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Sept 23, 1966  
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HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice President of the United States

Thank you very much. Thank you very much for that long, involved and detailed introduction, President Abel.

President Abel, my fellow Vice President, Joseph Molony, Secretary-Treasurer Walter Burke, my good special District Director from Minnesota, Glenn Peterson, -- thank you, boys, District 33 -- all of the District Directors and delegates gathered here in this great convention hall.

According to what I have been hearing about this convention, I'm not sure whether you remained here all night or whether you arrived here this morning, but I know that this is the workingest, talkingest, and busiest convention that has been held in this hall since the Democrats got here in August 1964. (Applause)

I have a special soft spot in my heart for Convention Hall in Atlantic City because, as I have indicated to you already, a momentous event took place here in the month of August, 1964. I had a special friend that came up from Washington, stood here at this very spot and addressed a huge convention of people who were hungry for victory and the continuation of economic and social progress. That man said that he would like to have as his Vice President the then senior Senator from Minnesota, and I was the first to respond affirmatively. I said, "That is a good idea."

And I must say that if you are going to have somebody speak up for you, you can't do better than having the President of the United States speak up for you. Second only to that President, Lyndon Johnson, I would like to have and do have as my good friend the President of the United Steelworkers of America, I. W. Abel. And he speaks up for me, too. (Applause)

And I want every delegate, every guest, every visitor to this convention to know that if I had my choice -- and I do have in this free country -- of the kind of a man that I would like to be associated with, the sort of leader that I would like to follow, the kind of an American that I can trust, I would select one man that is on this platform, and I would recommend him to you, as he has been recommended to you, and that is your own great International President, that great American, I. W. Abel. My friend Abe.

I am going to let you delegates in on a secret. I had breakfast this morning with Mr. Abel and the Directors. It was a good breakfast. It was free and it was appreciated. You know, during the administration of the late beloved President Kennedy I used to go over to the White House and have breakfast with President Kennedy along with other leaders of the House and the Senate. But President Johnson is on a frugality mission, cutting down on White House expenses, and we have to eat our breakfast at home.

It just made me feel good to know that I was still back on the breakfast route and to know that I could have it with the Directors and the President of the Steelworkers. I hope that none of you will complain as you read the expenses of this convention. These are some of the things that you ought to do for your Vice President. (Laughter)

Father Higgins, I am very sorry that you weren't there this morning, because the only thing that I missed at that breakfast was your blessing. But to be here in this great convention hall with one of the great churchmen and one of the truly activists in the areas of social welfare and the conscience of America is a high privilege, and I know that this great convention is going to have a fine message from a gentleman and a spiritual leader, a great priest who will arouse you to new heights of social understanding and social action.

I want to tell you about Abe and my speech. Your President said that he received a copy of what I was going to say. He knows better than that. He received a typed copy of a speech that had the name of the Vice President attached to it, and he said, "There must be some mistake." He said, "They made a grievous error somewhere in the Secretariat, in the secretarial services of the Vice President's office or of this convention's office."

I said, "Why?"

"Why," he said, "it only had three pages. I knew that couldn't be yours."

And how right you are, as you will soon find out.

You have had some remarkable speakers, not only those that have been imported, but from what I have been reading in the paper you have a few self-developed orators amongst your midst. There is nothing like good conversation and good discussion. This is the most open, this is the freest, this is the most democratically organized convention that any labor organization or any other organization has ever had in this hall or any other hall.

And I think you have demonstrated that when people have the opportunity to argue, to discuss, to debate, that it doesn't hurt or injure the structure of an organization. In fact, it enriches it and it strengthens it. When speaking of strengthening and enriching, your International President and your officers, your organizers and all of your directors can all be very pleased and proud of the achievements that you have made these past two years.

When I learned, as I did by reading the report of President Abel, that you have had over 400 new locals organized in these past two years, and over 77,000 new members, all I can say is that the labor movement still has vitality--at least that segment known as the Steelworkers of America. Congratulations on a job well done. (Applause)

Willard Wirtz was here and gave you a great speech. Arthur Goldberg, who served with you so many years as your counsel was here to speak of the great responsibilities of this nation on the international scene. You have had many others who have come to you.

I was asked yesterday to convey the warm greetings once again of the Governor of the state of New Jersey. I spent yesterday with Governor Richard Hughes of this state, and let me say to the people that are here from New Jersey and to others who visit this great Garden State, there isn't a finer Governor in the United States of America than Governor Richard Hughes of the State of New Jersey. (Applause).

Now, I know there is a gentleman here from Great Britain and the United Kingdom and his name is Dai Davies of the British Federation of Metal Workers and our British friends are known for many things. I am sure we know of their great courage; I am sure we recall their great statesmanship and, as has been said, there will always be an England, and I think you found out why. They just never give up. He has been waiting one full week to address this convention and then the poor fellow, this good man has once again been pushed aside, shunted aside by the United States of America. That is no way to treat a good, faithful ally.

