

UNITED DEMOCRATS FOR HUMPHREY
1100 17th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY
AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES

BAL HARBOUR, FLORIDA

June 4, 1968

Samuel Gompers spoke for all of American labor when he said, "I want ... freedom to achieve and I will never consent to anything else."

George Meany -- labor statesman of the world and magnificent American -- has given this purpose its still fuller dimension:

"The distinguishing feature of the American system is its emphasis on people, on freedom, on free institutions, and on the opportunity for betterment."

"People." "Freedom to achieve." "The Opportunity for betterment." That is the message of Jerry Wurf, and those are the purposes of this great union which has stepped forward to claim justice for public employees across our nation.

That is the blueprint for America's still unfinished edifice of democracy.

* * *

What of that edifice in 1968?

By any measure it has grown in the last seven years in civil rights ... in economic opportunity ... in everything that makes further progress possible.

There was the historic Economic Opportunity Act ... and the Model Cities Act ... and the Housing acts ... and health acts ... and Medicare ... and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act ... and a dollar sixty minimum wage ...

and more and more and more. Labor's vote has been "Aye" to all of them.

There is the fact that our federal investment in education in the last four years has been double what we spent in the previous century ... that we are investing three times as much in health today as we were in 1964.

In the past seven years, the individual worker's real purchasing power -- what he can buy with what he gets -- has gone up 18 percent.

There are 10 million more people at work now than there were in 1961 -- and unemployment has been cut by more than a third despite an unprecedented increase in the work force.

Twelve million Americans have moved above the poverty line.

There are two and a quarter million more boys and girls in college now than there were seven years ago.

Social Security benefits are up by 13 percent.

By any measure, "freedom to achieve" and "opportunity for betterment" have reached new heights for millions of Americans.

* * *

But today an even more important measure must concern us -- the measure of the tasks as yet undone ... of lingering poverty in a society of plenty ... of hard-core unemployment in an economy of full employment ... and of hunger and malnutrition in the world's greatest food-producing nation.

Our country is still only half awake, half at work, about what poverty really means.

For too many people, it's still only a bad dream -- about a riot in a slum.

I am going to drive it home hard in this campaign not just that poverty in this country is wrong -- but that it can be eliminated -- by us -- in our time.

We have only to marshall the great human spirit of this country in order to mobilize fully its infinite resources.

We are probably the only nation in history where the poor -- by our standard -- are a minority. Let's say so.

We have come a long way. Let's say so.

We have everything we need now to go the whole way -- let's say so and let's go.

* * *

To speak now in specifics:

Our most immediate need is to plan now for what comes after Vietnam.

Peace will come in Vietnam. Are we clear what we will do then with the victory of peace?

In 1954, after Korea, the meaning of peace in the world was recession and retreat in America. We cannot let that happen again -- especially not at a time when our ability to root out poverty depends so heavily upon continued growth of revenue and job opportunities.

In the context of our new hopes for the disadvantaged people of America, it would be a double tragedy if a cease-fire order in Vietnam meant a cease progress order in America. That must not be.

And it would be wrong -- criminally wrong -- if young men who fought from an integrated bunker in Ke Sahn came back to the frustration of living in a segregated slum.

That must not be.

Specific number two is jobs ... decent jobs at decent wages.

The right to earn a living is a basic human right.

You in this union -- the fastest growing union in the country -- are today in the forefront in protecting this human right through the essential process of organization and collective bargaining.

You are helping make this right real in the lives of those... and their families ... who need this help most.

There is no excuse for denying the rights of organization and collective bargaining to anyone just because he works for the public.

It is wrong to ask or expect employees to subsidize public or non-profit organizations by working at sub-marginal wages.

The right to earn a living, of course, has to depend on being willing and able to work. Sometimes this means special opportunity for training.

I hope and believe that we are creative enough -- and our free enterprise economy is vital enough -- to make permanent and productive use of the energies and talents of all our people, so that we need not resort to publicly - financed make-work projects. For it is not work alone but dignity and hope that we are seeking to provide.

The third specific I offer you today (and this is by no means an exhaustive list) is an educational minimum wage for every American child -- a guaranteed standard of adequate educational opportunity from pre-school on up.

Specific number four: a better form of "income maintenance" than our present welfare system.

