

AN ADDRESS

by

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice-President

of the

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

to the

109TH CONVENTION

OF THE

INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO

September 8, 1967



Remarks of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey
International Typographical Union
Colorado Springs, Colorado
September 8, 1967

For release: FRIDAY PM'S, SEPTEMBER 8, 1967 (11 A.M. MDT)



In the 15th Century one of your predecessors, Johann Gutenberg, triggered one of the great turning points in history. His invention of movable type put knowledge within reach of the common man.

Unlike most historic events, Gutenberg's invention was recognized at the time for exactly what it was.

Some of the most powerful men of the Middle Ages saw it with dire foreboding. And from their standpoint, they were right to do so.

Because they knew that knowledge was power—and that no autocracy, no orthodoxy, would any longer be secure if ordinary people obtained knowledge.

Gutenberg's invention dispelled the darkness of centuries, and it helped to bring the Middle Ages to an end.

A lot of type has been set since Gutenberg—and the centuries of stagnation which he helped to end have been followed by centuries of constant and accelerating change.

You have seen great changes in your own craft, and you foresee even greater changes to come.

You have, for instance, set up your Training Center to keep pace with change and even to anticipate it. I read in one of your publications: "to the ITU craftsman 15 years from now, much of today's methods, machines, and techniques will be but a memory. It is the responsibility of all to be forewarned of new developments and to be prepared for them."

In thinking ahead, in preparing yourselves today for tomorrow's challenges, you are setting a good example for all of us—and especially for those of us in the craft of politics.

What will America and the world be like in 15 years?

We know a good deal about the immediate future. Men will land on the moon and perhaps set up a permanent base there.

Men will learn how to live and work at the bottom of the sea—and mine its floor for valuable metals.

Automation will certainly proceed, and computers may in fact make many of our present day middle management decisions.



Doctors will provide us with artificial internal organs and prolong our lives.

Yes, we will live in a world of scientific and technological marvels. But will it be a better world for people to live in?

We must ask these questions: Will our nation be divided between a majority living in comfort and even in affluence—and a minority mired deeply in urban and rural poverty? Or will we move forward to build a society where every citizen is a full participant in our progress?

Will America be filled with strife? Or will we move forward to build communities of peace and harmony?

And what about the world in which we live? Will it be dangerously divided along lines of ideology, race, or economic status? Will it be under never-ending threat of nuclear destruction? Or will men and nations move forward to build a safer and freer international environment?

Those questions will be answered in large part by what we do right here in America . . . by the kind of society we build.

The real quality of the society you and I will live in 15 years from now will be evaluated in human terms, and very specifically by the degree of opportunity available to each individual American.

Will the liberties of an American citizen mean as much as they should to you and to those around you when measured in terms of real opportunity?

Will all of us have an opportunity to take advantage of advances in medical science—to be protected from sickness

and to be cared for when we are ill?

There are some who say Medicare is enough. Nineteen million Americans are now covered by a program which was instituted only a year ago. Four million patients have received hospital care since the program started: 25 million medical bills have been paid.

Some say: "Medical care is a privilege not a right."

"Do any more and you will interfere with the rights of the individual."

Medicare represents great progress today.

But 15 years from now we will be deeply shamed as a nation if the one-third of our population, who today have no regular access to doctors or dentists, are still deprived of medical care.

It will be unacceptable if illness can still mean financial disaster to the family of a working man or woman.

What about education and training?

Will every American have an opportunity to get all the education he can use?

Will we have training and re-training programs capable of giving people skills which will enable them to lead productive lives in an economy of rapid technological change?

Will your children now in grammar school be able to find a place in college?

Here again the record as of today looks pretty good. Six million Americans are in college, and a million of them are receiving some form of federal assistance.

Head Start has already given more than a million and a half youngsters a critically important boost toward suc-



cessful educational and rewarding lives.

Job Corps Centers established just two years ago have already sent over 60 thousand new workers, earners, and buyers into the economy, and over 41 thousand more are now in training.

But will this be enough 15 years from now?

Will we still have poor schools in poor neighborhoods which can afford only poor teachers—schools which will turn bright-eyed youngsters into poor students, poor workers and poor citizens?

Will people coming out of schools find jobs and hope, or unemployment and despair?

What about our cities?

Seventy per cent of the American people already live in urban areas, and the chances are very great that most of us will live out our lives in cities.

The federal government will supply over 10 billion dollars in grants and loans to cities this year for the improvement of urban life. That is almost three times the amount available in 1961.

But if each of us is to have a decent place to live at a price we can afford, we will need new urban housing units at the rate of 2 million a year a decade from now.

If we are not to waste our leisure hours getting to and from work, we will need transportation facilities to move 200 million people.

We will need more and safer airports.

We will need clean air and clean water, neither of which we now enjoy.

Even as the physical and cultural facilities of our cities improve, we will still need more and better law enforcement.

Think about wages. Last year's amendments of the Fair Labor Standards Act increased the minimum wage of one dollar forty cents an hour at the beginning of this year, and it will be one dollar sixty cents an hour next year.

Four million retail store employees benefitted from these increases and an additional 1.5 million, never before covered by minimum wage legislation, now enjoy this fundamental American right.

For the first time minimum wage protection was extended to some American farmers.

Now this is real progress.

We fought hard for it. Your vigorous campaign had a lot to do with the passage of those amendments.

But you and I know that this was only a step in the right direction, and that there are many more steps ahead of us.

A worker earning one dollar forty cents an hour is condemned to raise his family in poverty according to present federal standards.

A dollar and forty cents is better than a dollar. But are we still going to be content 15 years from now to guarantee our workers no more than a poverty income?

We cannot. And that is one reason why we need active, vigorous labor unions.

In the past, organized labor has always led in the struggle for decent



wages and working conditions.

That struggle must go on, and the unions must continue to lead. They must continue to grow, and to extend their help and protection to the millions of American workers who still lack the benefits of union membership.

And let me say this to the younger union members: You have a special obligation to continue organized labor's historic struggle for the rights of all working men; for it is you who have benefited most from the hard-fought victories of those who went before you.

I could list dozens of other areas in which the remarkable social progress of recent years has still to be nourished, re-enforced and extended.

Civil rights—progress in the last few years has been enormous. Tomorrow it will not be enough. Fifteen years from now, no American will quietly accept discrimination of any kind.

Privacy—the Attorney General's recent limitation on the use of wiretapping re-enforces a fundamental constitutional right.

But what of private bugging? What about polygraph tests for prospective employees? Do we want these in our national or individual futures?

And there are our relations with the rest of the world. Fifteen years from now we will be an even more integral part of a world society than we are today.

Will that society be one of hunger, poverty, unrest and anxiety; or will it be a society of hope, of growth, of confidence, of individual dignity and peace?

Now I hear people every day, both in government and outside, who say that we have done enough.

