

001834

Nixon - going to Florida for vacation

Kennedy - Symington

OUR LIBERAL FAITH

God to Kennedy  
" " Symington  
" " Hubert  
Symington - haven't  
talked to any  
of you

Remarks Prepared for Delivery by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.)  
Before the UAW CONVENTION in Atlantic City, New Jersey, October 15, 1959

Speaking to the UAW here this morning is just like old

home week for me.

old  
Home  
week

Many of you were with us back at the 1948 Democratic

Convention when we nailed civil rights to the masthead of the  
Democratic Party -- and let me tell you something, that's where  
it is going to stay.

civil  
Rts

Civil  
Rts  
1948

Many of you were with us in the crucial struggles

against McCarthyism -- struggles still going on to preserve  
freedom in America.

Mc  
Carthyism

McCarthyism

Many of you have been on every liberal battleline of

the last 20 years -- and don't let anybody tell us it wasn't  
pretty lonesome out there sometimes.

Liberal  
Battle  
Line

Yes, it feels mighty good to be here again and to see

so many old friends and fellow veterans of the liberal wars.

Thanks Walter - Repub. Rep. against you - Seneca elected!

Republicans didn't do very well running against  
your President Walter Reuther in 1958  
I suppose they'll be running against  
Dr. Statis  
I ran to Reuther

A liberal is one who says "yes" to tomorrow; a conservative says "maybe" to yesterday. Your Union, by the magnificent forward-looking program you have hammered out here this past week, has demonstrated once again that you are unwilling to accept yesterday as good enough and that you are determined to build a better tomorrow for yourselves and your children.

But take it from me, we have our job cut out for us. This country is being run today by men who would rather escape into yesterday than lead forward toward tomorrow.

*Being run by those who prefer to escape in yesterday*

I must say one thing for this Republican Administration: It's perfectly consistent in everything it does. They've been trying to steer a straight course for seven long years -- straight back to the 19th century.

The Republican Administration is a no-go, go-slow, not now, veto and injunction government. The President has become so accustomed to vetoing bills in Congress, he thinks he can veto

*No Go -  
Go Slow  
NOT NOW  
VETO +  
INJUNCTION  
AD.*

anything he feels like -- including a strike by American workmen to get a little more of the steel dollar out of profits and into wages.

What a heartless act it was for the President to veto legislation for better housing for all of us! But I guess the people he associates with don't have too much of a housing problem.

What a heartless act it was to block the depressed areas bill by threat of veto -- a bill which would create jobs where they are needed most. I guess here, too, there aren't many Republican bigwigs on the streets hunting for jobs.

What a heartless act it was for the <sup>Administration</sup> ~~President~~ to run out on every program to expand the economy and keep pace with automation.

But there is one group the Administration has not run out on -- its friends in the steel industry.

I say to you here this morning that the use of a Taft-Hartley

001837

injunction against the steel workers would be plain, ordinary,  
old-fashioned, strike-breaking.

*Steel Strike*

For months many of us in the Senate have been urging the President to create a fact-finding board to come up with a public proposal for the solution of the strike. If this had been done, the steel companies could not have continued their dog-in-the-manger refusal to bargain.

*Big Steel!*

Butch, no, the steel companies didn't want any public proposals and the President would have none of the fact-finding board. He waited until the steel companies needed the men back at work and now he is using Taft-Hartley to get them back -- against their will.

*Denore Program!*

We know we have a job to do in 1960, we know what it is, and we know how to do it.

But, unfortunately, the American people can't wait for more than a year until we have new elections, until we swear in a new President.

*No 950 - Cooslaw not new - veto*

A liberal is one who says yes to tomorrow  
a conservative " " " maybe to yesterday!

-5-

001838

There is lots to be done and it can't wait.

I say to you, and I say to my own Democratic Party,  
let's get on with the job -- now. When Congress reconvenes  
in just two and a half months, let's give the American people  
the program we promised them -- and if the President ~~tries to~~  
veto that program, the voters will veto his Party ~~and~~  
come next November.

The Democratic Party pledged itself to a liberal pro-  
gram in 1956 aimed at an expanding economy, the protection of  
equal rights, and the promotion of peace through world pros-  
perity and international aid.

A year ago, the Democratic Party renewed those pledges  
and won the greatest victory since 1936.

Incidentally, <sup>in</sup> ~~talking about~~ 1958, the Republicans didn't  
do very well running against your own President <sup>Walter</sup> Reuther.

In 1960 I suppose they'll be running against Reuther

+ for Kruesch

Ran  
against  
Walter



(X) Interest - Taxes Regulatory  
Weto - Housing, - But I suppose no Housing Agencies  
 for the Admunt Agencies

① NLRB Kohler Strikes Fox (Scab in Charge of a Picket line)

Three Challenges: (1) fulfill our Econ Potential

001839

- (2) achieve full dignity, freedom  
Justice for every American
- (3) win a just & enduring  
peace

Communist Challenge

(A) fulfill our Econ Potential - ① Steel Strike

Can't be done by Veto's - Housing  
unemployed Can't be done by ignoring 3 1/2 million Public Works  
 Can't be done by logans Agria  
 + Soan words - Inflation Depressed Areas  
 Can't be done by Timidity, hesitancy, uncertainty

Minimum wages  
unemploy comp  
Depressed Areas

- (X) Hi Interest, High money - NO!
- (X) Conservation + Resource Development!!

