

# The Philip Murray- William Green Award



*Shoreham Americana*

*Washington, D.C.*

*Thursday, May the ninth*

*Nineteen hundred and seventy-four*



## Hubert H. Humphrey

● Hubert H. Humphrey is a moderate man of firm commitments, a modest man of many accomplishments, a sensitive man of strong convictions—and a practicing politician of high principle. If all this isn't altogether paradoxical, it is, nevertheless, quite an achievement in the bureaucratic jungle of Washington. It is, in fact, an achievement of the human spirit. It wasn't easy to survive as a creative, imaginative and effective practitioner with warmth, humanity and generosity—at a time when self-proclaimed pragmatists, self-anointed “realists” and an assortment of hard-boiled hardliners were riding roughshod over the very meaning of decency. But Hubert Humphrey survived, and he survived the cynicism and the hypocrisy of our times with decency and integrity.

Senator Humphrey was ahead of his times without being a faddist, and he upheld traditional values without ever being passé. Harassed by the self-serving right and hassled by the self-righteous left, he stood fast for basic human values, for greater opportunities for all people, for better and more community facilities and services, for a responsive, representative and responsible government. And he did it as a mayor of Minneapolis, as a senator from Minnesota, as a vice president of the United States, as a decent, intelligent human being who has devoted his life to help the poor (job corps), the sick (child and maternity health care), the black (civil rights act), the young (headstart), the elderly (medicare), and all people (peace corps—food for peace, rural and urban development, etc., etc.). The list is too long—but it will long be remembered by the people whom Senator Hubert H. Humphrey has served throughout his life. The AFL-CIO Executive Council remembered when it unanimously voted him its 1974 Philip Murray-William Green Award.

## Program

<i>The National Anthem</i>	.....	Mr. Bob D'Arcy
<i>Invocation</i>	.....	Rev. Msgr. Lawrence J. Corcoran Secretary National Conference of Catholic Charities
<i>Introductions</i>	.....	Mr. Leo Perlis Director, AFL-CIO-CSA
<i>Greetings</i>	.....	Hon. Walter E. Washington Mayor, Washington, D.C.
<i>A Reading</i>	.....	Mr. E. G. Marshall
<i>Address</i>	.....	Mr. George Meany President, AFL-CIO
<i>Presentation Address</i>	.....	Mr. Peter Bommarito Chairman, AFL-CIO-CSC
<i>Acceptance Address</i>	.....	Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
<i>Benediction</i>	.....	Rabbi Aaron B. Seidman Hillel Director George Washington University

Dinner Music  
Tiny Meeker's Music

## AFL-CIO Community Services

• The Community Services program conclusively demonstrates the labor federation's conviction that unions are more than organizations of working men and women joined together to promote economic aims. It is an expression of labor's desire to help form a unified democratic society in which labor will be a full, participating partner, accepting its responsibilities as well as its prerogatives. Through Community Services unions seek to organize the resources of the community to meet the health, welfare and recreation needs of all citizens. Through this participation, it finds common cause with all segments of the community and thus advances the democratic ideal of board citizen involvement in social issues. In the words of President George Meany, "the community service work of the AFL-CIO reflects the long time policy of American labor that American workers have an obligation as citizens that even comes before their obligation to the trade union movement. This is best demonstrated by the work of the community services committee."

## The Murray-Green Award

• The Philip Murray-William Green Award was established by the AFL-CIO Executive Council in 1956 to give recognition to individuals and organizations, in this country and abroad, whose achievements in the general area of health and welfare have inspired others to work for the common good. The Annual Award is named for two men who made outstanding contributions to the well-being of all Americans, the late President of the former Congress of Industrial Organizations, Philip Murray, and the late President of the former American Federation of Labor, William Green. Since the first Philip Murray Award was presented to General Omar N. Bradley in 1947, many distinguished citizens and organizations were so honored. A partial list includes Senator Herbert H. Lehman (1956), Dr. Jonas E. Salk (1957) and Bob Hope (1958). President Lyndon B. Johnson received the Award posthumously last year. It was accepted by Lady Bird Johnson.

### AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

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ACCEPTANCE ADDRESS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

1974 MURRAY-GREEN AWARD

Washington, D. C.

May 9, 1974

It is a great honor to be selected to receive the Murray-Green Award for 1974.

To be identified as a partner with American Labor in its efforts to improve the quality of life for all our people is recognition in which I take great pride.

Throughout our nation's history the American labor movement has been the cutting edge for social progress. It has championed the cause of people in every generation. And in all its deeds it has shown it shares with Thomas Jefferson the fundamental belief that:

"The care of human life and happiness is the first and the only legitimate object of good government."

It is with a mixture of pride and humility that I accept this award tonight. As I stand here, the memory of the great Americans who have been so honored by you in the past flash through my mind.

It is an honor roll that includes two of the greatest Presidents in our nation's history -- Harry Truman and Lyndon Johnson -- and five outstanding Senators with whom I was privileged to serve -- Herbert Lehman, Estes Kefauver, Paul Douglas, James Murray and Robert Wagner.

I am also reminded of the two outstanding Americans and dear friends in whose memory this award is presented.

I will never forget that day in 1947 when William Green came to Minnesota to endorse my candidacy for the United States Senate.

Nor will I ever forget that great Steelworkers convention in Boston in 1947 when Philip Murray presented me to his people. With his hand on my shoulder, he pledged his support for me and that of the Steelworkers Union.

I am proud of the American labor movement, proud to have worked with you, and proud to be one of you.

Labor has been a strong and steady voice not only for the American worker and his family, but also for the poor, the elderly, the disabled, and those who are the victims of discrimination and prejudice. In fact, labor has meant almost as much to the non-union member as it has to the member of the brotherhood.

American labor has stood up for those too weak to stand for themselves, fought for those too weary to fight for themselves, and given visibility to those whose only crime was that "they were not seen."