"Rome wasn't built in a day."

"The majority are well-fed, well-clothed."

"Don't go any further or you'll destroy the rights of the individual."

"Enough for now."

These tired people usually use the war in Vietnam as their excuse for inaction on domestic issues. They say we can't afford to meet our national commitments abroad and at the same time build schools, train teachers, and open opportunities to the poor at home.

President Johnson does not agree with these tired people. He has asked Congress this year for over 26 billion dollars to finance programs specifically designed to aid the poor. That is an increase of 3.6 billion dollars over last year, or 14 per cent.

And I don't agree with these tired people either.

One reason is that we simply cannot afford to have 15 per cent of our people living in poverty, unable to purchase the goods we produce.

I remember my father telling me time and again when I worked behind the counter in our family drug store that our livelihood depended upon the prosperity of our customers. That is just as true today.

We cannot afford to let the energies and talents of one Negro child in an urban ghetto go undiscovered for lack of education.

We cannot afford to let one farmer



while away his time on a sagging front porch in the midst of unplanted fields because he can't get tools, credit, seed, or land of his own.

We cannot afford to let one youngster end up in juvenile court because his father could not support his family or because his mother had to work to feed her children.

In case anyone doubts that an investment in human resources is important to prosperity, let me give you a statistic.

An economist named Denison recently completed a study of the reasons for American economic growth between 1929 and 1957. He found that 23 per cent of that growth was due to an improvement in the educational level of workers, and another 20 per cent was due to an "advance of knowledge" in general. A mere 15 per cent was attributable to expansion of capital equipment.

I know it does not surprise you to hear that improving men is worth more than improving machines.

While I am quoting statistics, I cannot resist giving you one more.

A recent study indicates that every dollar invested by government—federal, state or local—in health, education, housing, the development of natural resources, pollution control, and community development generates 2 dollars 40 cents worth of private investment and adds 10 dollars to the gross national product.

That is a return any banker would welcome.

But we are not a nation of bankers.

We are a nation which has grown and prospered on the basis of individual opportunity.

We are a nation which has discovered that the assurance of full human rights and opportunity for all does not detract from the well-being of the majority, but rather enhances it.

We are a nation which has slowly and painfully fought to insure those rights and opportunities, not because of economic return but because they are right.

We are a nation that believes, in the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt, that "The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have too much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

We have accomplished a great deal, but the job is unfinished. If we stop now, the proud progress of today will surely become the dismal inadequacy of tomorrow.

The tired people are suffering from something Geritol won't fix. It is a permanent inclination to like the present better than they expect to like the future, and to like the past even better than that.

They are never quite able to catch up. Just as they are grudgingly about to accept the present, it slips into the past.

They are saved from themselves only by the foresight and dedication of others. You know who they are.

I am not too tired to carry on the struggle for a better future.



Your Administration is not too tired to carry it on.

And I know you are not too tired.

We can make America—no more or less—“One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.”

And we can move even closer to fulfilling the hope that the English philosopher, Richard Carlile, held out for the

printing press. It would, he predicted, “abolish all minor monarchies and give freedom to the whole human race.”

That is a big order.

But, if we—blessed by nature, blessed by history, having unprecedented prosperity and power—do not fulfill the responsibilities of leadership, who else will?

President Elmer Brown

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION
COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO
SEPTEMBER 8, 1967

John Pelch }
Sammy Bevis } U.S.
Joe Bailey }
Bill Cloud }
Sec-Treas }

Cong. Frank Owens

109th
115th year

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↳ What will America and the world be like in 15 years?

↳ We know a good deal about the immediate future. Men will land on the moon and perhaps set up a permanent base there.

15 yrs from now /

↳ Men will learn how to live and work at the bottom of the sea - and mine its floor for valuable metals *and fuels.*

↳ Automation will certainly proceed, and computers may in fact make many of our present day middle management decisions.

↳ Doctors will provide us with artificial internal organs and prolong our lives.

↳ Yes, we will live in a world of scientific and technological marvels. But will it be a better world for people to live in?

↳ We must ask these questions: Will our nation be divided between a majority living in comfort and even in affluence - and a minority mired deeply in urban and rural poverty? Or will we move forward to build a society where every citizen is a full participant in our progress.

Will America be filled with strife ^{and bitterness,} Or will we move forward to build communities of peace and harmony?

And what about the world in which we live? Will it be dangerously divided along lines of ideology, race, or economic status? Will it be under never-ending threat of nuclear destruction? Or will men and nations move forward to build a safer and freer international environment?

Those questions will be answered in large part by what we do right here in America ... by the kind of society we build.

(The Power of America - the example of America.)

The real quality of the society ~~you and I will~~ live in 15 years from now will be evaluated in human terms, and very specifically by the degree of opportunity available to each individual American.

Will the liberties of an American citizen mean as much as they should to you and to those around you when measured in terms of real opportunity?

Will all of us have an opportunity to take advantage of advances in medical science -- to be protected from sickness and to be cared for when we are ill?

There are some who say Medicare is enough. Nineteen million Americans are now covered by a program which was instituted only a year ago. Four million patients have received hospital care since the program started: 25 million medical bills have been paid.

Some say: "Medical care is a privilege not a right."

"Do any more and you will interfere with the rights of the individual."

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← ~~It will be unacceptable if illness can still mean financial disaster to the family of a working man or woman.~~

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← Will your children now in grammar school be able to find a place in ^a college *or technical institute?*

↳ Here again the record as of today looks pretty good. Six million Americans are in college, and a million of them are receiving some form of federal assistance.

↳ Head Start has already given ~~more than a million and a half~~ ^{2 million} youngsters a critically important boost toward successful educations and rewarding lives.

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Will we still have poor schools in poor neighborhoods which can afford only poor teachers -- schools which will turn bright-eyed youngsters into poor students, poor workers and poor citizens?

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massive Program

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↳ If we are not to waste our leisure hours getting to and from work, we will need transportation facilities to move 200 million people *safely + quickly.*

↳ We will need more and safer airports.

↳ We will need efficient rapid transit systems in the heavily populated urban corridors which by then will be a dominant feature of American geography.

↳ We will need parks and recreation facilities.

↳ We will need clean air and clean water, neither of which we now enjoy.

Even as the physical and cultural facilities of our cities improve, we will still need more and better law enforcement.

↳ Think about wages. Last year's amendments of the Fair Labor Standards Act increased the minimum wage ^{to} of one dollar forty cents an hour at the beginning of this year, and it will be one dollar sixty cents an hour next year.

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Now this is real progress.

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↳ We cannot. And that is one reason why we need active, vigorous labor unions.

In the past, organized labor has always led in the struggle for decent wages and working conditions. ^{that} that struggle must go on, and the unions must continue to lead. They must continue to grow, and to extend their help and protection to the millions of American workers who still lack the benefits of union membership.

