

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

Greeting Party  
New York City  
Oil Chemical Atomic Workers

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Mr. Kenneth Addleman, Executive Board

Rex Donohue, Executive Board

William H. Clemens, President of District 8 Council

Lyman Covert, Director, District 6 Council (from St. Paul).

DAIS GUESTS

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- B. J. Schafer, Secretary-Treasurer
- A. C. Sabatine, Vice President
- E. D. Swisher, Vice President

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 Anthony Mazzocchi, Director Citizenship=Legislative Dept.

~~X~~ → ~~4th~~  
Hiapu Brigade

2 V.P. - Sabatine  
 Swisher

Joe Keiths Introduction (Hutton)

~~Silvan Swisher  
 "Know what to do  
 but don't know  
 when to begin"~~

Bill Ramey - DIST 4  
Lynman ~~Covert~~ - Sect 6 - STP  
Covert -

President Drosperion  
(Hochsperun)

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

V.P. Sabatini

V.P. Switzer

OIL, CHEMICAL & ATOMIC WORKERS

Sect. Tam. Schaffer.

9th Constitutional Convention  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK  
AUGUST 21, 1967

JOE-Karth

⊗ George Meany - Mayor Lindsay.

Local 675  
Dist 6  
President  
Int. Rep

TODAY I WANT TO TALK TO YOU AS CONCERNED  
FELLOW AMERICANS. I WANT TO TALK ABOUT THE PROFOUNDLY  
DISTURBING EXPERIENCE OUR NATION HAS PASSED THROUGH  
OVER THE PAST FEW WEEKS -- I MEAN THE DISORDERS THAT  
HAVE PLAGUED THE STREETS OF URBAN AMERICA.

JUST WHAT CAUSED THE DISORDERS?

or simple

THERE IS NO SINGLE ANSWER TO THIS RANDOM  
EVENTS AND SHEER CHANCE SEEM TO HAVE BEEN AS IMPORTANT  
AS MANY OTHER FACTORS, AND, AT THIS STAGE, THERE SEEMS  
TO BE NO EVIDENCE OF ORGANIZED OR WIDESPREAD CONSPIRACY  
BEHIND THE DISORDERS.

BUT THIS MUCH IS CLEAR: THE DISORDERS HAVE  
ALL TAKEN PLACE WITHIN THE GENERAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE  
URBAN SLUM, AND WE AS AMERICANS ARE THUS COMPELLED  
TO LOOK WITHIN OUR SLUMS -- FOR THEY EXIST TODAY IN  
ALMOST EVERY AMERICAN CITY.

↳ THE URBAN SLUM IS FILLED NOT ONLY WITH  
DILAPIDATED BUILDINGS, IT IS FILLED WITH PEOPLE WHO  
ARE, FOR THE MOST PART, NOT ONLY POOR BUT WHO EXPERIENCE  
AN ACTIVE AND INTENSE FRUSTRATION INDUCED BY:

↳ WATCHING THE PROSPEROUS MAJORITY OF  
AMERICANS AT WORK AND PLAY VIA THE  
MASS MEDIA;

↳ GROSSLY INADEQUATE HOUSING FOR WHICH  
THEY PAY HIGH RENTS;

-- PRICE GOUGING WHERE THEY SHOP;

-- EXORBITANT INTEREST RATES *for their credit needs.*

- BEING UNABLE TO FIND DECENT JOBS;  
→ *Being poorly Educated & Trained for Jobs.*
- AND, PERHAPS MOST OF ALL, BEING MADE

TO FEEL -- BY ALL THEY SEE, HEAR AND  
FEEL IN THEIR DAILY LIVES -- THAT THEY  
ARE SECOND-CLASS CITIZENS OF THIS RICH  
AND FORTUNATE NATION.

YES, THE SLUM IS MOST OF ALL PEOPLE --  
PEOPLE LACKING EDUCATION ... PEOPLE LACKING SKILL ...  
PEOPLE OFTEN LACKING HEALTH ... YES, PEOPLE LACKING  
DIGNITY AND SELF-RESPECT.

↳ THIS IS THE ENVIRONMENT FROM WHICH THE  
DISORDERS HAVE SPRUNG.

↳ HOW ARE WE TO MEET THE CHALLENGE?

THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT THE RULE OF LAW MUST  
PREVAIL IN THIS LAND, AND THAT THOSE CHARGED WITH  
RESPONSIBILITY FOR LAW AND ORDER MUST MEET THAT RESPONSIBILITY.

THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT THE FEW WHO HAVE  
INCITED ... RIOTED ... LOOTED ... BURNED AND DESTROYED  
MUST BE BROUGHT TO FULL ACCOUNT FOR THEIR ACTION.

+ L BUT THERE IS THE LARGER QUESTION OF OUR BROAD  
NATIONAL RESPONSE TO THE CHALLENGE.

IS IT TO BE ONE WHICH SAYS: LET US REPRESS  
THE SLUM ... LET US PUNISH THE MANY FOR THE TRANSGRESSIONS  
OF THE FEW.

L OR IS IT TO BE ONE WHICH SAYS: LET US REMOVE  
THE CONDITIONS FROM WHICH THESE THINGS COME ... AND LET  
US GET ON WITH IT NOW.

L I HAVE BEEN INTERESTED IN THE RECENT PUBLIC  
OPINION POLLS. THEY UNDERSTANDABLY SHOW A GOOD DEAL OF  
UNCERTAINTY AMONG AMERICANS -- RICH OR POOR, BLACK OR  
WHITE -- ABOUT THE IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF OUR RECENT  
TROUBLES. BUT THEY ALSO SHOW A HEARTENING MEASURE OF  
agreement  
CONSENSUS ON OTHER THINGS.

NINE-TENTHS OF NEGRO AMERICANS SAY THERE SHOULD BE JOBS FOR THOSE WHO NEED THEM, TWO-THIRDS OF WHITE AMERICANS AGREE.

OVER FOUR-FIFTHS OF NEGRO AMERICANS WANT THE GHETTOS TORN DOWN. TWO-THIRDS OF WHITE AMERICANS AGREE.

A CLEAR MAJORITY OF ALL AMERICANS FAVOR LARGE-SCALE SUMMER CAMP PROGRAMS FOR SLUM YOUNGSTERS AND AN EFFECTIVE RAT-CONTROL PROGRAM.

A CLEAR MAJORITY OF ALL AMERICANS DEPLORE THE RIOTS AND VIOLATION OF THE LAW.

I TAKE HEART FROM THIS, BECAUSE I BELIEVE THAT THE VAST MAJORITY OF AMERICANS ARE COMMITTED TO ERADICATING THE CONDITIONS OF THE SLUM FROM THE AMERICAN ENVIRONMENT ... AND NOT JUST BECAUSE OF THE RIOTS, BUT BECAUSE IT NEEDS TO BE DONE FOR ITS OWN SAKE.

*It is the right thing to do.*

↳ IT NEEDS TO BE DONE BECAUSE THE ECONOMICALLY-  
DEPRESSED SLUM IS A TREMENDOUS DRAG ON THE REST OF OUR  
GROWING ECONOMY. ↳ IT NEEDS TO BE DONE BECAUSE THE SLUM  
IS AN OBSTACLE IN OUR QUEST FOR A PEACEFUL AND REWARDING  
URBAN ENVIRONMENT.

BUT, MOST OF ALL, IT NEEDS TO BE DONE BECAUSE  
THE SLUM IS THE LIVING DENIAL OF EVERYTHING AMERICA  
STANDS FOR.

↳ I SAY THAT NO SINGLE CITIZEN OF AMERICA CAN  
BE CONTENT -- NO MATTER HOW SECURE AND PROSPEROUS  
HIS FAMILY MAY BE -- WHILE OTHER CITIZENS OF AMERICA  
EXIST AS ANYTHING LESS THAN FREE AND EQUAL PARTICIPANTS  
IN OUR SOCIETY, NOT JUST IN LAW, BUT IN FACT.

↳ MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT. OUR WHOLE POLITICAL  
AND SOCIAL SYSTEM IS ON TRIAL HERE. AND THE OUTCOME  
WILL DEPEND ON HOW WE NOW RESPOND.

~~8~~ THERE ARE OTHER, LESS ENCOURAGING THINGS TO BE FOUND IN THE PUBLIC OPINION POLLS -- SUCH AS THE FINDING THAT A DEEPLY-ALIENATED MINORITY DOES EXIST WITHIN OUR SLUMS. IT IS A MINORITY -- PERHAPS NO MORE THAN 10 TO 15 PER CENT -- WHICH ACTUALLY SUPPORTS THE RIOTS. IT IS A MINORITY (AND THIS SHOULD BE DISTRESSING TO ALL OF US) -- MADE UP IN LARGE PART OF NEGRO YOUNG PEOPLE.

↳ IT IS A MINORITY THAT THINKS AND EXPRESSES ITSELF LIKE THE 16-YEAR-OLD ARRESTED DURING THE RECENT DISORDERS, WITH A ROCK IN HIS HAND:

"PICKETING AND MARCHING AIN'T GETTING US ANYWHERE, MAN. THE WHITES GOT TO FACE IT -- THIS IS A NEW GENERATION. WE AIN'T GOIN' TO STAND FOR THE STUFF OUR MAMAS AND PAPAS STOOD FOR."