I want to say to Dai Davies, don't you give up; we may have to extend this convention another week, but we will make a place for our friend from Britain. (Applause)

I come to you today to talk about building a better America. I come to talk about your part in building that better America. I can't think of any greater project; I can think of no movement, of no effort that is more meaningful to the whole world, much less to our own people, than building a greater and a better United States of America. I am talking to people that have helped build that America, block by block and stone by stone. I am talking to people who have had a very, very significant share of the responsibility for making this nation what it is, and I am talking to some of my friends down here from District 33, and I am proud of them. I want you to know that they helped build a better state of Minnesota. They helped build a strong, liberal, progressive party in the state of Minnesota and helped elect Congressmen and a couple of Senators from the state of Minnesota and, by the way, boys, don't forget to do it again. (Applause)

Mr. Abel, I am talking to my friends from that great upper Midwestern area that led the fight for change in our Constitution and our tax laws, so that we could have a new development in the steel industry known as taconite, so that our miners, our steelworkers could be employed; so that our cities and our

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villages could be sustained and, my fellow Americans, had I been here to speak to you four years ago, I would have had to tell you that the state that I was then privileged to represent in the Senate was the victim of chronic unemployment; that our people were discouraged; that our economy was depressed; that the young were leaving our cities and the old were remaining behind only to live out the last days of their lives. But I can stand before this convention and tell you today that because of the leadership and the statesmanship, because of the good citizenship of the Steelworkers along with industry, along with bankers and others -- yes, along with all of us, because we put our state ahead of our own little, what appeared to be selfish interests, because we were thinking in terms of the future.

I can stand before this convention and tell you that there is no place in the world where there is greater economic progress, investment and growth than the place represented by District 33 -- this table right there (indicating) in the upper Midwest of the United States.

We call it taconite. Some people used to call it a worthless rock. And we found gold in them thar hills. We found iron ore in those rocks, and we went to work. The Steelworkers, President Abel, were the margin of victory, your people and you, sir.

Well, I can remember some other things. I can remember when I became mayor of Minneapolis and I needed somebody to help me clean up my city. I needed some people to help me, stand by and stand alongside of me for good government. I needed a group of people to help me when we started to rebuild the Democratic Farmer Labor Party, when we decided for once and for all that that party would be liberal and progressive but it would not be communist infiltrated.

When we decided that we would clean it up and clean it out and make it a political party that you could be proud of, who was there, who stood there to help us make that possible? I will tell you: The United Steelworkers of America. They were there to do that job.

Yes, Abe, I remember Phil Murray. I knew him as a friend. He helped me. He encouraged me. He supported me. I remember Nick Zonarich, I remember Earl Bester. I remember a wonderful dear friend from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, who has gone to his heavenly reward this year but who was my beloved friend and stood by me year in and year out, and if some of the younger members don't remember him or don't know him, get to know him. Read about him. He was a great American and a great Steelworker and he knew the difference between right and wrong -- he was a hard fighter, he was a worker, and that was my old buddy Smaile Chatak. (Applause) I haven't forgotten him. He was the first to tell me about Mr. Abel.

I want to tell you, Abe, you couldn't have had a better character reference, and you were one that knew him.

Well those are the yesterdays. I just wanted to set the base for this little discussion. We have been together, I have never been without your help, and I'm eternally grateful. May I say at this particular moment that the President of the United States has never been without your help, and he is eternally grateful. I bring you the thank you, I bring you the message of appreciation, I bring you the message of gratitude from President Lyndon Johnson to this great union for what it has done for America. (Applause)

We have been through some battles together, about 20 years of them. --I don't know why you have to have me speak at 9:30 or 9:45 in the morning. I do much better at 9:30 at night, but we will do the best we can. We have been together and we have fought the good fight. We have won some and occasionally we have lost some. I think I ought to let you know a secret. It is more fun to win than to lose. I have tried both. (Applause)

Let's see what we have been doing together. We have stood together for collective bargaining. You paved the way. You fought the good fight. I know of no union that has given more progressive, steadfast, loyal, thoroughly American leadership to the American labor movement than the United Steelworkers of America.

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I know of no organization that has done better. You have stood with us and I have stood with you when we fought unsuccessfully, regretfully, for the repeal of Taft-Hartley.

That's where I came into the United States Senate. And do I remember the pillering that I used to take. Do I remember the criticism that was heaped upon us?

We fought and stood together for civil rights so that every American could enjoy the full privilege of American citizenship, so that there could be only one kind of citizenship -- first-class citizenship in this country. If there is any one union that has stood for first-class citizenship, political, economic and social, if there is any one great international organization that has fought that good fight down through the years, steadfastly, courageously, perseveringly, I am talking to it right now. I stand here to express the gratitude of a nation to a great organization for your willingness to stand up for the Constitution of the United States and the guarantees and the protections of that Constitution to every American, regardless of his race, his color, his creed, his national origin, or how he spells his last name. (Applause)

We have made progress. We haven't made as much as we would like, but we are moving ahead. It's like John Kennedy said, let's get this country moving again. Let us begin. It is like Lyndon Johnson, the President of the United States, says: Let us continue. Keep up the good fight. The battles of democracy are never won.

Your union hasn't completed its work. There are yet the unorganized to be organized. There are yet the economic injustices to be righted. There are old wrongs that need to be made right, old evils that need to be defeated.

So we shouldn't give up or feel in any way that our task has been accomplished. But we have made progress, but we will need to match our creed with our deeds.

Too many Americans yet, my fellow Americans, still lack the right to vote in all elections. Protected in their right to vote, yes, in federal elections, but when you are a citizen of the United States of America, you ought to have the right to vote in every election, in your union, in your township, in your city, in your county, in your state. There ought to be no discrimination, and you know that's right.