∠ And let me say this to the younger union members: You have a special obligation to continue organized labor's historic struggle for the rights of all working men; for it is you who have benefitted most from the hard-fought victories of those who went before you.

∠ I could list dozens of other areas in which the remarkable social progress of recent years has still to be nourished, re-enforced and extended. *There is not guarantee of automatic or automated progress - It takes everlasting vigilance and persistent effort.*

Civil rights -- progress in the last few years has been enormous. Tomorrow it will not be enough. Fifteen years from now, no American will quietly accept discrimination of any kind.

Privacy -- the Attorney General's recent limitation on the use of wiretapping re-enforces a fundamental constitutional right.

But what of private bugging? What about polygraph tests for prospective employees? Do we want these in our national or individual futures?

And there are our relations with the rest of the world. Fifteen years from now we will be an even more integral part of a world society than we are today.

Will that society be one of hunger, poverty, unrest and anxiety; or will it be a society of hope, of growth, of confidence, of individual dignity and peace?

Now I hear people every day, both in government and outside, who say that we have done enough.

~~"Rome wasn't built in a day."~~

~~"The majority are well-fed, well-clothed."~~

~~"Don't go any further or you'll destroy the rights of the individual."~~

~~"Enough for now."~~

These tired people usually use the war in Vietnam as their excuse for inaction on domestic issues. They say we can't afford to meet our national commitments abroad and at the same time build schools, train teachers, and open opportunities to the poor at home.

President Johnson does not agree with these tired people. He has asked Congress this year for over 26 billion dollars to finance programs specifically designed to aid the poor. That is an increase of 3.6 billion dollars over last year, or 14 per cent.

IBS

d This nation is mighty enough
its society is healthy enough
its people are strong enough
to pursue our goals in the
rest of the world, while
still building a great society
here at home."

FDJ

And I don't agree with these tired people either.

~~One reason is that we simply cannot afford to have 15 per cent of our people living in poverty, unable to purchase the goods we produce.~~

~~I remember my father telling me time and again when I worked behind the counter in our family drug store that our livelihood depended upon the prosperity of our customers. That is just as true today.~~

~~We cannot afford to let the energies and talents of one ~~Negro~~ child in an urban ~~ghetto~~ go undiscovered for lack of education.~~

plus non-racial America

~~We cannot afford to let one farmer while away his time on a sagging front porch in the midst of unplanted fields because he can't get tools, credit, seed, or land of his own.~~

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~~We cannot afford to let one youngster end up in juvenile court because his father could not support his family or because his mother had to work to feed her children.~~

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~~An economist named Denison~~ recently *revealed some* completed a study of the reasons for American economic growth between 1929 and 1957. ~~He found that~~ 23 per cent of that growth was due to an improvement in the educational level of workers, and another 20 per cent was due to an "advance of knowledge" in general. ~~A mere~~ 15 per cent was attributable to expansion of capital equipment.

∠ I know it does not surprise you to hear that improving men is worth more than improving machines.

(our investment in educ & Training)

While I am quoting statistics, I cannot resist giving you one more.

A recent study indicates that every dollar invested by government -- federal, state or local -- in health, education, housing, the development of natural resources, pollution control, and community development generates 2 dollars 40 cents worth of private investment and adds 10 dollars to the Gross National Product.

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But we are not a nation of bankers.

We are a nation which has grown and prospered on the basis of individual opportunity.

↳ We are a nation which has discovered that the assurance of full human rights and opportunity for all does not detract from the well-being of the majority, but rather enhances it.

We are a nation which has slowly and painfully fought to insure those rights and opportunities, not because of an economic return but because they are right.!

We are a nation that believes, in the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt, that "the test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have too much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

↳ We have accomplished a great deal, but the job is unfinished. If we stop now, the proud progress of today will surely become the dismal inadequacy of tomorrow.

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They are never quite able to catch up. Just as they are grudgingly about to accept the present, it slips into the past.

↳ They are saved from themselves only by the foresight and dedication of others. You know who they are.

I am not too tired to carry on the struggle for a better future.

↳ Your Administration is not too tired to carry it on.

↳ And I know you are not too tired.

~~So lets get busy and get a piece of the action.~~

And finally "JFK -

Let every nation know,
whether it wish us well or ill,
that we shall pay any price,
bear any burden, meet any hardship,
support any friend, oppose any foe
to assure the survival and success
of liberty"

We can make America - no more or less - "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

And we can move even closer to fulfilling the hope that the English philosopher, Richard Carlile, held out for the printing press. It would, he predicted, "abolish all minor monarchies and give freedom to the whole human race."

That is a big order.

But, if we - blessed by nature, blessed by history, having unprecedented prosperity and power - do not fulfill the responsibilities of leadership, who else will?

#

Sept 8, 1967

HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY:

3/6
L Thank you, thank you very much, President Brown, the three vice-presidents, John Pilch, ~~and~~ Sandy Bevis and Joe Bailey, and the Secretary-Treasurer, a most important officer in the organization, Bill Cloud. My friend and very distinguished, able and gifted Congressman, Frank Evans, and members of the International Typographical Union, my fellow Americans.

L First, may I thank your reception committee, President Brown, for the warm greeting extended to me upon my arrival in Colorado Springs; my thanks to the Mayor of this beautiful city, Mayor McCleary; my thanks to the members of the legislature and others ^{who} ~~that~~ were there to welcome us. L I know that this great union is one of America's oldest unions in length of service and history and yet it is one of America's newest in terms of its vitality, its modernization and its purpose. I whispered to President Brown just before I stood to address you, I said: "Mr. President, did I understand you to say that this was the 109th Convention?" ~~and he gave me "at"~~ He said: "You are right." But, "it is the 115th year." ^{I said} L That is a remarkable record of trade unionism and permit me as your friend, your fellow citizen and now your Vice-President, ~~permitted~~ to congratulate you on an exemplary record of the finest in trade unionism. You have set a standard that few can equal, but you have also set a standard, may I say, that inspires others to challenge it and equal it. I know that in my introductory statement ~~here~~ that President Brown has three vice-presidents, ^{That} means, of course, that he has, as he would put it, I know, three very able deputies and assistants.