The welfare system we have today mocks justice. It fosters dependency rather than independence. It aims to provide minimum support rather than maximum opportunity. It is a stop-gap which is no longer good enough for America.

I believe America is now ready to face up to the hard question of how to even things up without whittling people down and without destroying their incentive and self-respect.

We must be prepared to act on the basis of the comprehensive report now being prepared by the President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs.

Specific five: 1968 is the year when we must unequivocally decide to make an adequate diet the birthright of every American child.

It is wrong -- it is immoral -- not to use the full capacity of American farms to produce food when there is hunger in America and starvation in the world.

This country just hasn't faced up to the facts that newborn American babies die of malnutrition .. that as others become toddlers their minds are being affected by irreversible brain damage because of protein deficiency... and that a good many more never get very much into their heads at school because they don't have enough food in their stomachs.

We know that the full answer to hunger in America lies in the complicated process of giving every citizen the skills and opportunity he needs to be able to afford an adequate diet. We will realize that goal. But we know it will take time.

I don't think we have to wait when it comes to the fundamental business of assuring every citizen enough to eat.

And finally this: We must see that public order is preserved.

Every American citizen -- black and white, rich and poor -- has a fundamental right to live free of fear and intimidation.

There is no excuse for violence in our democratic society. The idea that violence will remedy social ills is an age-old fallacy which has brought untold suffering to mankind. America need not and will not tolerate it.

But let me also issue a warning. In the months ahead you are going to hear appeals for "law and order" which are nothing more than an alibi for inaction on some very real injustices.

Not so long ago the alibi was the threat of socialism. Then it was the balanced budget. And each time human progress has been a casualty.

America in 1968 cannot again afford excuses. We need action.

For there can be no order without progress, any more than there can be progress without order. America needs both.

* * *

Martin Luther King, whose memory you honored here today ... who died in your cause and the cause of America ... once said:

" I have audacity to believe that people everywhere can have three meals a day for their bodies, education and culture for their minds, and dignity, equality and freedom for their spirits."

Is that dream too great... that objective too noble for us?

I say it is not.

I believe we can have an America free of slums...

Free of dissension...

Free of bigotry...

Free of illiteracy...

Free of fear and hate...

Filled with opportunity.

That's the America I see. That's my dream.

And together we are going to make that American dream come true.

We have started. We know the ways and means -- and we will find still better ones.

The only question now is: Do we have the will to do the full job? That is what the 1968 election is about.

I know I have the will.

I know you have the will.

I believe the American People have the will.

I intend to call it forth.

I ask your help.

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Cong. Pepper

REMARKS

Jerry Wurf

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE,

COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES

BAL HARBOUR, FLORIDA

JUNE 4, 1968

17th
Int. Conv.

Henry Kaiser

Gen. Counsel
about
Father Blatz

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my vote Aye

60 votes - 60 1/2

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↳ The right to productive employment at a decent
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∟ For there can be no order without progress, any more than there can be progress without order.

∟ America needs both. *Saw and order coupled with justice!*

Martin Luther King, whose memory you honored here today...who died in your cause and the cause of America...once said:

"I have the audacity to believe that people everywhere can have three meals a day for their bodies, education and culture for their minds, and dignity, equality and freedom for their spirits."

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VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you, Jerry. Jerry, you smile while you get your picture taken here. (Laughter)

My good friend, Jerry Wurf, the distinguished president of this great International, the officers of this fine Union, our visitors from foreign lands that have come here to see American trade unionism at work at its best, my long-time associate, very close and dear friend, Congressman Claude Pepper, who has already, I understand, addressed you.

You will never find them better than when you see Claude Pepper. (Applause)

How happy I was, Jerry, when I came in here to see another old associate of mine, a young fellow, Henry Kaiser, down there just taking care of things and making sure that this International is doing the right thing all the time as your General Counsel. (Applause)

Jerry, I hope you won't mind if I take just a moment to brag on Minnesota. (Cheers and applause.)

You're beginning to act like Texans. (Laughter)

Well, we are very proud. We are very proud of our County and Municipal Employees in the State of Minnesota and we are very, very proud of Father Albert Blatz who is here with us, too. (Applause)

Father Blatz, I believe, escorted me into the convention two years ago; so I have the best of escorts, the very

best, and I have the best of support from back home there, the very best. (Applause)

You certainly gave me a breezy and a windy trip down here, Jerry. I guess you just wanted to see whether I really wanted to come to this convention. (Laughter)

Well, I'll tell you, a man in my position will work awfully hard to get an endorsement. (Laughter and applause.)

