

PRESIDENT WURF: .....Delegates, it is my great pleasure and my great honor to introduce an old friend of our Organization, the Vice-President of the United States.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, President Wurf, and delegates to this the 16th Convention of the fastest growing union in the United States of America.

(Applause)

It is good to have you in Washington. You have no idea how refreshing it is to have a group like this to meet with. Every once in awhile our spirits get a little down around here, and when we see our friends, our friends such as we have in this fine hall this morning from the State, County and Municipal Employees, we have a new surge of energy and a new spirit of life, and I want you to know that I can use it right this morning. I do thank you.

(Applause)

I can see by your program that you are going to have a very active few days here in the Nation's capital. I hope that, while you are here, you will have the opportunity, not only to take care of your union business, but, also, to call on Members of Congress, your friends here in the Administration, to talk to them about your concern for our nation and to zero in on some of the legislative programs that are now before the Congress of the United States.

I have looked over your program of action. I have read your report, Mr. President. I know of many of the resolutions of

this body adopted at other times, and all that I can say is that the programs of this Administration, designed to achieve the ideal and the goal of the Great Society, are not original with us.

Many of you right here in this great union were some of the first to outline the dimensions of those programs, so the Great Society belongs to you and not just to the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, and we ask for your help.

(Applause)

I am particularly pleased today to see my friends from Minnesota that are here. We are very proud of our union organization in Minnesota.

(Applause)

I will have to remind my friends from Minnesota of a little incident that took place last year during the World Series. I am not talking about what happened in the last game.

(Laughter)

I am an enthusiastic sports fan, and I do have my prejudices and my favorites, and, less anybody hasn't discovered up to now, I did sort of lean towards the Twins in that particular event, and I became a little overly enthusiastic about the Twins, apparently, and I was on some sort of a nationwide radio program.

I just let forth in what I thought about those Twins and how well they were going to do, and I received a telegram within a few hours from a dear lady out in Los Angeles. It was addressed to the Vice-President of the United States.

She started out, "Dear Mr. Humphrey, I voted for you, but I voted for you to be Vice-President of the United States, and not Vice-President of Minnesota."

(Laughter)

I must say to my dear friend, Father Blatz, and all of our good friends from Minnesota, that if on this occasion I do not concentrate as much on the great North Star State as you think I ought, just remember that the message from Los Angeles had its impact.

(Laughter)

This is a great International Organization, and I understand that we are honored by visitors from overseas, as well, and how welcome those visits and visitors are in this great country of ours.

After all, the Trade Union movement, the American Labor movement, is a part of a very great democratic force throughout the entire world, the free Trade Unions of the world. Those free Trade Unions today stand as a powerful force for freedom, political freedom and human dignity in many many countries across this globe of ours.

I salute our visitors and welcome them here to our Nation's capital and thank them for their participation in these deliberations.

Today I want to talk to you a little bit about where we are and where we are going. It does us little good to remind ourselves where we have been, because those days have already gone by. People would be better advised to concentrate their attention on what we

are trying to do now and what we ought to do tomorrow.

This great country of ours, your country, the one of your forebears, the one of your families and of your children, this country has immense burdens at home and abroad. The United States of America, without any design on its own part, has become a leading world power and has great responsibilities in the Free World.

If we are to be able to sustain our role of leadership, if we are going to exercise the responsibilities that come with leadership, then we have to know a great deal about the world in which we live, and we have to have a strong social economic structure here at home. You need both.

Some people today feel that our first obligation is to take care of our international commitments, and other people say, "No. Forget that. The first obligation is to take care of your domestic needs."

This Administration believes that in order to take care of your international commitments, you must take care of your domestic needs, but that you will have little or nothing at home to take care of if the world becomes involved in conflagration or world war.

Therefore, the pursuit of peace, the pursuit of honorable peace, the pursuit of a world based upon law and international law and order, is the prime objective of this nation, but, in order to pursue that elusive goal of peace, in order to fulfill our responsibilities, with all of the trials and tribulations and burdens

involved, we must have the enduring strength here at home for the long pull.

I want to concentrate my attention for just a little moment on how to do that. There are less than 200 million of us in this nation, out of a world population of almost 3 1/2 billion, and, yet, this 200 million of this nation is called upon today to assume a tremendous burden, and in some instances, to undertake a great opportunity.