↳ YESTERDAY'S VICTORIES DON'T MEAN A THING TO THE YOUNG MAN WHO HAS NO REAL STAKE OF HIS <sup>own</sup> SOCIETY TODAY.

↳ I DON'T LOOK ON THE EXISTENCE OF THIS  
ALIENATED MINORITY AS A THREAT. I SEE IT AS A  
TRAGEDY -- A TRAGEDY WHICH SURELY MUST AFFECT AND  
TOUCH EVERY ONE OF US WHO HAS WORKED, AS THE LABOR  
MOVEMENT HAS, FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE IN  
AMERICA.

↳ AMERICA MUST PUSH ASIDE ANY IMPULSE TOWARD  
REPRESSION. ↳ IT MUST REJECT THE COUNSEL OF THOSE WHO  
USE THE TRAGEDY OF THE AMERICAN SLUM AS AN EXCUSE  
TO CUT BACK THE VITAL PROGRAMS OUR COUNTRY NEEDS NOW  
AND IN THE FUTURE.

↳ AMERICA CAN -- AND I HAVE FAITH THAT IT WILL --  
RESPOND WITH THE SAME DETERMINED, COURAGEOUS, AND  
ENLIGHTENED INSTINCTS THAT HAVE ENABLED THIS NATION TO  
ULTIMATELY OVERCOME IN ITS HISTORY EVERY MOVEMENT, EVERY  
APPEAL, EVERY PHILOSOPHY BASED ON DISCRIMINATION,  
SEPARATISM, OR SMALLNESS OF MOTIVE.

THE TASK WE FACE IS GREAT, BUT IT IS BY NO

MEANS IMPOSSIBLE.

IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE THAT WE HAVE

ALREADY MADE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN MEETING THE VERY

PROBLEMS WHICH FIRE FRUSTRATIONS IN OUR SLUMS.

*Record*

↳ PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION -- AND

I SPEAK OF IT PROUDLY -- HAS MORE THAN DOUBLED THE

AMOUNT OF FEDERAL EXPENDITURES ON PROGRAMS TO ELIMINATE

THE POVERTY AND SLUMISM THAT BLIGHTS OUR CITIES TODAY.

↳ THE WAR ON POVERTY HAS ALREADY CREATED 11 HUNDRED

COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCIES WHICH ARE NOW SERVING HALF THE

NATION'S POOR. ↳ THE HEAD START PROGRAM HAS ALREADY

PREPARED TWO MILLION CHILDREN FOR SUCCESSFUL SCHOOL

EXPERIENCES. ↳ NEARLY A MILLION YOUNGSTERS HAVE ALREADY

RECEIVED WORK EXPERIENCE AND TRAINING THROUGH THE

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS.

↳ THE JOB CORPS HAS ALREADY SENT 80 THOUSAND  
NEW WORKERS INTO THE ECONOMY. THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT  
AND TRAINING ACT HAS ALREADY PROVIDED TRAINING FOR  
OVER 650 THOUSAND WORKERS -- A LARGE PROPORTION OF WHOM  
HAD BEEN CHRONICALLY UNEMPLOYED.

↳ IT IS HARD TO MEASURE THE RESULTS OF ALL OF  
THIS EFFORT. BUT LET ME GIVE YOU ONE FIGURE. SIX YEARS  
AGO 21 PER CENT OF OUR PEOPLE LIVED BELOW THE POVERTY  
LINE. TODAY THE FIGURE IS DOWN SIX POINTS. - 15%

↳ PROGRESS IN EDUCATION, IN HEALTH -- ACROSS  
THE BOARD -- CAN BE MEASURED IN DRAMATIC TERMS.

↳ BUT OVER 40 PER CENT OF OUR NEGRO FELLOW-CITIZENS  
ARE STILL LIVING IN POVERTY. MORE THAN A THIRD OF THE  
ADULT MALES IN OUR SLUMS ARE UNABLE TO EARN A LIVING.

~~So~~ WE MUST CONTINUE THE EFFORT WE HAVE

BEGUN. FDR - Let us move forward - Stronger Action  
7-1-42

JFK - Let us Begin

LBJ - Let us continue -

~~FDR - Let us~~

/ RIGHT NOW THERE ARE PROGRAMS BEFORE THE  
 CONGRESS WHICH DESPERATELY NEED THE SUPPORT OF THE  
 AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT AND OF EVERYONE WHO SEEKS A  
CONSTRUCTIVE, POSITIVE SOLUTION TO THE TRIALS OF THE  
 PAST FEW WEEKS.

/ FIRST AND FOREMOST IS THE LANDMARK MODEL CITIES  
 PROGRAM -- A PROGRAM DESIGNED TO ROOT OUT THE CONDITIONS  
 OF THE SLUM THROUGH THE COORDINATED, WELL-PLANNED EFFORTS  
OF ALL LEVELS OF THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS. THIS  
 IS NOT JUST A FEDERAL PROGRAM, BUT ONE SPECIFICALLY  
 DESIGNED TO ENCOURAGE ACTION AND INITIATIVE IN ALL PARTS  
 OF OUR SOCIETY. *(Whitney Young - Urban League)*

/ THE PRESIDENT ASKED THE CONGRESS TO AUTHORIZE 2.3  
 BILLION DOLLARS FOR THE FIRST SIX YEARS OF THIS PROGRAM.  
 THAT REQUEST WAS REDUCED BY CONGRESS TO 900 MILLION DOLLARS  
FOR TWO YEARS.

*I have compared  
 it to  
 a model  
 Plan  
 for inner  
 cities*

THIS YEAR THE PRESIDENT HAS ASKED FOR FULL FUNDING OF MODEL CITIES -- 662 MILLION DOLLARS. THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES HAS ALREADY CUT THAT REQUEST TO 237 MILLION DOLLARS.

AMERICA NEEDS A FULLY-FUNDED MODEL CITIES PROGRAM.

AMERICA NEEDS, TOO, THE OTHER PROGRAMS NOW PENDING BEFORE THE CONGRESS -- PROGRAMS WHICH HAVE BEEN PENDING SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE SESSION.

-- CRIME CONTROL.

-- FIREARMS CONTROL.

-- CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1967.

-- JUVENILE DELINQUENCY *Act*

-- ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT.

-- RENT SUPPLEMENTS.

-- URBAN RENEWAL.

- URBAN MASS TRANSIT ADVANCE APPROPRIATION.
- URBAN RESEARCH.
- NEIGHBORHOOD FACILITIES.
- HOME REHABILITATION.
- FAMILY RELOCATION ALLOWANCE.
- RAT EXTERMINATION.
- ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT.
- MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT.
- FOOD STAMPS.
- CHILD NUTRITION AND SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM.
- COMMUNITY HEALTH SERVICES.
- MENTAL HEALTH.
- MENTAL RETARDATION.
- HOSPITAL MODERNIZATION.
- MATERNAL AND INFANT CARE.

add Soc Sec  
or medicare  
\$10. Billion

*The total -*  
*\$ 6.3 Billion*  
*No small*  
*program*

HELP US GET THESE PROGRAMS INTO ACTION. HELP

US MAKE THEIR RESULTS FELT WHERE THEY ARE NEEDED NOW.

not used

HELP US, ESPECIALLY, AS MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE  
ALWAYS STOOD UP FOR EDUCATION, FOR WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION,  
COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, SOCIAL SECURITY, MEDICARE, AID TO  
EDUCATION ... FOR RESISTANCE TO ALL FORMS OF TYRANNY  
OVER MAN, HERE AND IN THE WORLD.

↳ THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT HAS BOTH AN  
OPPORTUNITY AND A RESPONSIBILITY, IN MEETING THE CHALLENGE  
OF THE SLUM AND OF POVERTY.

↳ -- IN COMMUNICATING WITH, AND ON BEHALF OF,  
PEOPLE WHO DO NOT KNOW HOW TO MAKE THEMSELVES HEARD;

↳ -- IN IDENTIFYING THE PROBLEMS OF THE  
WORKING MAN;

↳ -- IN ORGANIZING PEOPLE SO THEY CAN WORK  
TOGETHER, THROUGH PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC MEANS,  
FOR COMMON GOALS;

-- IN NEGOTIATING WITH INDUSTRY AND GOVERNMENT  
FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL GAINS WHICH BENEFIT OUR WHOLE  
SOCIETY.

↳ YOU HAVE THE CHANCE TODAY TO HELP  
THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN LEFT OUT, <sup>and</sup> I DON'T MEAN ONLY  
THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN LEFT OUT OF UNIONS, - I MEAN ALSO  
THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN LEFT OUT OF JOBS, LEFT OUT OF  
TRAINING, LEFT OUT OF HOUSING, LEFT OUT OF THE  
THRIVING AMERICA YOU HAVE DONE SO MUCH TO BUILD.

\* \* \*  
‡

FINALLY, MAY I TRY FOR A MOMENT TO OUTLINE the Price  
~~WHAT I BELIEVE~~ OUR AMERICAN COMMUNITY MUST BE READY  
TO PAY TO BUILD THE KIND OF SOCIETY WHERE RIOTS, HATRED  
AND LAWLESSNESS WILL BECOME THINGS OF THE DISTANT PAST.