(B) achieve full dignity, freedom + Justice for every American

(1) The young, the Elderly, the handicapped

- (a) Fed Aid to Educa
- (b) Social Security - Med + Hosp Care - Housing
- (c) Hospitals + Medical Res for Elderly

~~Civil Rts~~

001840

## Close Tax Loopholes

Civil Rts - on this issue that  
we nobly win or meanly lose  
the moral + spiritual battle!

Need to enact an All American,  
effective, not toothless, token  
Civil Rts Bill

- (a) congress embrace desegregation  
decisions + implement
  - (b) Give Atty Gen't power to bring suit  
to make these decisions a reality
  - (c) Part III - I was for it in 1957, 58, & 59
  - (d) Registration of Voters (Federal Reg)  
recommended by 576 members of Commission  
Voting Rts
-

and for Khrushchev and they won't do any better.

But I was talking about my own Party, not the Republicans, and what we have to do in January 1960 if we are to deserve the support of the American people in November, 1960.

L We must pass a federal aid to education bill -- so that every young person in the land can have a decent education.

L We must increase the minimum wage to \$1.25 and extend the coverage to millions of Americans -- so that no one works under sweatshop conditions.

L We must provide medical care for those on social security -- to protect our old people.

L We must provide federal standards for unemployment compensation -- to protect the families of those who through no fault of their own cannot find work.

L We need the depressed areas bill which means jobs.

L We must beef up our international economic development plans.



L We must close tax loopholes costing billions. Why is it that an Administration which spends half of its time talking about balancing the budget never suggests getting some money from those who escape taxes and escape carrying their fair share of the economic load?

L And, finally, we must have a civil rights bill, a meaningful civil rights bill.

If we Democrats don't go out and fight for this kind of a program in Congress in January, we don't deserve to win in November.

We have got to go back in January and work to make good on our pledges of 1956 and 1958, and we're going to do just that.

If the Democratic Congress enacts these progressive measures, I am not so sure the President will be as veto-happy in 1960 as he was in 1959. Some of his Republican advisers may not want to go to the polls next year with a long list of current vetoes

staring their own Party in the face.

L Maybe it was a few of the 1959 vetoes that scared off  
a couple of Republicans I might mention from addressing this  
Convention.

Because I know how deeply the UAW believes in the issue of civil rights and how much it has done for civil rights, I would like to say a few additional words on that subject.

L For it is on this issue that we proudly win or meanly  
lose the moral and spiritual battle for the minds and hearts of  
the ~~unrepresented~~ peoples of the world.

We need to enact a real, all American civil rights bill  
next year, not a toothless, token bill intended as a trap for  
unsuspecting voters.

First, we must have a bill that will make the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions effective in every nook and cranny of this land. It is a crying shame that, five and a half years after

those historic decisions, the Congress has failed to take a single step to help carry them out. We need a law that will put the power and authority of Congress four-square behind the Court's desegregation decisions and will authorize the Attorney General to bring suit to make those decisions a reality for every American. The 1960 civil rights bill must include this authority for the Attorney General, the same authority that was contained in the Part III that was stricken from the 1957 bill under threat of filibuster.

I was for Part III in 1957, but we lost out under threat of a filibuster.

I was for it in 1958, but we could not get it out on the floor of either House.

I am for it now in 1959 -- and I'd be happy to go right back to Washington tonight to attend a special session of Congress to pass that bill.

And, if we can't do that, I will be for it in 1960  
with all the force at my command.

Second, we must enact into law the proposal of the  
Civil Rights Commission for the Federal registration of voters in  
states still refusing Negroes their right to get on the voting rolls.

Five of the six members of the Civil Rights Commission --  
two of them distinguished conservative southerners and all of them  
appointed by a Republican President -- support this proposal.

Can we in Congress do less?

Isn't it fair to ask where the President stands on this  
proposal by the Commission he appointed?

Let's not settle for patchwork provisions on this vital  
issue of voting rights. The Civil Rights Commission has put it  
squarely up to the American people -- and we must meet the challenge.

But the 1960 election will determine even more than houses  
and jobs and equality. It will determine whether we have only a

-11-

temporary lease on an uneasy peace or win title to a genuine peace for our children and our children's children.

We strive for a genuine peace -- not peace at any price, not "peace in our time", not peace in time to win the 1960 elections.

A genuine, durable peace, until such time as total disarmament is accompanied by effective inspection, must be firmly based on:

1. military capability both in nuclear deterrents and ability to <sup>resist</sup> ~~fight~~ aggression anywhere,
2. A steadily expanding full production, full employment economy here at home,
3. A broad, long-term program of international economic aid to the majority of the world's people who live in underdeveloped areas, where people go to bed hungry every night, whose life expectancy is a fraction of our own and who have enlisted for the



duration in a revolution of rising expectations -- expectations that will not be denied,

4. dedicated efforts to negotiate to reach agreements -- ~~not to avoid agreement as has too often been the case~~ in the Geneva negotiations to end nuclear bomb testing,

5. an all-out plan to harness atomic <sup>energy for</sup> abundance for peace.

Winning the peace will not be easy. It will require  
the same kind of dynamic leadership that your own President Walter  
Reuther showed when he sat face to face across the table from the  
Soviet boss in San Francisco last month.

