

NOTES

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

VIRGINIA AFL-CIO

PARK BALLROOM, SHERATON-PARK HOTEL

AUGUST 19, 1965

Sophocles once said - "Without labor, nothing prospers."

That has certainly been true of this year's legislative program.

The Virginia AFL-CIO, the national AFL-CIO, and your representatives in government are all laborers in the field of improving human welfare.

Your national AFL-CIO President, George Meany, has shown the statesmanship and leadership necessary for a mass movement such as the national labor union.

Your own state AFL-CIO Chairman, Harold Boyd, has been a prime mover in the growth of the Virginia AFL-CIO.

Brewster Snow, your Secretary-Treasurer, and Julian Carper, your Vice President, have also made Virginia one of the 17 states in which membership in the AFL-CIO affiliated unions has increased in recent years.

I also understand that Sidney Kellam, the Virginia Democratic National Committeeman and long-time supporter of labor in Virginia, is with us today.

But, I could not speak before a Virginia group
without mentioning my very good friend - and your very
good friend, too - Congressman Pat Jennings from Marion.

I want you to know that when we needed Pat on those very
crucial votes in the early stages of the Repeal of 14(b),

Pat was there with us. And, just as importantly, Pat has been with labor and the people of his state and country on practically every major issue this year. We are extremely proud of you, Pat.

What is the status of labor in Virginia and the rest of the United States today?

President Johnson has outlined a strong and vigorous labor program for this session of Congress.

Specifically, the House repealed Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act on July 28. The Senate full committee met this morning at 10 o'clock, and should report the bill tomorrow or next week.

The House Executive Committee meetings on the Fair Labor Standards Act Amendments have been under way this week in the House.

The Manpower Training Act Amendments have already become law.

In addition, there are many, many other programs the President has pushed and Congress has passed this year.

President Lyndon B. Johnson and this 89th Congress will provide labor and the rest of the United States with some of the most substantial legislation ever passed by any Congress.

All of the activity on the Federal level is to make the entire economy grow, give our people jobs, and make life more meaningful for all of us.

But passing legislation alone does not automatically mean we get results. To assess how effective our labor and economic policies have been, let's look at several

factors in the labor situation in the United States and Virginia.

Employment in the United States has improved notably over the past year, following two years of little change.

Total employment this July was 2.4 million higher than one year ago - outpacing the growth in the labor force by some several thousand, so that unemployment declined by this amount.

The unemployment rate, adjusted for seasonality, has trended downward steadily since last fall.

In July, just last month, it reached 4.5% (compared with 5.0% a year ago.).

This represents the lowest level of unemployment since late 1957;

And, most of the improvement in unemployment has come in the "hard core" sector - those unemployed six months or more - which dropped to 320,000 in July, or some 200,000 less than a year ago.

Teen-age unemployment is still ^a serious problem, without about 13% of this group unemployed in July - however, it is encouraging to note that the rate this July was no higher than a year ago, even though the teen-age labor force increased by over 1 million.

A great deal of credit for this reduction can go to the ^{employment} Youth Opportunities Program instituted this summer.

Expansion in employment in the past year has been accentuated by the sharp gain in manufacturing - which rose nearly 800,000 and accounted for nearly one third of the total rise in payroll employment.

The manufacturing total of 18.1 million in July rose above its World War II peak for the first time.

On the wage front, the average hourly earnings of factory production workers in July were \$2.62 - 9 cents higher than a year ago.

Weekly earnings averaged \$107.68 - or \$4.70 more than a year ago.

So far this year the rise in factory hourly earnings has been sharper than for several years past.

The labor situation in Virginia - measured in terms of unemployment is exceedingly favorable.

The unemployment rate in Virginia, estimated at 3.2% in June, was only three fifths of the national average, and one of the lowest in the nation!

Employment in Virginia increased by 50,000 - or more than 3% - over the year ending in June - somewhat better than the national rate of rise.

The average hourly earnings in manufacturing in Virginia rose 10 cents over the year - a little more than the national average - to \$2.34.

Gains were especially sharp in the tobacco manufacturing industry.

The level of hourly earnings in Virginia was 28 cents less than the national average, although this partly reflected the greater importance of certain low-wage industries in the Virginia economy.

The current low level of unemployment in Virginia largely reflects the strong growth in the state's economy in the post-war period. The increases have been considerably better than the national average.

Industrial expansion has been strong, and has come largely in the higher wage industries, especially in durables.

From 1957 to 1964, non-farm payroll employment in Virginia rose 19% - nearly twice the rate of increase in the nation as a whole.

Manufacturing employment rose 16%, compared with about 1% nationally.

Durable goods manufacturing employment in Virginia rose about 27,000 compared with 16,000 in non-durable goods.

However, in 1964, non-durable goods industries still accounted for about 60% of the state's manufacturing employment.

Outside of manufacturing, sharp gains occurred in all of the service type activities - trade, finance services, and government ranging from 20% to 40%. Except in government, these gains were all considerably sharper than the national average.

A measure of our labors is personal income - what is the status of this in Virginia?

Per capita in total personal income has increased more in Virginia than in the United States as a whole since 1961.

A higher rate of increase in Virginia than in the nation occurred also for the very short-term period 1963-64 as well as for the long run - either from 1948 or from 1953.

At the same time, however, per capita income is less in Virginia than the average for the nation.

In 1964 average per capita personal income in Virginia was \$2,239 compared with an average of \$2,566 for the United States.

This gap has been narrowing somewhat, however, with increasing rates of increase in Virginia incomes.

As a concrete example of fringe benefits in the month of June in 1965 in the Norfolk area: Of all manufacturing plant workers -

98% have paid hospitalization and surgical insurance;

95% have paid life insurance;

60% have paid sick leave;

72% have 7 or more paid holidays; and

97% have paid vacations.