Our America last year produced almost 50 percent of everything that was produced in the world. Take that figure home to your children and think about that for a moment. This country, the 50 states of this nation, the people in those states, produced 50 percent of the international gross product.

The other 3 billion-plus people got the other 50 percent. If you add Western Europe to the United States, it is fair to say that Western Europe, Japan and the United States, Canada, the Commonwealth countries, produced over 75 percent that was produced in the world.

You can see how Africa, Asia and Latin America, the vast areas of the world with hundreds of millions of people, you can see how they relate to these figures. Now, a nation that has been given as much as we, a nation that is privileged to have as much as we in this nation, has some obligation to share.

Not to share in terms of diminishing that which we have,

and, therefore, weakening the whole structure, but to share in terms of our technology, our technical know-how, to share in terms of our understanding, to share at times in terms of capital for the self-improvement and the self-help of other people.

We are a very fortunate people. We are a people that have been blessed as no other people on the face of this earth, and it ill behooves us to complain. I happen to be one who believes that there will be peace in this world, if there can be peace in this world, and there must be. Otherwise, all is for naught.

The greatest hope for peace is what Abraham Lincoln said, "America, the last, best hope on earth." It is my honest judgment that the strength of this nation and the restrained and prudent and wise use of that strength in the cause of justice is the major force today for law and order and for peace and social progress.

I want to see our America identified with social progress, identified with people and their aspirations. I want to see America set an example that will be known throughout the world as one of humanitarianism and one of economic opportunity and social justice.

More than anything else today, peoples in other parts of the world want justice. They have been treated unjustly. More than almost anything else, people in the world want to rid themselves of the chains of poverty, because they have known poverty for centuries.

Almost more than anything else, people in the world want to enjoy some of the fruits of modern technology, because they have

lived in backward areas.

Here is where we come into play as a great, moral, political and economic force. America is not just 50 states, nor is it just power and wealth. America is, above all, an ideal. It is the ideal that an author in the mid-1930's talked about, whose name was Thomas Wolfe.

I know of no better way to describe what our country is all about and what it stands for than to read you these lines, and I have them written up and handwritten on a piece of paper, because they are sort of like text for me, when I speak to you as I do today.

Here is what Thomas Wolfe said about our country and what it means:

"To every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity, to every man the right to live, to work, to be himself and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This is the promise of America."

Those are beautiful words. That is the message that we need to project to the whole world, not the message of America's massive power, and we have it; not only the message of America's fabulous wealth, and we have it; but, more significantly, the message of opportunity for plain, average, ordinary, wonderful people, the greatest resource on the earth, a God-given resource of humanity, of people.

When Thomas Wolfe said, "To every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity.....This is the promise of America," he was talking to the whole world.

Thomas Paine, the great Revolutionary writer, said, "The cause of America is the cause of all mankind."

Abraham Lincoln said, as I said to you a moment ago, "America is the last, best hope on earth."

Franklin Roosevelt, in that memorable Atlantic Charter of 1940, when he and Winston Churchill were facing the realities of 1941, when he and Winston Churchill were facing the realities of Nazi aggression and Japanese militarism, and it was a bleak day for freedom, Franklin Roosevelt outlined for the whole world the four freedoms.

Those freedoms were the freedom of speech and expression for everyone everywhere, freedom to worship for everyone everywhere, freedom from want for everyone everywhere, and freedom from fear for everyone everywhere.

I have had people ask me many times, "What are our international goals? What is America trying to do?"

America is trying to do this, to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity. America is trying to do this, freedom of speech and expression for everyone everywhere, freedom to worship one's God for everyone everywhere, freedom from want for everyone everywhere, and freedom from fear for everyone everywhere. Those are our goals.

You don't have to take a course in international relations to understand these goals. It might be helpful; but, you can understand them, because they mean something to you, personally. This freedom of speech and freedom of expression is at the heart and core of the democratic way of life.

One's freedom to worship truly underscores the meaning of human dignity in man's relationship to his God and separates us from the totalitarian, who worships no Heavenly Father, but, rather, worships materialism, and freedom from want is the pressing need of the world today, because two-thirds of humanity today is sick, illiterate, hungry and poverty-ridden -- two thirds.

Freedom from fear, all over the world in faraway and different places, people live under the constant threat of destruction. They are afraid. It is our privilege as Americans, blessed and thrice-blessed, to help them rid themselves from fear, to help them rid themselves of want, to help them have that sense of serenity and of human dignity that comes with worship, and to help them, above all, to be free men and free, good people, with freedom of expression and freedom of speech.