An old critic of this Union had something to say about your President and Mr. Khrushchev and I quote him -- "It is nice  
of Mr. Khrushchev to come over but, from the cool reception he  
has received so far, it looks as though the only sympathetic  
audience he will have will be in San Francisco with Reuther and

Carey." That was an old friend of yours talking -- Senator Barry Goldwater.

You see, conservatives simply do not understand the  
struggle with Russia. They think it means McCarthyism; they  
think it means finding Communists in the Government or in the  
union movement. They don't understand that the true fighters  
against Communism are the free trade unions -- yes, the Reuthers.

Maybe someone ought to tell Senator Goldwater that, far from Walter Reuther being a sympathetic audience to Khrushchev, he put America's case bluntly and articulately to him and became a symbol of resistance to totalitarianism in the free world.

America has been too long in the shadow of ~~Eisenhower~~ <sup>Republican</sup> negativism and do-nothingism.

We need the positive approach; we need once again the courage, the boldness, the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

We can not fly to the moon while our political feet are

Truman  
GDR

stuck in the mud.

In 1960 let us prove that we are as much in love with tomorrow as is Mr. Khrushchev and the have-not millions of the world who are determined to break through to their fair share of the age of abundance in the second half of the 20th century.

This is our challenge; this is our last, best hope for survival as free men.

October 14, 1959



UAW - "What's Right with

Labor"

America's ~~the~~ Answer to the ~~Problems~~ <sup>Labor Matters</sup>  
the Cracks, the Commies

- (1) Sound and effective Collective Bargaining
- (2) eternal vigilance for the economic and civil rights of its members.
- (3) Honest, fearless, and strong
- (4) a record of loyal and faithful service in peace & war to the nation
- (5) Political Action.

1001833  
The Ambassador



on the Boardwalk

ATLANTIC CITY, New Jersey

Bill O'Brien  
Pat 1945-48  
Congress

Pat Gray Louie

Harvey Kitzman - Marshall Hughes  
Ferdinand Clark

Sam Rizzo - Int. Repres - WISC  
Ed Murnan

UAW Minnesota to UAW  
representatives

Ed Murnane  
Sub Reg Director

Over 4500 Members

St Paul - ~~For~~  
Hibbing  
Mpls  
Hopkins  
Austin  
Winona  
P

~~March~~

Kitzmann late - rather than  
Late Harvey Kitzman

UAW - "What's Right with Labor"  
(1) Collective Bargaining -  
(2) -  
(3) Pol. Action



Sp file: Atlantic City  
N.J. Oct. 9-16  
1959

17th Constitutional Convention  
UAW  
Convention Hall  
Atlantic City, N. J.  
October 9-16, 1959

IMMEDIATE RELEASE - OCTOBER 15, 1959

Address of HONORABLE HUBERT HUMPHREY  
(United States Senator)

Thank you, Pat. Thank you very much, Pat Greathouse, for a most friendly and warm and much appreciated introduction.

President Reuther, officers of the UAW, the delegates to this great convention, their guests and their friends: I should tell you that I was met earlier this morning over at Philadelphia by Harvey Kitzman and Marshall Hughes and Ferdinand Clark, and they also had a State Trooper over there. I wasn't quite sure why. I couldn't recall anything within the recent 24 hours that I had done that necessitated any sort of law enforcement action, but he was a great help to us...I think you would be interested in knowing we made a rather rapid journey to Atlantic City. In fact, it was so fast that my friend Harvey Kitzman reminded the driver that he would rather be Harvey Kitzman late than the late Harvey Kitzman. So we got here in good health.

I was greeted here on my arrival by another very good friend of mine from Wisconsin, my friend Sam Rizzo who, by the way, is one of your International Representatives who has had the courage and fearless qualities to become a chairman of a committee for a fellow named Humphrey over in Wisconsin, and I am mighty proud to have an International Representative of the UAW working in my behalf.

But I have got to tell you what I said to him. I said, "Sam, are you going to take good care of my interests out in Wisconsin?" I said, "What are you doing here?"

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Humphrey.....2

He said, "Listen, Humphrey, I am here trying to take care of some of your interests around here, and you need help."

Now, having said that I raised his pay. He is getting twice as much as he got before, which is just twice as much as he didn't have before he started.

Then I was greeted in just a moment by a whole wonderful delegation from Minnesota, and I am particularly pleased that my old friend Ed Murane was present. He and I have been soldiers in the cause of trade unionism and liberal democracy for a long time.

Now I know that you have had a lot of other speakers here and I know you extended some invitations that were not readily honored. I understand that one of your speakers, one of those requested to speak was none other than the Vice President of the United States, Mr. Nixon. Mr. Nixon, I understand, informed the Committee that because of previous commitments he was unable to attend and explain the Vice President vetoes. I think you would be interested to know that it was a very important engagement. He is winging his way to Miami right now where he will explain the vetoes on Hole 18 at the Indian Tree Golf Course. I am sorry. I didn't mean Indian Tree, I meant Indian Creek. I get Burning Tree mixed up you see.

I know you heard two great Democrats speak here, two United States Senators, both of them friends of labor, both of them fine public servants. The only thing that I can suggest that would be better is if you will stick around long enough to hear a third Democrat speak. I don't know whether that will be better, but it will be something in addition.