MORE HUMPHREY

749

Denison copy of speech in 1967 Duplicate
Speech Files. This copy was run on Xerox
Archival Bond Paper & is considered the
permanent copy of the transcript

No 1339

Transcriber's
Initials *He*



HUMPHREY

Sometimes the president of the United States has reason to feel that he has one too many vice-presidents. Now I hope that's never your circumstance, Elmer. Then, since I'm addressing a union ~~meeting~~ conference and convention I might put in a complaint, a grievance. It seems like I am doing the work of three. And I might also add, Elmer, I don't recall getting ~~a~~ paid for overtime. But speaking ~~of that~~ of working conditions and tenure and seniority may I say to you that some months later I ~~might~~ may be back to you to talk about re-negotiating my contract. ~~But~~ I make no complaints as to the wages; fringe benefits are reasonably good; health and welfare all right; tenure uncertain, but available. It is very difficult to speak seriously to you today because of the charm and the beauty of this part of America. My, what a difference when you come here and breathe this fresh air, beauty, vast expanses, open territory, see these modern, literally shining, glistening communities. What a difference there is in many areas of our America and many areas of the world. What a difference between this community and some that I have seen in Asia, Africa, Latin America; yes, Europe, too. It always makes me just a little prouder to be an American, when I come here or go any place in our land. But I am particularly proud today and happy because there are so many of the blessings of life available to us in this vast country of ours and I compliment the ITU on setting its headquarters here in Colorado Springs where you get a sense of vision and I think a clarity of thought and a conviction of purpose. Let me review with you just a little a bit about what we are trying to do in this country; what your role in this effort is now and can be and I hope will be. A little history first. ~~Now~~ I will take you back a long ways

~~because in the 15th century on of your predecessors, as I don't recall that he had a union card, but he would have had one, had there been one around, and Johann did~~

Begin Typing Speech

MORE HUMPHREY

~~scribble~~

753

In the 15th Century one of your predecessors, I don't recall that he had a union card, but he would have had one had there been one around, Johann Gutenberg, triggered one of the great turning points in the history of mankind. His invention of movable type put knowledge within the reach of the common man. What a fantastic achievement! It literally changed the world. Now, unlike most historic events, Gutenberg's invention was recognized at the time for exactly what it was. Some of the most powerful men and the establishment of that date of the ~~middle ages~~ Middle Ages saw it with dire foreboding. They recognized it as their enemy and from their standpoint they were right to do so.

They knew that knowledge was ~~power~~ power--and that no autocracy, no orthodoxy, would any longer be secure if ordinary people obtained knowledge. They knew that the printed word, made possible by movable type, could liberate man. You remember what George Washington once said about Thomas Payne. He said this one man alone is like an army with his pamphlets, with his printed word, with his call to the conscience of mankind.

MORE HUMPHREY

754

MORE HUMPHREY:

13/8
 So Gutenberg's invention had a profound affect upon history. It dispelled the darkness of centuries, it brought the ⁿsunlight of learning and knowledge and it helped the Middle Ages come to an end and bring on the ~~renaissance~~ renaissance. Now, a lot of type has been set since Gutenberg's invention and the centuries of stagnation which he helped to end had been followed by centuries of constant and ~~accelerating~~ accelerating change. And I say to the delegates of this conference in ~~and~~ convention that whether you have recognized it or not, you have been a very important part of this great historic event, ~~The~~ impact of the printed word made possible by moveable type. You have been architects, in other words, of a revolution for betterment, for change, for social progress and you've seen great changes, of course, in your own craft and you foresee even greater changes to come.

You have, I know, set up ~~xx~~ your own Training Center, not only to keep pace with change but ~~to~~ even ^{to} anticipate it. To ~~be~~ be out in front, so to speak, even out in front of management in ~~terms~~ terms of the impact of automation of new inventions upon the printing trades. Now I read in one of your publications the following words: "To the ITU craftsman 15 years from now, much of today's methods, machines, and techniques will be but a memory. It is the responsibility of all to be forewarned of new developments and to be prepared for them."

What foresight, what vision! Seldom do we find people who are willing to even accept the facts of the present, much less the ^{ing}forwarned of the possibilities of the future, and then to say to be prepared for the future.

In ~~thinking~~ thinking ahead, in preparing yourselves for tomorrow's challenges, I submit that you ~~are~~ setting a good example for the entire nation and, Frank, may I say

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 especially for those of us in the dubious craft of politics because we need to think ahead and plenty. So let me think ahead with you for a little bit, for a man in public life today that isn't thinking ahead is being overpaid and is already obsolete. (What will America be and what will the world be like in 15 years and what are we going to do to shape it? Now, we know a good deal about the immediate future, man will land on the moon and perhaps set up a permanent base there--that is just as sure as you are of being in this room and it will happen in a few years, less than five, and your sons and daughters will be thinking of interplanetary travel and research and discovery as our grandfathers and great grandfathers spoke of opening up a continent. It is ^{as} inevitable as the sun rising in the East, and setting in the West. (Men will learn how to live and work at the bottom of the oceans and we will mine the floor bed of the oceans for minerals, rich deposits, fantastic deposits, far beyond what is on the dry land ~~xxx~~ surface, and we ~~will~~ will take from the ocean floor ever-increasing amounts of fuels, oil and gas. The richest discoveries of gold are yet to be tapped, we know where they are in the ocean bed. If I seem to speak of this with some certainty, I happen to be chairman of the Council on Marine Science and Resources--we call it oceanography. I joke about this sometimes because I am also chairman of the Space Council and I tell my friends in Congress that everytime Congress gives the Vice-President anything to do, and both of these assignments ^{SI} came by statute, everytime they assign the Vice-President a new duty it is either out of this world or in the bottom of the sea!

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 [Let me digress to just tell you a little in ⁶ house joke. When the President signed that Marine resources legislation on oceanography making the vice-president chairman of that important body because it represents several offices of the cabinet, the president was joking with me and visiting with me, and he was ~~saying~~ saying, "Well, this is quite an assignment you have, Mr. Vice President." He said, ~~you know~~ "you know, seventy ~~per~~ one percent of the earth's surface is water." And I said, "That's right, Mr. President, seventy one percent of the earth's surface is water and since there is no real national jurisdiction you see in the open spaces of the sea I suppose that that part of the world belongs to me now." ^A And, Mr. President, you have twenty-nine percent of the earth's surface that belongs to heads of state and of that part the United States is a substantial part but I want you to know, Mr. President, I'll have less trouble with my fish than you do with your ~~fish~~ people." Thus far my prophecy has been proven right. [Well, back to our subject? Automation. Sometimes the word sends fear and trepidation in the minds and hearts of workers. But automation and it is herexxxx/will certainly proceedxxx and computers may, in fact, make many of our present-day middle-management decisions. [The age of the transistor, the age of the computer has literally changed the world in which we live. Doctors will provide us with artificial internal organs and prolong our lives. The day of ~~the~~ the man that has his ~~200~~ hundreth birthday will no longer be unusual. Within this century it will become ~~be~~/relatively commonplace. Yes, we are going to live and we are living in a world of unbelievable scientific and technical or technological marvels. But the question is, will it be a better world in which to live? [Because science and technology alone do not make for better people. They do not make for a better world. It depends upon what man designs or desires to do with the new tools of science and technology. So we have to ask ourselves some very ~~far~~ far-reaching questions. For example, will our nation, despite all the ~~advance~~ advance in science and technology, be divided ^{l—l} between a majority living in comfort and luxury, affluence and a minority mired deeply in urban and rural poverty? That's a living question.