I'm glad that wind took place before I arrived; otherwise there might be those that say that I caused it. (Laughter)

I come to you as an old friend and as a partner in your progress. I have visited with the locals of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees all over this country. I have seen your people in practically every state and I hesitate to even mention one besides my home state because I would have to go down the list of all fifty, but I think it can be said for the public record that there is no finer body of men and women in the Union movement of America than the group that I face here today and the people that you represent, and I'm proud to be with you. (Applause)

I thought that in the time that we had here today I could talk to you a little bit, not only where we've been; where we are; but hopefully where we are going. Let me just refresh your memory a little from the gems of the past.

When I was a boy Samuel Gompers was the hero of the

American labor movement, and Samuel Gompers spoke for all of American labor and I think he spoke for all Americans when he said these words-- and they are just as relevant today as when he said them. Here is what that good man said:

"I want freedom to achieve and I will never consent to anything else."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is pure Americana.

"I want freedom to achieve."

I want my place in the sun, I want to be a man, I want to be a woman, I want to be something and I will never consent to anything else.

In our time George Meany, labor statesman, not only in America but of the world, and a magnificent American, has given this purpose its still fuller dimension in our time. Listen to his words:

"The distinguishing feature of the American system is its emphasis on people, on freedom, on free institutions, and on the opportunity for betterment."

Ladies and gentlemen, that is the concise and precise definition of what America is all about, right in those words: Emphasis on people, on freedom, on free institutions and the opportunity for betterment. That is what America stands for.

This country of ours isn't just a piece of geography, it's an idea about man and his relationship to his fellow man; man and his relationship to his government; man and his relationship to his

community; man and his relationship to his God; and that has been stated in these two messages, one from Mr. Gompers and one from Mr. Meany.

Listen to the words that are emphasized: "People. Freedom to achieve. The opportunity for betterment."

Now, that is the message of Jerry Wurf. I know, I have worked with this man and those are the great purposes of this great Union which has boldly stepped forward to claim justice for public employees all across our nation, and in recent days you have had to stand up, and my how you've had to stand up for justice in some parts of this nation, but you have won your victories not for this Union but you have won them for people, for humanity.

Now, that is the blueprint for America's still unfinished edifice of democracy.

People, human betterment, the opportunity for betterment, freedom to achieve--that is what freedom now means; that is what, "We Shall Overcome" means. That is what government of the people, by the people, for the people means. That is what America means.

Now, what about this edifice of democracy in 1968? Where are we? Well, I am not one of these Americans that think that this society of ours is about ready to break up.

I am not one of these Americans that stands around like a medicine man and proclaims that America is sick.

I'm one of these Americans that thinks that America is changing; I am one of those Americans that knows that there is ferment, that there is restlessness in America, but there is not the stench of decay, but rather the fresh winds of change and the fresh winds of change for the better, the opportunity for betterment.

(Applause)

Well, where do we stand right now? Oh, I know you can just frighten the living daylights out of people if you just paint the gruesome picture, and some people have the feeling that if you paint how bad it is it shows that you have deep concern.

Ladies and gentlemen, just to tell a person how sick he is doesn't make him well, nor does it show that you love him.

(Applause)

We know that we have problems. Every member of this Union lives with those problems, but you also have some faith that you can overcome them.

By any measure this country of ours has done amazing things the last few years, these last seven years. Look what happened when I came to Washington some years ago and stood up for civil rights. I was hooted down. I didn't win any popularity contests, I can tell you that.

But in the last seven years we have moved forward in the fronts of civil rights far beyond the hopes and the dreams of even its most militant advocate.

Look what has happened in the fields of economic opportunity and everything that makes for further progress. Let me cite them quickly.

There was the historic Economic Opportunity Act. This is what we call the blueprint, the plan of battle in the war on poverty.

Then there is the Model Cities Act, designed to rehabilitate, yes, to revive our aching and troubled cities.

And the Housing Act that we passed just the other day; the greatest housing act ever passed by any body of Congress; a five billion dollar proposal for low-income and middle-income housing in this country.