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Humphrey.....3

Not long ago we had a little confab in the Senate, and it just so happened that my friends Jack Kennedy and Stewart Symington were standing there in the hallway. I walked up and visited with them a little while, and pretty soon another Senator, majority leader, Senator Johnson came up and started talking to us. Jack Kennedy looked over at Stu and Hubert and said, "You know, fellows, I had the darndest experience last night. I had a wonderful dream. I dreamed that the good Lord came down, put his hand on my shoulder and said, 'Jack, my boy, you are going to get the nomination and you are going to be elected.'"

And Stu said, "You did? Why that's funny. I had a dream last night and it seemed like God came down and put his hand on me and said, 'Son Stu, I have good news for you. It has been a little difficult, but you are going to get the nomination and when you get it, you are going to be elected.'"

I looked at those two fellows and I said, "You know fellows, it is a peculiar thing. This is a coincidence of coincidences. Why, last night I had a dream and I dreamed that God came down and he said, 'Hubert, you have suffered a great while. You have been low man on that totem pole for months. But don't you worry, things are going to work out all right for you. You are going to get the nomination and you are going to be elected.'"

All at once that big Texan leaned back and said, "I don't remember saying a word to any of you fellows."

Being at conventions of the UAW is like old home week for me. Many of us right up here on this platform, and those of you out there in this hall were present back in the 1948 Democratic Convention when we nailed to the mast of the Democratic Party a Civil Rights plank in the platform that was worthy of a great political party and a great nation. That was a test of liberalism, and I think a test, may I add, of political courage for all of us.

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Humphrey....4

Many of you were in the crucial times, and at times unbelievably difficult struggles in that period called McCarthy-ism, struggles that are still going on to preserve civil liberties and freedom in America. Yes, in fact, the truth is that there are a lot of battle scarred political veterans in this hall today who were in the liberal battles earlier when you had to stand up and be counted, and when you were a marked man for many purposes, both in political and in economic life.

I am ever indebted to your great President, the President of this International. One particular reason in recent years is what he did for us in the last election.

I don't want to say that Walter Reuther won that last election. But I can tell you one thing: he didn't lose it! I traveled around in a number of states, and I kept looking on the ballot for the name of Walter Reuther, because every time I would hear a Republican orator speak, he would be talking about Reuther: "You are going to be voting for Reuther," this Republican orator would say.

I don't know. I am a simple-minded sort of fellow, and I would get the ballot out and look at it and say, "You know, that poor Reuther, they are so hard up in the UAW that they can't even afford to print his name on the ballot."

But, Walter, I want to tell you something: The fact that the Republican reactionaries ran against you in 22 states and were defeated permitted a number of our good fellow Democrats to come in unscarred, unblemished, untarnished, unbrunt and we want to thank you for the diversionary tactics, for drawing the fire.

I suppose they will be running against Walter in 1960, too. I have a prediction to make: they will do just about as well as they did in 1958, only a little worse.

I want to talk to you a little bit about politics. I have been keeping this a well guarded secret. I only wish that every Union in America, I only wish that every liberal group in America had the political understanding, the political perception and the political courage that has been demonstrated by this great International Union throughout the years.

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Humphrey...5

My good friends, Pat Greathouse, my very good friend, discussed with you in his introduction a little speech I made in the Senate entitled, "What is Right With Labor." We had had three years of people trying to tell us what was wrong with it, and they spent a good deal of time trying to find out something was wrong with the UAW.

The only thing that they could find with the UAW was that the UAW was the kind of a trade union, the kind of an industrial union, the kind of a union that was an answer, and is America's answer to the labor haters, to the crooks, and, may I add, to the Commies.

If the American people want to know what is right with organized labor, I will give them a good case example. Study the history, the record, and the achievements of the United Automobile Workers, and find out what is right with organized labor in America.

I will tell you what is right about it. Sound and effective collective bargaining; the finest type of collective bargaining is represented by this Union and its officers.

Eternal vigilance, yes, eternal vigilance for the economic and civil rights of every member of this great International is what is right with the UAW.

Honest, fearless and strong leadership and strong locals, this is what is represented by the UAW. And I will add, a record of loyal and faithful dedication to this nation in peace and war and to the principles of democracy and freedom throughout the world. That is what is right with the UAW.

I will add finally what the enemies know to be right about the UAW, what the reactionaries know to be right about this great organization is its effective political action on election day everywhere in America.

Now, my good friends, make no mistake about it, you have been the subject of careful scrutiny. Some people in and out of Congress have been taking a good look at you. They have had the political microscope on you. They have had the political Geiger counter out to see if they couldn't find a little malignancy here and there.

But they have looked in vain. And now may I make a suggestion to you? After you have been looked over and worked over, why don't you reciprocate on some of those who were so generous to you? If you are short of names, see me right after the meeting. I will give you some.

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I realize a number of you in this great assemblage are a little bit unhappy about some of the developments in recent months, and you have a right to be. It is true that many times a representative body such as a Congress or a legislature can do unrepresentative things. But I want to say that the only answer that I know to better legislation, to more equitable and just legislation, to better government, the only answer I know is intelligent political action and pursuation, is to elect more of your friends, not only for Congress, but in every legislature, in every state house, in every courthouse across the land.

No matter how well you may do for Congress, no matter how many of your friends you may elect to public office in Congress, until you are able to tie together both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue from Capitol Hill to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, from Congress to the White House, until you have friends in both jobs, you are not going to have the kind of an America that you deserve and want.