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Or will we move forward to build a society where every citizen can be a full participant in our great progress? That question is yet to be answered.

Will America be filled with strife and bitterness and hate? And will people who advocate such doctrines be in the ascendancy? Or will we move forward to repudiate those doctrines and to build communities of peace and harmony. That decision is yet to be fully made. And what about the world in which we live? Because that world is shrinking in size every day. Communication is making the world a neighborhood. There is no place to hide and despite the joy of that song, "Stop the ~~War~~ World, I Want to Get ~~off~~ Off," it is difficult. Just a few are going to get out of this world. Those that go to the moon, and I'm not volunteering. So what about this world? Will it be dangerously divided along lines of ideology, ~~the~~ race, or economic status? Will it be under never-ending threat of nuclear destruction? Or will men and nations move forward to build a safer and saner and freer international environment? That's the prime question of our time. There is no escaping it. I come from the Middle West as many of you do. But, my dear friends, the state of America will not be decided alone in the Middle West. It may be decided in the Middle East, in North Africa, Asia; the neighborhood of America is no longer within its own environment. It is in the world and you're not one bit safer in Colorado Springs with all of the power of NORAD, and ~~it's~~ ^{it's} a magnificent international structure for our security and our defense,

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bit safer than

None ~~did favor~~ here ~~then~~ the rest of the world. This is more ~~true~~ ^{true} everyday, so the real question, it seems to me, ~~for these are the real questions that~~ will have to be answered in a large part by what we here in America do and say; ~~By~~ the kind of society that we build right here. The power of America is immense, the wealth of American is beyond almost human comprehension and the example of America will have a tremendous impact on the rest of the world. Never did a group of people have such tremendous responsibilities ~~and~~ as this generation of Americans and it will do us no good to pretend that is isn't so.

[We are leaders, we didn't ask to be, we didn't even design it, but we are, and leadership is not a free ticket to luxury; leadership is not the coat of comfort; it imposes the robe of responsibility on those that have that type of leader. There is no escaping it unless we want to forfeit, for once and for all, our position in this world, and to leave vacant the chair of leadership for someone else to occupy ~~and~~ ^{Make} no mistake about it, others are willing to do so, quickly and firmly. The real quality, therefore, of the society of America fifteen years from now will be valuated in human terms, and very specifically ~~but~~ by the degree of opportunity available to each and every individual of American.

[I am not here preaching a sermon, so to speak, for just equal opportunity because it's a nice thing to say, nor am I saying it only because it's in our creed, ^{that} within itself would be ~~and~~ adequate reason. I want to see every American be a participant in the responsibilities of American life because the load we must carry from here on out requires that everyone carry his share. [Let me continue to pose my concern to you

in the form of questions and I do it because, ^{Ladies and Gentlemen,} I don't think any-one of us ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ alone have the answers. If there ever was a time, for humility, it's now; if there ever was a time to even admit our inadequacies, it's now; if there ever was a time to reach out ~~for~~ ^{for} a guidance, it's now; if there ever was a time for Americans to bind together as never before, it's now. I go across this country not telling people that I have the answers, but telling the American people that together we can find the answers and together is the only way I know.

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Ben Franklin was a wise old man and at the time of our constitutional convention when it seemed like it would break up in parts; when it would be a total failure and you might remember that in light of some of the ~~criticisms~~ ^{criticisms} of other countries these days, ~~cause~~ we didn't have a very easy start. It was Ben Franklin who rose in the Consitutinal Convention, ^{and} by the way, there wasn't a single reporter there either, ^{they} they locked the doors, you know, I am not advocat~~ing~~ it, but I thought that we ~~should~~ ^{were} ought to just put it ~~on~~ the record. All Executive sessions ^{were} absolutely private, Ben Franklin rose and said we will either hang together or we will hang separately. That is ^a doctrine that every American ~~must~~ ought to remember. The differences ~~is~~ that divide us are minute; they ^{MINIMAL} as compared to the great things that ought to unite us. So we ask these questions: Will the liberties of the American citizens mean as much as they ~~should~~ should to you and to those around you, when they are measured in terms of real opportunity? Will all of us have an opportunity to take advantage of the tremendous advances in medical science, to be protected from sickness and to be cared for when we are ill? ~~I~~ I compliment President Brown, your great organization, on your tremendous ~~program~~ ~~this wonderful~~ program of health care, medical care for your members. It is one of the inspirations, may I say, to organizations all over our nation. Now there are some who say, for example—about our Medicare, our government program, that they say it's enough, ~~program~~ Nineteen million Americans are now already covered, by a program instituted over a year ago. Four million patients have already received hospital care, ^{Hospitals} hospitals have received over Ten billion dollars in payments, cash, ~~not on the books~~ and over twenty-five ^{million} medical bills have been paid since the passage of Medicare.

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 So Some say ^o medical care has gone far enough. It is a privilege and not a right. Do any more and you will interfere with the rights of the individual. Well, I happen to believe that medicare represents great progress, but I also happen to believe that 15 years from now it will be looked upon as a beginning and we will be keeply ^{ashamed} as a nation if one-third of our population ^{who} today, have no regular access to doctors or dentists, are still deprived of medical care. What a pity it is, and I find this in my work and I have ^{one} of the most interesting jobs in America--I'm a general practitioner, a specialist in no particular art. I travel abroad and travel in this country, I see more people per month, I believe, than almost any public official. I've traveled a half-a-million miles since I've been Vice-President. I will, today, have been in my 47th state, I've been in 26 foreign countries, four continents and I've had 567 separate missions by my Government in less than three years as Vice-President. I have traveled into the back alleys and into the beautiful boulevards and into the fancy hotels and into the tenement districts, out into rural america where there is poverty and out into the great ranches where there is plenty. [I think I know this country and I'll tell you, my dear friends, it is a wonderful country to know, but you also get to know not only its beauties but its difficulties; not only its ~~glories~~ glories but its shame and when I think of the hundreds of thousands of young men and women, boys and girls, who have never been to a dentist, never had a chance, never had a medical examination, never been to a doctor, then I think of our great colleges and universities, the world's finest medical profession, the greatest healing arts the world has ever known. I say something must be done about it and I do not advocate that the government do it. I advocate that we build a society into which those that need that care have the means of obtaining it, have the means of obtaining it. Now what about education

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and training, because without it there is little or nothing. [Oh, I know there was a time that you didn't need much--those times are long past and ~~you~~ you can always find somebody that didn't spend his time in school and became a phenomenom success. But I can find you, for everyone like that, a hundred, yea, a thousand, that were failures or in trouble. On the street corners of american cities today stand thousand and thousands of school drop-outs.