American labor through community services -- to the unfortunate victims of natural disasters, to those whose lives have been crippled by alcohol and drug abuse, to the consumer as its "watchdog" over retail prices, to the entire community through a variety of voluntary programs, and most recently in the new

and promising area of pre-paid legal services -- and through political action has brought progress for our people and honor to America.

For decades, American labor has been the great equalizer in American politics.

Working with other liberal and progressive forces, labor's support of the great presidencies of Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, John Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson, has made tremendous progress in our nation possible.

American labor has been an effective counter-force to the rich and the powerful in the vital public debates that so influence our lives.

The American labor movement has lent its great weight to protecting and strengthening the process of popular democracy in our nation.

It has succeeded admirably in avoiding the extremes of both the self-serving right and the self-righteous left. And let us not forget that it was labor that first perceived and warned America of the dangers of Nazism and Fascism prior to World War II.

Labor has always understood those basic truths that provide the foundation for our political system. And today, more than ever, we must return to these fundamentals and renew our spirit as a nation from the strength and unity of purpose that they provide.

The preamble to the Constitution says it all. It spells out the faith, aspiration and purpose of America.

The first three words are the most important. They establish for all time that America is "We the People."

Not we the government, not we the politicians, not we the political parties, not we the rich, not we the white, but "We the People." This is the central reference, the focal point of American government.

"In order to form a more perfect Union" -- Interesting that even way back then the word "union" was prominent in the major political documents. But, really, the notion here is a very important one. With all of the differences between regions of our country, economic interests, religions, ethnic backgrounds, and a whole range of other factors, the Founding Fathers recognized that keeping our nation together would be a constant effort.

In 1776, we united our thirteen colonies to forge a new nation and create a new unity. As we approach our bicentennial anniversary in 1976, we must forge the people of this country into a "more perfect union" with each other. This is not possible in a bitter land -- in a country where interests are narrowly defined and relentlessly pursued. It is only possible if tolerance and compromise are understood as working principles in a democracy as diverse as ours, and not condemned as excuses for those who have no principles.

"Establish Justice" -- not simply to enact laws, but to establish justice. Establishing justice for all the people. Justice that is blind to wealth, to color and to religion. Justice that treats all men equally. This is the test of a democracy.

"Insure domestic Tranquility" -- this is not the same as apathy or indifference. Tranquility means peace and harmony. It is akin to the Hebrew word "Shalom." It implies a love for our fellow man and a concern for his well being.

"Provide for the common defense" -- The Founding Fathers were not fuzzy-thinking idealists. They knew that all of the things we valued could only be nurtured if we were secure from the dictates of others.

"Promote the general Welfare" -- the important word here is "promote." This is an active word. It implies that if the well being of citizens is threatened you do something about it. It does not say government is to be "neutral." It says that government is to be responsible for improving the lives of the people.

"Secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity" -- The blessings of liberty is the way it is put. Today we usually take it for granted. But the people who wrote this had just gone through a bloody war to secure their freedom from foreign dominance. Their courage purchased this "blessing" of liberty and we must never forget that it can be lost. Nor should we overlook the fact that liberty can be eroded from within as well as attacked from without.

These are the fundamentals on which the Constitution, indeed American government itself, is based.

The American labor movement has led the way in making these basic purposes and aspirations realities in the lives of our people.

Labor has led the fight:

- to assure every boy and girl a good education;
- to guarantee quality health care at reasonable prices, as a basic right of all Americans;
- to promote the dignity and self-respect of every man;
- to provide every American citizen with the full benefits and opportunities of his civil rights (and as Lyndon Johnson said, ". . . it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates.");
- to assure that the burden of taxation is equitably borne by all, a sure test of a society's justice;
- to curb monopoly and unconscionable profiteering, and to insure the benefits of competition in the marketplace;
- to see to it that all our citizens have decent communities in which to raise their families, with safe streets, decent housing, quality education, and good jobs.

And, it has worked to establish the principle that any man or woman should be able to reach as high as ability will take them, but be protected by a floor below which no person in America will be allowed to fall.

Labor has delivered its blows for the common man, and it has made them count.

Yes, over the years organized labor has been the conscience of our social order.

But perhaps more important than the specific achievements, this great coalition of labor and progressives has clearly led our nation in the "politics of compassion."

This coalition has a heart. It really does care about the mass of people whose labor and common sense has made America the most successful experiment in popular democracy the world has ever known.

Democracy can only work if it has a heart as well as a brain. Government by computer may be more efficient, but it can never be of, by, and for the people. And it can never be more just.

Democracy can only flourish when the tears and laughter, anguish and joy, fears and hopes of the people are a very part of the political process.

Democracy can only survive when there is a partnership between the government and the people that is based on and held together by a mutual trust and faith.

If the coalition of labor and progressive forces have demonstrated anything, it is that compassion and common sense can go hand in hand for the good of our nation and people.

But while it is flattering to our egos to look back over the miles we have traveled together, our eyes must be focused on the future. What is ahead for America and what can we do to see our dreams for our nation come to pass?

Our successes must be incentives to further action, and not excuses for complacency. They must be held up as examples to the cynical of what can be done if people care and are willing to work hard for what they believe in.

What are our dreams for America? What values shall we give to our children? What shall our priorities be?

Tonight I would like to outline three goals of great concern to me. I believe they deserve our attention.

First, we must remove the shadow of doubt and mistrust that has been cast over the entire political process. For its victims are all persons in political life, regardless of political party. Yet, there is an even greater loss -- the loss of confidence -- the loss of faith in self-government. It is this trust and faith that give meaning to the social contract of popular government.

To be sure, we know that the loss of public confidence in any public official can be rectified at the ballot box. But the restoration of public confidence in the institutions of government is a slow process which requires constant building and rebuilding.