Labor is life; from the inmost heart of the worker rises his God-given force, the sacred celestial life-essence breathed into him by Almighty God.

You have made great gains through your AFL-CIO on the state level.

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The President and this 89th Congress have made great gains in labor legislation - and we intend to make more before this session is over!

All of us are working at our labors. Although the way we labor may be somewhat different, our goals are the same - the betterment of humankind.

Let me just leave you with this thought:

There is a perennial nobleness and even sacredness in work. Were man ever so benighted and forgetful of his high calling, there is always hope in a man who actually and earnestly works.

9th DIST
Pat J. Jennings

LBJ - 89th Cong
Appalachia

Hal Boyd Pres. D.

Sidney Kellam & Mitch

MEMORANDUM
AUGUST 19, 1965

TO: THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: RONALD F. STINNETT

RE: LABOR SPEECH THIS AFTERNOON TO VIRGINIA STATE
AFL-CIO

The current status of major labor legislation in Congress is:

Fair Labor Standards Act Amendment

Amends the Fair Labor Standards Act to

1. Extend minimum wage and overtime protection to employees of certain laundry, hotel, motel, restaurant, hospital, transportation, and other enterprises;
2. To consolidate and clarify the agricultural processing exemptions of the Act and narrow or remove exemptions for certain logging, transportation, gasoline service station employees, automobile and farm implement sales establishments, hospital, restaurant, motion picture and other recreational establishments; and
3. Requires double-time compensation for work in excess of 48 hours per week from the effective date of this Act and double-time compensation for work in excess of 45 hours per week three years from the effective date of the Act.

Medicare
 Educ
 Voting Rts
 Ec. Develop
 Poverty
 Manpower
 Training
 Health
 14B
 Min
 Wage
 Housing
 Act

Geo Meany

Julian Carper - V.P.
Brewster
Snow - Sec. Treas.

Profit & Labor

Virginia AFL-CIO - growing

.. Economy growing

.. Employment growing - Unemp. Down!



The House acted on the bill which increases the \$1.25 hourly minimum wage to \$1.75. The bill also extends coverage to 7.2 million more workers.

The Senate Subcommittee takes up the bill in executive session next week.

Repeal of 14(b)

Passed the House on July 28.

Full committee met this morning - didn't complete its work - probably will finish tomorrow or next week.

Manpower Training

Already public law.

Government Pay Raise

Reported in the House and still in the Senate Committee.

Augustus Johnson^{us} ✓
candidate for
Congress from 10th
District

Ⓟ Pat Jennings - 9th
median list

To All Delegates To The Tenth Annual Convention of the Virginia State AFL-CIO:

Fraternal Greetings:

The following addresses by the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, the Vice President of the United States, and the Honorable George Meany, President, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, are sent to you by direction of the delegates to the convention.

Brewster Snow, Secretary-Treasurer

ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, Congressman Jennings, and how privileged and honored I feel, and I am sure you do, to have here at this fine conference and convention one of the truly great Americans, the outstanding leader of free labor in the world, none other than the President of the AFL-CIO, George Meany.

. . . Applause . . .

He is a remarkable man who has done so much for so many.

I am delighted to have the good fortune of being greeted at the door by your President, Hal Boyd, and by your Vice President. I have special affinity for vice presidents, you know, such as Julian Carper, and I am always delighted when I meet the Secretary Treasurer, Brewster Snow, because there are times that we call on them and I just want you to all know how much it means to me to have been so warmly received by your Officers, by your Reception Committee, by the lovely ladies that were there to meet me and greet me and to be here in your presence. It is a real joy.

I gather that, from the information I have received just a moment ago, that an old champion of liberal progressive democracy is also with us, the gentleman that came within a wisp of being Congressman from the Tenth District, Gus Johnson, is out here someplace, too, and, Gus, I want you to know it looked mighty close there for a while and if we could just have gotten an extra count we might have made it.

. . . Applause . . .

Let me say just a very few words to you about this Congressman. This is not a mutual admiration society. I have had the privilege over the years of knowing Pat Jennings. I have known him as a man, as a friend, as an associate and as a public servant, and as a friend and as a man he is tremendous. He makes you feel proud just to be in his circle of friendship and as a public servant I have never known a man that had in his heart or his mind the interests of the people more consistently and more constructively than Pat Jennings.

And I am delighted that he took the time to come over here today to honor me by his presentation and introduction.

It is true that occasionally I have called Pat, but I have always done so only out of affection.

. . . Laughter . . .

And never ever to encourage him to cast a vote any particular way, because I don't need to. Most of the time he votes as we, well, as I think he ought to. Occasionally he makes a mistake, but, by and large, and I want to say on the large side we have very little to complain about.

While I mention it, I suppose you do know this, that during those difficult days in the House of Representatives that we were all hoping and working, hoping for good results and working for good results on the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act that we had some very important preliminary steps that could have derailed that whole process and I judge people by how they do when you are not looking. I judge them by what they do when the votes really count and I couldn't speak before any Virginia group and particularly before this fine audience of the representatives of labor without expressing to Congressman Pat Jennings from the Ninth District our thanks for his cooperation.

I want you to know that when we needed him and needed him badly on those very crucial votes in the early stages of the repeal of (14b), he was there and he was with you and he was voting with you and he helped us and just as importantly he has been there on a host of issues that I shall speak of this afternoon without any personal reference to him.

Now, I said you know that there are times that we don't always see every program and every policy alike. If everybody agreed on everything, as the President said, we would all want the same wife or we would all want to wear the same kind of suits. We have to have some differences and the main thing to do is to see that those differences are not too disagreeable and that we can agree on some basics and some fundamentals.