[In our job corp centers are hundreds of thousands of youngsters that never got by the fourth or fifth grades or, if they had a chance to get ~~through~~ through high school, they have a fifth-grade reading ability and I am an old teacher and I'm not proud to say what I just said. Will every american have an opportunity to get all the ~~extra~~ education he could use? I think we had better make up our minds that he ought to. Will he have training and re-training, capable of giving people skills which will enable them to lead productive lives in an economy of rapid technological ~~change~~ change? Are we going to spend our money on jobs and training or are we going to spend it on welfare? I think we have to make up our minds.

2 [Will your children now in grammar school be able to find a place in a college, worthy of being called a college or a technical institute? We are going to double the college population of this country in the next 15 years---we are going to have to build more college classrooms between now ~~and 1976~~ and 1976 than we built in the last two hundred years. ~~They~~ We are going to be busy and if somebody says there isn't much left to do, I've got work for them!

[But, we've done great things already, ~~with~~ but what we have done is the platform from whence we seek greater achievements. Six million young americans are in college, starting this month; over six million, ~~not six and a half,~~ ~~tremendous~~. Over a million of them are there because of federal scholarships or some federal loan,

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^{the} wisest investment ^{S/} this government will ever make. Headstart for the little ones.

You have it all over the country now, giving little children their first chance for a decent environment in many instances. Two million of them. Almost two million. I use the two million figure; it will be so by this September, the end of this month. They will have a chance for a better life. ~~Jan~~

Job Corps Centers established just two years ago have already graduated over 60 thousand graduates and 41 thousand of them have jobs ~~and~~ let me give you an indication of what this means. Everyone of them, by the way, was a problem. Everyone ~~ix~~ of the volunteers in a Job Corp Center was a school dropout. I mention this because ~~one~~ once in a while you know I do ~~sometimes~~ read these critical comments, and there's plenty of reading, and I read an article just last night that said what a shame, what a waste of money, the Job Corps KR Program. Thirty-five percent of all Job Corps enrollees drop out. That's true, but when you read it it makes you wonder if it's worth the effort. But you would like to know that 40 percent of all college students drop out. The Job Corps kids are five percent better than Princeton. But I don't want to be misunderstood. I think Princeton is going a good job. ~~and~~ I ~~w~~ always wanted to go there ~~and~~, never quite made it. But let me tell you something else, every ~~ga~~ boy and girl ~~that~~ ^{who} went through a Job Corps Center was a dropout before he arrived. ~~It's~~ We are ~~xx~~ saving some lives. Oh, we are spending money, and I read about how much money we are ~~spending~~ spending, but what we spend on a trainee in a Job Corps Center is one-third what it costs to have a juvenile delinquent, one-third. If we had half as much interest in saving young people's lives as we have in analyzing them and ~~criticizing~~ criticizing those that have gone wrong I think we would be making ~~more~~ more progress in this country. ~~We need~~ We need to know that out of those better than 60 thousand Job Corps graduates, 41,000 got jobs in private industry. They had none before. Their average rate of pay is \$1.91 an hour. Before they went in any of them that had jobs their average rate was 70 cents an hour. Besides they got medical care, good food. They got some training. They got a sense of self-respect. So we have done something.

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But will this be enough fifteen years from now? I doubt it. Will we still have poor schools in poor neighborhoods which can't afford only to pay poor salaries for poor teachers? Schools which will turn bright-eyed youngsters into poor students and poor workers and poor citizens? Will young people coming out of the schools fifteen years from now find jobs and hope or unemployment and despair? Because, listen, if you don't think ahead ten to fifteen years, you've already lost the chance to get on the train of progress. Things move rapidly these days. What about our cities? Well, I don't have all the answers again, but I got questions. I don't think people know really what causes the riots. They know some of the conditions that lend themselves to it but there are cities that have had ~~none~~ no riots and cities that have had riots. Some cities that have had ~~them~~ the finest of programs, the best of community action, have had serious violence. Some cities that have had little or no program, no community action, have had no riots. So when you hear somebody come out and say, "Well I have got the answer, just don't believe it." I read the other day where I was accused of saying ~~that~~ that Congress caused the riots. Now, just how ridiculous can anybody get? What I said was, and, Frank, I think you will agree with me, that when Congress failed to pass important legislation designed to ~~improve~~ improve the social and economic life of people it aids and abets frustration. Frustration is one of the factors which can lead to social disorder. All we need is ~~more~~

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 a few more Congressmen like Frank Evans. [Now quickly about our cities: Seventy per cent of our people live in cities now and by the year 1980, 80 per cent will live there, so we are going to live in our cities and die in the cities. Are we going to make them liveable places or let them rot from within? The federal government will supply over ~~XXX~~ ten billions of dollars of aid to the cities this year, and when you hear somebody say we ought to do more just remember we are having a tough time getting that much. ~~ten~~ ten billion dollars is no small potatoes. ~~XXX~~ [Oh, I got raked over the coals recently by some people because I said we should have a Marshall Plan for cities, and they said, "There goes that Humphrey again, advocating ~~XXX~~ vast sums of money." Why ~~XXX~~ the Marshall plan only cost thirteen and a half billions of dollars in five years, for the total five years. We are going to put ten billion, three hundred million dollars into cities of america on federal revenues this year, one year. I apologize for being such a conservative. But the interesting thing is those who are the critics didn't know what we were doing. Lack of communication. [We are spending three times as much this year as we did only five years ago. So if it were money alone that would do the trick that would answer our problems, I think that we would have fewer aches and pains. But it isn't just money. Don't misunderstand me somebody once said money isn't the best thing in the world and another fellow said yes but it runs a good second best. It is important, but it is not everything. ~~set~~ I submit that ~~set~~ each of us is to have a decent place to live at a price that we can afford and that is not revolutionary doctrine, the late Robert Taft put that in the ~~housing~~ housing act of 1949. [We are going to need two million new urban housing units every year from this day on for the coming decade. We are building about a million, two hundred thousand.

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If we are not to waste our leisure hours getting to and from work we are going to need transportation facilities to ~~move~~ move not a hundred million people but two hundred million safely and quickly, starting this coming year--that is going to be the population this coming year. When I came to Congress, I don't want to take credit for all this now, ~~but~~ in 1948 the population was a hundred and fifty million. (We are going to need efficient rapid transit systems in heavy populated urban corridors. We are going to need new parks and recreation facilities and we'll need clean air and clean water, ~~none~~ ^{none} of which we now enjoy in many areas. Even as the physical and cultural facilities of our cities will improve, we are going to need better law enforcement.* There is so much ahead to do, but we can do it if we have the will. We have the resources, we have the know-how and we have the means. All we need as a nation is to have the will and ^{the} determination.)

(I have always believed that the greatness of america was attributal to one single accomplishment. That what some people thought was impossible we made possible and the difference between an ordinary country and a great country, an ordinary individual and a great individual, is the capacity and the ability to accomplish what some people say is the impossible. America has been doing the impossible for all of its history and that is why it is where it is today--the greatest nation on the earth.

