

a result put into effect what you have negotiated through your own collective bargaining efforts.

There is one thing of importance that I want to say here, and it concerns a matter of current public discussion. It involves wage and price guide lines. I want to say right now that under the Davis-Bacon Act we cannot respect any particular wage and price guide lines. We have a statutory duty to reflect a prevailing rate; whatever prevails we must find.

There is one item of importance to you, and my time is becoming short at this point, and that is I want to call your attention to the existence on the statute books enacted last year by Congress of what is known as the Service Contracts Act. This may be little known to you, but it is the same thing for service and maintenance contracts and government work as the Davis-Bacon Act is on government construction work. This is a statute that will become, I believe, increasing important to all of your members, in that you will have and will continue to have, through your increased organizing efforts, an increasing basis and interest in maintenance and construction on government posts and stations throughout the General Services Administration, and through the Defense Department, through the Atomic Energy Commission and through other groups.

It is our duty today to establish what the wage rates are on this sort of work, and there must be developed not only through the UA but through all of the various organizations who are interested in maintenance work and contract maintenance work some system of informing us of what your wage rates are on this work. When you do, then we can reflect what actually prevails. And if you do not, we will find ourselves as severely handicapped today as we were earlier when the Davis-Bacon Act was first enacted back in 1935.

I hope that with your cooperation we can help this act do and perform in the areas of your interest the kind of objects which it was designed to perform.

We have several types of legislative interest currently before the Congress which are also the responsibility of the Department of Labor. We are in the course of passing, and the Senate will report soon a House-passed bill in this area.

I just what to say one more thing about common situs picketing. I know the bill will pass, but I have a pet word that the common situs picketing bill will get through this session and I hope it will.

I want to congratulate your great organization on its meeting here. You are one of the most progressive organizations in the United States in the labor field and I know that you will progress further through this convention to higher levels of organizing

and activities in the interests of your own great industry.

I thank you very much indeed.

GENERAL PRESIDENT SCHOEMANN: Thank you, Charlie.

Our Vice President has arrived.

Delegates, and guests of this Convention: It is with pride that I present a long-time champion of organized labor and my personal friend of long standing.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Vice President of the United States.
(Applause.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Thank you very much, President Schoemann.

My good friend, Pete Schoemann, the best that Milwaukee ever produced, and the officers of this great organization, the United Association of Plumbers and Pipe Fitters, and a special greeting to my good friend back here, Russell Berg, and the Boilermakers. I am glad to see that you boys let him in. And to my own special business agent also, Steve Bailey.

Pete, I want you to know that I am a member in good standing. They wouldn't let me in in Minneapolis and St. Paul, but those boys in Chicago are more charitable and they let me have a membership in the Local No. 130 of the Chicago Journeymen Plumbers, and Steve Bailey has paid the dues.

I can't imagine why anybody should ever complain about Union dues under these conditions.

My dear friends, this was and is just a drop-in visit; It is just to say hello, but when I say hello to a crowd this big it is apt to be just a little longer than hello.

I feel very, very much at home here with you. There are many old friends that are on this platform with me and many friends in this audience that I can see from the podium and many that I have never met, and I am very happy that I now have that privilege.

I am very please to see, Pete, that the ladies are here today. I just came away from a visit with a very distinguished American. Mrs. Humphrey and I dropped by to say hello to our wonderfully good friend, a great American and a very great President, Harry S. Truman and Mrs. Truman.

(Applause.)

You know President Truman always referred to his wonderful Mrs. Truman, Bess, as "The Boss."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to have you meet the boss in the Humphrey family. Muriel, would you please stand?

(Applause.)

I just received my thanks—she likes these public acknowledgements. It is tough to be Number Two in every job. Now I know what it is like to be an apprentice, Pete.

Mrs. Humphrey says she has never had a card to belong to this union. If Steve Bailey gives her one, our friendship is ended at this moment.

(Laughter.)

Let me just say a word about our good friend, Mr. Truman. I know many of you have read that he was ill, hospitalized a few weeks ago. I think you will be happy to know that on our occasion to visit their family home, which was our first chance to visit that home—our first visit there—we found the President waiting for us at the door. His color was good; his spirits were even better. He took us all through the house; showed us his library in the house—not the big library that you always read about, but the family library, and we sat down and discussed matters. We discussed many issues and said a few things about some people.

(Applause.)