There is not one thing wrong with this country today that another good election can't cure, provided that the results of that election are not only a liberal, progressive, humanitarian Congress, but provided that you place in the White House in that most important of all important positions in the world a man with the humanitarian compassion and dedication of a Franklin Roosevelt and the courage and toughness and fearlessness of a Harry Truman.

Now that is a big order, but these are difficult times and we need to fulfill the orders and do big things and all of us do more than we ever dreamed was possible of doing.

I think every man and woman in this room knows that the year of 1960 is the year of decision for us. Every one of us knows that we must act in this Second Session of the 86th Congress. We Democrats have promises to the American people. We have a platform. I support that platform and I am getting a little tired of people who say they are Democrats not supporting that platform.

A platform is a political party's contract with the electorate and I believe in fulfilling contract obligations.

Humphrey.....7

We can't expect too much from the conservatives. After all, they haven't even moved into today. They are not even sure about yesterday but those of us who say we are of the 20th Century, those of us who are supposed to be of liberal persuasion ought to look upon today as a challenge and accept the future with a great affirmative "yes, we are prepared to do our job."

Your heart is heavy as is mine with the condition in certain areas of industrial relations of this country. Our friends of the Steelworkers--and, by the way, if you haven't contributed--and I know you have--there is a box out there right at the door, and I would like to solicit before you leave this hall a contribution from every delegate for those striking Steelworkers who need our help. The only way I know how to answer the green of Wall Street is a few sheets of green from working people.

Now, my friends, you have been told about this strike and I shan't take much of your time. I will make my position manifestly clear as it has been for weeks and months.

This particular labor dispute, as it is termed, is not by accident. It is by conviction that the steel companies after better than six months of heavy production and unbelievable profits even in recession as well as in relatively full production decided to have it out with a great union, and every worker in America is affected by this **strike** because this is not just a dispute between the steel companies and the Steelworkers Union. It is a testing ground.

It is a battle between corporate power on the one hand that has grown rich and fat and vested in its privilege in recent years and trade unions, industrial unions who represent literally millions of working people and their families throughout this country. This is a showdown fight and that is why it has been prolonged. The companies have not wanted to settle until they could place on the back of these working people the onus, the blame, for what I predict will be substantial price increases in steel as they give pennies per hour to workers. And fellow Americans, when the government of the United States invokes Taft-Hartley, what you see is big government joining hands with Big Business, resulting in a big steal from the American people.

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Long ago that Fact-Finding Board should have been appointed. Long ago an objective Fact-Finding Board should have made its report. Long ago the American people should have known the facts but from the very beginning, management, the steel corporations have not wanted the American people to know the facts, because they have been peddling misinformation.

It is no secret as to how I feel. My Governor in Minnesota talks to them this way, too. We folks in Minnesota, where a lot of this iron ore comes from, know something about steel corporations. We have seen this battle before, and lest there be any doubt about it, let me say this, that what America wants, what the rank and file and the great citizenry of this great country want and need is a fair and equitable settlement of this dispute. It doesn't want to be propagandized into accepting substantial price increases by the steel companies and then having the charge of inflation laid upon the backs of the people who work in the mills and the mines and the shops of these steel corporations.

This has been coming for a long time, dear friends, a long time. I recall addressing this convention back in 1953. I recall addressing this convention about what I thought were going to be the results of the 1952 election. I don't take back a single word of what I said. The only thing is I am a little ashamed I had so little foresight. I took out the political shillelagh then and I am going to take it out again, because there are some people who need a good spanking, and we are going to set the record straight.

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I said then that with the election of Mr. Eisenhower, one who hadn't made up his mind as to which party he belonged to for almost 60 years, the Republican Party had elected one who was popular, who dazzled the public, who received a hero's response and justly so. I pointed out that he was like the canary in the gilded cage, placed in the parlor before the big picture window for all the passersby to see and to stand and gaze in wonderment and joy while back in the kitchen, the reactionary Republican crows were eating the public pie. I repeat, I was severely criticized then, and I imagine I will be now for having made such a comparison, but I want to repeat it. Those Republican specially privileged crows have been getting as big, my friends, not as crows but as eagles without, however, the same patriotic devotion. Do you want to know from whence our trouble stems?

What were the first three acts of this Administration? No. 1, they could hardly wait until they got into Washington to call in Washington, D.C. a meeting of the largest investment bankers and financiers to talk about what the Secretary of the Treasury insisted was an anti-inflationary program. And what was their remedy? Higher interest on the public bonds and higher interest on public financing, higher interest rates all through the economy. George Humphrey -- I will have you know, George and not Hubert.

As you heard me describe it before, neither George or Hubert are related either biologically or politically, and we are both delighted over the circumstances. George Republican Humphrey is trickle-down George, and Hubert Democrat Humphrey is percolate-upward Humphrey. Now, that's the difference.

No. 1, the Administration set in motion the greatest steal in the American People since the Administrations of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover. It set in motion hard money, high interest and tight credit, which is at best only a special privilege to a handful of people and a burden upon the multitude.

Humphrey....10

No. 2, it proceeded in the 83rd Republican Congress to what it said was rewrite the tax laws. They had a better word for it; they called it recodification. Well, the only thing related to cod was the way it smelled.

And what was the result of it? The result has been that the tax laws of this country are filled with loopholes and inequities and not a single working man or woman in this audience received any benefits, and yet those who are the recipients of dividends in income, gas and oil income, mineral income, received huge depletion allowances in benefits at the expense of the majority of the taxpayers.