The day that the United States loses its sense of idealism will be the day that it has forfeited its right to advise and counsel nations and peoples and the day that it will lose its right to be called a great nation.

We may be big, but there are other big nations; we may be rich, but there are other fairly well-to-do nations; we may be

powerful, and there are other powerful nations, but a great nation is a nation of spirit and soul, of idealism and of noble purpose.

I am one who happens to believe that in order to speak to other people in the other parts of the world, effectively, you have to know how to speak to your own people at home. Precepted examples are more powerful than the word, and it was very difficult for us to be talking to peoples around the world, most of whom were not white, to be talking to them about equality, democracy and freedom and human dignity, when we did not practice it at home.

I happen to believe that one of the greatest developments in American history that underscores our maturity and our sense of responsibility and our qualities or qualifications for leadership was the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

(Applause)

At long last, 100 years after the days of Abraham Lincoln, the promise of the Emancipation Proclamation became a reality, and at long last, there was just one kind of citizenship in America, first-class citizenship for everybody, everywhere.

(Applause)

I want to thank this Union for its role and leadership in making this possible. I was privileged to be the Floor leader for the Civil Rights Act, as you may recall. It was a tough fight. I happened to think that the reason it was passed by the Congress was not so much because of what we did in Congress, but because of what you did and many more like you, people in our churches of

every religious group, in our Trade Unions, the professional community, education and business, what the people did at home to influence the Congress, and this great country has every right to be proud of its position.

We have established now, at least by law, equal treatment under the law, first-class citizenship and, as we say, opportunity. We have opened the gates of opportunity, and the next step is to help people walk through -- to help people walk through.

When people have been told for 100 years to get to the back of the bus, even when the law says they can sit any place, it is difficult for them to believe it. Our task now is to upgrade the quality of American life, and that is what we were talking about when we talked about the Great Society.

As the President said, the Great Society is not a quiet and calm harbor, a place of rest; a Great Society is a challenge. It is a restless movement that challenges us to move ahead. It is sort of like what Franklin Roosevelt talked about in the very last speech that he was writing before he passed away.

Some of you may recall that he was at Warm Springs, Georgia, resting, and he was writing what is known as the Jefferson Day Address, which he never delivered, and the final words that he penned, as he was sitting in that Georgia sunshine, were these words:

"The only limitation to the realization of tomorrow is our doubts of today. Let us move forward with a strong and active faith."

I love those words, because here was a man who was tired, weary from war and depression, a cripple, a man who had suffered abuse and every kind of derogatory statement, and, yet, here is a man who still had faith in the tomorrows.

He said, "The only limitation to the realization of tomorrow is the doubts that we may have today." Then here is this man who couldn't move from his wheelchair, literally, a victim of the war, war weary, a casualty of the war, who said, "Let us move forward with a strong and active faith."

(Applause)

I am one of the followers of Franklin Roosevelt. I believe in his message. I like his optimism, and, above all, I have great respect for his sense of confidence in this country, and he challenged men of my generation to get up and do things, and he challenged us to take a look at the limitations and weaknesses of our old society and start to repair those weaknesses. We have been busily at it.

May I say that the past few years have witnessed more economic and social progress than in any comparable period of American history. I want to point with, I hope, justifiable pride to the record of liberal and progressive legislation that has been sponsored by President Lyndon Johnson and passed by the 89th Congress. There has never been anything like it in all the annals of American history.

(Applause)

Isn't it interesting that a man from the South was the President of the United States to lead the fight for the redress of grievances, for the elimination of injustices, for destroying segregation, for removing the visages of discrimination and for washing away the prejudices that have too long marred the surface of this nation?

President Lyndon Johnson championed the Civil Rights Act, and under his leadership and with the support of Members of Congress, we were able to mark out a new chapter in opportunity and justice in American history.

Then, we moved on to other fronts. At the time when we were richer than ever before, we found out that in our own midst there were poor people, and I think this was the best sign of our character as a nation. There could have been a wave of feeling and attitude of, "Well, after all, everybody is doing all right. Look at the fabulous wealth. Look at the gross national product. Look at the dividends. Look at the wages. Look at the income.

"Our per capita income goes up every year. Why worry about these few out here on the fringes?"