I thought you would get that. He was just what you would expect—Mr. Independence himself. But Pete, President Truman did say, and I want you to know exactly what he said, when I told him that I was coming in here this afternoon. He said, "Well, Mr. Vice President, I just want you to know one thing; that the best friends I ever had were in the labor movement, and you tell that union hello for me, will you?"

(Applause.)

And he meant it. Of course, he would speak up once in awhile and he would have a few squabbles with you and me and others, but there is one thing about Harry Truman; you never had any doubt where he stood at any one time.

I am sure you join me today in a very sincere hope and prayer that this good man may fully regain his strength, because at this time in our history, when there are so many people with so many doubts, we need a man that is strong of will and strong of heart and strong of spirit and one that can speak up and talk up like President Harry S. Truman. Isn't that right?

(Applause.)

Now let me say a few words about this union, this union of which I am proud to be a member through the courtesy of Chicago and Bailey and Company out there.

I notice that you have six vice presidents. I want you to know that President Johnson only has one, and there are times he thinks that's too many. But from my side of the story I want you to know that I'm doing the work of six, and I think I am entitled to union wages. Don't you?

(Applause.)

I hope that every vice president of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada is as happy a vice president as the Vice President of the United States. That's all I can hope.

I read your speech this morning, Pete. I kind of thought I would just duck all those issues that you brought up, if you don't mind.

I read what my good friend Pete Schoenman said. He will be here to explain, and I will leave it to you to decide.

I can come to you and tell you that a man can only do his best. It is like that old fellow that was asked, "What do you want to have put on your tombstone?"

He said, "Just put on there that I did my damndest."

All I can say is that on every issue that has been before this Congress that the President of the United States and the Vice President of the United States have done their level best to keep faith, to keep their promises, to keep their commitments. The fact that we haven't been able to do what we wanted to do on one or two issues doesn't make us any happier than it makes you, but we know what was right and we haven't given up the good fight any more than you have.

I was a co-sponsor of the Situs Picketing Bill during my service in the Senate. I think it's a good bill. I think it ought to be passed, and we have asked the leadership of the Congress to pass it. We are going to do everything we can to get it passed. We are going to ask you to help us get it passed, and if we don't get it passed we will try again and try again until it is done.

We surely didn't do very well on 14(b), and I am here to confess that we just plain didn't do it. I was against it before they wrote it, and I am against it now that that is in the law, and I am for its repeal. If I can get my way and if we work together to get it done, it will be done.

But in the meantime I want to commend to every union what this union has done. I know where you were in 1958 in your membership. I know what you have been able to do these last few years. I have been reading your bulletins. I have been reading that splendid publication.

I want to commend this great organization for doing one of the best jobs or organizing the workers of any craft union, indeed of any union in the United States. To you, Pete, and to your officers and the organizers, I salute you. You have done a bang-up good job of organizing.

With equal importance, you have done something that your government has asked you to do and that you took on yourselves to do without even being asked. I believe it will be about two years, or about a year and a half ago, Pete, that you asked the legislative conference of the building trades to step up the apprenticeship program because of the manpower needs of this country. Permit me as your Vice President to come here and thank you not only for listening to the message of your officers and of your distinguished President, not only for listening to his plea

that a ten percent increase be undertaken in the apprenticeship program, but permit me to congratulate you and thank you that you not only increased that program by ten percent but, what was it, 12 or 13 percent?

Today, unless my figures are wrong, there is one apprentice for every nine journeymen. There are about 30,000 apprentices in this great United Association. I don't think there is a single craft union that can claim a better record, and I know that that record of apprenticeship is based upon high standards, upon non-discrimination, upon good training, and the American people have a right to expect that once the apprenticeship has been completed and you become in a very real sense a skilled and professional worker, that you will perform your job with skill and with excellence.

I come here to commend you on your program of training, not only upon its quality but upon its quantity. You have done your job and you have done it well.

I notice you are busy on political fronts, too. Now, of course, that is of very little interest to some of us. I see that you COPE contributions are a little higher than usual. I want to say that this is an expanding economy, and I am glad to see that COPE contributions are expanding, too.

COPE—Labor's political arm. It is as vital to the labor movement of America as collective bargaining.

Whatever may be your views about parties and candidates—and you are going to have them regardless of what I tell you—this is a very independent-minded organization. I want to say that a great trade union or craft union, or industrial union, does not fulfill its true union responsibilities unless it engages effectively and honorably in political action.