I come here today to represent an administration that is at work. This is a "Can Do" administration. The Administration of President Johnson and the 89th Congress represents action for the public good and represents progress for the American people and for the entire world.

I have been around Washington since 1948. I started my first term in the Senate of the United States in January, 1949, and I have never known of a period, at least within my memory, both in terms of my service in Washington and my recollection of days before that, in which so much has been done that needed to be done in such a short period of time as has been accomplished in these 6½ months since January 20, 1965, by this Congress and this President.

. . . Applause . . .

I was being interviewed around 11:30 this morning by one of our prominent television and radio commentators, and one of the questions that was put to me—and this is a program entitled, "Seven Days in the Life of a President"—and I was asked, as one of the President's associates and friends, some questions about the President. One of the questions I was asked was: "How do I judge or evaluate the capacity and ability of President Lyndon Johnson as a Chief Executive?" In other words, what do I think of his performance.

Well, I am sure you would expect the Vice President to speak well of the President. That goes almost without saying. I wouldn't be Vice President of the United States were it not that Lyndon Johnson trusted me and indeed went before the Convention and asked that I run on that ticket with him. I am ever mindful of that, but I also am an individual. I have had, do have,

and shall have convictions, ideals, and commitments. I know our President. I have known him as a legislator, as a personal friend, as a Vice President, as a Majority Leader, and now these 6½ months, almost seven months, as President of the United States.

And I can honestly say that this man has an intimate knowledge of government as few others have ever had. He lives his life to the fullest in terms of his responsibilities as President of the United States. He gives unstintingly of himself and he knows the legislative process as well as the duties of an Executive, but the key to the success of this administration is not just in that knowledge and that experience and that background.

I think what has happened in America that is more significant than any of the knowledge or experience in politics is the manner in which this country has been brought together, in which we have started to break down the barriers that separated us, the way that we have begun to understand the importance of national unity without unanimity, how we have been able on the one hand to preserve our respective identities and on the other hand to have common goals and common purposes, and I would say that President Lyndon Johnson will be remembered not so much for his remarkable record in terms of a legislative program or his courage in terms of our national security and international relations but he will be remembered as the man who was able to consolidate antagonists, that was able to bring together a country that was mighty close to being divided, that was able to unite a people when unity was absolutely essential for national strength.

This man works with George Meany. I have heard him speak of Mr. Meany in the most glowing terms. I hope this shall not be embarrassing to this distinguished American, but not only within the last week I heard the President of the United States say that George Meany has always sought to do something for his country and asks very little of it. He spoke in praise of him. I have watched the President of the United States at meetings with a man like Mr. Meany, the representatives of the AFL-CIO, many of you who are here, and there would be the cabinets of industry, and they will be working together, because this President knows what Samuel Gompers knew, and Samuel Gompers is a pretty good representative of the working people.

. . . Applause . . .

Samuel Gompers once said that the greatest crime against the working man is a business that fails to make a profit. You can't have jobs without business and you can't have business without jobs and you can't have more jobs without investment and you can't have more investment without profit and you cannot build an America by people having class war; you build an America by people remembering that in this country there are no classes unless it is all first-class.

. . . Applause . . .

I have had people say to me, someone recently said, "Well, you know, Mr. Vice President, you seem to have changed a lot." I said, "Well, I don't know. I changed a little, I guess. I lost a little hair, gained a pound or two around the midriff, a little older, I trust maybe have slowed down a point or two but not too much."

Everyone changes. I hope so because change is the process of life itself and I hope that change comes for the good.

And then I said, "In what way do you think that change might have taken place?"

"Well, you seem to be interested in a larger number of business people than usual."

I said, "Well, I am Vice President of the United States and when I was Senator from Minnesota I visited the labor and farm people of my State and I now have the opportunity to have a larger constituency," but the interesting thing is, it isn't just that one person may appear to have changed but the whole Country has changed. That is the best part of it.

Imagine, my good friends, imagine a few years ago having medicare pass the Congress of the United States with the overwhelming vote that it received only a few weeks ago. I will say there has been some change. There was a change back in November, 1964, and a very healthy one, I might add, too, some changes in the faces of Congress, and I want to make sure that those changes that were made then are sustained, I want to make sure that our record of performance for the public good and public and national strength and national unity is so good that the Members of Congress that were elected in that landslide victory of Lyndon Johnson's, that those Members will be returned to the Congress of the United States so that they can do more good. In fact, we can use just a few more as I see today.

Somebody said, "You fellows in the Democratic Party, you want to see the extinction of the Republican Party." That is not true at all. I had a fellow say that to me in the Senate a year ago, one of my good friends on the other side of the aisle, he got up after I made one of my speeches some of you heard and said, "Will the Senator from Minnesota yield?" and I said, "Yes; for what purpose?" He said, "I wish to just make an observation." He said, "According to what I understand, the Senator from Minnesota says he believes there ought to be no Republican Party."

I said, "That is not true at all. I have always believed in the two-party system. I have believed in it and I always thought we needed one. I thought we needed the Democrats in power and the Republicans trying to get in."

. . . Applause . . .

But I still believe that way, I want you to know.

Isn't it good that we can spend some time these days in trying to right some wrongs, thinking constructively and positively and optimistically about our country. Isn't it good we can sit here today and contemplate that we have had 54 months of continued economic growth and expansion, the likes of which no other country in the history of the world has ever experienced, and isn't it interesting that this took place at a time when we were able to reduce taxes, your taxes, business taxes, everybody's taxes, and isn't it interesting that as those taxes were reduced they have been reduced in the sum total of 19 billions of dollars, money freed for purchasing or for other purposes, money left in the hands of business and labor and the consumer; that despite that tax reduction, there is actually more money coming into the Federal Government than ever before while the "bite" is less, the velocity of the economy is greater.