We didn't say that. When people criticize our America, I would like to remind them that the America they are criticizing, which has shared of its wealth with others, which has taken on the main burden of preserving peace in this world, which has been called upon, since World War II, on several occasions to check aggression, which has suffered over 170,000 casualties on the

battlefield since World War II -- this is quite a record -- that this same America took a look at itself and said, "There is one-fifth of our population not properly sharing or adequately sharing in the fruits of this nation and the great accomplishments of it, and we are going to do something about it."

That one-fifth is known as the group that lived below the levels of decent income, the people that lived in the gray and dark areas of poverty, many of them in our great cities of the urban ghettos and all too often in rural America, and this Government set upon a course, in cooperation with private groups, to get at the root cause of poverty, to try to help release people from this bondage and this prison of poverty and not just the poverty of the purse, but the poverty of the spirit, the despair and hopelessness, the frustration, the bitterness, the cynicism that comes with finding no place for yourself in society, being a nonparticipant.

There are many reasons for these conditions. I am not here to judge whether these people who are locked in poverty are there because of themselves, or because of the society in which they live. All I know is they are there, and we are trying to do something about it.

We wage war on poverty today. Some people say we are not doing enough. I suppose that is right, but I want you to know that we are doing more than ever was done before. As that old Chinese philosopher once said, "The first step is the longest journey," and we have taken a big first step in the war on poverty. We are making

genuine progress.

(Applause)

What does this mean to the nation? First of all, it ought to be helpful to those we seek to help, and that is going to take time, a good deal of time, because remember most people today who are trained for a job, that have motivation for a job, in this kind of economy have that job.

This isn't like the Depression years where there were literally millions of skilled, competent and educated people who were without work. We are down to what we call the "hard core," and we are having to find out how that group can help itself, lift itself out of the swamp of their despair.

We are going to have to try many approaches, and we are going to make some mistakes. As I told a group of young people here Saturday afternoon last, we have had doctors who have been searching for 50 years for the cure to cancer, and one out of every five in this room will perish from it.

Yet, we haven't discovered it. We have come close. We have almost hit upon it here and there. We have had some treatments that have retarded it, and, occasionally, there is a breakthrough, but we have, literally, spent hundreds of millions and billions of dollars in the determined research efforts to find the cure to that killer.

We don't pick at the doctors and scold the scientists because they haven't found it. We found the cure to many other

diseases, and we say, "Fine. That is great," but the hard one we haven't found, yet, the tough disease, no cure, as yet.

What do we do to the scientists and to the doctors? We say, "Here, try something else. Here are some more resources. Take another step. Try another way. We want you to succeed, because we know that one out of five of us, of our children, of our families, will be the victim of it."

One out of five Americans is the victim of poverty, too, hard poverty, sustaining, continuing poverty. The other four have already made their way, just as in disease, we have conquered many diseases, miracle treatments, and we have made our way, but when we falter or make a little mistake in the poverty program, somebody says, "Boondogglers, failures, hoax, no-good, and look at the money we are spending."

We are not spending very much money in terms of the need, and we are going to have to persist until we find the answer.

(Applause)

What does it mean? It means for those that can lift themselves out of this difficulty, they become happy citizens. What else does it mean? They become participants in our country. What else does it mean? They contribute to the national economy. They contribute to the peace and to the stability of our nation.

America today needs everybody -- everybody. We cannot afford to have any percentage or small portion of this nation that

is not an active participant in the life of this nation. We need everybody, not only to set an example to the whole world, to give the lie to those who condemn and criticize us, but we need everybody because of the tremendous burdens that we will bear for time yet to come.

Every time that someone is not a participant, you have to carry a bigger load. It is in your own self-interest to share the load. We have tremendous new programs of education, and let me just concentrate for a moment on that, because education is, in a very real sense, the key that unlocks the chains that keep people in bondage and keep them in servitude to poverty.

We have millions of illiterates yet in America. We have hundreds of thousands of people who are industrially incompetent and illiterate in America; yet, they have the resources. They are human beings. They are people. They have the potentialities to be industrially competent and to be literate.

Thomas Jefferson said, "You can't be both free and ignorant," and he is right. I am here to tell you that you can't --

(Applause)

-- you can't be both prosperous and illiterate. Illiteracy must be banished. Training, job opportunities must be available. So, we have doubled our efforts in education.