Too many Americans still lack the right to go to any school for which they are qualified. Too many Americans still lack the right to own any home that they can afford and the right to get on a job or to get a job on the sole basis of the ability to do the work. There ought to be only one kind of aristocracy in this country, one kind of elite, and that is the elite of merit. If you have the ability, if you have the capacity, you ought to be able to hold any position in America and there ought to be no artificial impediment or roadblock to your right to hold that position. (Applause)

That is some of the unfinished work before us. But we did pass a civil rights act. We did pass a voting rights act. This year, my good friends, had there not have been that unholy alliance between the conservatives of the Democratic party and the Tories of the Republican party we would have completed the task of our mission in the field of civil rights. Let the burden and the responsibility for this failure rest upon the shoulders of those who stopped this great forward movement of progress. But just as surely as the tides come in and as the sun rises, equal opportunity, equal justice under the law, better social conditions for the American people will be inevitable. No Tory, no reactionary, none of those that try to turn the clock of time back, will be able to stop this forward movement of the American people for the great society and a better day. (Applause)

We have stood together in a lot of things -- for medical care, for medical care for the elderly. Let me just give you a little history about that.



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The first bill that I introduced as a Senator when I came to the United States Senate in 1949 was a proposal to provide hospital and nursing home care under Social Security for persons eligible for Social Security benefits. I introduced that bill in May, 1949, and I kept introducing it every Congress either as a main sponsor or as a co-sponsor. And do I remember when I first introduced it the names that one was called. I was told that we had committed political suicide, and there are many people that rejoiced in the thought. But we hadn't. We stuck to it. We fought the good fight. We waited our time. We persevered and today the American nation, today the American people have demonstrated that they do honor their fathers and their mothers. Today the American people have shown that they do have compassion and concern and care for their elders, and today we have working, operating this very hour, Medicare, hospital and nursing home care for our elderly. (Applause) Why? Because you kept up the good fight.

I look back here and I see my old friend Jimmy O'Brien and Nurdy Hoffman and a few others that were down there at Washington helping us with this effort. I know who the people were. I know where the testimony came from. I know who helped put up some of the resources that were needed to maintain this fight in the public sector to mold and build public opinion, and I am looking at you.

Ladies and gentlemen, if the Johnson administration had done nothing else for America, if our government had performed no other accomplishment for America than the passage of Medicare, it would have earned in the pages of American history a noble chapter for accomplishment and achievement beyond the call of duty.

This good man, your International President, was honored only a short time ago in the nation's capital by receiving a national award because his work, and his leadership and your work and your leadership in the passage of the Medicare legislation. Mr. I. W. Abel, my good friend Abe, it was my privilege to present you with that citation as the Vice President of the United States, and that citation, that merit award for service to the elderly, for service to those who need it, was not only a citation for your International President, as he said, but also, as he pointed out, to every member of the Steelworkers, every district, every officer, and may I say also, members of the auxiliary, because I know the girls get a little of this work done, too. (Applause)

But have we done enough? The answer is obviously no. The passage of laws alone does not automatically bring better medical care to those who need it. It helps. We have made a tremendous step forward, but we still lack enough well equipped hospitals. We still need hospital administrators. We still need nurses, and, by the way, nurses should be well paid, and we still need medical technicians. We still need to make first-class medical care available to every person under that great medicare program and we have our work cut out for us to get it done. We can't be satisfied until every single community in America has the facilities and the trained professional manpower to make possible the full realization of every aspect of the hospital, nursing home and medical care program adopted by your Congress.

So, let's get on with the job.

Now, a word about education. You see, it is this man's point of view that any system of government that merits the continued support of a free people; any system of government that can be called just and free must provide, first of all, opportunity to the young who are in the dawn of life; care and compassion and concern for the elderly who are in the twilight of life; care and attention to those who are the needy and the sick and the disabled and wounded, who are in the shadows of life. This is what we mean by justice--a chance, an opportunity for those that are just moving forward -- the young. Care, consideration, help, rehabilitation for those who are sick and who are needy, and compassion and understanding and respect for those who have completed their three score and five, and those who are in the twilight of their lives.

I think this is the way you measure the greatness of a society. You do not measure the greatness of America by the bank accounts alone, or the industrial production index alone. You measure the greatness of America by what it does for its people; what it means to its people. (Applause)

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We have stood together on this proposition. Take education, for example. Now, what is the commitment of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration? --By the way, I made it "Johnson-Humphrey" because that is the way the Republicans want it. They figure it makes us a little more vulnerable if they include me, and I want the Republicans to know I welcome the opportunity for the battle with them, any place, any time. (Applause)

I have never run from them. We have run over them occasionally. I don't intend to start ducking and running now.

Oh, my good friends, I want to tell you that Grandpa and Grandma would have waited many a generation more if they had waited for the Republicans to vote to give them Medicare. And you know it, my fellow Americans.

Well, what about our little ones? What about our children? What about our young people, the most valuable resource in this land? I'm talking to fathers, I'm talking to some grandfathers. I'm talking to people with families, and when it is all said and done, my fellow Americans, we are pretty much alike. Whatever our position, we are concerned about our loved ones. We are worried about our jobs. We are interested in our homes. We are interested in our communities.