We are now approaching over \$650 billion gross national product. It won't be long before it is \$700 billion, and I predict that before the 1975-76-77 period arrives, let's say within the next decade, that we will have broken through the barrier of a trillion-dollar economy in the United States of America. This is no wild, outside dream. This is a practical proposition and can be and will be a reality.

And in your own State of Virginia, you have had amazing growth. Your rate of unemployment is one of the lowest in the Nation. Your rate of increase in employment is one of the best in the Nation. The labor movement in the

State of Virginia, as I recall, you are one of 17 States that has had an increase in the membership of the AFL-CIO.

I predict that when we get through with the repeal of 14(b) in the United States Senate and the President takes out the pen and signs it and hands the first pen over to George Meany, I imagine he will do something like that, you will be able to organize many more of the unorganized and have a greater growth of your membership and a higher per-capita income in the State of Virginia.

. . . Applause . . .

Let the record be clear, a strong, effective, honest trade union movement never hurt anybody and helped everybody.

. . . Applause . . .

Organized labor has a right to be humbly proud of its citizenship performance. Your representatives are not just before the Congress asking for certain amendments of the labor laws, important as they are, like the Fair Labor Standards Act. That is going to be amended. It is going to be improved considerably. You want it done. That is one of the things you like. There are many others. As a matter of fact, the improvement of the Fair Labor Standards Act is no plus for the organized labor movement as such. That is for the unorganized, it is for everyone, and you have been there before the committees of Congress asking for amendments of the Taft-Hartly Act such as the repeal of 14(b), and your President and your Vice President and the leaders of the Democratic majority in the Congress are keeping faith with you, we are going to see that it is done, but the American labor movement has been interested in many more things than that. It is interested in the security of this country. And I am here to tell you that we have had no greater support, no better support, no more vigorous support, in terms of the defense of this country and in our opposition to communism and communist aggression, than from American labor. They have stood with us right down the line.

. . . Applause . . .

How good it is that you have spokesmen for your country today that don't get up and talk about labor bosses and labor crooks. There isn't any of that kind of talk and we don't even talk about economic exploiters. We talk about business, we talk about management, we talk about labor, we talk about farmers, we talk about children, we talk about education, about the elderly, about the students, and we do something about all of it.

Talk comes easy. It is the doing that really is the test.

Now, what have we been doing in the 89th Congress? Let me make a generalized statement about the 89th Congress first of all. This Congress will go down in history as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, Congress in terms of effective social and political and economic action of any Congress in the memory of man. That is where you can start right off, on that one.

What has it done? Well, let's just think of my friend Pat Jennings for a while. One of the first bills passed in the Congress was for Appalachia. We said we were going to do something about it. We didn't complete that work in the 88th Congress. Here is a vast area of America, that for whatever reasons you may put on the table this area of America has suffered, there is a high, or there was a high rate of unemployment, disproportionately high, industries had moved out, resources were being depleted, revenues were low, income low; your government, under the leadership of this President, said, "We are going to do something about it," and a special Act of Congress was passed that will help renew life, put new economic vitality into this vast region known as Appalachia, part of the original great America.

What a wonderful blessing this is going to be. It is not only going to help them, but I come from Minnesota and Minnesota will be better when Appalachia is better and vice versa. When we do well, it helps other people do well and when you do well we do well. There is no separatism, there is no North, no South, no East, no West; that is for demagogues. The sooner we get over talking about this country being divided geographically, the sooner we get over talking about this country being divided ethnically, the better we will be off.

Let's talk about these United States of America and the citizens of the United States of America without regard to race, color, or creed. That is the way we ought to be thinking.

. . . Applause . . .

Let me remind you of another thing. I believe in foreign trade. I sat at a meeting yesterday, discussing the advancement and the development of our foreign trade. I know that foreign markets are important. I know very well that much of American commerce depends upon it, but I want to tell you the greatest market in the world, the greatest potential market in the world yet untapped is right here in the United States of America where we speak the same language, use the same currency, where there are no tariffs between the States, where we have buses and trucks and rail and air, one nation united, and when we develop this economy, we develop the hope of the world, because much of the hope of the world depends upon what happens here.

When you have 35 million people in America that can still be listed, despite our fabulous prosperity and wealth, on the borderline of what we call the "poverty group," there is room for improvement. Right today the Congress, they are debating the farm bill and I have had some of my good friends from the city say, "Well, I am not very interested in the farm bill." That is the beginning of the end, when people start to say they are not interested in the other fellow, because the day that the city man is not interested in the farmer, the farmer may lose interest in the city man; and I want to tell you, you have a hard time raising enough rutabagas and spuds up in New York City to feed that population.

. . . Applause . . .

I have come from the Midwest, I think the farmer is entitled to a fair break just exactly as I think the laboring man is and I think the businessman is entitled to a fair profit; if they are willing to get out and work and show initiative, farmer, businessman, or worker, he is entitled from his government to fair play, to a fair deal; and even as Franklin Roosevelt said, a duty, and that is what we are trying to do right now.

Do you know if we can expand, for example, farm income of this country by \$1 billion, which is no unreasonable proposition, that it alone would absorb most all of the unemployment in the land of America. It would alone provide hundreds of thousands of jobs through the farm machinery business, in which we have AFL-CIO workers organized. It depends upon farmers, not guitar players or nightclubs, and I am not against guitar players or nightclubs; I think you need them, too.

As a matter of fact, my friends in the musicians' locals know when the boys in the country have a little money, they do better, too.

What do we say? We are simply saying to each other that we need one another.