↳ WHAT IS "THE PRICE?"

THE PRICE WE MUST BE WILLING TO PAY IS ONE  
THAT CANNOT BE MEASURED IN DOLLARS ALONE -- ALTHOUGH  
THERE IS ALWAYS A TEMPTATION IN OUR RICH NATION TO THINK  
IN THOSE TERMS. — *and many Dollars  
will be needed.*

*See  
Listed  
Some -*

↳ WE KNOW TODAY, FOR INSTANCE, THAT A WIDE  
ARRAY OF FEDERAL PROGRAMS ARE AND WILL BE NEEDED TO  
MEET THE CRISIS OF OUR CITIES ... AND MONEY IS  
AND WILL BE NEEDED TO PAY FOR THEM.

↳ I HAVE SPELLED OUT THAT NEED TO YOU. WE KNOW  
THAT THE NEED WILL BE LONG-TERM, THAT IT WILL BE WITH  
US FOR A LONG TIME AHEAD.

↳ BUT WE SEEM SLOWER TO RECOGNIZE THOSE THINGS --  
THOSE PRICES, IF YOU WILL -- THAT WILL BE REQUIRED AT  
STATE, LOCAL, PRIVATE SECTOR, AND PERSONAL LEVEL.

↳ WE MUST, FOR EXAMPLE, BE WILLING TO PAY THE  
PRICE OF CONTINUING INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY.

↳ SOME PEOPLE HAVE SAID: "FORGET ABOUT FOREIGN  
AID -- FORGET ABOUT OUR INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS."

↳ THERE ARE EVEN THOSE WHO SAY THAT WHAT WE  
REALLY OUGHT TO DO IS TO BUCKLE DOWN TO THE THINGS WE  
NEED TO DO AT HOME AND FORGET ABOUT THE REST OF THE WORLD.

*This is exactly what the Communists  
hope we will do.*

↳ THAT ROAD WOULD LEAD STRAIGHT TO CATASTROPHE, AS IT  
HAS BEFORE.

↳ MAKE NO MISTAKE: THERE WOULD BE LITTLE HOPE  
FOR INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY BY OTHERS, IF WE WERE  
TO ABANDON IT. WE CAN'T AFFORD THAT EASY ANSWER.

↳ NO, WE HAVE TO BE BIG ENOUGH, STRONG ENOUGH,  
AND DETERMINED ENOUGH TO FULFILL BOTH OUR INTERNATIONAL  
RESPONSIBILITIES AND OUR DOMESTIC NEEDS. I FOR ONE SAY  
THAT WE CAN DO IT.

↳ WE MUST BE WILLING TO PAY THE PRICE OF  
PERSERVERANCE. ↳ THERE WILL BE NO IMMEDIATE CURES FOR  
PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE BEEN CENTURIES IN THE MAKING. SO  
WE MUST DIG IN FOR A LONG HAUL.

↳ WE IN GOVERNMENT MUST BE WILLING TO PAY  
"THE PRICE" OF ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION AND  
REORGANIZATION TO DO A BETTER JOB; THE PRICE OF MODERNIZING  
OUR STATE CONSTITUTIONS AND CITY CHARTERS.

WE, AS A NATION, MUST BE WILLING TO PAY  
"THE PRICE" OF A MASSIVE TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM  
BY PRIVATE INDUSTRY; THE PRICE OF TAKING THE RISK OF  
HIRING UNTRAINED WORKERS AND GIVING THEM ON-THE-JOB  
TRAINING.

WE WILL HAVE TO PAY THE PRICE OF MASSIVE ~~efficiency~~  
EDUCATION AND RECREATION PROGRAMS. WE SHOULD, I THINK,  
 BE WILLING TO PAY THE PRICE OF KEEPING OUR SCHOOLS --

AND, REMEMBER, THEY BELONG TO YOU -- OPEN TWELVE MONTHS  
 A YEAR. WHY SHOULD THE SUMMER MONTHS, WHICH ARE THE

MOST TROUBLESOME MONTHS, BE THE MONTHS WHEN WE CLOSE UP  
 OUR SCHOOL BUILDINGS AND LOCK THE GATES? LET US UNLOCK  
 THE PADLOCKS. THERE WILL BE LESS VANDALISM AGAINST OPEN  
PUBLIC SCHOOLS THAN AGAINST CLOSED ONES.

THE PRICE WILL BE MAKING JOB-TRAINING PROGRAMS  
RELEVANT TO THE NEEDS OF INDUSTRY. IT WILL BE INVESTING  
BILLIONS IN PRIVATE CAPITAL TO GIVE OUR CITIES NEW LIFE  
AND NEW HOPE.

All  
 Schools  
 for  
 Special  
 Training  
 Recreation

IT MAY BE INVESTMENT GUARANTEES BY GOVERNMENT FOR  
PRIVATE CAPITAL. IT IS LONG-TERM CREDITS AND LOW-  
INTEREST RATES WITH GOVERNMENT COOPERATION. IT IS TAX  
INCENTIVES. IT IS RISK INSURANCE. IT IS GOVERNMENT  
PARTICIPATION AS A HELPFUL PARTNER AND NOT AS A DOMINANT  
FORCE.

THE PRICE WE WILL HAVE TO PAY IS THE WILLINGNESS  
TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE SLUM IS REPUGNANT TO AMERICAN  
VALUES, AND THAT IT MUST BE ELIMINATED AS IF IT WERE A  
MALIGNANCY. IT IS THE PRICE OF RECOGNIZING OUR SLUMS AND  
MANY OF THE PEOPLE LIVING IN THEM AS UNDERDEVELOPED AND  
NEGLECTED PLACES AND PEOPLE.

"THE PRICE" WE MUST BE PREPARED TO PAY IS,  
ABOVE ALL, THE WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT AS A FIRST-CLASS  
CITIZEN, A FULL PARTNER IN THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY, EVERY  
HUMAN BEING -- WHETHER HE BE POOR OR ILLITERATE, BLACK OR  
WHITE, RED, YELLOW, OR BROWN -- AND GIVE HIM A CHANCE TO  
MAKE SOMETHING OUT OF HIS LIFE. IF WE DO ANYTHING LESS, WE  
ADMIT TO FAILURE.

\* \* \*

L A FEW DAYS AGO, IN WICHITA, KANSAS, A GROUP OF NEGRO YOUNG PEOPLE VOLUNTEERED TO HELP THE POLICE KEEP ORDER DURING A TROUBLED PERIOD. BUT, ONE OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE WARNED, THEIR EFFORTS TOGETHER WOULD NOT BE ENOUGH TO BRING ANY LASTING PEACE OR HARMONY TO THEIR NEIGHBORHOOD.

"WE NEED HELP," HE SAID. "FAST, FAST, FAST."

THAT IS A CRY TO WHICH WE IN LARGELY WHITE, LARGELY AFFLUENT AMERICA --/IN <sup>WE</sup> GOVERNMENT, IN INDUSTRY, IN LABOR -- MUST RESPOND,

L AND WE MUST DO SO NOT ONLY "FAST, FAST, FAST" -- FOR A RESPONSE TO POVERTY AND DESPAIR CAN NEVER BE FAST ENOUGH. BUT WE MUST DO SO WITH COURAGE, WITH HUMILITY, WITH UNDERSTANDING, AND WITH THE FULL COMMITMENT OF OUR HEARTS.

"Our lives, our fortunes, our Sacred Honor."

Introduction and Address

The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey,  
Vice-President of the U.S.A.

(Introduction by Congressman Karth)

August 21, 1967.

Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers

New York, New York

**GORE REPORTING COMPANY**

CERTIFIED SHORTHAND REPORTERS

CONGRESSMAN JOSEPH KARTH: Mr. Vice President, Mr. Chairman, Chairman Grospiron, Secretary-Treasurer Schafer, Vice Presidents Swisher, and Sabatine, Executive Board members, Directors, International Representatives, and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union, I am most appreciative for this double honor you bestow upon me today. I have always considered it a high honor to just come back to my friends at the OCAW Convention and say hello.

(Continued on next page)

T-9 B 3  
S-LH (cont)

Today, as I have indicated, you have doubly honored me. I could not help but notice as you were introducing Mr. Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, when you talked about some of the problems and disagreements that are rampant these days within the organized labor movement as they are without it, and you suggested at that time that King Solomon himself probably could not bring order out of chaos, but my appearing before this International Convention does, in one way, remind me of King Solomon, as he looked out upon his thousand wives. You will remember he said, "I know what to do, but I don't know where to begin." (Applause)

Mr. Chairman, it is indeed a very singular honor for me to come back and exchange stories with my many friends in the labor movement and, as I have indicated to you, it is a double honor for me to be privileged to introduce to you in this great Convention the most compassionate and most understanding and the most constant and consistent supporter of the trade labor movement in high circles of the United States government. Mr. Chairman, I would not be so presumptuous as to make any kind of a speech, regardless of how short it might be, immediately preceding a recognized and most articulate speechmaker of this great Federal government of ours, and I might say that introductions of the President or the Vice President are notably and by protocol very short. Mr. Vice President, with your permission, I want to make

somewhat of an exception of that today. I don't want to make it too short, and I shan't do that, although most introductions of this kind are, but at this time I won't make it as long as some of them I have heard.