We all have pretty much the same problems. There is something about life that is a great equalizer. It doesn't make much difference whether you are President or Vice President, or whether you are a worker in a steel plant or in an iron mine, or whomever you may be, family problems, human problems, are all alike. Mothers cry for their young ones, rich or poor. Dads worry about their sons and daughters, rich or poor, high, mighty or low, it makes no difference.

What is the commitment, then, of the Johnson-Humphrey administration? We are educators. We believe that the wisest investment that this nation can make for its future is an investment in our young people. Therefore, this administration in the past three years has more than doubled the federal investment in education, more than doubled it. (Applause)

Your federal government, your government, is extending in the form of aid to education ten and one-half billions of dollars this year to our universities, to our secondary schools, to our elementary schools. We have also made possible what we call some equalization in educational opportunities by making available over one billion dollars of federal aid to education for needy students, for low income school districts. Let the record be clear, the people who need the greatest educational opportunity are those who have the least opportunity because of their income and the neighborhood in which they live. We need to have the best schools where the people need them the most. We need to have the newest schools in the slums, if you please, so that we can start to rebuild the slums of America around modern educational facilities and good teachers. Isn't that the kind of America that you dream of?

So we are committed to the proposition that every boy and girl in this land, every young man and woman, shall have all the education that he or she can take. And this includes vocational education. It includes retraining. It includes educational programs for the children of the poor, because, mark my words, my fellow Americans, there is a vast reservoir of talent, a great potential of greatness, untouched, untapped, among the poor of America, just as there was a great reservoir of talent among the poor of Europe. Most of us and our forefathers came here because they were the poor, given no chance, no opportunity. And they came to America to broaden their freedom, to increase their opportunity, to live themselves out of the pits of poverty, and look at the America that we have built by poor people, if you please. We have made it the richest nation on the face of the earth. (Applause)

So I ask you to go home and fight for more and better schools. Never did a country go into bankruptcy of what it invested in education. Never has a small community or a large one become insolvent because of education. It is the top priority in America. It is the key to the gate of opportunity. It is the hope for your boy and girl.

Let's make it quite clear that America should not price itself out of the universities. We are beginning to start there. Your boy, your girl, your son, your daughter, your nephew and your niece, they ought to be able to go to a good

university and a good school, a good technical school, at a reasonable cost so that they can get that education and can have it whether they are rich or poor, whether they come from the most notable family in the community or the least remembered.

Who knows where the genius may be found that will discover the answer to cancer? Who knows where that mind may be found that can be developed that can tell us what to do about the perplexing problems of modern society. I have a reason to believe that God Almighty has given to mankind the intelligence, at least the potential intelligence and know-how, the potential genius to solve our problems. It is our task to discover that genius, and we will discover it when we educate, when we train. (Applause)

Now, let me move on. We have stood together for modern government. We have made some progress. We finally are getting our legislatures reapportioned so that one man means one vote and one vote means one man, so that our metropolitan areas are properly represented, so that at long last we can start to tool up state and local government to meet the problems that confront them.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have been a mayor of a great city and I have traveled around this nation of ours visiting our great cities. And what do I find in city after city? I find mayors without the authority to do their job, city treasuries without the money to provide the local services, and anywhere from ten to 1,000 jurisdictions of government in one community all trying to run things at the same time. The city of New York has 1400 separate governing bodies. I don't care who you are, you can't make that work without considerable inefficiency, considerable overlapping of function and duty and excessive costs. And I appeal to this great union to take on another crusade, to modernize state and local government, because that is where you live. You are going to have better housing or poorer housing in your town. It isn't just the federal law that counts, it isn't just what we do at Washington. We are passing all kinds of laws in Washington. We have passed an omnibus housing bill. We have passed the rent supplement bill. We have passed the bill to extend the war on poverty. We have had a host of legislative proposals that are now on the statute books.

I bring the mayors into Washington, D. C. I am President Johnson's liaison, his contact with local government. I have met with every mayor of every city above 30,000 in this country, with few exceptions. We have had 16 major meetings just like this that last from one to two to three days at a time. And these good men come to Washington with their hands literally in handcuffs, with old, obsolete city charters that restrain their ability to do their job, with old state laws designed by a rural-dominated legislature of 50 years ago, with state governments that are infiltrated, if you please, by a bureaucracy that has been primarily trained for another period.

This is the modern age. This is the age, my friends, when there will be one solid city from Boston to Norfolk, Virginia, of 100 million people, -- the age of the megliopolis -- not just the metropolis.

Oh, there is a lot of room in America, and I am hopeful that we will develop our rural communities and our smaller communities so that more and more people will go there to live. But let's face the facts of life. And the facts of life are these: That most Americans, three-fourths of the Americans of this generation and the generation to come, will be living in large metropolitan areas. And it is there where the services of government must be up to date and effective. But it is there regrettably that the authority is not to be found and that the resources are lacking. And, my fellow Americans, in municipal elections you are lucky if you get 30 per cent -- 30 per cent of the eligible electorate to vote.

If you want good government you don't only start in Washington. If you want progressive government, if you want the kind of government that is going to serve the needs of your family, of your loved ones, the place to start to get it is in City Hall, in the county and in the state legislature, and go home and make it your business.

I was so appreciative of reading in President Abel's report his remarks on slumism -- slumism. Let me just make two quick statements. Poverty is no longer the burden of the poor alone. It is the cancer of a nation, a malignancy eating at us. And that is why we have to wage war on it. And just as the doctors seek to find an answer to cancer which as yet they have not found, so we must try to find an answer to poverty which as yet we have not found.