Then there are the Health Acts that mean so much to our people.

Health. If you have health, you have everything. If you have no health, you have nothing. Health is hope and life itself.

Medicare. When I came into this hotel tonight I had people standing there and they said, "We represent the senior citizens, Mr. Vice President, don't forget us."

No, we don't forget you and may I say the man that is talking to you now didn't forget them 17, 18 years ago. (Applause)

When in 1949, the month of May, I ventured forth to introduce the first medicare bill, a bill to provide hospital and nursing home care under the terms of Social Security for persons aged

65 and over, I'd hate to tell a mixed audience what I was called. My mother brought me up to be a better man than that.

But every kind of epithet was attached. We lived to see it. We didn't give up.

Patient perserverance, constant drive, and in the year of 1965 in Independence, Missouri, in the presence of Harry S. Truman, who gave us the first plan of action for Medicare, President Lyndon Johnson signed the Medicare Bill and I sat alongside of those two great presidents, knowing that some of our work at least had been accomplished. (Applause)

Aid to elementary and secondary education, and a \$1.60 minimum wage, and nine million more people under its coverage, and more and more.

Now, whose program is this? This isn't my program alone. It isn't the president's program alone. It isn't the Democratic Party's alone. It's been labor's program.

Every measure that I have talked about has been resolutely in favor of, supported by this Union. You have asked those of us that you have helped elect, "Make these things come true, Mr. Vice President. Make these things law, Mr. Congressman. Make these things your policy, Mr. President."

Frankly, we have kept the faith, we have done what you asked to have done.

Now, labor's vote on all of these measures, to simplify

it, has been, "Aye." My vote has been, "Aye."

Listen, I have been listed in the labor checklist on votes that are important to labor 60 times in my time in the United States Senate; and on 60 roll call votes, 60 times I was registered as having voted right. Now, you can't beat that record. (Applause)

So when some Johnny-come-lately comes around and says, "Now, Mr. Vice President, where do you stand?"

I say, "I've been standing and I have been running and I have been pushing a long, long time with my friends in the labor movement." (Applause)

Now, there is the fact about our federal investment in education. What is the fact about that?

When I hear people say, "What are we doing?" I read and article today that says, "Humphrey is the status quo man." Listen, I never stood still long enough to be status any place. (Laughter and applause.)

The fellows that are writing that are sitting on their behind while I'm out working. (Laughter and applause.)

Status quo? Listen, ladies and gentlemen, I fought for 16 years in the United States Senate for federal aid to education. The first bill I ever voted on. I'm the author of the first major act on federal aid to education: Aid to school construction in areas with defense activity; one of the authors of the National Science Foundation Act; and I was there in the Congress of the

United States when we passed elementary and secondary aid to education, which today has made possible a better education for nine and one-half million children from the families of the poor in this land. (Applause)

We have spent more and invested more in education in the last four years than in the preceding 200, and we are investing three times as much in health today as we were in 1964.

Status quo? Bologne!

(Laughter)

This is what you call moving forward. In the past seven years the individual workers' real purchasing power has gone up 18 per cent. Now, that is what he can buy with what he gets. There are ten million more people at work right now than there were in 1961, and unemployment has been cut almost in half despite the unprecedented increase in the labor force.

Twelve million Americans--get this figure--twelve million of our brothers and sisters, our fellow Americans, have moved out of the swamp of poverty to the high ground of a decent living. Twelve million of them in the past seven years out of the despair and swamp of poverty into the high ground of a decent living.

Now, that maybe doesn't affect some people too much when you say it, but for those that were the victims of despair and poverty it is a new life for them and I'm proud to have been in government and part of a government that has made that possible.

(Applause)

There are two and one-quarter million more boys and girls in college now than there were seven years ago. Fifty-seven per cent of the American families this afternoon and evening have a son or a daughter in a college or a university, and in ten years 80 per cent of them will have it.

There are more young men and women in America in our universities and colleges than all the rest of the world put together; and a million and a half of them are there under federal grants and scholarships. So we've been standing still; have we?

Well, you know, some people interpret their own life by what they say. This is no stand-still outfit. We are on the right track.

We are moving this country ahead year in and year out, we are moving it ahead in the areas where there needs improvement.