I do want you to know, however, and I now speak to my friends in the OCAW, I do want you to know what I say about the Vice President of the United States is completely and totally and indisputably sincere, because I do have a very strong feeling that the present Vice President of the United States is one of the greatest Americans of all time. (Applause)

You know, those of us who are in the business I am in, good or bad, and I choose not to argue the point at the moment, we do have many opportunities to meet and to exchange ideas with and to introduce very distinguished and outstanding Americans. But let it be known to my friends, Mr. President, that I have never taken a greater privilege or greater joy or felt more strongly about introducing any man than the privilege I have when I am given that privilege to introduce the Vice President of the United States. I think strongly and most sincerely that this man has given more to man than any other single individual. I could not help but notice, Mr. Chairman, as President Meany was speaking, he talked at some length about Medicare, for example. I wonder how many in this audience or how many Americans, for that matter, are aware of the fact that the present Vice

President of the United States was the first one to think about and to introduce in terms of legislation in the House of the Congress of the United States the Medicare Bill that has now become law? (Applause)

I could not fail to listen most intently to the President of the AFL-CIO when he talked about fair and equal treatment for the law and how interested the AFL-CIO trade movement is in making this a matter of reality, but I wonder how many people are aware of the fact it's the present Vice President of the United States who first initiated, who first implemented, who first introduced meaningful legislation and who first talked about this to the American people, even before he became a member of the United States Senate way back in 1948.

(Continued on next page)

Equality and justice before the law has been this man's motto, ever since I have known him and, I understand, a long time before I had this privilege. I couldn't help but notice Mr. Meany talk about consumer protection, and I wonder how many people, Mr. Chairman, know that the President and Vice President of the United States, along with a great and distinguished and glorious Senator, Senator Douglas, was the first to introduce to the Congress meaningful legislation in the consumer protection field. And on and on I could go. This man comes to the trade labor movement today with the highest of credentials. I think for those who are here, Mr. President, as Delegates from Local 6-75, will remember back in 1948 when the Vice President was first elected to the United States Senate, and after that election was invited to attend the annual dance, the annual party that Local 6-75 at that time was holding, and did, in fact, attend almost immediately, I believe, after the election. The fact of the matter is that it was the first public function that the Vice President and then Senator, junior Senator from the State of Minnesota, attended. And at that occasion, you will recall, those of you from Local 6-75, that he said although he felt he had earned a hard-fought vacation, certainly earned one because of the arduous campaign that he had just gone through in defeating, incidentally, Mr. Chairman, one of the architects of the Taft-Hartley Act, Joe Ball, when he appeared he said, "I know that

I should have gone on vacation because I am not really as alert as I ought to be, but the Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers have been of such help to me, I just had to delay my vacation until such time as I could appear here tonight." And that he did.

And while I am talking of firsts, Mr. Chairman, although I am somewhat rambling around here, because this great man has been a friend for so many years and I have so many things that I would like to say about him, while I am talking about firsts, let me remind you that he was the first man to campaign against an incumbent Senator who had been an architect or who had voted for the Taft-Hartley Act, and, as I have indicated, that was Joe Ball. And he defeated him resoundingly. And it was after that, and only after that, that it really became popular, or should I say acceptable, for a man to run against somebody else on the basis of his anti-labor record. And, Mr. Vice President, I know that the trade labor movement is most grateful to you for having made that acceptable in our American way of life.

So, Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen, it gives me a rare, high privilege and a very deep personal honor, to introduce to you a man in government whom I respect more than anybody else, the Vice President of the United States.

(Standing ovation)

T-10 B-2

1-ES

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Thank you. Thank you very much, my friend, Congressman Joseph Karth. President Grospiron, the Officers of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, this great International Union, our friends from Canada, as well as from these United States, and the distinguished Escort Committee, a special thanks to you for waiting for me and bringing me to this fine auditorium. Now, my fellow Americans, you can plainly see how much advantage there is in having your own Congressman with you. I am never sure what kind of introduction I am going to get, so I just asked Al, President Al here, I said would it be all right if I just brought up my own trained introducer, and he said providing that he is a working, active member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, providing that he has the proper credentials, we will let him say almost anything that he wants to say about you, as long as it isn't too factual. And I just tell you right now, that I have enjoyed the introduction, Joe, and I thank you quite sincerely for your wonderful words of tribute. Most of all for the gift of your friendship.

Can I say to the members of this great International, that we are very proud of Brother Karth, Congressman Karth, not only in the Congress of the United States, we are very proud of him back in his home city, in his home Fourth Congressional District,

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in his own state. And you ought to be, and I know you are, very, very proud, as the President of this great International has signified by his words, that one of yours, a member, an officer, an International representative of this great organization of free trade unionists, this great labor organization can be a member of the Congress of the United States, and not only be a member, but to serve with real distinction, genuine distinction.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Congressman Karth today is one of the nation's foremost experts in the Congress of the United States on our National Aeronautics and Space Program. He has done as much or more than any member of the Congress to keep the government of the United States, to keep the United States of America preeminent in the field of space research, in the field of atomic research, in the field of science and technology. And I don't know of any finer gift that you can make to the future of this country than to spend your time, energy and effort to see that the United States is first in whatever it seeks to do.

(Applause)

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So thank you, Joe. And you know Adlai Stevenson always had a good quip for almost every occasion, he is one of our good friends, and the late and beloved Adlai said that flattery is all right, as long as you don't inhale it. And you may have noticed while Congressman Karth was introducing me, I was taking deep breathes all the time, because there are moments that a Vice President needs to hear a few words of flattery, and that could be even true of a Vice President of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers.

(Applause)

Brother Sabatine asked me to say that just before I got up here, and it was seconded by Brother Swisher. But I noticed that this organization needs two Vice Presidents. I don't want anybody to mention this to President Johnson, from what I read in the paper this weekend, he is having enough trouble with just one Vice President. So, President Grospiron, I congratulate you in being able to handle two. I won't make any invidious comparisons now as to this International President and the President of the United States, and your role with Vice Presidents. You mentioned, President Grospiron, that Joe Karth was a member of a group of young Minnesotans, young Americans that took a hand in politics. I think I should tell this organization very quickly that there were a number of us out in our state a few years back, liberals, progressives, if not from the labor movement, closely

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identified with it. I have never been in a campaign in my life that I didn't have the high honor and privilege of having the endorsement of my own people in my own state from the labor movement, the official endorsement of all of the great labor organizations. I consider this a high honor. Well, we were the young -- as they called them in those days, the young Turks. And when I was elected Mayor of the City of Minneapolis, just to reminisce a moment, I was the Old Man of the Party. I was elected when I was thirty-three, and all the rest of these young roosters were a lot younger than I was. And they used to call this group, and Joe Karth was over there in St. Paul working his heart out, they used to call this young group Humphrey's Diaper Brigade. And that Diaper Brigade now has grown up to have whiskers, but, as I told the group of young fellows the other day, I said you may think that there is a generation gap, you may think that I am a lot older than you are, and therefore, don't understand you, but the truth is I am not any older than you are, I have just been around a little longer. And there is a lot of difference, you know. It's all a matter of mind.

I come here today to you not to talk about stories or to reminisce, I don't think you are particularly interested in the yesterdays, except as a point of reference for tomorrow. Your International President honored me as I came to this platform, as he said to me quietly and privately, "Mr. Vice President, we know

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we are going to hear from you a message of the future, a message of tomorrow." I can't think of a finer compliment that can be paid to a public servant than to have his host believe that the man that has been privileged to be your guest will have something to say about the tomorrows. The yesterdays are the past, the todays we live with, the tomorrows represent either hope or despair. And I want to talk to you about the hopes of tomorrow without glossing over any of the problems, without in any way trying to minimize the difficulties. But, my fellow Americans, I am the kind of an American that when I see the word difficulty or problem, I like to change it to the words challenge or opportunity. It all depends on how you think, you know. You can burden yourself with problems and difficulties until you are bogged down in total boredom and despair, or you can look out there and you can recognize the problems, see the difficulties, but to transfer them and to translate these problems and difficulties into a challenge and into an opportunity. So I want to talk to you in that vein.

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I come to you not as a Vice President talking only to a great International Union, I really come to you today as a fellow American talking to fellow Americans, a concerned fellow American. And I want to talk to you about the profoundly disturbing experience that our nation is passing through and has passed through these past few months and weeks, and will continue to be facing. I mean the disorders, I mean the lawlessness, I mean the troubles that have plagued the streets of urban America. And I want to talk to you about urban America, because that is where you are going to live, and that is where you do live. 75 percent of the American people now live in large cities. In ten years, 80 percent of the American people will be living in our large cities. The test of American democracy will be how we live in our cities. The test of American governmental institutions, as to their validity, as to their value, as to their purpose, will be what happens in our cities. Democracy will survive or perish by how we conduct ourselves in our urban centers. Because we are an urban nation. This doesn't mean that our rural areas are less important, it merely means that they are less in population. And what I have to say about our cities I could say in part, yes, about our rural areas, too, because I am sure that every worker in this audience realizes the importance of the American agricultural producer getting fair treatment, a good price for his product, a good return on his investment,

a fair wage for his labor. I have never known the labor movement to want to have gains at the expense of somebody else. I have never known you to tear down in order to build yourself up. And that is the kind of philosophy that we need in America, builders building together, not just building separately. So let's ask ourselves what has caused these disorders. I am sure that the Mayor of this great city has had a chance to speak to you about this in part, and this is a great city, and he has a tremendous responsibility. I know that President Meany has spoken to you of the challenges of this decade, and my respect for that great American is deep and abiding.