Billions of dollars of lost income that could have been used for schools, could have been used for national defense, could have been used for effective foreign economic policy, could have been used to build better communities in America, -- billions of it lost in the name of the tax law.

The Republicans don't forget their friends. They are good to them. The trouble is you are not one of them, and you better remember it. They took care of their friends. Why, I remember when a fellow named Benson came to Minnesota. They thought they could send him out there because of his name. We have a number of Scandanavian people in our state. He came out there to remind farmers they were going to take less. The Administration reminded workers that they had to stop seeking wage increases. The Administration reminded bankers they ought to take more. And the Administration said to some special groups in economic life and some of the financial interests, "We are going to fix the tax laws for you." And it all has been so complicated, it has all been so cleverly done, it has all been so cleverly camouflaged in the name of sound finance, and anti-inflation, good business, that we have literally been as a nation brainwashed as to what has happened.

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Humphrey.....11

But these Republican crows come home to roost. Unbalanced budgets, inadequacy of our community developments, inadequate funds for a host of activities that were needed.

But let me tell you the third one that was the crowning glory, so to speak, of them all for this Administration. What was the secret of the New Deal? Why was it that certain interests really hated Mr. Roosevelt? Because of the regulatory commissions, the commissions that he established to protect the public interest, the great bodies of public authority that were established to protect your interest and my interest.

And every great President has done just that. This Administration proceeded not to dismiss these commissions, not to repeal New Deal Laws, but proceeded to take the soul and the spirit out of them, to take away from them effective administration and to change the personnel, the people, administering these bodies, so that the law was there, the body, but the spirit was gone.

What happened? Well, they appointed a new Housing Administrator. They appointed a man that had been defeated for Congress. His record in Congress was that he had opposed every housing bill since he had been in Congress. The Administration said to you, "We are for housing" and then proceeded to hire the number one arch enemy, the well tested, thoroughly experienced number one enemy of housing, and put him in charge of the Housing Authority.

I responded at that time it was like putting a fox in charge of the chicken coop, and I was right.

Or maybe, since you are not farm people, maybe I should give you a better example. It is like putting a scab in charge of the picket line.

By the way, if any of you don't believe it, just ask our good friends the Kohler workers who have been waiting for the NLRB to give them a decision for months, years. But when you have boards and agencies that are not dedicated to the public interest you are not going to get decisions to protect the public interest. This is true of security exchange, of federal power, of federal trade commissions--I shan't number them all.

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Humphrey...12

All I can say is that from the very beginning the pattern of things to come was designed. The hard money, high interest policy which takes its toll from every consumer and every taxpayer was designed, sealed and delivered in the month of March, 1953. The inequitable tax structure which today is sealed upon our banks was designed, passed and delivered in the summer of 1954. The regulatory commissions had been weakened. Their purposes have been diluted ever since January of 1953.

This is the price that we have paid for half-time, part-time, inadequate government.

Now, let me take you very seriously down to what I think are the three great challenges before us. Those challenges, as you know, are outlined right here in your own book of resolutions, and I commend this organization and this splendid convention on its resolutions.

What are the three challenges before the nation? The three challenges before any political party, and particularly the one that I am privileged to represent this morning are:

No.1; the first challenge is to fulfill our true and wholehearted economic potential.

No. 2; to achieve full dignity, freedom and justice for every American.

And No. 3; to win a just and enduring peace.

These are the three great challenges before America and its political leadership in the months to come.

Now, No. 1: you can't fulfill your economic potential if you have a government that is wedded to economic and monetary policies that act like a brake on the economy

Not only has there been a brake, but, as one magazine said, it is one thing to put on the brakes and another thing to throw the country through the windshield.

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Humphrey....13

America's economy has lagged. It has been designed this way by the economic architects of this administration. You can't realize your full economic potential when you have in Washington an administration that is symbolized by these words: No-go, go slow, not now, veto, injunction, administration. It can't be done. We can't realize our full economic potential when people are being conditioned by public leaders to accept three and a half million to four million unemployed as a "normal cushion" in the work force.

An administration that shows so little concern about the waste of manpower, the waste of talent and skill, as this administration does is indeed a no-go, go-slow administration.

And you can't have full employment by just indulging in scare words, trying to frighten the American people out of their mission of the fulfillment of our economic potential.

I do not have the time this morning to tell you the toll that this administration has taken from this economy. <sup>Billions of dollars of lost production!</sup> Ten million man years of lost work! / Billions of dollars of lost public revenues! Why? Because it seems to be more afraid of so-called inflation (which it generates by its own policies) than it is courageous and fearless in meeting the challenge of economic competition from the Soviet Union and from other nations abroad.

You know what this challenge is. You know that an America that grows at the rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  percent a year is not an America that is up to the task for the coming years of facing up to our international responsibilities.

You know that an America that grows at this snail's pace cannot provide the jobs that our families need. And you know full well that a government that doesn't support and doesn't get behind effective legislation to bring America up to its fullest capacity is a government that fails us in an hour of crisis.

What do we need? Housing? Yes! Minimum wage legislation? I should say so! And not just minimum wage legislation but a minimum of \$1.25 an hour expanded coverage into the uncovered areas of American economic life.

Regrettably, this administration says: "No. No, \$1.25 an hour is too much for a worker." But five percent interest on short-term bonds is just a beginning.