Social Security benefits are up 13 per cent; coverage has been expanded; and I submit to you that there are more people today in training for skills and jobs than there has been at any time in our history--a million and a half of them. Six years ago there weren't ten thousand.

Yes, ladies and gentlemen, we have been busy. We have been busy: 1961, nine billion dollars of this federal treasury in the war on poverty; 1968, 28.7 billion dollars in the war on poverty;

1964, slightly over \$40 billion in our social budget; 1968, \$80 billion in our social budget. And if I seem to press the point, let me tell you when I hear people say we haven't done much, I only remind you that some of the reactionaries think we've done twice too much.

We have been moving and you have helped us. Every program I have talked about is your program and those programs are possible only because you kept some of us there to do the job that you wanted done.

By any measure, freedom to achieve and opportunity for betterment, the standards of Samuel Gompers and George Meany, have reached new heights for millions of our fellow Americans; but that isn't enough. We are a restless people.

You want a new contract every year. By the way, I'm looking for one, too. (Applause)

I want you to do for me what you did for Jerry.
(Laughter and applause.)

You know, I got in a terrible fix. I don't have any seniority clause in my present contract. (Laughter) Not only that, the management decided to quit. (Laughter and applause.)

So, folks, I'm looking for work. (Laughter) If you don't mind, I'd just sort of like to move up the ladder a notch or two-- I'll settle for one notch. (Laughter and applause.)

Well, I want to talk to you now about what there is to

do. I want to talk to you about what we have to do. I told you a little bit about what you have done, but we've got to gear ourselves up for things that need to be done which we haven't done.

There is still too much hard core unemployment in an economy that is as rich as ours, and there are still problems of hunger and malnutrition in the world's greatest food-producing nation. Our country, frankly, is still only half awake, half at work, but what poverty really means and I imagine that most of us that have never really tasted abject poverty can't really understand what it really means, let me just share an intimate fact or two with you.

You will never know the pain of that terrible disease cancer, until you lose one of your loved ones from it. It will get you.

You will never know what it means to talk about retardation until one of your loved ones is a victim of it.

You will never know what it means to suffer the despair and the pain of poverty, unless you have had a little of it yourself.

I suppose I have never been quite that poor, but I do not go around and apologize for the fact that I came from very humble stock. I'll tell you one way to appreciate this country, and that is to have a chance on your own, to make something out of your life in this country.

Then you appreciate it. Then you know what opportunity really means, and I want to see everybody in this country have as good an opportunity as I have had. I have been privileged to have a college education.

Most of it at the expense of the public in tax-supported universities. I have been privileged, if you please, to go through elementary and secondary schools at the expense of the taxpayer, and I tell my young university graduate friends, if you live to be a hundred and you give half of your time to the public and to the community you will only pay the interest on the investment that the community made in your education.

I have been a public servant since 1945, an elected public servant. I've had a lot of privileges and wonderful opportunities, and I like them and I feel that if those opportunities were good for Hubert Humphrey, maybe they are good for somebody whose name I don't even know and I want them to have the same opportunity I've had. (Applause)

Yes, this poverty business, I've seen it. I have traveled this land as few people have. I've been with the richest of the rich and the poorest of the poor; I've been in the great cities and in the areas of world poverty; I've been in the slums and the ghettos and I've been on the Indian reservations and I have been in those beautiful farm homes and countrysides in the Midwest.

I have been in the fancy hotels and I've been on the

battlefields to see our men shot down. I have had a chance as few people have had. I have been in 600 of the American cities and villages and towns since I have been your Vice President.

I have traveled over half a million miles in this America; I have not sat around Washington status quo. I have been on the move. I wanted to see America, I wanted to hear America, I wanted to feel it, and I think I have some understanding of what the people feel and what they are saying.

Poverty. What a shame on this rich nation. I'm going to drive it home hard in this campaign; win, lose or draw. Not just that poverty in this country is wrong, but I am going to drive it home that it can be eliminated and it can be eliminated by us in our time.

We don't need to leave that to our grandchildren.

(Applause)

I will say to you what I have said the length and breadth of this land. I am chairman of the Space Council, so I can speak with some authority. Any nation that can spend what is necessary to put a man on the moon can afford to invest enough to help put a man on his feet right here on earth.