Those who are in charge of the great program of COPE, the political arm of the labor movement, I compliment you; I congratulate you, and I look forward in the months and years ahead to having the privilege of working along side of you.

I have been a very lucky man in public life. I have never stood for an election, I have never been in an election contest that I didn't have the support of organized labor. And I want you to know that I consider that not only a privilege, but I consider it a high honor. And I can say from this platform I have never been asked by any representative of organized labor representing any of our great unions to ever do a single thing that was contrary to what was in the best interests of this country.

I have never been asked to betray my oath of office. I have never been asked to extend special privilege. What I have been asked to do is to concentrate my attention on those pieces of legislation that we agreed were in the public interest: Legislation that encompassed a vast field, not only legisla-

tion for organized labor alone; not merely legislation to amend a labor-management act; not only legislation relating to 14 (b), or status picketing; not only legislation that related to minimum wages, or unemployment compensation.

I have been working with the labor movement and have been asked by the labor movement to support legislation that would help American industry to expand and to grow like the investment tax credit that gave American industry a chance to invest and expand, and with that investment and expansion you got jobs. Let's quit kidding ourselves: There are no jobs for anybody that are worthy of being called jobs unless this economy of ours keeps moving ahead; unless there is investment; unless there are people willing to take a risk and a chance. And tax laws that encourage that are in the public interest and your interest. And this union has asked for that.

I have the privilege of working with you in the field of education, higher education, elementary and secondary education, vocational education, manpower training and development, for the general good of the American people. In fact, most of it for the people in this country who have frequently been deprived of a fair chance; of an equal opportunity.

I have had the opportunity of working with you for health care, for health insurance for our elderly; for what we call Medicare. And let me tell you, one of the greatest pieces of legislation that has been passed by any Congress was the legislation to provide medical and hospital and nursing-home care for our elderly.

I think it can be honestly said that members of organized labor had less to gain out of this than those who are unorganized, because many of you have your own health and welfare benefits. But, the great American labor movement went to work for all of America so that today our senior citizens can have a decent medical and health and hospital and nursing-home program in the twilight of their lives without having to go in and sign a pauper's oath, or to obtain what we call relief or welfare.

I have had the privilege of working with you on legislation that related to our roads, to our conservation. Yes, and legislation that relates to our national security; that relates to the equal opportunity of all of our people.

The American labor movement was in the vanguard, the front lines of the battle in Congress for equal opportunity of every American, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin. And we have made some progress. Maybe not as much as some of us would have liked, but we have moved ahead.

The most important thing for every American to remember is not that Utopia is here, and not that the day of perfection is here, but that we are

moving ahead to higher grounds; to better days; to greater opportunities; to more justice for more people.

When I said a while ago that I was proud to have had the support of organized labor in my public life, I meant every word of it, because what I have seen is that organized labor in the main seeks a better America; better housing for our people; better cities for our people; better rural areas for our people; better recreation; better health; better schools; better jobs and more of them. And together we have tried to make this possible.

But, ladies and gentlemen, we live in a very difficult time in human history, and I know that you are not just members of a great craft union, even though this craft union has a history that in many ways parallels the history of this republic. And someday maybe the young people of America will learn the history of our labor movement just as they learned the history of our armies and our Congress and of our presidents, because, in order to be a good American, you need to know about all Americans. And you need to know about the contribution that every group has made to this nation.

Our country is what Abraham Lincoln said it was. 101 years ago Abraham Lincoln stood on the steps of the Capitol, the East Front, and he spoke of his blessed America and this great country of ours as the last best hope on Earth. And those words will live forever, because he told us what we can do with this country. He said, "We will either nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope on earth."

And then I think he outlined for us a basic fundamental policy of government, of domestic policy and of foreign policy, because, believe me, domestic policy and foreign policy are one and inseparable. You can't be interested in the poor overseas unless you are interested in them at home.

You can't be trying to cure and combat illiteracy in India or Africa unless you are willing to do equally as much, and more so, at home.

You cannot talk about social justice for the rest of the world and deny it to your fellow Americans. The best foreign policy in the world is what you do right at home.

The way that the world will judge us is how do we treat each other. And the world will respect us if we treat each other fairly and justly, and if we build an America that is strong enough to be respected and compassionate and just enough to be loved.