Well, I can say in answer to the question, "What has caused the disorders which plague us," is that there is no simple or single answer. And every time you read where someone thinks he has the quick and easy answers, he is undoubtedly the one person that doesn't. Because random events and sheer happenstance seem to have been as important in these disorders as many other factors. And at this stage there seems to be no real evidence of any organized or widespread conspiracy behind the disorders. But there is something that is clear, the disorders have all taken place within the general environment of the urban slum. And we, as Americans, are thus compelled to look within our slums, for they exist today in almost every American city. Now, that urban slum is not only filled with dilapidated buildings

which you can see in this city or in Minneapolis or St. Paul, from whence Joe McCarthy and Hubert Humphrey come, or in any other city, but that urban slum is filled with people, people who are for the most part not only poor, but who experience in their daily lives an active and an intense frustration induced by many things. Induced, for example, by watching the prosperous majority of Americans at work and play on the television, the mass media. And let me say from this platform that if there is any one instrument that has changed all of America, in fact, changed the whole world, it's the tube, the television. The war in Southeast Asia is brought home into your very parlor. Mothers see their own sons stricken down in battle as if they were there present in the battles themselves. The disorders, the lawlessness, the crime, the violence is there in your quiet home. There is no place to hide. And we as yet have not learned quite how to deal with this new, fantastic means of communication that is in its infancy. The communications satellite will, very shortly, bring us instantaneously the news of the world, so not only will there be the trouble of your own city and your own nation on your screen, but of the whole world, instantaneously. And the question needs to be posed, how much of this can anyone take and still be sane and rational, and still be a man or woman of judgment and compassion.

So this frustration is induced in part because no longer

can you hide poverty, and no longer can you hide wealth, it's there for everybody to see.

This frustration is induced because of grossly inadequate housing, for which the slum dweller pays exorbitant high rents, price gouging, where they often shop, exorbitant interest rates for their credit needs, being untrained, uneducated, and being unable to find decent jobs because of it. And perhaps most of all, being made to feel by all they see, hear and feel in their daily lives, the slum dwellers are second-class citizens of this rich and fortunate nation.

Now, this is what poverty means to the poverty-stricken. It means many other things. The slum is, most of all, people, not buildings, people lacking education, people lacking skill, people even lacking health, people lacking dignity and people, because of it all, lacking self-respect. Now, this is the environment in which these riots and these disorders have sprung. I don't know what causes all of it, but I can observe at least what I see.

Now, how are we to meet that challenge? Well, first of all there can be no question that the rule of law must prevail in this land, and that those charged with the responsibility of law and order must meet those responsibilities. You cannot have the rule of the jungle at home or abroad. You cannot have open violence and preserve any kind of social structure.

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There is no question that the few who are incited rioted, looted, burned and destroyed and must be brought to full account for their action, but there is the larger question of broad national response to the challenge. After you get through punishing all the guilty, as you see the guilt, then what? What is this response to be? Is it to be one which says just repress the slum, get even, let us punish the many for the transgressions of the few? Or is this response to be one which says let us remove the conditions from which these things come in the hopes that it will be helpful and let us get on with it now? I have been interested, as most men in public life are, in public opinion polls. I like some better than others. Anything you can do to improve them will help a great deal, I might add. But, these public opinion polls understandably show a good deal of uncertainty among Americans, rich or poor, black or white, about the immediate causes of our recent troubles. But, they also show a heartening measure of consensus on other things. I want to share my thoughts with you about these polls. They show a heartening measure of agreement on a number of other items. Let me show you what the polls show. Nine-tenths of Negro Americans say there should be jobs for those who need them. Two-thirds of white Americans agree. Over four-fifths of Negro Americans want the ghettos torn down. Two-thirds of white Americans agree. I might add for myself, I wasn't polled, but had I been, I would

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have said a ghetto is a thoroughly un-American institution, but the word itself doesn't belong in this country, that the conditions that create a ghetto violate everything that this country stands for. So, I would be quite actively involved in that poll figure. A clear majority of all Americans favor large scale summer camp programs for slum youngsters, and they also favor, as Joe Karth did, an effective rat control program. A simple item, unless you have been the victim of rat infestation. My, how easy it is to talk about these things and cast them aside unless you are the victim.

Now, I take heart from all of this information because I believe that the vast majority of Americans are committed to eradicating the conditions of the slum from the American environment. I don't believe there are very many Americans that are proud of the filth and the dirt and the unkept premises of the slums of America. Not just because of the riots are they committed to the eradication of the slum, but we are committed because it needs to be done for its own sake. We want to do this job, not because of the violence that it produces if we fail to do it, but because it's the right thing to do, and it is right, and let me give you a ray of hope that it can be done.

I have traveled a little bit, I look out over the audience and I see a few folks of Scandinavian ancestry. My mother was born in Norway. I have been in Oslo, Norway, one of the great

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port cities of the world, a port much older than New York or much older than Boston, much older than Washington or Cleveland, and, ladies and gentlemen, there isn't a block of slum in Oslo, not one. There isn't a block of slum housing in Stockholm, not one. There isn't a block of slum housing in Copenhagen, not one, nor in Helsinki.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, if they can do it in those countries, with our national resources, if a little country like Norway with one-tenth of its total land not usable, depending in a large measure for the very survival on the merchant marine, if they can clean up Oslo so that the port looks like a city park, so the City Hall can be on an ocean shore and be magnificently beautiful, that a working man and every person, regardless of income, can live in a decent home and a decent neighborhood, are you going to tell me the United States of American with a gross national product of seven hundred seventy-five billion dollars a year can't do it? I hope not. You know what I think we can do? Anything we want to. I don't mean just the government. This tendency to turn always to the government is not enough. When we Americans make up our minds that we want to do something, we get it done.

(Applause)

So, I am asking us to make up our minds. It needs to be done. It needs to be done because the economically depressed

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slum is a tremendous drag on the rest of our growing economy. You pay for it out of your taxes. If you were a business man you would pay for it out of lost business. It needs to be done because the slum is an obstacle in our quest for a peaceful and rewarding urban environment. But, most of all, it needs to be done because the slum is the living denial of everything America stands for. It stands there like a dirty face. It is a repudiation of the Statue of Liberty. It is a denial of the Constitution of the United States, and if I do anything in the rest of my public life, it is to cleanse our nation of the conditions of the slum and the ghetto, to fight slumism just like we fight Communism, and fight it with everything in our fiber and every means we have at our disposal until we make America clean once again. Can we do that?

(Applause)

No single American can be content, no matter how secure and prosperous he or his family is, while other citizens of America exist as anything less than free and equal participants in our society, not just the in law, but in fact.

There isn't any room in this country for two kinds of Americans. There isn't any other America in a nation that says one nation under God indivisible but liberty and justice for all. My fellow Americans, if we mean that, we have to live up to it, and yet today in America there are two Americas. There is the

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America that I know and Joe Karth knows and Al knows, and you know, and then there is the America of the migrant worker, of the slum dweller, of the minority, of the despairing, and there is the America that lives so our life is besmirched. So, make no mistake about it, the whole political and social system is on trial, and the outcome is going to depend on how we now respond. Now, there are other less encouraging things to be found in the public opinion polls I have mentioned, such as the fact that a deeply alienated minority does exist within our slums, and most of this group consists of the youth, the Negro youth. It is a minority that thinks and expresses itself like the sixteen-year-old that was arrested during the recent disorders with a rock in his hand, and here is what he said: "Picketing and marching ain't getting us anywhere, man. The whites got to face it, this is a new generation. We ain't going to stand for the stuff our mamas and papas stood for." That statement reveals a lot.

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It reveals hatred, bitterness, frustration and poor education by his very grammar. But it tells us a message, whether we like it or not. Yesterday's victories don't mean a thing to the young man who has no real stake in his society today.

I participated in the great civil rights of this country, and I handled the civil rights legislation in the Congress in 1964. I thought I had fought the good fight and had some victory or victories, but those victories didn't mean much, and don't mean much to the young man, a teen-ager, who has no real stake of his own in the American society. The teen-ager that stands unemployed, and the rate of unemployment amongst Negro teen-agers is fantastic. I don't look on the existence of this alienated minority as a threat. I see it as a tragedy, a tragedy which surely must affect and touch every one of us who has worked, as the labor movement has, for social and economic justice in America. America, therefore, must buckle down to business and push aside this apparent desire that some have for repression. It must reject the counsel of those who would use the tragedy of the American slum as an excuse to cut back the vital programs our country needs now and in the future. America can, and I have faith that it will respond with the same enlightenment, the courage and determined instincts that have enabled this nation in the past to overcome every movement, every appeal, every philosophy based on discrimination, separatism or smallness of

motive. The task we face is very great. I say to you by no means it is impossible. The fact it's great should make us rise to the challenge. Little tasks are for little people. Great challenges are for great people, and when I hear some people say it's impossible, that is when you start to work. Anybody can do what is possible. You really don't have to be much of anything to do that. The difference between a great man and a nonentity, the difference between a great nation and a nation that is small in size and purpose, is doing the impossible. We did the impossible when we wrote a Constitution, we did the impossible when we held this Union together in the war between the states, we did the impossible in this nation year after year, and that is why we are great. It's important to recognize that we have made many, many forward steps. I wouldn't want to estimate what we have done, or underestimate at all what we have done.