Appalachia. Appalachia is not an expenditure. I want to talk to you about the difference between expenditures and investments. An expenditure is when you buy a martini. An investment is when you buy a book or it is when you

loan some money for a constructive purpose. It is when you do something for the health of your family or your community. That is investment.

Investment. An investment is when you get a man with a union card in his pocket he gets a better salary, better working conditions, a better wage. That man is going to have more to do with it.

Now, Appalachia, the bill known as "Appalachia" was an investment in a vast area of America that gave us a Daniel Boone, that gave us much of the early romance of American history, and today it represents millions of people.

Now, just the other day we passed this Economic Development Act. That Act has billions of dollars involved in it for loans and grants and technical assistance. For what purpose? This is a changing country, a changing society, new technology, new business. Businesses move from an area to another area, leave the place literally devoid of employment. The Economic Development Act is there to help private industry, to help the community, to help you in the labor movement to rebuild.

It used to be called ARA, accelerated public works. We put these two things together in what we now call a long-term Economic Development Act, not on a hit-and-miss basis but so we can look ahead and when we see coming down the road a technological change in a certain area, an industry leaving, a possibility of rising unemployment, we can move in before it is too late and start to encourage redevelopment, new development, new industry, new public works, new jobs. It is a great program. About \$3½ billion is in that, I think, Pat. Your Congressman right here voted for it just as he voted for Appalachia and voted for the future.

I think the best bill that was passed in Congress was one this year for the long-term good of this country, which was the aid to elementary and secondary education, because the records show and history shows that no country ever went bankrupt investing in education. If you really want to find out what a part of America is like, if you really want to find out which part of America has the best income, per-capita income, you just go into that State and find out the per-capita expenditure on education; that is what big business is doing. That is the first thing a big corporation looks at. It goes in and says, "How much does this State spend on education?" And the minute they find that out they check the per-capita income of that State and there is a direct relationship. The higher the expenditure investments in education, the higher the per-capita income; and the lower the expenditures in education, the lower the per-capita income; the higher the expenditure in education, the better the future.

And the Government of the United States could see, as you can see, that some areas of America have gotten themselves into a position where they didn't have the resources for adequate education for their young; their young were leaving and going to other parts of America.

So today we have on the statute books \$1 billion 300 million of new financial assistance from the Federal Treasury from all of the taxpayers of America to help the local schools educate the young, re-educate the old, adult education, backing this up with manpower training and development, vocational education, a whole series of educational programs.

Now, there will be some people that say, and I read it every once in a while: "How can America continue to spend money like this?" I want to tell you right now if we don't continue to pour in our resources into education, there will be no space program, there will be no health program, we will become a second-rate power because military power and economic wealth and military strength and economic strength from here on out depend on brain power. The greatest resource we have is the man, the woman, the people, and our job now

is to see to it that those resources and potential are developed. It is there, God Almighty made it available, and when you have 15 million young children, as we have in America today, inadequately educated due to a poor educational structure, due to separate but equal, due to inadequate schools, due to inadequate attention to educational needs, you are not making America stronger. These young people have to be brought up to a higher level of performance. Their intellectual qualities have to be developed. That is the answer to our long-term need.

The communists are going to be after us for a half a century, maybe longer. The problems we face today in Viet-Nam we may face someplace else tomorrow. If you think they are just going to roll over and play dead just to be cooperative, you are wrong. They are out to win. I would like to let them know, "So are we."

. . . Applause . . .

And it is not by accident the Soviet Union pours billions into its educational structure, and it is not by accident Communist China is pouring every resource it has into its educational structure. They are training their people, and I am of the opinion that we must continue to train ours.

Ours are better trained, thank goodness; we have a much better system. I am not trying to compare. I don't ever want to compare America with anyone else. I want to compare it with our old standards. Let's set up our old chalk marks and reach up for them. We don't need to compare ourselves with others. Compare ourselves with our own ideals. Measure ourselves on the basis of high standards we set for ourselves and, for the foreseeable future mothers and fathers in this room, my fellow Americans, for the future of this country, our country has to develop inner strength.

That is why we need to have greater unity among our people and break down prejudices and intolerance. I don't care whether you like it or not; it isn't a question of whether you like to live by somebody or whether or not you like to go to school with somebody; the fact is, we need everybody or there isn't going to be anybody.

. . . Applause . . .

Just to make sure we can have everybody have something to say about this, Congress decided at the insistence of the President, after the leadership of many private citizens of this country, that we take a good look at the voting rights of America. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I could never understand for the life of me why anyone should ever be denied the right to vote. But I guess some people thought it was all right and I suppose I shouldn't scold and I shall not. I am going to be restrained and responsible and careful. I will just simply say this: You have no right to put a uniform on a man's back and send him to Viet-Nam and deny his mother and father the right to vote.

. . . Applause . . .

And I might add, if it is good enough for a man to live together in the hellholes of the world and eat together at the messhall in places where they wished they never were, and didn't go because they thought that the trip would be an enjoyable one but rather because the Government of this country sent them, then I submit they can learn how to eat together in a restaurant and can learn how to sit together in a theater and can go in a ball park and we can learn how to be people and citizens of the United States of America.

That is my belief, my conviction, and I must say I don't think there is much argument against it except some people just don't like it.

. . . Applause . . .

More importantly, my dear friends, we find out when we do these things we get along pretty well. Sometimes we find out some of the people we were worrying about were going to sit alongside of us don't want to sit alongside of us anyhow. They don't like us that way. Maybe they are someone like me—they don't like to be told they can't do it. I was sort of born that way, you know. I have a feeling that is the way the labor movement got started, too. Somebody said to that working man, "You just don't have any right to try to have an organization," and he decided he was going to have one. That is a pretty good American trick. That is one of the elements of spunk in this country that has brought us along where we are.