Well, Lincoln put it this way: "With malice toward none and with charity for all. But, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right."

Abraham Lincoln didn't stop at just being kind. He didn't say that we will hate no one and we will love everybody and that's about it. He said, "With malice toward none." We seek no trouble with anyone. There is no hate in our heart.

"With charity for all." This is a brotherhood of human kind. And wherever brothers may live, whatever their skin color, whatever their background, or their origin, there is enough in our heart because of our religion and our conviction and our background to have charity at least of attitude for all.

But, then he got right down to where you separate principle from apology; where you really make a stand. And he said, "with firmness in the right as God gives us to see that right." Now, no one is ever sure that he is right, but we hope and pray that our judgment is right.

I have heard President Johnson say so many times that it is not difficult for a President to do what is right. What is difficult is to know what is right. And one prays for that knowledge, searches for it, gropes for it. And, ultimately, we have to make decisions. You have to make them in this Union.

There are many discussions, many debates, many arguments.

Somebody once said to me that there are three D's of democracy: debate; yes, argue, dissent; yes, disagree. That is not difficult. We all like to argue. And some people make it a special pastime just to disagree.

But, a democracy requires debate. A free society is based upon the protection of the right to be different, to dissent. But, there is third D. Not merely debate and dissent, but, President Schoemann, and officers and members, there is also decision. And that is the difference between having responsibility and not having it.

Now, our great America today is going through many debates on many subjects: On how to control inflation. I know that you have debates on what we call wage-price guideposts and guide lines.

And, by the way, that is all under review right now; under review because, while we have learned that wage-price guide lines, or guideposts, have served a constructive purpose, there may be limitations. And those limitations have been coming into obvious view. So, the Labor-Management Advisory Committee of our government, upon which members of organized labor and government and industry sit, are re-examining this whole thing.

Guide lines are not mandates. They are not directives. They are suggestions. They are what they say: Guide lines. Not fixed positions.

But, we argue about this. You have a point of view, I know, for example, my good friend Mr. Schoemann feels that a wage-price guideline must carry with it a cost-of-living factor. There are many that believe that. It has great merit.

There are some that say no. So, we argue about it.

There are others, for example, that argue about our position in world politics. There are others that are arguing about how we should try to keep this

economy of ours from getting completely out of hand in terms of wage spirals and price spirals and wages and profits, and what have you. And I want to say right now, lest I be misunderstood, a great question is before this country: Whether we can have reasonably full employment. Or, let's put it without any adjective: full employment; high productivity; maximum use of our productive capacity, and still maintain economic freedom. That is a real question that you have to put your minds to.

In other words, an economy that is under pressure, can it still be an economy in which we can have free collective bargaining? I think so. I think that free collective bargaining is as much a part of America as the Fourth of July. I think it is vital to the free enterprise system.

But, I also know that free collective bargaining and free enterprise and the profit system, our so-called economic system, requires a sense of restraint. I know that it requires a sense of self-restraint and self-discipline and of interest in the public welfare.

Now, everybody has their own definition of those words. So, we discuss and we debate and we dissent. But, ultimately, our government, those of us that are elected in public positions, have to make some decisions. And if you make a decision that everybody likes, it is most likely not much of a decision. I think you have gone through that experience at home. You have maybe gone through it in your local.

But, be that as it may, I want to get to my point. Here we are on a great international issue. And I look over this audience and here are the mothers and fathers of sons and daughters that are deeply involved in a world that is in turmoil. This is a very different world than the one in which many of you were born into. It is a world that has changed more in the past twenty years than in the preceding 300.

It is a world in which there are powerful forces at work; forces of change, sometimes revolutionary change; violent change. It is a world in which the last 20 years a million people have gained their freedom from the colonial powers. It is a world in which the last 20 years 70 new nations have come into being. And most of those nations are unstable, lacking in depth and leadership in depth. Many of them are groping and probing their way hopefully to a day of economic progress and political stability and greater freedom.

I read time after time how bad this world is. Your President receives advice from everybody what to do about it.

First of all, this world is not under our control. Even if it could be, it shouldn't be. The fact is that it isn't under our control. We do not make the problems, nor are we able to control all of them. Let's start with that.

There are restless forces at work in the world, as there are here at home. You and I know that we cannot tolerate violence at home that will destroy our cities and destroy our communities. You cannot permit it lest you lose the whole structure of social progress.