President Johnson's administration, and let me say a word here, I am not one of these Americans that despite the fact I am affiliated with this Administration, that runs away from our record. Let me put it more succinctly. I find a number of people who say they are for the President and what he stands for, but they don't say it very loudly. I am going to back it up, I want you to know right now I say it loudly.

President Johnson's Administration, and I speak of that

Administration with pride, has done more than any Administration in this nation's history to alleviate the poverty and slumism, and to alleviate the poor and the poverty-stricken, and bar none. (Applause)

I weary a little bit when I hear some say what have you done? We have done what other people talked about doing, and there is a little difference. I practice both, doing and talking. (Laughter)

The President has more than doubled the amount of Federal expenditures on programs to eliminate the poverty and slumism that blight our cities today. The war on poverty has already created 1100 community action agencies which are now serving half the nation's poor. The Head Start program has already prepared two million children for successful school experiences. Nearly a million youngsters have already received the work experience and training through the Neighborhood Youth Corps. The Job Corps has already sent 60,000 new workers into the economy, school dropouts that never had a chance, but were lost, and 80,000 or 70 percent went into jobs, in private industry. 20 percent of them went on to school. 10 percent went into the Armed Services. And, ladies and gentlemen, that is 80,000 young men and women that were as lost as if they had dropped into a canyon. They have been saved and brought out, and their lives are meaningful, and when I hear the critics of these programs

I say, "What was your solution?" But, to condemn the youth, to criticize them, we have proven when you give a young person a chance, most of them make something of it. I am willing to put my bets on the young people if you would give them a chance.

(Applause)

The sum total is, while it is hard to measure the results of all of this effort, but six years ago 21 percent of our people lived below the poverty line. Today that figure is down six points, 15 percent below the poverty line. Not enough, not enough progress, but six percent more than our critics could offer, and we have made the beginning. Progress in education and health across the board can be measured in dramatic terms, but over 40 percent of our Negro fellow citizens are still living in poverty. More than a third of the adult males in our slums are unable to earn a living. So, we must continue the effort we have begun.

I want to give you three phases to remember here. I didn't come here with a lot of secret panaceas. I have no instant cures for age-old problems. I didn't bring any instant coffee with me. But I want to remind you what three great Americans have said to you. Franklin Roosevelt, as he was literally dying, writing his words at the little White House in Georgia in 1945, as the pen fell from his hand, he said, "Let us move forward with a strong and active faith." Forward. He didn't

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say the millennium was here, but let us move. John F. Kennedy came into the White House and delivered that great message that inspired every one of us, and along the lines of that great message he said, "Let us begin." He has to get this country moving again. When the assassin's bullet struck down John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson went before the Joint Session of the Congress and said to the American people in the Congress assembled, "Let us continue." Three great Presidents. Let us move forward, let us begin, let us continue. That is my plea to you, not that we overcome the problems at once, but begin, move, continue, and don't lose faith. Move forward in a strong and active faith, because what we are doing needs to be done, what we are doing is right.

Now, right now there are programs before the Congress that need your help, and desperately need your support. First and foremost is that landmark program known as The Model Cities Program. A program designed to root out the conditions of the slums through the coordinated, well planned efforts of all levels of the public and private sectors. The Model Cities Program is for America, and the American city what the Marshall Plan was for Europe. Make no mistake about it, it represents the mobilization and coordination of private and public resources needed. Whitney Young of the Urban League spoke of it only yesterday at Portland in their great convention.

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The President asked the Congress to authorize two billion three hundred million dollars for the first six years of this program, and that request was reduced by the Congress to nine hundred million dollars for two years. But at least it's a program, and it represents a continuing commitment. This year the President has asked for the full authorization, the full funding of the model cities, he asked for six hundred and sixty-two millions of dollars. The House of Representatives, not with Joe Karth's help, cut that request to two hundred thirty-seven million. Congressman Karth, the man that you can respect, Congressman Karth said, "We want it all, we need it all, America needs a fully funded model city's program." America needs two other programs now pending before the Congress. And I mention this to you because you know how to get things done. You didn't organize this great union by just hoping, you went out and fought for it, you pounded the pavement, you organized in the shops. I want you to organize again. Many members of our Congress want to work with you, large numbers of them. There is great leadership in that Congress, but you know as well as I do what an unfair employer can do to block a legitimate trade union, or a labor union organization, and you know as well as I do what a handful of obstructionists can do with the Congress, a handful, they can slow it down. And you know as well as I do what an aroused majority can do, too. And I ask you to get aroused, join

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the good fight for all the programs that are there. I hear people now editorialize and say the President ought to propose a program. Propose one? Ladies and gentlemen, we have a program in the Congress of the United States that is pages long, item after item. Before you propose a new one, it wouldn't be a bad idea to get the one you sent up there, first. We have the Safe Street and Crime Control Act, Firearms Control Act, Civil Rights Act of 1967, Juvenile Delinquency Act, Economic Opportunity Act, Rent Supplements, Urban Renewal, Urban Mass Transit Advance Appropriation, Urban Research, Neighborhood Facilities, Home Rehabilitation, Family Relocation Allowance, Rat Extermination, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Manpower Development and Training Act, Food Stamps, Child Nutrition and School Lunch Program, Community Health Services, Mental Health, Mental Retardation, Hospital Modernization, Maternal and Infant Care. There it is, just a little of it. And all I can say is that before you ask for more, let's get introduced. Let's at least have the working acquaintanceship of the passage of what we have. How much does that program total to that I just mentioned? Six billion three hundred million dollars. Six billion three hundred million, twice as much as 1961, twice as much, three times as much as 1958. We have proposed programs, it isn't because the President has been lacking. And if I seem today to lash out in his defense, I do it proudly. I am a bit weary of hearing the

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self-styled experts criticize a man who has to take on his shoulders the burdens of both international and domestic responsibility, and needs the help of a concerned American electorate to get these things moving again.

(Applause)

Yes, my friends, you have the chance today to help those who have been left out, and I don't only mean those who have been left out of unions. And you can help some of them, too. I am for you organizing, I want to go on record right now. The labor movement has never hurt this country.

(Applause)

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But I mean also you have the chance to help those who have been left out of jobs, left out of training, left out of education, left out of housing, left out of the thriving America that you have done so much to build. And your President needs your help. But more importantly, the forgotten American needs your help, that other American needs your help so that we will have just one America.

Now, finally, just for a moment, let me outline what I consider to be the price that our American community must be ready to pay to build the kind of a society where riots, hatred and lawlessness will become things of the distant past, or better yet, the kind of a community that will fulfill the promise of this land. Now, what is that price? Well, the price we must be willing to pay is one that cannot be measured in dollars alone, although there is always a temptation in our rich nation to think in those terms, and many dollars will be needed. Oh, how careful a Vice President has to be, when I said one time from a platform that some Americans had what I called checkbook answers. I was chastised, because it appeared that I wasn't for spending money. Well now, I want you to know that Hubert Humphrey has been accused of many things, but he has never been accused of being a tight-fisted fellow, he has never been accused of being unwilling to spend. In fact, I used to have to defend myself for years on the basis that I was spending too much,

willing to appropriate too much. What I am saying is that the price we have to be willing to pay is not only dollars, even though it will require many dollars, there are other prices, too.

We know, for example, that a wide array of Federal programs are and will be needed to meet the crisis of our cities. I listed some of them, \$6,300,000,000. That is quite a little money for one year. Over 10 million dollars is programmed for our cities this year. And when I hear those who say that that is not very much, I remind them that that is three times as much as America ever spent before, in any one year, for its cities. Money will be needed, and money is needed, and in the days to come more money will be needed. I spell that out to you, we know that the need will be long-term, that it will be with us for a long time. But we seem slower to recognize those prices, if you will, that will be required at state, local and private and personal levels. We must, for example, be willing to pay the price of continuing our international responsibility. Oh, some people say forget all about foreign aid, forget all about the rest of the world, forget about our international commitments. That makes a good, hot speech. There are even those who say that what we really ought to do is just to buckle down to the things needed to be done at home and forget about the rest of the world. Ladies and gentlemen, that is exactly what Moscow and Peking and Havana would like us to do, just forget the rest of

the world, and they will take care of it in their way.