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The same administration, my friends, that says we are too hard up to have a program for the depressed areas of America is the same administration that walks back to the Congress and says we need another \$500 million to pay the increased interest upon a segment of the public debt. It appeals for this and it demeans the other.

I said the second objective must be to achieve full dignity, freedom and justice for every American, and I mean just that. The best thing that we can do in America today to really protect our strength in this world, the greatest thing that we could do for freedom and peace, is to set an example of social and economic and political conduct that would be the envy of the world.

The way we treat each other is more impressive than the words we say to others. The way we treat our own minorities, the way we regard our old people, is the real test of American leadership and American morals.

When I say to you that we need to achieve full dignity, freedom and justice for every American, I have some specifics in mind. Let me say this to you: You can just about tell the kind of a government you have, and what its philosophy is, by the way it treats three groups in our society: the young, the children who are in the dawn of life; the elderly who are in the shadows of life, or the twilight of life; and the handicapped, the disabled and the sick who are in the storm clouds of life.

I say to this audience this morning that this Administration is guilty of callous neglect of all three. It talks of education, even with the scare of a Sputnik and a Lunic, and it does nothing.

It refuses to balance the moral budget as it worships the fiscal budget.

Federal aid to schools? The Administration says: "We can't afford it." When every mother and father and every citizen in this nation knows that the lack of proper education in America is one of our weaknesses. It may be the Achilles heel in the struggle to come.

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America needs to mobilize its brainpower as well as increase its fire power. Federal aid to education is a must. Any man that stands up and says he is for national security, that he wishes to wage this competitive coexistence, he better stand up and volunteer now unequivocally for federal aid to schools, for federal aid to education, so that America can lead the world in this great experiment of education for humanity.

What about our elderly people? What about our elderly? The same Administration that says you can't expect to get bonds sold unless you raise interest is the same Administration that says to every grandmother and grandfather in America: "You will have to wait."

A million two hundred thousand widows in this country under social security getting less than \$56 a month, and this Administration has the unmitigated gall to say that \$56 is adequate and that an increase is inflationary.

More and more of our people are growing old, and we have less and less attention by government to the problems that come therein. Yes, I believe in and I stand for and I advocate an increase in social security and an expansion of its coverage. And I include in that, my friends, hospital and medical care for our people who are the recipients of old age and survivor's insurance under social security.

- President Reuther, I want to congratulate you and your great Union on the fine medical program that you are inaugurating, which I have read about, which has made the headlines, and justly so. What a great thing for the members of the United Automobile Workers. Well done! Would that our government would follow your humanitarian example.

By the way, if we keep them well, what about having some housing that is worthy of humankind, too? Housing for our elderly. Hospitals and medical research across the land for our people.

Now, then, that other area of human dignity. I have been told that when I emphasize civil rights that I prejudice my chances in politics.

more.....

I have been told that my advocacy of civil rights has become a roadblock in politics. Well, let me just say this: if the price of political success in America is to betray what are my convictions, is to betray and to hush up what I believe to be right, just, and moral, then I guess I will pay the price, because I shall not change!

Civil rights is nothing more than citizenship rights. That is all. It is on civil rights, constitutional rights and American rights and natural rights and God-given rights, that we either nobly win or lose the moral and spiritual battle being waged in this world today.

I hope that every person in this hall will heed my words: even if the so-called subject of civil rights was not morally and politically right--and it is--and even if one didn't want to justify this on the basis of ethics and morality, I remind this audience that the population centers of the world that represent power, represent victory, represent survival for us, that those population centers are people of so-called color.

There are more colored than Caucasian, more colored than white and I say to the minority that is gathered here today, wake up before it is too late. Share, share our civilization and what it means to us with others before we lose it. There is no issue more important before the American people today than this issue of our human rights.

I repeat again: I for one believe that it is long overdue, we are already generations late, that America to walk out of the shadows of states' rights and into the bright sunshine of human rights. And everybody knows it!

Nowhere are some of these specifics, because words must be backed up by details?

No. 1: it is time for the Congress to wholeheartedly embrace and support by affirmative action and resolution the desegregation decisions of the United States Supreme Court.

Humphrey...17

No. 2: it is time for the Congress to enact what we failed to enact in 1957, through threat of filibuster, what we failed to enact in 1958, namely, Part 3 of the so-called Civil Rights Program. Part 3 meaning what? Meaning to empower the Attorney General of the United States to protect the legitimate, constitutional rights of every American by being able to bring suit into a federal court to protect those rights, those voting rights, those citizenship rights, those educational rights of every man, woman and child in this nation.

Sometimes I wonder about us. The same Congress that will pass a selective service law which will compel men of all races, creeds and colors to live together, to train together, to be educated together, and if need be die together; the very same Congress that will impose upon citizens their supreme duty is unwilling so far to say to the nation that if these men and women can fight together and die together then they can live together, be educated together, work together and they can vote together to make American democracy workable.

Yes, and I do support Federal registration as recommended by the Civil Rights Commission. It is interesting to know that the Civil Rights Commission's recommendations had, in most instances, unanimous approval and in the instance of Federal registration of voters, my friends, had five of the six members supporting this recommendation.