But I ask the American people to be as considerate of those who seek to find the answers and the causes of poverty and the remedy, to be as patient and as tolerant with those who experiment in this area as you are with the doctors who experiment in this area as you are with the doctors who experiment in trying to find the answer to malignancy and to cancer, cancer that will strike one out of every three in this audience and take the life of one out of every five,---the scourge of our time.

We have been at it 50 years, my fellow Americans, and we haven't found the answer yet. President Johnson proposed a tremendous new research program upon which Congress has enacted, for heart disease and cancer, trying to find the answers. We do not condemn our great medical profession, because as yet we have not found the total answers. I know what this disease means. It has touched my family. We pray for the answer. We look for the answer, but, ladies and gentlemen, more Americans are the victim of poverty, or just as many as are to be the victims of cancer, and we are not engaged in trying to make poverty tolerable. We are not engaged in feeding political aspirin and opiates in order to relieve the pain. We are trying to get at the cause, and that is why we are working with little children in Project Headstart; that is why we have neighborhood Youth Corps; that is why we have job centers; that is why we have Projects Upwardbound. That is why we have adult educational centers---because we are trying to save people from this dread disease, a national disease, called poverty. This nation needs everybody. We have too much work to do, too many burdens to carry, not to have everybody working at topgrade performance.

I want every American, every American to be an active participant in the privileges and responsibilities of American life. That should be the minimum goal of this nation.

So, we attack slumism. Slumism. That is the ism that is at us right at home. We face communism abroad, and a few misguided souls at home, and believe me, they are misguided, but the main problem that this country faces at home on its domestic scene today is slumism. The breakdown of human spirit, as well as the deterioration of facilities and buildings and public structures---the slum is no longer just the filthy tenement, the streets with the ungathered garbage. The slum today is that, plus people with broken spirit; people who have been traditionally on relief; children without jobs; Negro youth, with almost one-third--almost one-third--one out of every three of the Negro teenagers of America without work. Is it any wonder we have trouble? We have to find some answers, and I submit to you that any nation that has as its dream and its purpose and is willing to make the investment to put a man on the moon, ought to be willing to have as its dream and its purpose and be willing to make the investment to help put a man on his feet right here on earth. (Applause)

We are at it, but we need your help. We need you to maintain this constant pressure so that we do not falter.

Our economy -- well, we have been doing something about it. Six years ago, four years ago, five years ago what were you talking about? Unemployment. A sluggish economy. We went through eight years of Republican administration and we had three recessions. Now, my dear friends, I understand the dangers of inflation, and I am going to have a word with you about it, but I also understand the cost of depression and recession, and lest you forget -- lest you forget -- don't you ever forget-- and if you think this economy is doing too well, I can tell you how you can really slow it down. Just elect a Republican Congress. They will slow it down and put it in reverse. (Applause)

Those Republicans have two left feet, and they slam both of them on the brake at the same time.

Well I told you that we have had administrations that wanted to get America moving, and we have. We are in the 67th consecutive month of continued economic growth and expansion and everyone has gained -- business, farmer, consumer, labor -- we have baked a bigger pie and everybody has a little bigger piece of it. The old idea was to keep the same size pies and if the family grew larger, cut the pieces smaller or don't give anybody any pie. We have rejected that. We have turned away from the old orthodox, stale economic theories and we have embraced modern economics and we have taken economic policy out of the dog house and put it into the White House where it belongs. (Applause)



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But with all of this progress -- and there is much -- there are some storm clouds on the horizon. No group of people has a greater stake in reasonably stable prices than this audience, by the nature of your contract, and no group of workers has done more to set a fine example for the rest of America and what to do about inflation than the United Steelworkers of America. You have set a noble example for all to follow. Your President is doing his part.

Your President of the United States is doing his part with a series of economic measures before the Congress -- suspension of the tax credit, the slowdown of accelerated depreciation, and you know that only recently the President signed legislation on behalf of people who are hurt by the squeeze on credit, small businessmen, home buyers, states and municipalities, and students, and little people generally. Your President Johnson has called for action to head off this danger of inflation. He has asked business to restrain its use of credit, to keep inventories at a reasonable level, to postpone investments wherever possible, and to set prices on the basis of real costs, and to limit profits.

I stand before this audience, as I have stood before business itself, and say that these proposals and suggestions of President Johnson are not only in the national interest, but they are in the interest of the free enterprise system and in the interest of business itself. This is no time for profiteering. This is no time for price gouging. This is a time for self-discipline. "Ask not what your country can do for you. Ask what you can do for your country." Still is good doctrine. (Applause)

President Johnson has asked banks to handle loans fairly and without excessive profit, and he has asked for those unbelievably high interest rates to come down. There is no need of this kind of excessive interest charge in this country. (Applause) There will be another day. You don't have to get it all at once. Take your time. Enjoy the meal of American prosperity. Don't stuff yourselves. We'll be here. This is a blessed country with many resources for generations yet unborn. So when we sit at the table of the American economy, eat slowly. It will be there, plenty of it. There will be enough for everybody and there will be dessert, too, if not pie in the sky. (Applause)

And he has, of course, asked labor to avoid wage demands that would raise the average level of costs and prices. He has asked labor to permit new people into the trades to get at this hard core of unemployment and to work with business to raise productivity. My fellow Americans and every American, let the word go from this place that the United Steelworkers of America has increased productivity in business and it has based its wage demands upon the ability of the worker to produce.