Well, I want you to know that as long as this man has anything to say in this government, and I am a member of the President's Cabinet, I am a member of the National Security Council, I will not hush my tongue nor will I foreclose my thought on the absolute necessity of this country maintaining its position in international affairs. If there is going to be a better world in which your children can live, it will be because we helped make it so. If there is going to be a free world, it will be because we have stood guard at the ramparts of freedom. If this world is to fail, and if totalitarianism is to triumph, it will be because we failed in our responsibility. And I am not going to be the cheap temporary demagogue that tells the American people that all we need to do is take care of things at home and everything will be all right elsewhere in the world. You know better than that, and so do I. We ought to have learned that lesson. (Applause)

The road will lead to catastrophe, just as it has before. No, we have to be big enough, strong enough, determined enough to fulfill both of our international responsibilities and our domestic needs. And I, for one, say we can do it. And we must be willing to pay the price of perseverance, not just get red hot one week and cool off the next. There will be no immediate cures for the problems which have been centuries in the making, so we

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must dig in for the long pull. We in government must be willing to pay the price of administrative improvement and reorganization to do a better job, and the price of modernizing state governments, state constitutions and local governments. And that is something you can talk about when you get home. You are not going to make a better city out of Washington alone. The nation's capital can help, the Congress can help, but I served as Mayor of a city, and what happens in your city depends in a large measure on what happens in your city hall, what happens in your county courthouse, what happens in your state capital, and what happens in your community life. It's easy to point the finger at Congress, it's easy to tell the President he ought to do this and do that, but when you get on home, just call on the Mayor and the Governor and ask them what are you doing. Many of them are doing great things, many of them are giving wonderful leadership, but, my fellow Americans, I have been in government now for well over 20 years, and what the future offers I do not know, but I know of the past. I know this, that if there is going to be better schools they will be where you live; if there is going to be better housing it will be where you live; if there is going to be better transportation it will be where you live, and it won't all come from Congress or the President, it will come when we put together a great partnership of Federal, State and Local government and the private initiative of people in business and

labor and community groups pulling together as one great  
A  
American team. That is the way to get the job done. (Applause)

Yes, my friends, it means massive education, recreation programs. The price will be keeping our schools open, instead of padlocking them three months of the year, keeping them open twelve months. You know, vandalism is a problem in schools. There will be less vandalism, I predict, against open schools than against closed ones. The price will be making job-training programs relevant to the needs of industry, it will mean investing billions of dollars of private capital, it will mean investment guarantees by government for that capital, it will mean long-term credits, low interest rates with government cooperation, it will mean tax incentives and risk insurance. It is government participation as a helpful partner and not a dominant force.

(Continued on next page)

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The price we will have to pay is the willingness to recognize that the slum is dirty, it's repugnant to American values, and it must be eliminated as if it were cancer itself. It is the price of recognizing our slums, and many of the people living in them as underdeveloped and neglected places and people. The price we must be willing to pay is, above all, the willingness to accept as a first-class citizen, a full partner in the American community, every human being, whether he be poor or illeterate, black, white, red, yellow or brown, and to give him a chance to make something out of his life. If we do anything less, we are going to have to admit failure.

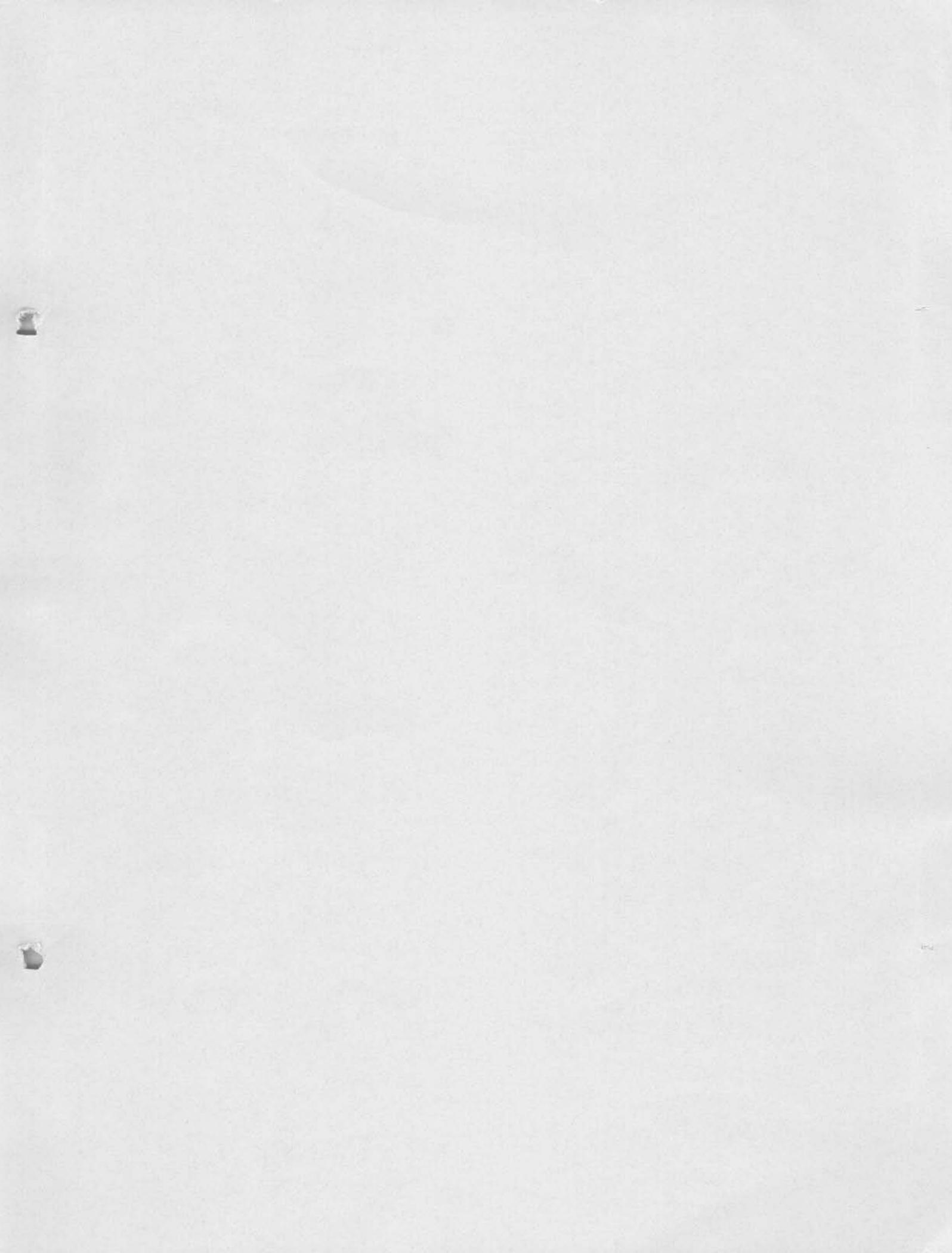
So, my fellow Americans, I leave you with this challenge, the challenge of the promise of America. A great author in the 30's by the name of Thomas Wolfe has given to me an inspiration for the things I try to do in these days, and in one of his writings he wrote about the promise of America, and I can but paraphrase it for you from this platform today. Thomas Wolfe said, "To every man his chance, to every man the right to live and to work and to be himself and to make of himself whatever his vision or his manhood could combine to make him." This is the promise of America. My fellow Americans, the world looks to this country for promise and hope. And the labor movement has always been imbued with idealism. I implore you now, as never before, not only to think of your own membership, to think of your

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country, to think of what this country means to the world. Remember this, that the poor of the world have no hope if we fail. Remember this, that there is no possibility of defeating poverty elsewhere if we cannot defeat it at home. Remember that the example that we set here for freedom and democracy will either inspire people or repel them. It depends on what we do. Never before was so much expected of a nation as is expected from us today. These are the most difficult of days, these are the most dangerous of days, but these are the most promising of days, and these are the most inspiring of days. It just depends what we are willing to do with them. I urge you now to give of yourself, help us in this task, and in so doing help yourselves and your country. Thank you very much.

(Standing ovation)

PRESIDENT GROSPIRON: Mr. Vice President, after that speech we are going to make you an honorary member, a full-time member, in fact, of the OCAW, and as President of the International Union I have the constitutional right to exonerate you from the payment of initiation fee, and also from the payment of dues until you get your first contract. And I understand you are going after a new one next year. We would also like to give you this Delegate badge. We know that you will not be able to be with us during our convention, but we want you to have a memento of your appearance here.



*Neal Peterson*

FOR RELEASE  
Tuesday AM's  
August 22, 1967

Remarks of  
Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey  
Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers  
New York, New York  
August 21, 1967

*File*

Today I want to talk to you as concerned fellow Americans. I want to talk about the profoundly disturbing experience our nation has passed through over the past few weeks -- I mean the disorders that have plagued the streets of urban America.

Just what caused the disorders?

There is no single answer to this. Random events and sheer chance seem to have been as important as many other factors. And, at this stage, there seems to be no evidence of organized or widespread conspiracy behind the disorders.

But this much is clear: The disorders have all taken place within the general environment of the urban slum. And we as Americans are thus compelled to look within our slums -- for they exist today in almost every American city.

The urban slum is filled not only with dilapidated buildings. It is filled with people who are, for the most part, not only poor but who experience an active and intense frustration induced by:

- watching the prosperous majority of Americans at work and play via the mass media;
- grossly inadequate housing for which they pay high rents;
- price gouging where they shop;
- exorbitant interest rates;

- being unable to find decent jobs;
- and, perhaps most of all, being made to feel -- by all they see, hear and feel in their daily lives -- that they are second-class citizens of this rich and fortunate nation.

Yes, the slum is most of all people -- people lacking education ... people lacking skill ... people often lacking health ... yes, people lacking dignity and self-respect.

This is the environment from which the disorders have sprung.