If you cannot permit violence at home, what makes you think that you can permit international violence, violence abroad, without danger to the peace of the world and to the security of the world?

I think that the lesson is manifestly clear. So today we find ourselves once again on far away battlefields.

But let me tell you that, despite all that you hear and the burdens that are ours, and they are many and they are painful at times, that there is some good news. What is the good news of today?

The first good news is that America is more prosperous than ever in its history. Seven million more workers have jobs today than in 1961. 270 billion dollars has been added to our national income in five years.

The other good news for Americans is that we produced last year 50 percent of everything that was produced in the world, and with less than six percent of the population we had well over 30 percent of the income. That's good news for us, but it doesn't spell all good news for everybody, because the other three billion people in the world got the other 50 percent. The 200 million, or 195 million Americans got the first 50 percent.

That tells you a little bit about the problems in the rest of the world. But I said a moment ago that a billion people had gained freedom in 20 years. Isn't that good news? Seventy new nations in 20 years, and not one of them gone communist, not one of the new nations.

I constantly hear some people say communism is the wave of the future.

There are the propagandists that would have you believe that people in Asia and Latin America would like to go communist. Ladies and gentlemen, the communists have never won a free national election and I doubt that they ever will, because people want freedom; they don't want tyranny.

Europe only a few years ago was prostrate and is now prosperous. The Alliance for Progress in Latin America, with all of its problems, is making progress. Mexico, that only a few years ago was a country in revolution, is today a growing and prospering country.

Our great neighbor to the north, Canada, stands proud, strong and prosperous.

We have made progress. I mention this because there are times when one can believe that we have done nothing but make mistakes, because the mistakes always seem to be headlines.

But, ladies and gentlemen, the United States of America, with its wealth, its power, its people, its education, its health, its industry, its agriculture and its labor is not the sum total of mistakes. It isn't the product of mistakes; it is the product of faith and work and a democratic system of government and a social and economic system based upon freedom. It is also the product of some wise decisions by men that are leaders in government, in business, in labor and industry, in education, in religion and a thousand other walks of life.

I am here to ask you, as an American, to stand up and be proud of your country. Yes, recognizing that we have no godlike vision; recognizing we are mortals; recognizing that at times we have stumbled and faltered and failed. But I stand on this statement, that in all of the recorded history of mankind, no nation has given so much in the cause of peace and human justice as the United States of America.

(Applause.)

In these recent years we have shipped overseas over 15 billions of dollars of foodstuffs to feed the hungry—literally given it. We have contributed a hundred twenty billions of dollars in foreign aid to help other people help themselves. We have sacrificed a hundred sixty-eight thousand men as casualties since World War II in the cause of freedom and independence. That is quite a number of men, and we have not sought one foot of territory of another country. We have sought to conquer no one. We have not sought to impose our will or our system upon anyone, and yet we have those who say that we have not done enough, and we have many people today in our land who are highly critical because we are doing what we are doing. That right of criticism is sacred, and to be respected, but let me also say that I expect to have my right to state my case equally well protected and defended and I will state it.

(Applause.)

Your nation today is involved in a struggle in southeast Asia and it is a hard struggle—not one that we sought any more than we sought Korea; any more than we sought the defense of Berlin. The threat to peace in this world, my fellow Americans, is not in America. The threat to peace is not in Washington. The threat to peace in this world is in the communist capitals and it is about time that the world understood it.

(Applause.)

I hear people say, "We want peace in Viet Nam." May I say, with all the sincerity at my command, this is our fervent prayer. What do you think your President and Your Vice President and your government are seeking? We are not seeking to conquer. We seek no territory. Your country seeks not to destroy even a

regime in North Viet Nam. We seek not to conquer their land. We seek no war. And the way to get peace is quite simple and yet it is quite profound. The day that the communists from North Viet Nam, urged on and aided on by the communists from Peking, China, the day that those forces quit their aggression, the day that they stop their aggressive activity across the frontier, invading into South Viet Nam, on that day there will be peace. But let the enemy know that until they stop it, and until they leave their neighbors alone, and until they respect international law and treaty, the United States of America will persevere and has the fortitude and the will and the strength and the resources to stay until the task of repelling the aggressor is completed and Viet Nam is a free and independent nation.

(Applause.)