If it is delayed, the very foundations of government which guarantee our freedom and insure our civil liberties and civil rights will be called into question.

None of us can afford to let this happen; there is too much at stake.

Therefore, our political processes must be cleansed. Government must become worthy of the trust and confidence of the people.

This will not be easy. Disillusion and cynicism regarding politics and government are rife among the people, and with good cause.

But we are making progress, campaign and election reform are coming and they will help. Never again will big money play the role in politics it has in the past. No campaign in the future will be run as they have been in the past. Integrity has again become the most precious asset of the politician.

But cleaning up campaigns is just the beginning. Unless our government buckles down and begins to meet the needs of our people, and unless our politicians become more responsible in pursuing the public interest and in leveling with the people, all the campaign and election reform in the world will not restore the people's faith in government. And without restoring this faith, our achievements will be inconsequential.

Second, we must reverse the growing income gap between the rich and the poor, the "haves" and the "have nots" in America and throughout the world. We must rededicate ourselves to the progressive moderation of this unjust disparity in living standards. This gap, which was reduced continually in the United States from 1960 to 1968, not surprisingly, has been allowed to widen during recent years.

To reduce this inequity, we must increase the rate of growth in the income of the poor and working people more rapidly than the rate of income growth for the rich. We have done this in the past, under progressive leadership, and can do so again.

Several major steps must also be taken.

These should include a new commitment by our government to full employment and the fiscal and monetary policies that such a commitment requires. We must rededicate ourselves to the pursuit of policies to maximize employment, maximize production, and maximize income -- a commitment made by the President and the Congress to the American worker and his family in the "Employment Act of 1946."

It also requires tough and effective measures to protect the purchasing power of our workers' pay-checks from the ravages of uncontrolled inflation. The runaway prices for food, fuel, housing and clothing during the past year or more that have seriously cut into the living standard of the old, the poor, and the working families of America, have had virtually no impact on the life style of the rich. Until something is done to control skyrocketing inflation, the distance between the rich and the rest will simply expand.

Basic tax reforms to close corporate loopholes, to assure that a minimum tax is paid by all, and to guarantee that the burden of taxation is related to the ability of the taxpayer to pay, are long overdue. They must play a central role in bringing about a fairer distribution of our nation's wealth.

To permanently reduce the differences in living standards in America, we must also work to give the most deprived in our society a chance at equality when they reach the starting line in this competitive world. To accomplish this goal, children from low and middle income families must be guaranteed ample quantities of nutritious food from birth, the availability of quality health care, and true equality in the opportunity for education provided to them.

While our primary responsibility must be at home, the growing gap in the quality of life between the rich and the poor nations of the world must also be reduced. As the most

blessed nation in the world, we cannot withdraw from the responsibility that comes with such blessings.

We must ask ourselves a fundamental question. How long will the world's poor be content to live a "hand to mouth" existence as the "hewers of wood and haulers of water" for the world's wealthy? Such economic and human injustice may have been tolerable in a former age, but not as we enter the last quarter of the twentieth century. The dramatic income disparities that exist around the globe are intolerable in today's world, where the time and spacial distances between peoples and nations have been reduced to insignificance by modern technology.

The "politics of compassion," which has been the rallying point of our coalition is not chauvinistic. It knows no race, no color, no creed, and no nationality; it knows only human beings.

We cannot rest contented while children starve in the streets of Harlem or Calcutta, in Appalachia or West Africa; while the pride of able-bodied men is ground away by unemployment in Washington, D.C., or Lagos, Nigeria; while decent families are forced to live in the decaying slums of America's great cities or the inhuman barrios of Latin America.

A world of peace and prosperity is only possible if standards of living are improved from generation to generation, if some progress can be seen. As Pope Paul has so accurately stated it, "The new name for peace is development."

We cannot turn our heads away from those who cry to us for help. To do so would be to abandon those values which have made America great.

Third, rapid change and increased complexity in many basic socio-economic factors are the characteristics of a modern society. As a result, it is essential that we find ways to anticipate change and direct it and its consequences as well as ways to cope with complexity. The energy crisis, the critical world food situation, and the psychological and social consequences of increased mobility, are only a few of the most obvious examples of failures to anticipate basic changes and their results.

At present, we do not have the instruments of government that are needed for planning our nation's balanced growth and development. While we have a national commitment, by Congress and the President, giving "highest priority" to balanced national growth and development, we have not followed through on it.

It is incredible that the United States, the first nation in the world to enter the modern world of the 20th century, may well be the last nation to develop the institutions and processes needed to deal with the complexity and rapid change that come with a modern technological society.

If we are to "design" our future and not simply "resign" ourselves to it, if we are to anticipate change and direct it to the fullest possible benefit of our people, if we are to gain the benefits of complexity at the lowest social cost, we must join together and work to create the institutional system needed to plan and implement a continually evolving policy of balanced national growth and development.

Such a policy, and the new institutions it requires, will enable government to work more effectively on the problems our people confront. And there is nothing more important in our country today than demonstrating to our citizens -- not with words but with deeds -- that government is working for them.

By providing continuous attention to the hard facts of emerging problems and by providing realistic appraisals of what might be done to solve them, the temptation of politicians to succumb to the pressures to over-promise will be reduced.

Today most Americans, quite understandably, are fed up with vague and empty promises. They are sick of hearing politicians' claims to have easy answers to hard problems. They are tired of simplistic political rhetoric that insults their intelligence.

Our people have not thrown in the towel and given up on achieving our treasured goals of economic and social justice, but they are finished chasing rainbows. They want politicians with dreams and imagination, but they want more. They want people in government who are effective. The premium today is on results.

A policy of balanced growth and development would be a major step toward that kind of government.

For six years the "politics of compassion" have taken a back seat to the "politics of indifference."

We have seen the bitter fruits of negative politics in the sacking of the poverty programs, the gutting of housing programs for low and middle income Americans, and retreat from the commitment to make our cities liveable.