You have set an example I said before that should be a guideline for the entire nation. I come here to thank you and to congratulate you because you have helped yourselves. You have helped your family. You have helped industry. You have helped your community. You have helped your children, and you have helped your blessed country. You are patriots. Thank you. (Applause)

Now let me just tell you this, don't you listen to these harbingers of doom and gloom. This is a strong economy. It's a good economy, and all we need to do is take care of it. It's like our personal health, which most of us don't take care of, I regret to say. I went to see the doctor not long ago and he gave me a good report. He really checked me out. I'll tell you I felt sicker after I came out than when I went in. But that's the way it is, you know. You have been there.

What did he say? He said, "Your blood pressure is good. Your cardiogram is good. Your digestive apparatus is good. You look fine and healthy for a man of your age. You are in excellent health." I didn't think he needed to add that, but he did.

But then he said this, "Now look here, just remember that you can overdo it. You can overdo and you can abuse yourself, and don't do it."

That is all we are saying about the economy. This is a prosperous economy. Profits are good. Wages are good. Farm prices are good. Dividends are good. Savings are good. It is a good economy. All we need to be careful of is we don't have a "lost weekend". Just stay with it.

Vice President Humphrey

- 10 -

And as I said before, remember there are plenty of goodies to go around. You don't have to eat it all at one time.

Now, the President has been doing some other things about economy. You may have read in the paper some months ago that we were going to build a house for the Vice President. (Laughter) Well, I come here and open my coat as the first sacrificial lamb. They are not only not building a house for the Vice President, they are not even putting money in for the plans for a house for the Vice President. Some people are wondering whether Hubert will be the Vice President. Well, I will tell you that if he is, he will be living in the same old bungalow. I don't want the federal government to spend any money building a house for the Vice President of the United States when we need money to build houses for low-income people in the centers of our cities and the ghettos of our cities.

By the way, as I speak to you now, the President of the United States has his fountain pen out, and he is putting his signature to a law known as the Fair Labor Standards Act right now, this very hour, the Minimum Wage Bill. (Applause) \$1.40 in February, 1967; \$1.60 in February 1968. And we didn't get much help from our Republican brethren, either, most of them. A little partisanship you had to expect this morning, and I plan on giving you a little bit more.

I want to tell you right now that every gain that you have made, all the break-throughs that we have made in education, in housing, in civil rights, in immigration, all the break-throughs that we have made in health, in medicare, those break-throughs have come under a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress. I would suggest, my friends of the Steelworkers, that you see to it that you have liberal, progressive, constructive Senators and Congressmen re-elected and elected for the 90th Congress, if you want to save these gains.

And I know that you understand that in Pennsylvania where you have a governorship up, and I know you understand it out in California, Director Smith, where you have a good governor and you ought to re-elect him, Governor Pat Brown, and Governor Shapp in Pennsylvania. And may I say in Illinois, my friends of the United Steelworkers of America, with all of the tragedy in that great state -- and our hearts go out filled with sympathy and with condolences that are deep and sincere -- but I remind every Steelworker here that you never had a better friend for all that you stand for and all that you mean than in Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois. So don't you forget him.

I just wanted to put a plug in for my old friend Paul. And I like Pat Brown and I like Milt Shapp, and I just like a lot of these fellows. And by the way, I'm going to be around saying a few words for them if they will let me.

Now, I conclude. I conclude now on this note. We haven't done everything that we would like. We were unsuccessful, as you know, and regretfully so, in our effort to repeal Section 14 (b). We tried, but the same forces that ganged up on us on the civil rights act of 1966 joined together to prevent even bringing up, much less to vote on, the substance of 14 (b).

But in case the opposition thinks that we have given up, I want them to know we haven't. Your President hasn't changed his opinion, President Johnson. Your Vice President, Hubert Humphrey, hasn't changed his opinion. The Democratic platform hasn't changed its position. And if you will persevere now as we did with Medicare and other things, we will get that little injustice taken out of the labor laws of this land, too.

So we have done things together. This is a partnership. We have done things to make America live up to its promise. What things? More equal rights for our people; better medical care for our people; better education for our children; better and more efficient government for all Americans; a growing and a prosperous economy, the likes of which the world has never known.

We are doing things in the eradication of poverty; decent wages for an honest day's work; clean air and water; modern transportation. And we are engaged upon this next new enterprise of a modern America, making our cities livable where people can live as neighbors and live in the finest environment that man can create, in safety and harmony and progress. And we are going to continue to stand together until our country is happy and healthy, and the free nation that we know it can be, and that is why I appeal to you to give us your hands, to give us your hearts, to give us your help to make sure that we have men and women in the legislatures of our states, in the city halls of our cities, and in the Congress of the United States that support the things that you believe in, a liberal and progressive and forward-looking America. You can do that, and don't you miss this opportunity.

Vice President Humphrey

Now, you have heard the message on international affairs from Arthur Goldberg. I shall not keep you on that, but I want the record clear. This movement recognized the dangers of fascism and communism long before some others and you recognized early in the day that the oceans were not barriers. You recognized that there was danger, danger to America with international bullying and aggression. You recognize today that there is no way to escape the role of world leadership for a nation that is the strongest, wealthiest, and the most powerful country on the face of the earth. You know as well as I do that there has never been a power vacuum. If you don't have a good union in your plant, you have a company union, and if you don't have an American leading the free world, you are going to have the communists leading a communist world. Now, make up your mind what you want.