You have the right to ask why is it so important. Some people can say to you, and have said, if it were only Viet Nam, is it worth while? I don't think one needs to even answer that question, because it isn't only Viet Nam. The fact of the matter is that just in Europe, as we have known, that if the communist forces of Europe could take free Berlin, they would be tempted to take something else, and three times in these postwar years your nation has been mobilized to defend free Berlin—a hundred miles behind the Iron Curtain, an island of freedom. We were mobilized to defend free Berlin not only because of Berlin, but because we have learned that when the dictator's aggressive appetite is whetted and is satisfied momentarily by the success of aggression, he wants more. We learned that from Hitler and we learned it from some others.

We are in Viet Nam, my friends, because of the United States of America. We are in Viet Nam because we believe that peace in any part of the world that is threatened or the threat to peace in any part of the world, is a threat to peace here. We are in Viet Nam because three times in this century war has come to this nation from Asia. First Pearl Harbor; secondly Korea and thirdly now Viet Nam. And I might add twice communist China attacked India in the last five years, and only last year Pakistan and India were at war.

We are in Viet Nam because we believe it is imperative for the future of this nation and of your sons and daughters and your grandsons and granddaughters that aggression, as a pattern of international conduct for the attainment of political objectives, is too risky to be tolerated; that aggression in the nuclear age is too dangerous to be permitted to be successful, and we are there because we must demonstrate to the communist militant group that the price of aggression comes too high and that they

should learn how to live with their neighbors and then, hopefully, to live in peace and reconciliation.

Let me tell you now, my friends, that all is not on the negative side. There are many good things, many pieces of good news. For the first time Asia, which represents one-half of the population of the world, is astir with new ideas for its own future. Things have improved considerably. Indonesia only a year ago was a communist satellite—literally—under the domination of the Chinese Communist Party, and has today rid itself, purged itself of communist domination and a new government is there. A hundred million people that only one year ago, my fellow Americans, were going down the drain of communist control have today rescued themselves. But they never would have been able to do it, and I am sure they never would have even hardly dared try to do it had they not seen that the United States of America had committed its power and resources to the defense of freedom in southeast Asia.

What is happening in Indonesia? A hundred million people, one of the richest areas of the world—potentially rich area of the world—is a potential victory for freedom—not for us, but freedom for free people.

The war between India and Pakistan a year ago has been settled and the two nations are working together in peace.

Japan, that for years has been poor in terms of its leadership is beginning to take new leadership economically and in many other areas.

Nine Asian nations met recently in Korea to organize the Asian-Pacific Council. A new President has been elected in the Philippines and is giving dynamic leadership to his people.

Australia and New Zealand are showing new leadership in all of the Pacific area.

Korea and Taiwan, Nationalist China also have made fantastic economic progress.

So there has been forward movement, and your government and your country has made a definite contribution to it. But let me make it manifestly clear most of this has been done by the leaders and the people of free, noncommunist Asian countries.

In Viet Nam, militarily our forces have demonstrated unbelievable courage and ability. And let me put on the record of the proceedings of this convention that I visited in Viet Nam. I have visited the forces of Korea, of South Viet Nam, New Zealand, Australia and the United States, and within this month there will be over 2,000 troops from the Philippines added, and they number another 25,000 from Korea added and 4,500 from Australia added.

I have been with these troops. Let me speak of ours. There are fewer complaints from all of the men in the armed forces of the United States to-

day in Viet Nam than there are right here on the home front in America where it is good and prosperous and peaceful.

They are not complaining.

The men in the armed forces of the United States serving in Viet Nam today have proven themselves to be the best men that we have ever put into the field, men of competence, ability, courage and fighting spirit.

They are called upon to fight a strange and dirty war. They are in a far-away place under climatic conditions that are unbelievable. But, they have yet to be defeated, and they will not be. They have defeated the guerrillas in the jungles, and they have defeated the main force units of the Viet-Cong and the North Vietnamese.

These same men that fight in the battle fields also rebuild the villages, heal the sick, teach the children.

A tremendous effort is underway on four fronts in Viet Nam now. We, in partnership with our allies, we as an ally to Viet Nam itself, are making a tremendous effort on four fronts, and every one of these fronts is equally important, because there could be no victory in Viet Nam just militarily. The victory must be political, economic and social as well as military.

On the economic front there is tremendous progress, new agriculture, new industries, new ports, new roads, great progress.