It reminds me of something Franklin Roosevelt once said that has always stayed with me:

"Governments can err, Presidents do make mistakes, but the immortal Dante tells us that Divine Justice weighs the sins of the cold-blooded and the sins of the warm-hearted on a different scale. Better the occasional faults of a government living in the spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference."

Government of the few, by the few and for the few has no place in America.

The last six years have made one thing "perfectly clear" -- the interests of the vast majority of Americans are best represented and best served by a strong and active coalition of Labor and the progressive forces in our political system.

This is why it is critical that we restore progressive government in our nation. Government that through its effectiveness in solving the people's problems will command the confidence and earn the trust of the working families of America.

This is the only way that we will refocus the attention and energies of America on those human problems that are all too easy for the indifferent, the preoccupied, and the faint of heart to turn away from and ignore.

But I have great faith in America. I have confidence in the American people. I do not agree with the pessimists, the prophets of gloom and doom. Rather I share the view of Carl Sandburg who said:

"I see America, not in the setting sun of a black night of despair ahead of us. I see America in the crimson light of a rising sun fresh from the burning, creative hand of God. I see great days ahead, great days possible to men and women of will and vision."

# # # # #

Thanks for the cake - Birthday Song  
"I did it my way"

ACCEPTANCE ADDRESS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

1974 MURRAY-GREEN AWARD

WASHINGTON, D.C.

MAY 9, 1974

\* Geo Meany \*

✓ AFL-CIO -  
Exec Council

\* ~~Min Brown~~  
~~Skip~~  
\* Ray Allen \*

AFL-CIO

Community Services Committee

Brothers-Sisters

Fellow Americans

IT IS A GREAT HONOR TO BE SELECTED TO RECEIVE THE

MURRAY-GREEN AWARD FOR 1974.

*It is with a mixture of  
Pride & Humility that I accept this Award from...*

~~TO BE IDENTIFIED AS A PARTNER WITH AMERICAN LABOR IN ITS  
EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE IS  
RECOGNITION IN WHICH I TAKE GREAT PRIDE.~~

THROUGHOUT OUR NATION'S HISTORY THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

HAS BEEN THE CUTTING EDGE FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS.

IT HAS CHAMPIONED THE CAUSE OF PEOPLE IN EVERY GENERATION.!

AND IN ALL ITS DEEDS, IT HAS SHOWN IT SHARES WITH THOMAS JEFFERSON

THE FUNDAMENTAL BELIEF THAT:

"THE CARE OF HUMAN LIFE AND HAPPINESS IS THE  
FIRST AND THE ONLY LEGITIMATE OBJECT OF GOOD GOVERNMENT."

IT IS WITH A MIXTURE OF PRIDE AND HUMILITY THAT I ACCEPT  
THIS AWARD TONIGHT.

AS I STAND HERE IN THE MEMORY OF THE GREAT AMERICANS WHO HAVE  
BEEN SO HONORED BY YOU IN THE PAST FLASH THROUGH MY MIND.

IT IS AN HONOR ROLL THAT INCLUDES TWO OF THE GREATEST  
PRESIDENTS IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY -- HARRY TRUMAN AND LYNDON  
JOHNSON AND FIVE OUTSTANDING SENATORS WITH WHOM I WAS  
PRIVILEGED TO SERVE -- HERBERT LEHMAN, ESTES KEFAUVER, PAUL  
DOUGLAS, JAMES MURRAY AND ROBERT WAGNER.

I AM ALSO REMINDED OF THE TWO OUTSTANDING AMERICANS AND DEAR  
FRIENDS IN WHOSE MEMORY THIS AWARD IS PRESENTED.

I WILL NEVER FORGET THAT DAY IN 1948 WHEN WILLIAM GREEN  
CAME TO MINNESOTA TO ENDORSE MY CANDIDACY FOR THE UNITED  
STATES SENATE. GREAT SPEECH!

NOR WILL I EVER FORGET THAT GREAT STEELWORKERS CONVENTION  
IN BOSTON IN 1948 WHEN PHILIP MURRAY PRESENTED ME TO HIS

UNION. WITH HIS HAND ON MY SHOULDER, HE PLEDGED HIS SUPPORT  
FOR ME AND THAT OF THE STEELWORKERS UNION. *TONIGHT I SALUTE*

THE TRADITION OF PHIL MURRAY - I. W. ABEL

I AM PROUD OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, PROUD TO HAVE  
WORKED WITH YOU, AND PROUD TO BE ONE OF YOU. *!! a member of the Labor Family*

LABOR HAS BEEN A STRONG AND STEADY VOICE NOT ONLY FOR THE  
AMERICAN WORKER AND HIS FAMILY, BUT ALSO FOR THE POOR, THE  
*the children*  
ELDERLY, THE DISABLED, AND THOSE WHO ARE THE VICTIMS OF  
DISCRIMINATION AND PREJUDICE.

L AMERICAN LABOR HAS STOOD UP FOR THOSE TOO WEAK TO STAND  
FOR THEMSELVES,<sup>o</sup> FOUGHT FOR THOSE TOO WEARY TO FIGHT FOR THEM-  
SELVES, AND GIVEN VISIBILITY TO THOSE WHOSE ONLY CRIME WAS  
THAT "THEY WERE NOT SEEN."

and AMERICAN LABOR THROUGH COMMUNITY SERVICES -- TO THE VICTIMS  
OF NATURAL DISASTERS, TO THOSE WHOSE LIVES HAVE BEEN CRIPPLED  
BY ALCOHOL AND DRUG ABUSE, TO THE CONSUMER AS ITS "WATCHDOG"  
OVER PRICES, TO THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY THROUGH A VARIETY  
OF VOLUNTARY PROGRAMS, AND MOST RECENTLY IN THE NEW  
AND PROMISING AREA OF PRE-PAID LEGAL SERVICES -- AND THROUGH  
POLITICAL ACTION HAS BROUGHT PROGRESS to OUR PEOPLE AND HONOR  
TO AMERICA.