(Standing applause.)

Yes, my friends, we know what we can do. We have come a long ways, so let's say so. We have everything we need now to go the whole way.

We have resources, we have wealth, we have science, technology, we have know-how; the only thing we need is the will, the determination and the leadership. So let's say so and let's go. That is what I want you to do. (Applause)

Now, let me get down to specifics. Our most immediate need is to get with it now, to plan right now for what comes after that day of the victory of peace that is sure to come in Southeast Asia. Our negotiators are in Paris now and the time will come, I can't say when or how long, but thank God it will come.

Then what are we going to do with that peace? There are people here on this platform and out in this audience, some of you veterans of Korea, the war in Korea. It ended in 1954, and what was the meaning of that peace?

First of all, we were prayerfully reverently grateful that we had stopped the killing. Some day man better learn how to settle his disputes without putting young man against young man in mortal combat.

But the meaning of peace to thousands and thousands of your members and thousands and millions of people in America after 1954 was recession; three of them in eight years in retreat and unemployment.

We don't want that again and we don't need to have it. We want peace, we want the battle to cease, we want a cease fire, we

want an honorable durable peace, but we also want to have the victory of peace, which means that we can take these resources which are spared from the war and the battle field and put them to work in saving lives.

Now, how are we going to get that done? You are going to talk about it now. You are going to make that decision in this election. You are going to decide whether or not America is just going to retreat back or whether we are going to take this great power, this great wealth, this great know-how, these talented young men that we have in the armed forces and put them to work in building a better America right here at home.

Oh, I think of what we can do for our disadvantaged people of America. Wouldn't it be a double tragedy for a cease fire order in Vietnam and a cease progress order in America. That must not be and we are going to decide that question.

And it would be wrong; wouldn't it, criminally wrong, if young men who fought from an integrated bunker in Khe San, same mud, same blood, as they say, came back to the frustration of living in a filthy, segregated slum in an American city. We can't let that happen. (Applause)

My fellow Americans, if I'm given the chance to give you some leadership I guarantee you we are not going to let it happen, we cannot let it happen. (Applause)

Now, what is specific number two is jobs, and not just

any old job but decent jobs at decent wages; the right to earn a living is a basic human right.

The right to productive employment at a decent wage is no less a human right than any other. You in this Union, the fastest growing Union in this nation, are today in the forefront of protecting that human right through the essential processes of organization and collective bargaining.

You are helping to make this right real in the lives of those and their families who need help the most, and there is no excuse for denying the rights of organization and collective bargaining to anyone just because he works for the public. (Applause)

Some of you may have forgotten, but I helped organize the AFT around the University of Minnesota, you know, I'm an old hand at this business. (Applause)

You are not talking to some theoretician. I've been there. (Laughter)

We are talking to members of the same family. I say it is wrong to ask or expect employees to subsidize public or non-profit organizations by working at sub-marginal wages. It doesn't help anybody; it hurts everybody. (Applause)

The right to earn a living has, of course, to depend on being willing and able to work. Sometimes this requires special opportunity for training. Most people are trainable, you know that?

Every year I go with the Committee for the Employment

of Handicapped. These are the people that are the wheelchair cases, the people that are the victims of all sorts of physical disabilities.

Ladies and gentlemen, hundreds of thousands of them are being employed today and many of them are better workers than some of us.

Oh, yes, they have less distraction; they're great producers. There is literally a gold mine of talent and productivity in the minds and the hands and the bodies of what you call and I have often called the handicapped.

Why, we are finding out you can even take a mentally retarded person and make them employable and they can do work and become self-sustaining citizens. My wife and I spent a good deal of time at this.

We know it can be done and we want to see that that element of self-respect, which calls for and makes for human dignity called the right to earn a living and the capacity to earn a living is not something that you just talk about from these platforms, but it is a fact of American life for every American that is capable and able and wants to work. (Applause)

I happen to believe that this great economic system of ours has all the creativity and the know-how that is required to put to productive work the energies and talents of all of our people so that we do not need to resort to hasty emergency, publicly find

make-work projects just to tell somebody that he has a job. I want everybody to have the same break that my family has.

I want a man to be able to get his own check. I want an employee to be able to say, "I earned it." I want him to be able to earn it in professional service, in any kind of service, in day labor, in skilled labor and unskilled labor, whatever it is; but I want him to feel that it is his, that what he has belongs to him because he has something to offer.