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[We have been doing some other things that have been helpful to fair labor standards. When they started out it was 20 cents an hour ~~x~~ last year we raised it to a dollar-forty, ~~and in~~ ^{at} the beginning of this year ~~x~~ it will go up this coming year to \$1.60. That is one of the greatest success stories in the war on poverty that America has ever known because it touched the lives of ~~xxx~~ eight to nine million people ~~x~~ but surely none of us would ever think for a moment that ~~x~~ a dollar-forty was an adequate wage for the years ahead because at a dollar-forty you still live in a condition that would be ~~xx~~ called poor or, as some ~~x~~ people put it, in poverty. But at least we have made some progress and that's the story. [We fought for it and this union fought for it. You had a great part in the campaign that made it possible in the beginning. ~~x~~ But you and I know that this was only a step in the right direction. Therefore, I call upon my friends in the trade unions, the labor unions of America ~~x~~ to take a look at all of these ~~xxxx~~ questions that I have asked and to take note of the progress that we have made, and yet of the progress that must be made, and to say to yourselves, look, the fight has just started. The battle is yet to be won. We made the first step and it is indeed the longest part of the journey, that first step. But there is more to do. [Oh, I hear people today say, well what is left to do, we have done so much. Well, the labor movement knows better. Unions must continue to lead. They must continue to grow and they must continue to help to extend their help and protection to the millions of American workers who still lack the benefits of union membership ~~x~~ and let me say now to the younger members of this union, you have a special obligation to continue organized labor's historic struggle for the rights of all working people. For it is you who have benefited the most from the hard-fought victories of those who went before you. It is ^y might _h hard to explain this to some people. [My own young son ⁽⁻⁾ youngest son ⁽⁻⁾ last year, he ~~xx~~ was a freshman at a university, ~~xxx~~ called me up in desperation one day. He said, "Dad, do you know anything about the Depression?" I said, "Douglas, your dad has been trying to tell you for the last six years about the depression." ~~x~~ He said, "Yeah, but I never paid any attention to it". I said, "Now, what's ~~x~~ your interest?"



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He said, "I have to write a term paper on the depression." Well, I sure thank that professor. He made my young son ~~the~~ at least remember one thing, that there was the depression. He may~~s~~ only remember~~s~~ it long enough to get the term paper in but at least he found out that ~~and~~ Dad wasn't spoofing him all the time. ^{It's} ~~apropos~~ ^{apropos} to what I am saying. People generally understand their experience. ^S But I appeal to those who have ~~had~~ not had to go through the experience of literally battling for the rights to be a union member. Battling and fighting and dying for the right of collective bargaining, which is a precious right in this country. I ask those new union members who have benefited from these earlier struggles to give of yourself now, to help in the broader struggle in America. To help build and maintain this union and others. ^{The} ~~Struggle~~ ^{struggle} must go on. ^I I could list a whole lot of other areas in which we have made remarkable progress in recent years but I shan't do so. You know it. There's one thing I want to emphasize. There is no guaranty of automatic ~~or automatic~~ or automated progress. It doesn't come naturally. It comes because you make it come. It takes everlasting vigilance and persistent effort. You didn't build this union by accident and you haven't had 115 years of good history of good unionism because somebody didn't care. You did it because you had leadership, & dedicated membership, because you knew that it meant something, and the same is true of your country. Now I hear ~~people~~ people say, both ~~inside~~ and outside government, that we have done enough. We have got an ~~awful~~ awful lot of people down in Washington these days that say, put on the brakes. Slow down. We've gone too far, too fast, too much. Well, these are the folks ^{who} ~~that~~ ought to get themselves a bottle of political geritol and start ~~it~~ all over.

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I was a former pharamicist. I got my pharamcy education in Denver. I thought I'd get a plug in for the business, and I might let you know that Humphrey's Drugstore is still in business, ~~in~~ in South Dakota. I always put in a commerial even if some ~~people~~ people think it's ^a conflict of interest. Well, now these tired people that I speak of, they usually find excuses for not wanting to do more. Some of them say, as I said, we've gone too far, too fast and done too much. Oh! they've got a lot of reasons, ~~and~~ then there's another new excuse now, and that's called the war in Viet Nam. They say we can't afford to meet our national commitments abroad and at the same time build schools, ^{train} teachers, and open opportunities for the poor at home. Of course they ignore the fact that we ~~will~~ ^{WILL} have seven hundred and seventy-five billion dollars gross national products for this year, which will be ~~four~~ forty-six percent of the total gross national product of the entire world. ~~In America~~. My fellows Americans, just take and remember that, what I've ~~and~~ told you. We have almost half of the total gross national product of the whole world, here in America! Now, my dear friends, if we can't do things to help people, who do you think can? If we can't win the war on poverty in America, how do you expect them to win it in Asia ~~and~~ ~~Latin America~~ or Latin America, or Africa or Europe? And the late and beloved Pope John said, ~~that~~ "Where there is ^{constant} consent ~~and~~ want and poverty, there is no peace." The greatest single threat to a peaceful society is poverty itself, lack of opportunity, so as we fulfill our national commitments abroad we need to fulfill our national commitments at home. You see, I don't agree with these tired people; I don't think that America can afford to have about fifteen percent of ~~its~~ its people living in sub-standard levels; I ~~do~~ don't think we can afford it economically or morally. I agree ~~with~~ with the president, and I think you do to, without any regard to ~~participation~~ ^{share} participation when you remember his words and his message to congress this last year. I repeat them: "This nation is mighty enough, its society is healthy enough, its people are strong enough to pursue our goals in the rest of the world while still building a great society here at home! Now that's language for ~~for~~ the land of the free and the home of the brave,"

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that's the kind of talk we ought to have. Investments in human resources, not waste, not expenditures, - investments. ^{13/8} A recent ~~economic~~ economic study by the famed ~~economic~~ economist, Mr. Dennison, ^{to} reveals some of the reasons for American economic growth, ^{the} he said that ^a 23% of that growth from the period of 1930 up to this time was ^{due} to an improvement in the educational level of the ~~work~~ workers and another 20% was due to advanced knowledge, higher education and about 15% was ^{attributed} ~~attributed~~ to the expansion of capital investments. So the investment, not only in capital goods, was important, but the most important investment was in people, not in machines. ² This is what we ~~mean~~ mean by the technological gap that they talk about between Europe and America; the rest of the world and America. ² This is why America is able to compete and this is why some of the arguments that when you say that an American worker is better paid than some other workers and, therefore, you can't compete, it falls flat on it's face, because that American worker is more productive, not only because of the investment in plant and equipment, but because of the investment in him, in education, in a better home and health ^{and} and all of the conditions of environment that make him a better man. That's why ² this country is strong, that's why it's rich. Woodrow Wilson put it so beautifully. ^{He} He said: "America is not as rich as the money in it's banks or the investment in it's industries, or it's soil or it's force; America is as rich as it's people." It's people educated, it's people healthy, it's people with faith in America.