So we have stood together on this great issue. We have stood together once more in resistance to aggression and we have stood together in the relentless pursuit of peace. Only yesterday Ambassador Goldberg went before the United Nations and offered again, in good conscience and deep sincerity, America's proposals to bring this tragic conflict in Southeast Asia to a timely end.

My fellow Americans, the roadblock to peace in this world is not in Washington. The roadblock to peace in this world is in the communist capitals. The roadblock to peace is not Lyndon Johnson. The roadblock to peace is Ho Chi Minh and Mao Tse Tung, and you know it, and let every one of us speak up for our country. This isn't a country that has had a record of mistakes. We have had some, but we didn't build this great America that is the wonder of the world by mistakes. We didn't build this America, as Lincoln put it, "The last best hope on earth," by being imperialists or aggressors. Lincoln was right. We will either meanly lose or nobly save the last best hope on earth, and this is the last best hope on earth.

When I look at that flag over there (indicating) I don't remember just the history of this republic. I don't recall only the battles won and the great heroes of the American scene. I have traveled this world over and while this flag means to us our glorious history and while it sends through our veins and our arteries a surge of red blood that makes us proud to be Americans, let me tell you what it means to the rest of the world. That flag stands for emancipation. That flag stands for self-determination. That flag stands for their independence. It stands for their hope and it is the last best hope on earth. (Applause)

So, like our children, we take our stand and this morning as your children went to their schools, public, private or parochial, they stood and pledged their allegiance to the flag of the United States and to the republic for which it stands. My dear friends, parents ought to do the same, because that country and this republic is ours as well as our children's, and it is in our hands, at least for a little while, to determine its future. That pledge of allegiance again carries a message that I have tried to carry to you this morning -- One nation, not two. One, not rich and poor, not black and white, but one nation, under God. (Applause)

Not one nation only with bank accounts, only with gross national product, but one nation that recognizes that every right that we have is the unalienable rights, the God-given rights that come with our birth as children of God. One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

That is my creed; that is your creed, and that is the American creed, and you live with it in every day of your life, and we will make it a reality in our time.

Thank you very much.

(Standing Ovation.)

PRESIDENT ABEL: Well, Mr. Vice President, I am sure that tremendous demonstration on the part of the delegates speaks better than any words I could express, the tremendous appreciation that this delegation has for your being with us here this morning.

over 77,000 new members  
over 400 new locals

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

CONVENTION, UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA

ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY

SEPTEMBER 23, 1966

⑩ 30th anniv

✓ Mr. Abel  
✓ Walter Burke  
✓ V.P. Joseph Maloney

Allen Peterson  
of Minn.

dist. Directors  
+ Delegates.

It's good to be back home with friends.

Some 20 years ago a few young men and women in Minnesota set out to build clean government in their city and a clean party in their state.

We faced Communist infiltration in our party. We faced hoodlum influence in our city. We faced corruption and bribery in high places. We faced threats and we were on the receiving end of violence. And, worst of all, we found a lot of the honest citizens didn't seem to care.

But when the going got toughest we found that the people we could count on were the Steelworkers. I remember how Phil Murray... Nick Zonerich... Earl Bester... and the late

Willard Warty  
Art Goldberg

Ray Davies of  
Butler Metal Works  
Fed. Nat.  
U. K.

Building  
DFL



Smaile Chatak, among others, stood with us and helped us see it through.

└ And we got the job done.

There hasn't been a time since then, when the going was hard, that the Steelworkers haven't stood up and been counted.

└ We've been through some battles together in these past 20 years, and I don't think any one of us has any regret.

For we have built a stronger and better America, ~~than we had before.~~ And we will make it stronger and better yet.

└ We have won some great victories. But the greatest ones are still ahead.

└ We have stood together for civil rights.

I remember how, in 1948, a ~~large part of my party~~ *The Democrats* } walked out of Convention Hall in Philadelphia because they did not agree that we were 172 years late in civil rights.

*Great gains*

↳ We have made up some lost ground since then. Our  
Negro citizens, and citizens of other minorities, have moved  
a long way toward the equality they deserve as Americans.

↳ But we are still far too late. We have still not fully  
matched our creed with deed.

Too many Americans still lack:

↳ --the right to vote in all elections;

↳ --the right to go to any school for which they

are qualified;

↳ --the right to own any home they can afford;

↳ --the right to get a job on the sole basis of

ability to do the work.

*Unfinished work* ↳ There is unfinished work before us, and I say now is  
the time to get on with it. ~~it~~

↳ We have stood together for medical care

*for the elderly!*

↳ The first bill I introduced as a Senator in 1949 was for hospital and nursing home care under Social Security, and I was told that to even propose such a thing was to commit political suicide.

↳ Today we have Medicare as the law of the land in no small part because you kept up your fight <sup>submother</sup> ~~for it even in the~~ years when there was no hope. Today our federal investments

*Investment weakened - You never quit.  
in Health*

in health are more than double what they were even three years ago.

*— (Abraham) got the Award from National Council of Senior Citizens*

↳ But the passage of laws alone does not automatically bring better medical care to those who need it.