Well, we are doing some other things. We are looking after the health of our people; the President, in signing a bill the other day, pointed out that—I have forgotten the exact figures—but in general it can be said that last year, due to premature death, heart disease, cancer and stroke, the economy lost over 30 billions of dollars in productive gain. Now, I don't think you ought to judge health on the basis of your national income but some people like to keep accounts and if it makes anybody feel better and be stronger for health because it will improve the national income, then I think we ought to bring that out, too, because the best thing about health is, it just makes you feel better, that is all.

And the tragedy of bad health is the pain and sorrow that it brings to so many. We are going to do something about this. President Johnson has put before the Congress the most comprehensive program of medical research and health assistance that this country has ever known. Interestingly enough it is receiving wonderful support. The chairman of the committee of the Congress in the Senate that handles it is Mr. Hill from Alabama. If anybody thinks that everybody that comes from Alabama doesn't do anything that is any good, two Senators from Alabama have been doing about as much for this country as any two I can think of—Lister Hill and John Sparkman. More people are better educated and healthier today because of them and better housed and I think we ought to remember.

There are people on the other side, Rhode Island, and other areas in New England, Midwest, and Far West, who are doing just the same kind of work. There is no section of this country that has a monopoly on virtue and there isn't any section of the Country that has a monopoly on prejudice, as we are finding out, or violence or other things that take place in America.

We are building a better America and the hallmark of this administration is one simple word—"Opportunity." This administration doesn't believe that everybody in this audience ought to be given a check by the Government of \$10,000 or \$5,000. You don't build a good country that way. But this administration believes that everybody in the audience ought to have the right and the opportunity and ought to be encouraged and ought to have the road blocks removed so you can go out and earn \$50,000 or \$100,000 if you have the ability and the capacity to do it.

We think some of the best ways and better ways, prudent ways of improving the living standards of the general community life of America are by encouraging gainful employment, expansion of our economy, strengthening of the trade union movement, responsible management and treating one another as if we were really citizens with equal rights, equal privileges and equal duties and responsibilities in the same country.

That is our program—a program of health, a program of education, a program of compassion for the elderly and the disabled. Why, look what medicare means and I want to tell the younger members of this audience it is not

just for Grandpa and Grandma. Of course, when you get to be 54 I suppose you take a greater interest in medicare, you don't have long to wait, but medicare is primarily for the younger people because it permits the younger people to have a little more economic security and it permits the younger people to build for their own health protection and it also is for the private insurance company because now the private insurance company can go out to the people that are not covered by medicare with a policy at a lower rate of premium that will give you better care, better protection, and why? Because the high-risk cases, the ones that used to eat up the reserves of the private insurance companies, those high-risk cases have been put over into the Social Security trust fund under Social Security and Medicare and this means that the younger family can get better medical care, better medical insurance, better health insurance through his union, company, or own private policy, and at the same time mother, father, grandfather and mother, the elderly of America can have decent care, nursing-home care, hospital care, surgical care, medical care, so they may live their lives in happiness and not in pain, in dignity and not in shame. I think this is some achievement.

So just list them off: Appalachia; economic development; public works; aid to education, elementary and secondary, soon aid to higher education; hospital construction; aid in terms of health research for stroke, heart disease and cancer; our programs of medical care for the elderly; our wonderful programs of vocational education; our war on poverty, which is a war that we must win and in which there is no room for a conscientious objector. This is a war everybody can join in, even those that carry placards. This is one that is needed and one that we can win.

Our housing program, the greatest and the most extensive that has ever been passed by Congress; the establishment of a Department of Urban Affairs, so that for the first time our cities, where three-fourths of our people presently live and where more of our people will live by 1980, these cities and the people within their confines will have a voice in the Government, representation of the Cabinet level; and we are going to rebuild our cities, my fellow Americans, because these cities of ours have to be livable. You cannot expect people to be peaceful or orderly, friendly, sociable, when they live in the jungles of asphalt and brick and mortar, jammed up.

I come from a part of America where we like living space. When I see the poorer of our old cities and see how many rooms have little or no ventilation, see how many of these so-called apartments, really tenements, that have literally no running water, no sanitary facilities, and sometimes no playgrounds, bringing children up on the streets and the sidewalks, traffic on every corner, the air polluted, and some cities not even water hardly available, I say to myself, "What is wrong? Any country that can put a man on the moon and keep two astronauts in orbit for eight days or 14 days ought to be able to find out how to bring water to New York City and ought to be able to find out how to clear air."

. . . Applause . . .

And ought to find out how we can have a few parks and playgrounds and adequate school rooms and textbooks so that people can do a little better. I say that to the Chairman of the Space Council and I am for our space program. I think it is amazing, the most exciting enterprise of our time. It is like Christopher Columbus in a whole new dimension and we are exploring the universe. We are going to learn things we needed to know. We are going to be a better people and country because of this space effort. It is not only a matter of prestige; it is science and discovery, it is a whole new world, and that it is because we are going to other worlds.

We are going to spend billions and you haven't complained and I know you won't because we are trying to spend this money prudently and wisely to obtain our objectives, but I repeat, as I said from 100 platforms, that any nation that can afford to spend \$30 billion to put a man on the moon can afford to invest in adequate resources to help put a man on his feet right here on earth.

So, George, Mr. Meany, Mr. Boyd, Mr. Jennings and others, I leave you with a note of confidence: We are on the march in this country. Franklin Roosevelt, in his final testament to the American people, held a pen in his hand as he sat in his chair in Warm Springs, Georgia, when life was taken from him and the pen fell to the ground, the last lines that he wrote, the unfinished sentence, were these: "We must move forward with a strong and an active faith."