How are we to meet the challenge?

There is no question that the rule of law must prevail in this land, and that those charged with responsibility for law and order must meet that responsibility.

There is no question that the few who have incited ... rioted ... looted ... burned and destroyed must be brought to full account for their action.

But there is the larger question of our broad national response to the challenge.

Is it to be one which says: Let us repress the slum ... let us punish the many for the transgressions of the few.

Or is it to be one which says: Let us remove the conditions from which these things come ... and let us get on with it now.

I have been interested in the recent public opinion polls. They understandably show a good deal of uncertainty among Americans -- rich or poor, black or white -- about the immediate causes of our recent troubles. But they also show a heartening measure of consensus on other things.

Nine-tenths of Negro Americans say there should be jobs for those who need them. Two-thirds of white Americans agree.

Over four-fifths of Negro Americans want the ghettos torn down. Two-thirds of white Americans agree.

A clear majority of all Americans favor large-scale summer camp programs for slum youngsters and an effective rat-control program.

A clear majority of all Americans deplore the riots and violation of the law.

I take heart from this. Because I believe that the vast majority of Americans are committed to eradicating the conditions of the slum from the American environment ... and not just because of the riots, but because it needs to be done for its own sake.

It needs to be done because the economically-depressed slum is a tremendous drag on the rest of our growing economy. It needs to be done because the slum is an obstacle in our quest for a peaceful and rewarding urban environment.

But, most of all, it needs to be done because the slum is the living denial of everything America stands for.

I say that no single citizen of America can be content -- no matter how secure and prosperous his family may be -- while other citizens of America exist as anything less than free and equal participants in our society, not just in law, but in fact.

Make no mistake about it. Our whole political and social system is on trial here. And the outcome will depend on how we now respond.

For there are other, less encouraging things to be found in the public opinion polls -- such as the finding that a deeply-alienated minority does exist within our slums. It is a minority -- perhaps no more than 10 to 15 per cent -- which actually supports the riots. It is a minority -- and this should be distressing to all of us -- made up in large part of Negro young people.

It is a minority that thinks and expresses itself like the 16-year-old arrested during the recent

disorders, with a rock in his hand:

"Picketing and marching ain't getting us anywhere, man. The whites got to face it -- this is a new generation. We ain't going to stand for the stuff our mamas and papas stood for."

Yesterday's victories don't mean a thing to the young man who has no real stake in his society today.

I don't look on the existence of this alienated minority as a threat. I see it as a tragedy -- a tragedy which surely must affect and touch every one of us who has worked, as the labor movement has, for social and economic justice in America.

America must push aside any impulse toward repression. It must reject the counsel of those who would use the tragedy of the American slum as an excuse to cut back the vital programs our country needs now and in the future.

America can -- and I have faith that it will -- respond with the same determined, courageous, and enlightened instincts that have enabled this nation to ultimately overcome in its history every movement, every appeal, every philosophy based on discrimination, separatism, or smallness of motive.

The task we face is great. But it is by no means impossible.

It is important to recognize that we have already made substantial progress in meeting the very problems which fire frustrations in our slums.

President Johnson's Administration -- and I speak of it proudly -- has more than doubled the amount of federal expenditures on programs to eliminate the poverty and slumism that blights our cities today.

The war on poverty has already created 11 hundred community action agencies which are now serving half the nation's poor. The Head Start program has already prepared two million children for successful school experiences. Nearly a million youngsters have already received work experience and training through the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

The Job Corps has already sent 60 thousand new workers into the economy. The Manpower Development and Training Act has already provided training for over 650 thousand workers -- a large proportion of whom had been chronically unemployed.

It is hard to measure the results of all of this effort. But let me give you one figure. Six years ago 21 per cent of our people lived below the poverty line. Today the figure is down six points.

Progress in education, in health -- across the board -- can be measured in dramatic terms.

But over 40 per cent of our Negro fellow-citizens are still living in poverty. More than a third of the adult males in our slums are unable to earn a living.

And we must continue the effort we have begun.

Right now there are programs before the Congress which desperately need the support of the American labor movement and of everyone who seeks a constructive, positive solution to the trials of the past few weeks.

First and foremost is the landmark Model Cities program -- a program designed to root out the conditions of the slum through the coordinated, well-planned efforts of all levels of the public and private sectors. This is not just a federal program, but one specifically designed to encourage action and initiative in all parts of our society.

The President asked the Congress to authorize 2.3 billion dollars for the first six years of this program. That request was reduced by Congress to 900 million dollars for two years.

This year the President has asked for full funding of Model Cities -- 662 million dollars. The House of Representatives has already cut that request to 237 million dollars.

America needs a full-funded Model Cities program.

America needs, too, the other programs now pending before the Congress -- programs which have been pending since the beginning of the session.

- Crime control.
- Firearms control.
- Civil Rights Act of 1967.
- Juvenile delinquency.
- Economic Opportunity Act.
- Rent supplements.
- Urban renewal.
- Urban mass transit advance appropriation.
- Urban research.
- Neighborhood facilities.
- Home rehabilitation.
- Family relocation allowance.
- Rat extermination.
- Elementary and Secondary Education Act.
- Manpower Development and Training Act.
- Food stamps.
- Child nutrition and school lunch program.
- Community Health services.
- Mental health.
- Mental retardation.
- Hospital modernization.
- Maternal and infant care.

Help us get these programs into action. Help us make their results felt where they are needed now.

Help us, especially, as men and women who have always stood up for education, for workmen's compensation, collective bargaining, Social Security, Medicare, aid to education ... for resistance to all forms of tyranny over man, here and in the world.

The American labor movement has both an opportunity and a responsibility, in meeting the challenge of the slum and of poverty.

-- in communicating with, and on behalf of, people who do not know how to make themselves heard;

-- in identifying the problems of the working man;

-- in organizing people so they can work together, through peaceful and democratic means, for common goals;

-- in negotiating with industry and government for economic and social gains which benefit our whole society.

You have the chance today to help those who have been left out. I don't mean only those who have been left out of unions. I mean also those who have been left out of jobs, left out of training, left out of housing, left out of the thriving America you have done so much to build.

\* \* \*

Finally, may I try for a moment to outline what I believe our American community must be ready to pay to build the kind of society where riots, hatred and lawlessness will become things of the distant past.

What is "the price?"

The price we must be willing to pay is one that cannot be measured in dollars alone -- although there is always a temptation in our rich nation to think in those terms.

We know today, for instance, that a wide array of federal programs are and will be needed to meet the crisis of our cities ... and that money is and will be needed to pay for them.

I have spelled out that need to you. We know that the need will be long-term, that it will be with us for a long time ahead.

But we seem slower to recognize those things -- those prices, if you will -- that will be required at state, local, private sector, and personal level.

We must, for example, be willing to pay the price of continuing international responsibility.

Some people have said: "Forget about foreign aid -- forget about our international commitments."

There are even those who say that what we really ought to do is to buckle down to the things we need to do at home and forget about the rest of the world. That road would lead straight to catastrophe, as it has before.

Make no mistake: There would be little hope for international responsibility by others, if we were to abandon it. We can't afford that easy answer.

No, we have to be big enough, strong enough, and determined enough to fulfill both our international responsibilities and our domestic needs. I for one say that we can do it.

We must be willing to pay the price of perseverance. There will be no immediate cures for problems which have been centuries in the making. So we must dig in for a long haul.

We in government must be willing to pay "the price" of administrative organization and reorganization to do a better job; the price of modernizing our state constitutions and city charters.

We, as a nation, must be willing to pay "the price" of a massive training and employment program by private industry; the price of taking the risk of hiring untrained workers and giving them on-the-job training.

We will have to pay the price of massive education and recreation programs. We should, I think, be willing to pay the price of keeping our schools -- and, remember, they belong to you -- open twelve months a year. Why should the summer months, which are the most troublesome months, be the months when we close up our school buildings and lock the gates? Let us unlock the padlocks. There will be less vandalism against open public schools than against closed ones.

The price will be making job-training programs relevant to the needs of industry. It will be investing billions in private capital to give our cities new life and new hope.

It may be investment guarantees by government for private capital. It is long-term credits and low-interest rates with government cooperation. It is tax incentives. It is risk insurance. It is government participation as a helpful partner and not as a dominant force.

The price we will have to pay is the willingness to recognize that the slum is repugnant to American values, and that it must be eliminated as if it were a malignancy. It is the price of recognizing our slums and many of the people living in them as underdeveloped and neglected places and people.

"The price" we must be prepared to pay is, above all, the willingness to accept as a first-class citizen, a full partner in the American community, every human being -- whether he be poor or illiterate, black or white, red, yellow, or brown -- and give him a chance to make something out of his life. If we do anything less, we we admit to failure.

\* \* \*

A few days ago, in Wichita, Kansas, a group of Negro young people volunteered to help the police keep order during a troubled period. But, one of the young people warned, their efforts together would not be enough to bring any lasting peace or harmony to their neighborhood.

"We need help," he said. "Fast, fast, fast." That is a cry to which we in largely white, largely affluent America -- we in government, in industry, in labor -- must respond.

And we must do so not only "fast, fast, fast" -- for a response to poverty and despair can never be fast enough. But we must do so with courage, with humility, with understanding, and with the full commitment of our hearts.

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