On the social front, thousands, yes, hundreds of thousands of children are in schools that never were before in schools; millions of textbooks available for the first time; 12,000 health centers that have been established; thousands of classrooms that have been built.

Yes, on the social front tremendous progress despite the fact that the Viet-Cong, the Communist forces, burn down school buildings, destroy hospitals and health centers with a brutality that exceedeth human imagination.

Yet, my dear fellow Americans, I have yet to see a picket that carried a banner that complained about the Brutality of the Viet-Cong on their own people in Viet Nam.

Oh, I hear that our forces may have destroyed some civilian homes or, indeed, killed a civilian. Let me be very frank about it. This we do not want to do. Believe me that your government and the commanders of your armed forces take every precaution known to man to prevent this.

It is not our program to destroy the school buildings. It is not our policy to destroy the hospitals. It is not our policy to kill the village leaders and the hamlet chiefs. No, ladies and gentlemen. Our policy is to stop the aggression and get to the peace table.

When anybody says to you, "We want the government of the United States to seek peace," I come to you here as Vice President of the United

States under my oath of office, as a member of the National Security Council, to speak for the President and this nation. If anybody has any way to communicate this message to faraway places, please do so. The Government of the United States is ready to meet anywhere at any time with anybody under any auspices to secure an honorable peace in Viet Nam. We are prepared to do that.

(Applause.)

It is not we who refuse to talk peace. It is not we who refuse to come to the conference table, indeed not. This government is ready to walk the extra mile.

But this government and this nation is not ready to turn over to the Communists in the north and to the National Liberation Front, which is the Communist movement in the South—it is not ready to turn over the lives of fifteen million South Viet Namese to the Communist despots and tyrants knowing what will happen to them. I would consider that immoral. I would consider it beneath human dignity. Your government will have nothing to do with such a lousy setup.

(Applause.)

What we ask for is the right to help people live a life and not to lose a life. We are life givers as a nation. That's what we want to be.

America does not want to be known as the world's policeman, and we must not be, nor are we. America wishes to be known, if at all for anything, as the healer, the provider, the teacher, the good neighbor, the friend.

We have made it clear again and again, and let me make it clear to every mother that's here, and to every father and to every son and daughter, that the policy of your government is not merely to defeat the enemy on the field of battle so as to prevent the success of aggression, but the policy of your government is to defeat social misery, to help people live a decent life, to help the people of South Viet Nam and North Viet Nam, if they wish, to build a better life for their people. Your President and your Congress and your country have offered to the people of Southeast Asia the helping hand of a generous America in peace.

I want you to take this message to your neighborhood. I want you to tell your neighbors that we are in South Viet Nam because we are there because of our own security, our own freedom, our own defense, and because we know that aggression in the nuclear age is too dangerous to be tolerated.

I want you to tell your neighbors and your family and your friends that the hope and the prayer of this country in printed word, in spoken word, is to meet with the adversaries and find the path to peace, that this government of yours has extended the hand of friendship to every nation and it has extended the hand of

friendship to those who today kill our own boys. We have said that, "If you are willing to walk in peace, we are willing to walk alongside of you as a friend and as a neighbor and as one who will help build a world of peace."

I say these things to you because the great trade union movement of America has been a bulwark of strength for freedom. All over the world you have helped build free trade unions. There is no freedom without free trade unions. All over the world your sons and daughters have gone, either in battle dress or in the Peace Corps or in the voluntary agencies, or as an educator, or a doctor, or a worker. All over the world America's presence is evident. Therefore, nobody ought to know more of why we are doing what we are doing than you. We are doing what we are doing because in the spirit of Lincoln, it is with malice towards none and with charity for all, but it is also with firmness in the right as God gives us to see that right.

My fellow Americans, when a nation loses its will, when a nation loses its capacity to decide what it needs to do and the courage to stick with it, then that nation has lost its moment of greatness. But America has not lost will. This nation has not lost its way. This nation is committed more today to social justice, to decency, to hope and to freedom and opportunity at home and abroad than ever before in its life.

America is a young nation and it is giving to the people of the world the message of a young nation, the ideals of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, ideals that are as meaningful today as they were in 1776.

I call upon you, my fellow Americans, to stand your ground. I ask us to stand together, to unite in purpose. Let us let friend and foe alike know that we have the will and the perseverance to see it through, that we will not falter, that we are unafraid, that we are capable of the responsibilities of leadership, that we have taken our stand and there will be no retreat.