FOR DECADES, AMERICAN LABOR HAS BEEN THE GREAT EQUALIZER  
IN AMERICAN POLITICS.

WORKING WITH OTHER LIBERAL AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES, LABOR'S  
SUPPORT OF THE GREAT PRESIDENCIES OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, HARRY

TRUMAN, JOHN KENNEDY, AND LYNDON JOHNSON, HAS MADE <sup>possible</sup> ~~THE~~ ~~DIFFERENCE~~

~~THE~~ ~~DIFFERENCE~~ <sup>great social & economic</sup> ~~IN OUR NATION POSSIBLE.~~ <sup>Reform.</sup>

THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT HAS <sup>It</sup> ~~LENT ITS FULL WEIGHT TO~~ <sup>worked relentlessly</sup>

<sup>to</sup> ~~PROTECT~~ AND ~~STRENGTHEN~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~THE~~ ~~PROCESS~~ OF POPULAR DEMOCRACY.

IT HAS SUCCEEDED ADMIRABLY IN AVOIDING THE EXTREMES OF BOTH

THE SELF-SERVING RIGHT AND THE SELF-RIGHTEOUS LEFT. ~~and further~~

~~who may have forgotten~~  
AND LET US NOT FORGET THAT IT WAS LABOR THAT FIRST PERCEIVED

AND WARNED AMERICA OF THE DANGERS OF NAZISM AND FASCISM PRIOR

TO WORLD WAR II. <sup>It has been the AFL-CIO that</sup>  
<sup>has kept its ranks clear of Communism</sup>

L LABOR HAS ALWAYS UNDERSTOOD THOSE BASIC TRUTHS THAT PROVIDE  
THE FOUNDATION FOR OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM. AND TODAY, MORE THAN  
EVER, WE MUST RETURN TO THESE FUNDAMENTALS AND RENEW OUR  
SPIRIT AS A NATION FROM THE STRENGTH AND UNITY OF PURPOSE  
THAT THEY PROVIDE.

THE PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION SAYS IT ALL. IT SPELLS OUT  
THE FAITH, ASPIRATION AND PURPOSE OF AMERICA. *Repeat the Preamble*

L THE FIRST THREE WORDS ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT. THEY ESTABLISH  
FOR ALL TIME THAT AMERICA IS "WE THE PEOPLE."

L NOT WE THE GOVERNMENT, ~~NOT~~ WE THE POLITICIANS, ~~NOT~~ WE THE  
POLITICAL PARTIES, ~~NOT~~ WE THE RICH, ~~NOT~~ WE THE WHITE, BUT  
"WE THE PEOPLE." THIS IS THE CENTRAL REFERENCE, THE FOCAL  
POINT OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

"IN ORDER TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION" -- INTERESTING THAT

EVEN WAY BACK THEN THE WORD "UNION" WAS PROMINENT IN THE MAJOR

POLITICAL DOCUMENTS. BUT, REALLY, THE NOTION HERE IS A VERY

IMPORTANT ONE. WITH ALL OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN REGIONS OF

OUR COUNTRY, ECONOMIC INTERESTS, RELIGIONS, ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS,

AND A WHOLE RANGE OF OTHER FACTORS, THE FOUNDING FATHERS

RECOGNIZED THAT KEEPING OUR NATION TOGETHER WOULD BE A CONSTANT

EFFORT.

IN 1776, WE UNITED OUR THIRTEEN COLONIES TO FORGE A NEW

NATION AND CREATE A NEW UNITY. AS WE APPROACH OUR BICENTENNIAL

ANNIVERSARY IN 1976, WE MUST FORGE THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY

INTO A "MORE PERFECT UNION" WITH EACH OTHER.

THIS IS NOT POSSIBLE IN A BITTER LAND -- IN A COUNTRY WHERE  
INTERESTS ARE NARROWLY DEFINED AND RELENTLESSLY PURSUED.

↳ IT IS ONLY POSSIBLE IF TOLERANCE AND COMPROMISE ARE  
UNDERSTOOD AS WORKING PRINCIPLES IN A DEMOCRACY, ~~AS DIVERGE~~  
AS OURS, AND NOT CONDEMNED AS EXCUSES FOR THOSE WHO HAVE

NO PRINCIPLES

↳ "ESTABLISH JUSTICE" -- NOT SIMPLY TO ENACT LAWS, BUT TO  
ESTABLISH JUSTICE. ↳ ESTABLISHING JUSTICE FOR ALL THE PEOPLE.  
JUSTICE THAT IS BLIND TO WEALTH, TO COLOR AND TO RELIGION.  
JUSTICE THAT TREATS ALL MEN EQUALLY. THIS IS THE <sup>TRULY</sup> TEST OF A  
DEMOCRACY.

"INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY" -- THIS IS NOT THE SAME AS  
APATHY OR INDIFFERENCE. TRANQUILITY MEANS PEACE AND HARMONY.  
IT IS AKIN TO THE HEBREW WORD "SHALOM." IT IMPLIES A RESPECT  
FOR OUR FELLOW MAN AND A CONCERN FOR HIS WELL BEING.

"PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE" -- THE FOUNDING FATHERS  
WERE NOT FUZZY-THINKING IDEALISTS. THEY KNEW THAT ALL OF THE  
THINGS WE VALUED COULD ONLY BE NURTURED IF WE WERE SECURE FROM  
THE DICTATES OF OTHERS.

"PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE" -- THE IMPORTANT WORD HERE  
IS "PROMOTE." THIS IS AN ACTIVE WORD! IT IMPLIES THAT IF THE  
WELL BEING OF CITIZENS IS THREATENED YOU DO SOMETHING ABOUT  
IT.