We can do this, friends. We just need to buckle down to the task.

Now, the third specific--and by the way, I was in New York City yesterday just talking about this with some of the biggest employers in the country, the National Alliance of Businessmen, made up of the top industrialists and the top labor leaders of America. We are getting jobs for the hard core unemployed. They are being trained and placed, as I said to the management.

If you have a personnel officer that cannot find a way to employ one of these people and place him, judge that personnel officer as a failure and just let him know that his job is going out the window and you will be surprised how many jobs he will find for somebody else in a hurry. (Applause)

By the way, if you pick up the morning New York Times you will read the story. It said--it seemed like they were surprised--it said, "Humphrey Gives Same Message to Union and Management."

(Laughter)

Why not? We are all Americans. The best economics I know of for private industry are jobs for the workers, and the best thing can happen for a worker is a place to get a job, which requires management and investment.

So you can have the same message and I'll tell you one thing, America with all its wealth cannot afford non-productive people. We need to have people that have a chance, that get a chance, that can prove themselves and be taxpayers, as the President puts it, instead of just tax eaters. (Laughter)

It helps a lot.

Now, specific number three I offer you today, and this is by no means an exhaustive list, is an educational minimum wage for every American child. Now, what do I mean?

A guaranteed standard of complete and adequate educational opportunity from pre-school age four up through college, if a man or a woman or a boy or a girl wants it. Now, this America, rich country like it is, can afford that kind of an education.

To put it in simple terms, all the education that your kids can absorb. That is going to be our standard. (Applause)

Now, what is specific number four? A better form of income maintenance than our present welfare system. This welfare system is fashioned on the Elizabethian code of the 16th century. You talk about status quo. (Laughter and applause.)

The welfare system that we have today for our handicapped and our needy mocks justice. It fosters dependency, rather than independence. It aims to provide minimum support, rather than maximum opportunity.

It is a stopgap, which is no longer good enough for modern America.

This is a Jerry-built helter-skelter system of welfare with different standards in every state, with different rates of compensation or different rates of care and relief that doesn't do very much, if anything, to breed self-respect and human dignity.

Now, if we haven't got enough sense in this country to come up with something better than that, then I misread America. I think we can.

Listen, when I see the kind of contracts, Jerry, that you and others can write for your Union members, then I think we know how to put together a better income maintenance program than we have right now. You see, I think America is now ready to face up to this hard question of how to even things up without whittling down people and without destroying their incentive and self-respect.

I don't intend to tear somebody else down in order to build Humphrey up, and I don't think you have to whittle somebody else down to build somebody up. I suggest we start lifting the whole floor, the whole platform; we'll all go up together. It's a better way. (Applause)

Now, what is specific number five? 1968 is a year when we must unequivocally decide to make an adequate diet the birthright of every American child.

Now, that ought to be something we can do in this country where more food is tossed out in the garbage can every night than most people in other countries eat on the table every day--and right here in this hotel, my friends, it is no exaggeration to say that half of what is served to the guests is never consumed.

I asked one of my aides when I came here, I looked in my book and I said, "Where are those newspaper clippings?" And Jerry said, "Do you want me to wait for a while?"

I said, "No," but I wanted to show you one clipping from the Washington Post this morning. It said, "Seventy per cent of the children in the slums suffer from malnutrition."

In a country that doesn't know what to do with its abundance of food, in a community, and let me say in a society, in which our garbage cans are literally loaded with decent good food and we haven't learned how to properly distribute the kind of food to people that really need it.

So I do not hesitate to say that a minimum for the coming year in America is an adequate diet as a birthright, and as a part of American citizenship for every American child. Now, my fellow Americans, I think we can buy that. (Applause)

You know, it is wrong, it is downright wrong not to

use the full capacity of our agricultural productivity when there is hunger in America and starvation in the world. This country just hasn't faced up to the facts that the newborn babies in this great country die of malnutrition; that as others become toddlers their minds are being affected by the irreversible brain damage due to protein deficiency.

Mothers, that little child from the age of one to seven really determines the brain capacity of that person for most of its life. The greatest earning and learning period for a child is from four to seven, and if that diet isn't adequate, if that diet is not somewhat balanced in terms of what we know about modern nutrition, that child becomes a cripple, handicapped.