Thank you very much.
(Standing ovation.)

GENERAL PRESIDENT SCHOEMANN: May I have your attention, please? I know how all of you feel after listening to such a wonderful speech. Nevertheless, we have to get back to work. We will now proceed with the officers' report, by General Secretary Martin J. Ward.

GENERAL OFFICERS' REPORT

GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER MARTIN J. WARD: Mr. President, delegates to the 29th Convention: Instead of reading the complete officers' report at this convention, we have prepared the highlights of the officers' report which I will read. The reports will be distributed. You will

have a report at the table for each delegate at tomorrow morning's session. The reading will not be as long as it normally is. We will run through it quickly so that we won't take too much of your time. You will have time to look it over and digest it after tomorrow morning.

TO THE CONVENTION DELEGATES

The 29th Convention of the United Association assembles in the city of Kansas City, Missouri, with pride in our accomplishments of the past five years. Our organization is stronger than ever before. We have made notable advances, and our economic gains are substantial. Our membership is united, and our union is led by international and local officers who have established an outstanding record of cooperation and unified administration.

Labor unions were born of the needs and desires of the people who compose them. They were created to counteract widespread economic injustice and to provide a medium for correcting social ills through concerted political and legislative action. Unions, like all organizations, grow or decline only as they meet the changing needs which arise from new economic and social conditions.

The United Association has a history of successfully meeting these needs, with continuing progress toward political and economic democracy—a progress which has been immeasurably helped by our Constitutional guarantee of full democratic representation of all local unions at Conventions. Our laws wisely provide for the reimbursement of the wages, transportation, and expenses of our delegates to insure that every local union, through its delegates, will have voice and vote at our Conventions.

What of the future?

The world is in the midst of one of the greatest technological and social upheavals mankind has ever experienced. Our society is at the threshold of new standards of wealth and prosperity. Our opportunities to serve our brother members have never been so numerous. So, as we deliberate here in Kansas City, let us all join with new resolution to make our union's future brighter, more dedicated to service, and more prosperous in the years ahead.

For the General Officers,
Peter F. Schoemann,
General President.
Martin J. Ward,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

The General Officers of the United Association direct our activities and administer our day-to-day affairs under the authority granted in the UA Constitution. Traditionally, UA general officers are elevated through local, regional and national administrative posts.

This assures that our general officers are experienced at each level of the UA, while remaining close to the membership and responsive to its will.

The UA has been fortunate in its selection of our General Officers, as the record bears out. The continued growth and progress of our organization in the past five years presents ample evidence of their abilities, dedication and willingness to carry out their responsibilities.

As the principal officer of the United Association, General President Peter F. Schoemann has continued to advance the interests of the individual member and the United Association. As chief executive officer, Brother Schoemann has articulated UA policies and ideals in many official capacities dealing with other labor unions, the AFL-CIO (of which he is a Vice President), with government, and with industry. He has effectively discharged his duties, and through his life of service he has brought esteem and distinction to the UA. Especially significant have been the numerous honors and high level appointments bestowed on Brother Schoemann since 1961. He has used the broad powers of his office with dignity and restraint, always striving to advance the cause of the United Association.

General Secretary-Treasurer Martin J. Ward works closely with General President Schoemann in performing such duties as are required to protect the interests of the membership. As General Secretary-Treasurer of the UA, Brother Ward handles the complex daily problems which cross his desk with efficiency and dispatch. A vigorous, progressive administrator, Brother Ward in addition to his supervision of our union's fiscal affairs, often represents the UA in the highest councils of labor and government. His solid background in the trade union movement causes him to be consulted often and serves him well in handling the great volume of official correspondence and telephone calls.

Our General Executive Board is composed of six Vice Presidents, and is charged with the responsibility of guiding the affairs of the UA between conventions. Not only does this involve general supervision and consideration of all the many varied activities of the UA, but also requires a constant exercise of judgment in such matters as: special assignments under the direction of the General President, authorization of expenditures, appeals from local unions and individual members, and rendering decisions on individual propositions.

Since 1961, the work of the General Executive Board has greatly increased. To its credit, the Board has assumed this additional burden and disposed of the added work load with efficiency. Just how extensively the Board's work and responsibilities have increased in recent years is reflected in the number of individual propositions with which



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