Forward movement, fellow Americans, progress, that is what we are, complete with a future. Yes, we can be inspired by our past. We can even be encouraged by it. I believe that everybody ought to study history. But I think it is more important that you help make it in your time with what we do, making our own history; and he said: "Not only shall we move forward but shall do so with a strong and an active faith."

Action, movement, progress, and a faith in our God and our country and ourselves. You can't help but be reminded of what every school child repeats every day and now we are beginning to understand what it means in that Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag of the Republic, and it speaks of one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

That is the kind of America we want and we are building. That is the definition of the Great Society. We are seeking it. It will not come tomorrow. It will not come easily, but it won't come at all unless we try. What we need today are the "doers," not the "don'ters." What we need today are the people of faith, not the doubters. What we need are people of strong and active faith, who move forward, and I find that in this great labor movement that has blessed this country with its leaders and with its own achievements—that kind of faith and that kind of forward movement.

Thank you very much.

. . . Applause . . .

**ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE GEORGE MEANY
PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS**

PRESIDENT MEANY: President Boyd, my friends and Delegates, dignitaries, Officers of the Virginia State AFL-CIO, and Delegates to this convention:

I am very happy to come here today to bring to you the greetings of the AFL-CIO. I am completely aware of the importance of the work assigned by the American trade union centers to the State bodies, mainly in the legislative field. I headed up a State federation and I know something about the hard work that must be done by all State federations and the legislative work that is assigned to them by the labor movement; and our advances over the years, a great many of our advances have come from the work of State organizations in the legislative field; as well, of course, as in the organizing field.

We can look back to some of the greatest achievements of the American labor movement that came from the legislative field—workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, safety legislation. These have always been the concern of the trade union movement. In fact, at the very beginning of the establishment of the American Federation of Labor, the very first meeting, they passed 14 resolutions, and 13 of them were on subjects concerned with state and national legislation; and, of course, this year, here in the Nation's Capitol, we are envisioning the enactment of a program of legislation that I think is without parallel.

I am not going to spend a lot of time assessing it and discussing it with you. My good friend, Hubert Humphrey, touched upon a good deal of it and I agree with him that the record of this Congress will be second to none. For factual purposes of comparison, we would have to go back to the days of Franklin Roosevelt in order to make any comparison of the record that is being made this year in the field of social and remedial legislation.

I just want to talk about one or two of these bills and then go on to another subject which I think is of tremendous importance. Like Vice President Humphrey mentioned, medicare. This represents a very definite breakthrough. This represents the culmination of years of work on the part of a good many people and on the part of a good many organizations but chiefly on the part of the legislative department of the AFL-CIO.

Last fall we had a bill in this area, a bill that would have raised the social-security benefits such as the bill did this year but which would have compromised the question of medicare under social security and we refused on the theory that if we couldn't get a bill that would do a real job, if we couldn't get a bill that we could build on in the future in the social-security area, we would wait a little while, and of course we waited until the end of November and this of course represents a very definite breakthrough.

We now have a system where people, during their working lives, are going to put aside, under the Social Security, into the Social Security fund, the money they need when they run into difficulties in their later days. If nothing else happened in this period except medicare it would still be a good contribution from the standpoint of the labor movement.

Then, of course, the Civil Rights Bill which we voted on in 1964 is also before us. However, I happen to think that the most important bill passed this year was Federal Aid to Education, because this represents for the first time the acceptance by the Federal Government of the principle that the Federal Government has the responsibility as well as an interest in the education of every boy and girl in America. This is the first time that this has happened and this is something that we surely will build on.

No longer can we say that the locality is unable to bear the burden, that they can't pay decent salaries, they can't build decent school buildings, because now we have the Federal Government assuming, by this Act of Congress, assuming the responsibility for the education of all of the children of America.

There are many, many things I could talk about in this session. Vice President Humphrey covered a good many of them—the repeal of 14(b), which was a very unjust provision of the Taft-Hartley Act. We look forward with a great deal of expectation of success in having the work started in the House completed in the Senate within a few weeks. We also look forward to extension of the Minimum Wage Law to many millions of more workers and also increase the amount of the minimum wage that will be payable under the legal limitations of the law.

But I want to talk to you about something else, something that is of tremendous importance, not only to the people in this room as members of the trade union movement, but to all of the citizens of this great country. When we speak in terms of the trade union movement, we think in terms of it as an instrumentality to do good, an instrumentality designed and maintained to build up the standards of life of those who work for wages and when we think of this we must realize that the free trade union movement is the hallmark of a free society.

It is just as simple as that. There can be no dictatorship anywhere in any nation on earth if the trade union movement is free and the reverse is also true. If you are going to run a dictatorship, the very first thing you have to do is put your worker under control because you can't dictate to any country unless you control the means of production.

So it is most important for us always to keep our eye on our base, always to keep our thoughts and our interests in what makes a trade union possible and what makes it possible for us to sit here in this room and freely discuss anything of interest to us as workers and as citizens without fear of some all-powerful government moving in on us and telling us where we get off and what we have to do.

So when we think in terms of our trade union movement, we must think in terms of the very first requirement, the right to maintain the trade union, to preserve that right of workers to join with one another, to preserve a free society, because that is the only kind of society in which a trade union can function effectively.

So when we think in terms of this, we must think in terms of the entire society. This brings us to the question of the foreign policy of our country. Don't make any mistake about it. There is a war and it is a world war. It may be a cold war here and a hot war there, but there is a war going on. It is a war between those who believe in a dictatorial form of government, the form of government where each individual human being becomes a slave of the state, and those on the other hand who believe in the dignity and freedom of every human being.