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the richness of this country. But if you have to have ~~extra~~ economic reasons for it, let me give you them. They are uncontestable, they are factual. ^{LA} A recent study by none other than the ^WBrookings Institution—it is a great economic group—indicates that every dollar that has been invested by ~~the~~ government, federal state or local, in health, education, housing, developing natural resources, ^lpollution control and ^Acommunity development, ~~for~~ for every dollar of government money it generates two dollars and forty cents worth of private investment and it adds ten dollars to the gross national product. Ten dollars, ten for one, that is a ~~rightly~~ mighty good return, even on a wild stock, much less a solid stable one, and it is a good return that any banker would welcome. But America isn't ~~is~~ just a nation of bankers—we are a nation that has grown and prospered on the basis of individual opportunity—we are a nation that has discovered that the assurance of full human rights and opportunity for all does not detract from the well ~~lex~~ being of the majority but rather enhances it. We are a nation that believes in the words of Franklin Roosevelt, that "The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have already too much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

(So my plea to you today is "Let's get on with the job." ~~And~~ And that same Franklin Roosevelt, in his message, his final message, to the american people put it so brilliantly, ~~like~~ like a great ~~and~~ sermon when he said "We must move forward." A man ^{who} ~~that~~ couldn't walk, crippled, said America must move forward, and then he told us how ~~with a strong and an active active~~ ~~bit~~. ["] It was John Kennedy who told ~~the~~ the American people, let's get this country moving again, let's begin ["]—and we did. And it was Lyndon Johnson who told America "Let us continue and go on to build the great society which is not a safe harbor but which represents a constant challenge."

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MORE HUMPHREY

No 1348

Transcriber's
Initials HC

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 Well, these tired folks, and I have sympathy for them, they are never quite able to catch up, Geritol or no Geritol! Just as they are ~~about~~, grudgingly about to accept the present, they miss the whole deal. It slips into the past. It is like a fast-moving train or plane; they reach up now for it and it is gone. They are saved from themselves only by the foresight and dedication of others. You know who they are.

Well, I just want to go on record here todayd I'm not too tired to carry on the struggle for a better future. I believe in this country. I guess I've been accused of being of sort of an unabashed, simple patriot. I like it! I read an article that said there was just one thing wrong with Humphrey ⁽⁻⁾ if he ever had any intellectual attainment, he's lost it, and in politics today he is nothing but a simple, unabashed patriot. I thought that was just the finest friend I ever had x he didn't think he was, but he was to my way of thinking x he gave to me the best compliment x and your administration is not tired either, and I think I know that you are not. [I leave you with the thoughts of a departed President because it is all a part of this country and it is all a part of what ~~at~~ we are trying to do x there is no conflict of interest. I sat there on that platform that cold wintry day in January, 1961, when I heard the then President, that young man, stand there ~~in that cold wintry day~~ and say these words: "Let every nation know whether it wishes us well or ill that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and the success of liberty." Those are the words of John Kennedy.

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Nº 1349

Transcriber's
Initials He

HUMPHREY (CONT)

No, my dear friends, we are following that doctrine. That isn't a doctrine ^{to} at ease. It's ~~not~~ not a commitment to luxury. It's not a free pass to the promised land. The words that he ~~spoke~~ spoke were words of sacrifice, of courage, of testing, and we are being tested now. We are being tested in Southeast Asia. We are being tested in Europe. We are being tested all over the world. We are being tested here at home. And I know it is very easy for some people to say, oh, let's give up. ~~Walkxxxxxxx~~ Or let's get out, or let's quit. ~~xxxxx~~ Ladies and gentlemen, America is not just a piece of land nor is it two hundred million people. American is not just geography nor is it just history. America represents the hundreds of millions of people in this world that live in fear and destitution, that live under tyranny, that are the victims of aggression and violence and misery and poverty. American represents their hope, maybe their only hope. And if we abandon them now, who will help them? If we fold up our tents and steal away in the night, who will be there in the field of battle tomorrow? If we give up, who shall stand and meet ~~the forces~~, ~~of freedom~~ the enemies of freedom. This is what it's all about. Oh, it's so easy to come before an audience and say it can all be done so easily. It would be so easy for me to come and tell you that all we have and all we want is just peace, peace, peace. Of course, every sane man wants peace, but peace does not come for the wishing of it. Progress does not come because you like it. Freedom is not free. Democracy is not demagoguery. Peace comes through work and sacrifice and ~~please~~ ^{travail.} It even comes, ^{please,} if you ~~please~~ sometimes through unbelievable pain. Peace comes through development, through economic progress. Peace is active, not passive. It's affirmative, not negative. It represents strength, not weakness. It comes only to the strong, not the weak. It comes to the brave, not the timid. It comes to those who will man the ramparts of freedom when they are being tested and assaulted. It doesn't come just because you carry a sign; I it comes because you have faith and conviction and because you'll ~~stand~~ stand your ground. So I'm proud of my country today, with all of its troubles, and I think it's about time that my fellow Americans,



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all of us, started to speak up for America. I don't think you prove yourself a great man, an intellectual or a liberal, by just being a harping critic. I don't think you prove yourself a friend of common man or the ordinary citizen or the downtrodden by telling them that all that needs to be done is to help them and to ignore others. Remember, that this nation is what we said it was supposed to be, or, at least, this nation is supposed to be what we say it's supposed to be. Your children have said it in school today and I think this is the secular scripture that you should take home and say to yourself with conviction and meaning and undying faith every morning. The flag of the United States is there. It's at every public meeting, at least in most instances. To us it's the ^{Flag} ~~Flag~~. To other people it is their symbol of life, of liberty and of the pursuit of happiness. To them it's freedom, ~~To~~ us it's a stage adornment all too often. But remember the pledge of allegiance and that pledge of allegiance gives the message of this country more cogently, more succinctly, more meaningfully than any message that I can think of.

MORE H HUMPHREY

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I pledge a^{ll}legiance to the Flag of the United States. We do it every day, and to the Republic for which it stands, and then comes the words that count: ~~MEME~~
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ "One nation, ^{ll}not two; the rich or the poor, the black or the white; under God, not under presidents, vice-presidents or unions, or chambers of commerce, but under God, recognizing our sense of inadequacy, recognizing concepts of human dignity, One Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. My fellow americans that is not just a recitation for children--that should be the prayer and the commitments of every citizen of this land--to unite our people to recognize the meaning of man and his relationship to his God, to remember that this nation is only strong when it is united and when it is indivisible and to remember that there is no liberty for you or for me unless there is liberty for everyone and there is no justice for you or for me that can be assured unless there is justice for everyone. Liberty and justice for all.

Thank you very much.

END HUMPHREY

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Transcriber's
Initials He





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