IT DOES NOT SAY GOVERNMENT IS TO BE "NEUTRAL." IT SAYS  
THAT GOVERNMENT IS TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR IMPROVING THE LIVES  
OF THE PEOPLE.

↳ AND - "SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY TO OURSELVES AND  
OUR POSTERITY" -- <sup>yes</sup> THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY IS THE WAY IT IS  
PUT.

TODAY WE USUALLY TAKE IT FOR GRANTED. BUT THE PEOPLE WHO  
WROTE THIS HAD JUST GONE THROUGH A BLOODY WAR TO SECURE THEIR  
FREEDOM FROM FOREIGN DOMINANCE.

↳ THEIR COURAGE PURCHASED THIS "BLESSING" OF LIBERTY AND WE  
MUST NEVER FORGET THAT IT CAN BE LOST. NOR SHOULD WE OVERLOOK  
THE FACT THAT LIBERTY CAN BE ERODED FROM WITHIN AS WELL AS  
ATTACKED FROM WITHOUT.

*There is*

NOT A SINGLE REFERENCE IN OUR CONSTITUTION ~~TO~~ PROTECTING

THE GOVERNMENT FROM THE PEOPLE - BUT RATHER, TO PROTECT

THE PEOPLE FROM THE ABUSE OF POWER BY THOSE IN GOVERNMENT.

*L* THESE ARE THE FUNDAMENTALS ON WHICH THE CONSTITUTION,

INDEED AMERICAN GOVERNMENT ITSELF, IS BASED.

THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT HAS LED THE WAY IN MAKING THESE

BASIC PURPOSES AND ASPIRATIONS REALITIES IN THE LIVES OF OUR

PEOPLE.

*yes* LABOR HAS LED THE FIGHT:

*L* -- TO ASSURE EVERY BOY AND GIRL A GOOD EDUCATION;

*L* -- TO GUARANTEE QUALITY HEALTH CARE AT REASONABLE PRICES,

AS A BASIC RIGHT OF ALL AMERICANS;

*L* TO PROMOTE THE DIGNITY AND SELF-RESPECT OF EVERY *person*

-- TO PROVIDE EVERY AMERICAN CITIZEN WITH THE FULL BENEFITS AND  
OPPORTUNITIES OF HIS CIVIL RIGHTS.

-- TO ASSURE THAT THE BURDEN OF TAXATION IS EQUITABLY BORNE  
BY ALL, A SURE TEST OF A SOCIETY'S JUSTICE;

-- TO CURB MONOPOLY AND UNCONSCIONABLE PROFITEERING, AND TO  
INSURE THE BENEFITS OF COMPETITION IN THE MARKETPLACE;

*yes labor has led the fight*  
-- TO SEE TO IT THAT ALL OUR CITIZENS HAVE *good* COMMUNITIES

IN WHICH TO RAISE THEIR FAMILIES, WITH SAFE STREETS, DECENT  
HOUSING, QUALITY EDUCATION, AND GOOD JOBS.

↳ AND, THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT HAS WORKED TO ESTABLISH  
THE PRINCIPLE THAT ANY MAN OR WOMAN SHOULD BE ABLE TO REACH  
AS HIGH AS ABILITY WILL TAKE THEM, BUT BE PROTECTED BY A  
FLOOR BELOW WHICH NO PERSON IN AMERICA WILL BE ALLOWED TO FALL.

↳ LABOR HAS DELIVERED ITS BLOWS FOR THE COMMON MAN, AND IT  
HAS MADE THEM COUNT!

↳ BUT, PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE SPECIFIC ACHIEVEMENTS,  
THIS GREAT COALITION OF LABOR AND PROGRESSIVES HAS CLEARLY LED  
OUR NATION IN THE "POLITICS OF COMPASSION."

↳ DEMOCRACY CAN ONLY WORK IF IT HAS A HEART AS WELL AS A BRAIN.

↳ GOVERNMENT BY COMPUTER MAY BE MORE EFFICIENT, BUT IT CAN NEVER  
BE OF, BY, AND FOR THE PEOPLE. ↳ AND IT CAN NEVER BE MORE JUST.

DEMOCRACY CAN ONLY FLOURISH WHEN THE TEARS AND LAUGHTER,  
ANGUISH AND JOY, FEARS AND HOPES OF THE PEOPLE ARE A VERY PART  
OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

DEMOCRACY CAN ONLY SURVIVE WHEN THERE IS A PARTNERSHIP  
BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE THAT IS BASED ON AND HELD  
TOGETHER BY A MUTUAL TRUST AND FAITH.

IF THE COALITION OF LABOR AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES HAVE  
DEMONSTRATED ANYTHING, IT IS THAT COMPASSION AND COMMON SENSE  
CAN GO HAND IN HAND FOR THE COMMON GOOD.

~~DE~~ WHILE IT IS FLATTERING TO OUR EGOS TO LOOK BACK OVER THE  
MILES WE HAVE TRAVELED TOGETHER, OUR EYES MUST BE FOCUSED  
ON THE FUTURE.

*We have fought many battles  
together - there are more  
to come!*

L WHAT ARE OUR DREAMS FOR AMERICA? WHAT VALUES SHALL WE GIVE

TO OUR CHILDREN? WHAT SHALL OUR PRIORITIES BE?

L ~~AT~~ TONIGHT I WOULD LIKE TO OUTLINE THREE GOALS OF GREAT CONCERN

TO ME. I BELIEVE THEY DESERVE OUR ATTENTION.

FIRST, WE MUST REMOVE THE SHADOW OF SHAME, DOUBT AND

MISTRUST THAT HAS BEEN CAST OVER THE ENTIRE POLITICAL PROCESS.

L FOR ITS VICTIMS ARE "ALL PERSONS" IN POLITICAL LIFE,

REGARDLESS OF POLITICAL PARTY.