For those who have a feeling that we are not doing all that should be done, let me recite this. Three years ago, your Federal Government expended in Federal aid to education,

approximately, \$4 1/2 billion; this year, \$10 billion \$200 million.

Manpower training, vocational education, Federal aid to elementary and secondary schools, scholarships, aid to higher education, your sons and daughters need it. We ought to have the best schools that this economy can possibly conceive of. We ought to have, and we will need, more classrooms and more facilities and junior colleges, vocational institutes, and higher institutions of learning, so that your sons and daughters can go on to universities and college.

They ought to be able to go at a cost which is not prohibitive, and many a young boy and girl today finds those costs prohibitive.

(Applause)

This Administration is going to be known in the history books of America as the Administration of Education. We believe that every child in America should have all the education that he or she can take.

(Applause)

We believe that the handicapped of America should have every opportunity for rehabilitation that modern science and medicine can give.

(Applause)

We believe that the health of the American people can be greatly improved, and we have launched a program to double the health resources of this nation. Three years ago, your Federal

Government was involved in health programs to the tune of about \$4 billion \$200 million; this year, \$10 1/2 billion.

(Applause)

That is a substantial improvement. We believe that the Medicare Program that we fought for, some of us, for almost 20 years, was late in coming, but it is a welcome blessing to the senior citizens of our land.

(Applause)

These are just a few of the things that we believe in, and these are the things that we not only believe in, but we have been doing. I waited for many a year to see these things come into fruition.

The first bill I ever introduced in Congress was in May, 1949, for hospital and nursing home care for persons aged 65 and over, under the terms of Social Security, Medicare, and, boy, what they called me!

(Laughter)

I was not exactly what was known as the idol or the ideal for American youth, according to some people. All the names that anyone could conjure up to tear me down, and I can remember when we introduced legislation for the Peace Corps, and the same darts and arrows came at us.

I can remember the 15 years of introducing legislation for civil rights, and no progress, and I can remember the years and years

we introduced legislation for Federal aid to education, and no progress, and then came the day, then came the 1960's, first, with the election of our late and beloved President, John F. Kennedy.

(Applause)

That was the great day that was the breakthrough, when he said, "Let's get this country moving, and we did. And he did. Then, that tragic day when we lost him, and President Johnson, then Vice-President became President, and he said to the Congress, "Let us continue," and we did.

(Applause)

Then came President Johnson's election in November, 1964, in his own right, in the greatest political victory that this nation has had since 1938.

(Applause)

By the way, I was in on that, too.

(Laughter and applause)

You know, I didn't intend to make any partisan reference, but, you know, my Republican friends the other day had a little meeting up in Congress, and they said, "We just got to quit calling this the Johnson Administration. We must call this the Johnson-Humphrey Administration," so I say hallelujah! --

(Applause)

-- because that is what it is. I want to be identified with civil rights. I want to be identified with education.

(Applause)

I want to be identified with an economy that has broken all records. I want to be identified with more jobs. I want to be identified with what we are doing. I want to be identified with you, because you have been helping us do it.

(Applause)

My good friends, keep up your good work. Build this Union. You have done a great job. You have an asympathetic Administration, one that recognizes your rights in collective bargaining.

(Standing Ovation)

Yes, all I want to say is that I hope that every union in America is as enthusiastic about collective bargaining as this one is.

(Applause)

I ask you not only to build your Union, but I ask you to keep in mind that we are building a country, and that you are a part of it. We are going to rebuild our cities. We are going to need better personnel in all of our positions. We are going to need more and more people like yourselves to do the job.

Creative Federalism is what they call it, a partnership between Federal, State and Local Government, but that means very little, unless we talk about the partnership between the people in those governments, the people who are doing the job in the government.

I am so delighted that I have a chance to speak here to the people of local government, the State, County and Municipal Employees, and may I assure you that most of the government that touches the lives of the people of this nation is where you work, at the state, the county and the local levels.

Those of us who are here at the Federal level, we consider ourselves to be members of the same family. We are partners in a common enterprise, and all that I can say is that this nation is blessed with one of the finest public services that the world has ever known, the employees of our Federal, State, County and local establishments. More power to you.

Thank you.

(Standing Ovation)

PRESIDENT WURF: I am sure that you join with me in our pleasure at having Vice-President Humphrey address this Convention.

(Applause)



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