Now, in conclusion, the final of our great challenges--and I believe this is the greatest of them all--is the winning of a just and enduring peace. Peace is not passive. Peace is active. Peace is not Appeasement. Peace is strength. And I want to express my personal, private and public thanks to this convention and this great International Union for the foresight and courage and wisdom it has exemplified in its resolutions on the subject of American foreign policy.

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Oh, how well I recall the words of some people of recent date, when only recently a critic of this Union had something to say about your International President and Mr. Khrushchev. I quote him. He said: "It is nice of Mr. Khrushchev to come over, but from the cool reception he has received so far it looks as if the only sympathetic audience he will be given will be that which he will have in San Francisco with Reuther and Carey."

Now that was an old "buddy" of yours talking, "Buddy" Barry Goldwater. You see the trouble is the conservatives just don't understand what this is all about. They don't understand what is going on in this world and I mean it. The tragedy of our time is that the official policies of this conservative Administration have never been able to identify America throughout the world with peace, people and progress.

It has become impossible, literally, for a conservative government to understand people and the social forces that are at work in this world.

They can't understand this revolution of rising expectations in Asia, Africa and Latin-America. The conservatives understand things, not people. They never were able to identify themselves with the hopes and aspirations of people even here in America. They never had that soul-like insight of a Franklin Roosevelt who, even though crippled and forced literally to stay in a chair, was able to call upon America to walk forward, to proceed forward with a strong and active faith.

It was Roosevelt who understood our rendezvous with destiny. It was Roosevelt and Truman who were able to identify America with the hungry, with the needy and with the destitute and the sick.

There can be no doubt about it that the number one problem is the securing of a just and enduring peace. I remind you that it is not easy and it is going to require an understanding of the world in which we live. It is going to require a liberal program at home so that we have a sensible foreign policy abroad. You cannot treat Americans one way and expect the people abroad to think they are going to be treated another way.

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So I lay down to you what I think are certain effective measures to be taken. First of all, high on the agenda should be with American initiative the seeking of a responsible program of disarmament under international inspection. Yes, so that we can convert our tools into the instruments of peace, so that we can release the energies of mankind in constructive work.

But I remind this audience that until we can get such a program, until we can have a meeting of the minds in this world, where we can be sure that in our pursuit of disarmament with inspection and controls that we will not lay ourselves open to attack, the following must be done:

One, a defense capability that is strong enough and effective enough to deter aggression wherever it may be.

Two, a steadily developing and expanding economy with full employment at home, with a maximum utilization of our resources so that we can endure for a long period of time the responsibilities of world leadership.

Third, a broad and long range economic policy overseas that will build new markets, that will help people to help themselves, and that will give people an opportunity to build institutions of freedom and democracy.

Fourth, intelligent, determined and dedicated efforts to reach an agreement to stop this senseless testing of thermonuclear weapons, with adequate controls and inspection to save mankind from a thermonuclear holocaust.

I do not give you easy assignments. I say to this audience that we have everything to win this struggle with, except one thing. America has the resources, America has the capital, America has the skilled workers, America has everything with which we can win this cold war but we lack the leadership, purpose and dedication. That is what is missing.

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I have the feeling that this audience, representing hundreds of thousands of workers, senses with me some of the things that we might do instead of crying about this God-given abundance of food and fiber. My friends, in a world where half of humanity is hungry, let's translate food and fiber surpluses into food and fiber power for peace and for people and for progress throughout the world.

And it can be done: food for peace and freedom. Imagine what old Khrushchev would be doing if he had enough wheat today for 60 billion loaves of bread. We have that much! And the Biblical stories of the loaves and fishes can be applied today throughout all this world. There are people yearning for one good meal as America wallows in its so-called surpluses.

I tell you, my friends, there can be no peace in a world of the hungry. There can be no peace in a world of the sick--and there are more people this morning that are sick than are well. And here is America, blessed with the greatest medical science that the world has ever known, failing to demonstrate what we mean by our kind of democracy by mobilizing the health resources, the medical research, by expanding our programs of medical care not only here but abroad in conjunction and cooperation with others, in a mighty attack upon man's ancient enemy of disease.

You see what the world needs is not massive retaliation. What the world needs, my friends, is massive rehabilitation, massive doses of science and education, massive doses of health and food, massive doses of understanding and living care. And I say to this audience that in a world of hungry, the sick and the illiterate, Communism finds ready allies.

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It provides a seed bed for that noxious weed of totalitarianism. So the attack for peace must not merely be in creating weapons of defense, important as that shield of defense may be, but, as I said, peace is not passive. Peace is active.

I call upon the great unions of the United States and of the free world to state once and for all that we are prepared to launch a mighty war against poverty wherever it may be, against disease and destitution, and that we are prepared to do our level best to give to mankind enlightenment, to obliterate from the face of this earth illiteracy that we are prepared to be our brother's keeper and to share with those who are less fortunate the principles of American free trade unionism, the principles of the American labor movement embracing everything of which I have spoken.

You believe in helping those who are in trouble, you believe in solidarity of forces of freedom, you believe in production for use, you believe in education, in health, you believe in care of those who cannot care for themselves.

I ask this great and wonderful organization, under the inspiring leadership of its President and its officers, I ask you to do even more than you have done to make your voice ring out unafraid, willing to lead this world and this America on a path that is worthy of our heritage, the path of freedom and plenty, the path of health and opportunity, the path of education and social justice.

You can do no less. And I, too, enlist in this struggle and stand shoulder to shoulder with you. Let us move ahead.

Thank you very much.



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