L YET, THERE IS AN EVEN GREATER LOSS -- THE LOSS

OF CONFIDENCE -- THE LOSS OF FAITH IN SELF-GOVERNMENT.

L AND IT IS THIS TRUST AND FAITH THAT GIVE MEANING TO THE SOCIAL

CONTRACT OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

~~WE KNOW THAT~~ THE LOSS OF PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN ANY PUBLIC OFFICIAL CAN BE RECTIFIED AT THE BALLOT BOX, BUT THE RESTORATION OF PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT IS A SLOW PROCESS WHICH REQUIRES CONSTANT BUILDING AND REBUILDING.

IF IT IS DELAYED, THE VERY FOUNDATIONS OF GOVERNMENT WHICH GUARANTEE OUR FREEDOM AND INSURE OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES AND CIVIL RIGHTS WILL BE CALLED INTO QUESTION.

NONE OF US CAN AFFORD TO LET THIS HAPPEN; THERE IS TOO MUCH AT STAKE.

THEREFORE, OUR POLITICAL PROCESSES MUST BE CLEANSED.

WE ARE MAKING PROGRESS, CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION REFORM ARE COMING AND THAT WILL HELP.

NEVER AGAIN WILL BIG MONEY PLAY THE ROLE IN POLITICS IT  
HAS IN THE PAST.

NO CAMPAIGN IN THE FUTURE WILL BE RUN AS THEY HAVE BEEN IN  
THE PAST. INTEGRITY HAS BECOME THE MOST PRECIOUS ASSET  
OF THE POLITICIAN.

BUT CLEANING UP CAMPAIGNS IS JUST THE BEGINNING.

UNLESS OUR GOVERNMENT BUCKLES DOWN AND BEGINS TO MEET THE NEEDS OF  
OUR PEOPLE, AND UNLESS OUR POLITICIANS BECOME MORE RESPONSIBLE  
IN PURSuing THE PUBLIC INTEREST AND IN LEVELING WITH THE  
PEOPLE, ALL THE CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION REFORM IN THE WORLD  
WILL NOT RESTORE THE PEOPLE'S FAITH IN GOVERNMENT.

SECOND, WE MUST REVERSE THE GROWING INCOME GAP BETWEEN THE

RICH AND THE POOR, THE "HAVES" AND THE "HAVE NOTS" IN AMERICA

AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. WE MUST REDEDICATE OURSELVES TO THE

PROGRESSIVE MODERATION OF THIS UNJUST DISPARITY IN LIVING

STANDARDS. THIS GAP, WHICH WAS REDUCED CONTINUALLY IN THE

UNITED STATES FROM 1960 TO 1968, NOT SURPRISINGLY, HAS BEEN

ALLOWED TO WIDEN DURING RECENT YEARS.

SEVERAL MAJOR STEPS MUST BE TAKEN.

THESE SHOULD INCLUDE A NEW COMMITMENT BY OUR GOVERNMENT TO

FULL EMPLOYMENT AND THE FISCAL AND MONETARY POLICIES THAT SUCH

A COMMITMENT REQUIRES. WE MUST REDEDICATE OURSELVES TO ~~THE~~

~~PURPOSE~~ OF POLICIES TO MAXIMIZE EMPLOYMENT, MAXIMIZE PRODUC-

TION, AND MAXIMIZE INCOME -- A COMMITMENT MADE BY THE PRESIDENT

AND THE CONGRESS TO THE AMERICAN WORKER AND HIS FAMILY IN THE

"EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1946."

IT ALSO REQUIRES TOUGH AND EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO PROTECT THE PURCHASING POWER OF OUR WORKERS' PAY-CHECKS FROM THE RAVAGES OF UNCONTROLLED INFLATION. THE RUNAWAY PRICES HAVE SERIOUSLY CUT INTO THE LIVING STANDARD OF THE OLD, THE POOR, AND THE WORKING FAMILIES OF AMERICA.

BASIC TAX REFORMS TO CLOSE CORPORATE LOOPHOLES, TO ASSURE THAT A MINIMUM TAX IS PAID BY ALL, AND TO GUARANTEE THAT THE BURDEN OF TAXATION IS RELATED TO THE ABILITY OF THE TAXPAYER TO PAY, ARE LONG OVERDUE.

TO PERMANENTLY REDUCE THE DIFFERENCES IN LIVING STANDARDS IN AMERICA, WE MUST ALSO WORK TO GIVE THE MOST DEPRIVED IN OUR SOCIETY A CHANCE AT EQUALITY WHEN THEY REACH THE STARTING LINE IN THIS COMPETITIVE WORLD.

CHILDREN FROM LOW AND MIDDLE INCOME FAMILIES MUST BE  
GUARANTEED NUTRITIOUS FOOD FROM BIRTH, THE AVAILABILITY  
OF QUALITY HEALTH CARE, AND TRUE EQUALITY IN THE OPPORTUNITY  
FOR EDUCATION.

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WHILE OUR PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY MUST BE AT HOME, THE  
GROWING GAP IN THE QUALITY OF LIFE BETWEEN THE RICH AND THE  
POOR NATIONS OF THE WORLD ENDANGERS PEACE AND VIOLATES  
HUMAN DIGNITY.

WE MUST ASK OURSELVES HOW LONG WILL THE WORLD'S POOR  
BE CONTENT TO LIVE A "HAND TO MOUTH" EXISTENCE AS THE  
"HEWERS OF WOOD AND HAULERS OF WATER" FOR THE WORLD'S  
WEALTHY? SUCH ECONOMIC AND HUMAN INJUSTICE MAY HAVE BEEN  
TOLERABLE IN A FORMER AGE, BUT NOT AS WE ENTER THE LAST QUARTER  
OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

h THE "POLITICS OF COMPASSION," KNOWS NO RACE, ~~THE~~ COLOR,  
~~NO~~ CREED, ~~AND NO~~ NATIONALITY. IT KNOWS ONLY HUMAN BEINGS.