Now, that doesn't need to happen in this, the richest land on earth. A country where more people are willing to pay a dollar and a quarter for a martini ought to be willing to get enough protein for a child. (Applause)

Well, we know that the full answer to hunger in America lies in the complicated process of giving every citizen the skills and the opportunities he needs to be able to afford an adequate diet. That is what we really point to, and we will realize that goal.

But you and I know that is going to take some time and I don't think we can sit around and wait when it comes to the fundamental business of assuring every citizen enough to eat.

I was pleased today to see that our government once

again moved into 42 of the counties of America where, mind you, the counties themselves and state governments had refused to act to feed their poor, in setting up distribution systems. My friends, there is no excuse in America for one single hungry person--not one. Let's stop it right now. Let's make up our mind that we can stop it.

(Applause)

And, finally, this: All that we want to do, we can do together through organization, through political action, through the democratic processes. We must see, ladies and gentlemen, that public order is preserved, but not just law and order, but law and order with justice.

They go hand in hand, two sides of the same coin. Every American citizen, black and white, rich and poor, has a fundamental right to live free of fear, free of intimidation, to be able to walk the streets freely and safely, to be free of violence.

There is no excuse, no justifiable excuse for violence in our democratic society and the idea that violence will remedy social ills is an age-old fallacy which has brought untold suffering to mankind.

History is strewn with the wreckage and the bones of people who have been the victims of what was called a militant, violent minority that thought they had a monopoly on truth.

We can't let that happen here. We need not. We have redress for our grievances. We have a way of settling these matters.

Let me also issue just a warning. In the months ahead you are going to hear some appeals just for law and order, which are really and all too often no more than an alibi for inaction on some very real injustices. Law and order is a minimum requirement for a civilized people.

Violence and lawlessness and criminal behavior have no place in a free society. What we need are the kind of laws and the kind of performance, public and private, that make for law observance, respect for a law that is just, an enforcement of a law so that individuals can be free of intimidation and free of fear.

America in 1968 cannot afford any excuses. We need action, for there can be no order without progress any more than there can be progress without order.

America needs both, but I remind you of what I reminded top management yesterday. It just came to my mind as I am looking at you.

A great English philosopher once said--his name was John Stuart Mill: If a man has nothing to do for his country, he shall have no love for it.

If people have no stake in their country, if they feel that there is nothing there, there will be no affection or love for it; but when a man has a home and a job and his children are in school, when he feels that this country is what it is promised to be, he will die for it--and many have.

Many have because they knew that America was the last best hope of earth. Now, Martin Luther King, whose memory you honored here today, who died in your cause and the cause of America, once said:

"I have the audacity to believe that people everywhere can have three meals a day for their bodies, education and culture for their minds, dignity, equality and freedom for their spirits."

What a wonderful statement of American purpose. Is that dream too great? Is that objective too noble? Is it too much to ask for us and of us?

I say it is not. I believe we can have an America free of fear, free of the degradation of slums and poverty, free of slums. I believe we can have an America united and free of violent dissention and free of bigotry, the poison of the soul, and free of illiteracy and free of fear and hate.

I believe we can have an America filled with opportunity. You see, that is the America that I believe in and that is the America that I see, and that is my dream.

I want that dream to come true, and together we are going to make that American dream come true. We have just started.

We know the ways and the means and we will find still better ones. The only question now is do we have the will to do the full job?

I honestly believe that that is what this political

action exercise called the election of 1968 is all about.

I know one thing, my fellow Americans, I have the will, I have the zeal, I know you have the will and I know you have the strength and I believe the American people have the will and I believe they have the sense of social conscience to want to see every man have his chance to make whatever he can out of his life and I intend to do everything I can, my fellow Americans, to call forth this goodness of the American spirit, to go the length and breadth of this land to appeal to what is good in America; to ask us to stand up tall and strong and honorable, to cast aside our doubt and our suspicion and our fear and our hate and to embrace confidence and ideals and affection for one another--and above all to have a sense of determination and optimism that whatever needs to be done in this country we, the American people, can do.

We can realize and accomplish that impossible dream and make it a reality. I ask but one thing. I ask for your help to get this job done. (Applause)

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