH DOMESTICALLY AND GLOBALLY,~~  
*the best of us - But, this is*  
~~TO ACHIEVE COMMON GOALS.~~

~~THIS IS~~ OUR DUTY AND OUR RESPONSIBILITY, ~~AS CITIZENS~~ IF

WE AS AMERICANS DO NOT CARE ABOUT OUR COLLECTIVE POLITICAL

DESTINY, AND THAT OF OTHER PEOPLES AROUND THE WORLD, WE ~~MUST~~ *will*

*be compelled to*

ACCEPT THE CONSEQUENCES OF OUR OWN IRRESPONSIBILITY.



✓ AMERICA IS STILL A YOUNG COUNTRY.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE BUILDERS.

THEY ARE RESTLESS. THEY ARE ENERGETIC. THEY ARE IDEALISTS --  
EAGER TO PUT THEIR IDEALS TO THE TEST.

YOU AND I KNOW WHO WE ARE AND WHAT WE ARE BECAUSE IT  
IS IMPLICIT IN YOUR ORGANIZATION -- THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE  
OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS. WE ARE THE MOST HETEROGENEOUS  
MIXTURE OF RACES, RELIGIONS AND NATIONALITIES EVER TO  
COEXIST PEACEFULLY UNDER THE TENT OF DEMOCRACY. ✓ AND WE  
ARE THE WORLD'S ~~oldest~~ oldest DEMOCRACY, WHICH HAS JUST COMPLETED  
CELEBRATING TWO CENTURIES OF FREEDOM.

I AM AN OPTIMIST. THERE IS REASON TO BELIEVE THAT OUR  
THIRD CENTURY CAN BE NOT ONLY ONE OF EXPANDING FREEDOM AND  
OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL AMERICANS, BUT ALSO ONE IN WHICH WE CAN  
ONCE AGAIN EXERCISE LEADERSHIP IN THE GLOBAL ASSAULT ON THE  
HISTORIC PLAGUES OF MANKIND -- THE BONDAGE OF HUNGER, DISEASE  
AND ILLITERACY.

THERE IS EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE PROGRESSIVE  
FORCES IN AMERICA AND ABROAD CAN MAKE GREAT GAINS IN THE  
STRUGGLE TO ERADICATE INJUSTICE, HUNGER AND POVERTY WHEREVER  
THEY ARE FOUND.

AMERICA'S FUTURE IS A BRIGHT ONE. AS THE POET AND SCHOLAR,  
CARL SANDBURG, SO ELOQUENTLY SPOKE IN "THE POSSIBLE DREAM":

"I SEE AMERICA, NOT IN THE SETTING SUN OF A BLACK  
NIGHT OF DESPAIR AHEAD OF US, I SEE AMERICA IN THE  
CRIMSON LIGHT OF A RISING SUN FRESH FROM THE BURNING,  
CREATIVE HAND OF GOD. I SEE GREAT DAYS AHEAD, GREAT  
DAYS POSSIBLE TO MEN AND WOMEN OF WILL AND VISION..."

L I KNOW THAT THE MEN AND WOMEN OF WILL AND VISION HERE THIS  
EVENING ARE READY TO JOIN HANDS AND WORK FOR THE KIND OF  
AMERICA AND WORLD WHICH IS IN OUR HOPES AND DREAMS.

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