WE CANNOT REST CONTENTED WHILE CHILDREN STARVE IN THE STREETS  
OF HARLEM OR CALCUTTA, IN APPALACHIA OR WEST AFRICA; WHILE  
THE PRIDE OF ABLE-BODIED MEN IS GROUND AWAY BY UNEMPLOYMENT  
IN WASHINGTON, D.C., OR LAGOS, NIGERIA; WHILE DECENT FAMILIES  
ARE FORCED TO LIVE IN THE DECAYING SLUMS OF AMERICA'S GREAT  
CITIES OR THE INHUMAN BARRIOS OF LATIN AMERICA.

h A WORLD OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY IS ONLY POSSIBLE IF STANDARDS  
OF LIVING ARE IMPROVED FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION,

AS POPE PAUL HAS SO ACCURATELY STATED - "THE NEW NAME  
FOR PEACE IS DEVELOPMENT."

THIRD, RAPID CHANGE AND INCREASED COMPLEXITY ~~IN MANY BASIC~~

~~SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS~~ <sup>are</sup> ARE THE CHARACTERISTICS OF A MODERN

SOCIETY. AS A RESULT, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE FIND WAYS TO

ANTICIPATE CHANGE AND DIRECT IT.

THE ENERGY CRISIS, THE CRITICAL WORLD FOOD SITUATION,

AND THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF INCREASED

MOBILITY, ARE ONLY A FEW OF THE MOST OBVIOUS EXAMPLES OF

FAILURES TO ANTICIPATE BASIC CHANGES AND THEIR RESULTS.

AT PRESENT, WE DO NOT HAVE THE INSTRUMENTS OF GOVERNMENT  
THAT ARE NEEDED FOR PLANNING OUR NATION'S BALANCED GROWTH AND  
DEVELOPMENT.

It is incredible that the United States, the first nation in the world to enter the modern world of the 20th century, may well be the last nation to develop the institutions and processes needed to deal with the complexity and rapid change that come with a modern technological society.

If we are to "design" our future and not simply "resign" ourselves to it, we must fashion a system of planning for growth and development.

People, are fed up with vague and empty promises.

OUR PEOPLE HAVE NOT THROWN IN THE TOWEL AND GIVEN UP ON  
ACHIEVING OUR TREASURED GOALS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL JUSTICE,  
BUT THEY ARE FINISHED CHASING RAINBOWS. THEY WANT POLITICIANS  
WITH DREAMS AND IMAGINATION, BUT THEY WANT MORE. THEY WANT  
PEOPLE IN GOVERNMENT WHO ARE EFFECTIVE, <sup>Honest</sup> THE PREMIUM TODAY IS  
ON RESULTS *and character*

A POLICY OF BALANCED GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT WOULD BE A  
MAJOR STEP TOWARD THAT KIND OF GOVERNMENT.

FOR SIX YEARS THE "POLITICS OF COMPASSION" HAVE TAKEN A  
BACK SEAT TO THE "POLITICS OF INDIFFERENCE."

WE HAVE SEEN THE BITTER FRUITS OF NEGATIVE POLITICS IN THE  
SACKING OF THE POVERTY PROGRAMS, IMPOUNDING OF FUNDS FOR THE  
SICK AND THE NEEDY, THE GUTTING OF HOUSING PROGRAMS, THE  
THE RETREAT FROM THE COMMITMENT TO MAKE OUR CITIES LIVEABLE,  
AND THE CALLOUS ABUSE OF THE VETO POWER TO BLOCK PROGRAMS FOR  
SOME OF THOSE IN AMERICA THAT MOST NEED THE HELP OF THIS  
GOVERNMENT - THE PHYSICALLY AND MENTALLY HANDICAPPED AND  
OUR WORKING POOR.

IT REMINDS ME OF SOMETHING FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT ONCE SAID  
THAT HAS ALWAYS STAYED WITH ME:

"GOVERNMENTS CAN ERR, PRESIDENTS DO MAKE MISTAKES,  
BUT THE IMMORTAL DANTE TELLS US THAT DIVINE JUSTICE  
WEIGHS THE SINS OF THE COLD-BLOODED AND THE SINS OF THE  
WARM-HEARTED ON A DIFFERENT SCALE. BETTER THE OCCASIONAL  
FAULTS OF A GOVERNMENT LIVING IN THE SPIRIT OF CHARITY  
THAN THE CONSISTENT OMISSIONS OF A GOVERNMENT FROZEN IN  
THE ICE OF ITS OWN INDIFFERENCE."

GOVERNMENT OF THE FEW, BY THE FEW AND FOR THE FEW HAS NO  
PLACE IN AMERICA.

WE MUST REFOCUS THE ATTENTION AND ENERGIES OF AMERICA  
ON THOSE HUMAN PROBLEMS THAT THE INDIFFERENT, THE PREOCCUPIED,  
AND THE FAINT OF HEART TURN AWAY FROM AND IGNORE.

BUT I HAVE GREAT FAITH IN AMERICA. I HAVE CONFIDENCE IN  
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. I DO NOT AGREE WITH THE PESSIMISTS, THE  
PROPHETS OF GLOOM AND DOOM. RATHER I SHARE THE VIEW OF CARL  
SANDBURG WHO SAID:

"I SEE AMERICA, NOT IN THE SETTING SUN OF A  
BLACK NIGHT OF DESPAIR AHEAD OF US. I SEE AMERICA  
IN THE CRIMSON LIGHT OF A RISING SUN FRESH FROM THE  
BURNING, CREATIVE HAND OF GOD. I SEE GREAT DAYS AHEAD,  
GREAT DAYS POSSIBLE TO MEN AND WOMEN OF WILL AND VISION."

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