And we know, without question, what is the objective of those who espouse the so-called dictatorial way of life. We know that they must try to move against this country because if there is any country that holds the leadership of the free world, it is the United States of America, whether we will it or not. That is just the way it is, because we are the only nation with the material resources and the will to lead the world in this fight for freedom.

All dictatorships in the past have found it necessary to crack down on labor, so we, in the trade union movement, have a greater stake. And while some things in the area of foreign affairs and relations between nations have

changed due to the fact we have atomic weapons, due to the fact there is universal fear of nuclear warfare, there is one fact that remains unchanged, that those who believe in the dictatorial way of life have the destruction of freedom and the extension of their system all over the world as an objective.

Let us not be fooled by any so-called disagreement between the Chinese and the Soviet communists. They agree completely on the objective of destroying the free way of life. They have never disagreed on that. They merely disagree as to what method they will use to bury us. So let's not take any comfort from that fact.

Now this brings me to what I think is something of tremendous importance—that is, to us as trade union movements and to all of our members. We see full-page ads in the papers, we see meetings in a great many of our colleges, the students presided over by the faculty, members of the faculty, in which they are protesting the foreign policy of the United States. We see a group known as "The Sane Nuclear Policy Committee" taking full-page ads in the major newspapers of the Country, criticizing the foreign policy, especially our policy in Viet-Nam, and telling the President of the United States that he should withdraw from Viet-Nam and he should negotiate. They don't tell us, however, who he is going to negotiate with.

Now, the record of this country on Viet-Nam is clear. We have a commitment in Viet-Nam to help the people of South Viet-Nam maintain their freedom. We have always been ready to talk with the other side, but in the meantime we are going to honor our commitment and I am quite sure that no matter what the college professors may say, the great majority of the American people, if they know the facts in regard to Viet-Nam, would be on the side of the President of the United States.

But even more important than a commitment that we have to South Viet-Nam is an obligation that we have to defend the American way of life, to defend freedom. We enjoy the blessings of freedom and we can't, for one minute, build a wall or think that we can build a wall around this country and maintain freedom for ourselves without any interest in the welfare of the people of the rest of the world.

Suppose we stepped out of Viet-Nam. What would happen? Two million people would go into slavery immediately and we buy peace, we buy peace for surrender, but how long? Do you think the communists would stop at South Viet-Nam? Well, of course, they wouldn't. Anyone who studies history, anyone who listens to their pronouncements, their policies, their objectives, knows they wouldn't stop there. That would only whet their appetite to go further.

The next stop: the rest of southeast Asia, Burma, the Philippines, Hawaii, New Zealand, Australia; so if we pull out, when do we fight again? I would rather fight the communists in South Viet-Nam than fight them down here in the Chesapeake Bay when they are landing on our shores.

. . . Applause . . .

Do you think if we stepped out of South Viet-Nam that we could avoid defending the Philippines when they move to the Philippines, a country in which we have a great interest, which we developed? No, there is no easy solution to this. The one thing that will bring peace to Viet-Nam is when the communists realize that they cannot take over South Viet-Nam by force.

. . . Applause . . .

And once they realize that, I am sure they will be ready to come to the conference table as we have invited them time and again.

But organized labor of this country has a responsibility. We are the largest group of private citizens organized into a group in the United States

of America. We have a long record of responsibility, responsibility for all things that are in the public interest. No one can point a finger at the trade union movement on its record of almost 100 years in this country and say that we have failed to recognize the public interest. Every single activity of the trade union movement over the years has been in the interest of all the people of the United States.

For instance, we, the original trade union movement, took the lead in establishing the first common school system, first common school education system in this country. We have always been in the forefront in defending freedom.

In 1933, in April of 1933, I attended a meeting presided over by William Green in New York City, where we set up the anti-Nazi boycott, and, ladies and gentlemen, this was just 60 days after Hitler came to power in Germany. We recognized the threat to the free way of life and what was happening 6,000 miles away and we recognized it immediately.

We took our position on the Soviet menace time and time again, even during the war, when our country, in a sense, was on the same side fighting Hitler. We warned our government then.

We take a position for human freedom everywhere in the world and we have always been in the forefront to meet the challenge.

And I say to you that we must lead now; the American labor movement must lead now in letting all of the people know that they have a responsibility to support the Commander-in-Chief in the war in Viet-Nam because it is a war for us, it is a war for our freedom as well as the freedom of people all over the world. And labor has the organization, it has the knowledge, it has the courage and it has the strength to take this responsibility. We can't let these intellectual jitterbugs preside over classes of some of our colleges, and God help us, God help our children if we don't do a little better with these fellows, but we can't let them form public opinion, because they don't know anything about the subject.

We know what the communists are. We have had to deal with them. We know what dictatorship is. We know that labor is the first victim of any dictator but we also know that labor is never alone in a dictatorship. You know Mussolini gave his castor oil to the employers as well as the labor leaders when he was running things in Italy.

So we have this responsibility. We have to do a job for American workers. The purpose of this is very simple. It is to build up the standards of life of the workers; but in order to do that, you have to be active in many places—in legislative halls, on the picket line—yes, in the political campaigns, because, just incidentally, in passing, might I say this: that the program of President Johnson which, in the final analysis, is the AFL-CIO program—the program that is being enacted this year could not have been enacted except for the work of COPE in the elections last November, and I say that without reservation.

. . . Applause . . .

But basic to all of this is our responsibility to defend human freedom, our responsibility to preserve the American way of life, our responsibility to preserve a system under which it is possible for people by their own efforts to collectively improve their standards of life for themselves and their children.

This is what Viet-Nam is all about. This is why American labor must take the lead in complete support of the Commander-in-Chief in carrying out his responsibility for the security of the American people, and I am sure we are going to do just that.

Thank you.

. . . Applause . . .



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