↳ We still lack enough well-equipped, modern hospital space. We still lack trained administrators. We face a shortage of medical technicians, nurses and doctors.

↳ We cannot be satisfied until every community in America has medical facilities that are available in the best.

We have stood together for education.

*Educ*

Our children today stand a far better chance in life than they did yesterday. In the past three years alone we have more than doubled our federal investments in education. We have passed new landmark laws.

Now, we must use these new education laws -- the basic building blocks -- to move ahead and make every American school a place where children learn.

The fight we won at the federal level now has to be made at the state and local levels. Every person in this room who has ever been a school board member knows what I'm talking about.

We have stood together for 20th century government. When a fair reapportionment of our state legislatures was threatened in the Congress, you helped to turn back that threat. Today the vote of every voter, whether he lives in the heart of the city or the fringes of wilderness, counts ~~more~~ nearly the same -- ~~although there's still some catching up to do.~~



Today our country faces a crisis of local government because our urban areas no longer remotely resemble what they were at the turn of the century. The services people need -- and the revenues needed to pay for them -- just can't be provided in the mixed-up, overlapping, outdated framework built around, over and through our metropolitan areas. In city after city I visit, I find mayors without authority, city treasuries without money, and anywhere from 10 to a thousand jurisdictions trying to run things.

We must work at the local level to bring some sense to local government. To begin with, only about 30 percent of our people vote in local elections. I say we have to stir things up so that people really care about how their tax dollars are being spent, about how their cities and suburbs are being governed.

Mr. Abel, I know no one better qualified to take this job on than the people in this room.

*Slummin*

*Slummin*

*Local Election*

Economy

-7- #

We have stood together for an economy of growth  
and of social justice.

I don't need to tell you the difference between today  
and five years ago in the steel business. Those furnaces  
are going.

67 months

Today we are in our 67th straight month of economic  
growth and expansion. Everyone has gained during this  
expansion -- business, the farmer, the consumer, and labor.  
We have baked a bigger pie, and each of us has a bigger piece.

That expansion hasn't happened by accident. It has  
happened because we turned away from the old orthodox,  
stale economic theories -- ~~the ones that put a balanced budget~~  
~~ahead of motherhood and Wheaties no matter what.~~ We've taken  
modern economic policy out of the dog house and put it in  
the White House.

But we have no written guarantee of a golden, never-  
ending prosperity. We must make the hard decisions and  
actions that are needed to keep our growth balanced and stable.

To borrow a phrase I heard somewhere, we don't need "a depression to make your hair curl." Nor do we want an inflation that could take away what we've gained.

And that is why we've got to <sup>self</sup> exert discipline -- all of us -- in keeping on a steady course.

You know of the actions taken by President Johnson during the past days to keep federal expenditures in check... to temporarily suspend the tax credit on investment in plant and equipment and accelerated depreciation provisions for commercial and industrial construction. You also know about his actions on behalf of people hurt by the squeeze on credit-- small business men, home buyers, states and municipalities, students, and little people generally.

← Our President has called for action to head off inflation. He has asked business to restrain its use of credit... to keep inventories at reasonable levels... to postpone investments where possible... to set prices on the basis of real costs... and to limit profits.

↳ He has asked banks to handle loans fairly and without excessive profit.

↳ And he has asked labor to avoid wage demands that would raise the average level of costs and prices...to permit new people into its trades...and to work with business to raise productivity. - and the Heelworkers have done this.

↳ None of these things will be easy for any of the people involved. (In fact, I lost my new Vice Presidential house in this bargain.) But I know we can do it if we keep our tempers and our perspective. - Our Economy is Strong!

↳ We have stood together for the working man's right to organize -- I mean for the repeal of 14-b. That's a fight we haven't won yet. But we are going to win it. You have the President's word for it. You have my word for it.

We have stood together for all the things that could make America live up to its promise -- more equal rights for our people ... better medical care for our people... better education...

*Thas Moving  
President  
Agno  
Minimum  
Way*

*8/40 Feb '67  
1.60 Feb 68*

*and 8 million new coverage*

*Hotel, laundry, restaurant, farm  
union*



# Need Liberal Congress!

better and more efficient government... a growing and just  
economy... the eradication of poverty... decent wages for an  
honest day's work... cleaner air and water... modern  
transportation... cities where people can live as neighbors...  
in safety, in harmony, in progress -- and we shall continue  
to stand together until our country is the happy and healthy  
and free nation we know it can be. — *Need Liberal Congress!*

*And,* We have stood together, too, for responsibility  
in the world around us. *to continue*

↳ You recognized early on the threats of fascism and  
of communism -- both of which would ruthlessly use many  
people to benefit a chosen few.

↳ You recognized early in the day that no ocean was  
wide enough to protect us here at home while international  
bullying gained momentum overseas.

↳ And you recognize today that there is no way to escape  
the role of world leadership for a nation that is the strongest,  
the wealthiest, the most powerful country on earth.

↳ And so we stand together once more in resistance  
to aggression...in dedication to social and economic progress  
around the world...in the search for lasting peace.

↳ In these past years, we've moved ahead in America.  
↳ We've moved ahead to create the kind of society that, in our  
early days together, seemed only a distant dream.

↳ We've moved ahead toward our goal: To build one  
nation, under God, truly indivisible, with liberty and  
justice for all. And we shall not rest until we have it.

# # #



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