

Mayor said No to Corruption

No to Reaction

No to Bigotry

No to Racial Prejudice

② Mayor Wagner

man of Ideas, Progress  
convention

Yes Integrity

Yes to Progress

Yes to Racial Unity

Yes to

Yes to

Yes to

Yes to

REMARKS BY

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

UNITED HATTERS, CAP AND MILLINERY WORKERS UNION

NEW YORK

JUNE 9, 1965

I Don't know what the Mayor will do -  
But I know what he has done -

American cities needs Bob Wagner

My good friend, Alex Rose, and delegates to this

Twelfth Triennial Convention of the United Hatters, Cap  
and Millinery Workers International Union, I am delighted  
to be here for many reasons.

I want you to know, Alex, that whenever I throw  
a hat into the political ring, it is a hat made by your  
members. And I want you delegates to know this.

When  
that hat is occasionally tossed back out of the ring, I  
understand that it is probably anti-Humphrey and clearly  
not anti-Rose.

② This Morning I talked to  
Mayor McDermott, Mayor White  
on Career was P

Came  
Hatter  
hand!

✓  
Picked  
message

But, I want you to appreciate that, since becoming Vice President, I've done a good deal for you. You've probably seen some of the headlines recently: "Humphrey Wears Many Hats."

I guess LBJ  
gives me a lot of  
assignments  
because  
many  
hats.

↳ Seriously, I am particularly delighted to be able to visit again with your exceptional and wonderful president, Alex Rose.

↳ Few men have done so much for a better life for so many people -- both through his work in the labor movement and in the political leadership of our country.

↳ Alex Rose has been a counselor and friend to the leaders of our country. Let me tell you something which few people can know. ↳ When our late, beloved, President

John Kennedy was taken from us in the fall of 1963, President Lyndon Johnson asked me that day to call several men ~~of~~ friends

of great importance to the President of the United States.

Among those several men was Alex Rose.  
President Johnson knew that the wisdom and  
experience of this labor statesman and enlightened  
political leader was crucial to him and to our country.

But your union is not just one wonderful  
man. It is all of you.

And all of you can take great pride, with  
Alex and your other officers, in the knowledge that  
the Hatters Union is not only one of the oldest on our  
continent -- I understand that some of your locals are  
115 years old -- but that it has been one of the most  
thoughtful, most dedicated, and most effective in  
reaching out toward the goal of a better society.

You have been pioneers of the twentieth century  
in labor management relations . . . in improving and  
developing your industry to keep pace with change.

That is one of the ~~responsibilities~~ responsibilities of a good ~~union.~~

But you have done something more. You have, without question, contributed greatly to American political life, to the growth of the liberal spirit, to the determination that all people -- regardless of their race, color, creed, or national origin -- shall have opportunity for personal fulfillment in our society.

And that, my friends, is also a prime responsibility of a great union like the Hatters . . . a responsibility, in a free society, also of your government, and of industry, too.

Today that responsibility is being met.

It is being met because of two factors:

First, the vigorous leadership of President Lyndon Johnson.

Second, the unprecedented peacetime unity of our nation which now exists.

There is another word for this unity. It is consensus.

*Hammering out Agreement*  
*unity*

Consensus is voluntary agreement based on constructive dialogue, mutual respect, and understanding.

In consensus, we Americans are breaking through.

United we stand. And united we gain.

We gain together as our nation a great national consensus

says all Americans shall have equal voting rights. ~~And~~  
~~that consensus today is truly national, not regional.~~

We gain as our nation agrees that all Americans shall have an education which can give them the opportunity to lift themselves.

*We gain as Amer. Business & labor unite to expand our Econ.*

We gain in agreement that all Americans shall have adequate medical care through research, and Regional

That we should make our cities better places in which to live and work in safety and health;

*War on Poverty - Drug - Crime - Violence*

*Federal - State - Local Cooperation*  
*Partnership*

*Sam Hoggens*  
*wrote crime*  
*against a*  
*working man*  
*a business*  
*that fails*  
*to make*  
*a profit!*

*Wagner*  
*Naup*

↳ That we should preserve this nation's beauty,  
history and natural resources;

That we should give the aging hope for life  
and work; and full health protection

↳ That we should open our doors again to immigrants  
who can enrich and lend new vitality to our national life;

↳ That we should help our urban and rural  
Americans alike adjust to technological revolution and  
social change;

↳ That we should not drop the torch of international  
leadership.

That we should make whatever investment is  
necessary to realize our American dream. /

↳ That investment will be great. But it will be  
less than the cost of illiteracy -- of school dropouts --  
of poverty -- of discrimination -- of disillusion and  
bitterness -- of isolation in the world. Far less.

For example: We spend 450 dollars per year per child in our public schools, but we spend 1800 dollars a year to keep a delinquent in a detention home, 2500 dollars a year for a family on relief and 3500 dollars a year for an inmate in a state prison.

We must make the investment necessary so that all in our society may be productive. Poor and uneducated people are poor consumers. They are a drain on our economy. They are wasted resources.

But more than that, they are a reminder that full social justice still has not been achieved.

Franklin Roosevelt wrote twenty years ago that "the only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today." — *Move forward with a strong and active faith*

Today we are proving that free and democratic government is responsible, is compassionate, is able to provide opportunity for talented and unfortunate alike,

is able to sustain its commitment to the world.

↳ With continuing support of the American people, the Congress and this Administration will continue now and in the years to come to make the basic investments necessary to answer "yes" to our future.

Mayr  
Wagner

↳ We will continue to forge a strong economy, unmarked by recessions. We will continue to search for and develop tools to overcome the so-called "business cycle."

↳ We will continue to explore outer space and inner mind in development of knowledge for use by all the world.

↳ And we will continue to defend and preserve the precious peace with strength and perseverance.



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↳ We will maintain our strong and active faith  
in the ability of free men -- developed to their fullest --  
to build a better life for themselves and their children.

In these great tasks, I ask your help.

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REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY, UNITED HATTERS,  
CAP AND MILLINERY WORKERS UNION, NEW YORK  
JUNE 9, 1965

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Alex Rose has been a counselor and friend to the leaders of our country. Let me tell you something which few people can know. When our late, beloved President John Kennedy was taken from us in the fall of 1963, President Lyndon Johnson asked me that day to call several men of great importance to the President of the United States.

Among those several men was Alex Rose. For President Johnson knew that the wisdom and experience of this labor statesman and enlightened political leader was crucial to him and to our country.

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And all of you can take great pride, with Alex and your other officers, in the knowledge that the Hatters Union is not only one of the oldest on our continent -- I understand that some of your locals are 115 years old -- but that it has been one of the most thoughtful, most dedicated, and most effective in reaching out toward the goal of a better society.

You have been pioneers of the twentieth century in labor management relations . . . in improving and developing your industry to keep pace with change. That is what a union, in its first responsibility is for.

But you have done something more. You have, without question, contributed greatly to American political life, to the growth of the liberal spirit, to the determination that all people -- regardless of their race, color, creed, or national origin -- shall have opportunity for personal fulfillment in our society.

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We gain in agreement that all Americans shall have adequate medical care:

That we should make our cities better places in which to live and work in safety and health;

That we should preserve this nation's beauty, history and natural resources;

That we should give the aging hope for life and work;

That we should open our doors again to immigrants who can enrich and lend new vitality to our national life;

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And we will continue to defend and preserve the precious peace with strength and perseverance.

We will maintain our strong and active faith in the ability of free men -- developed to their fullest -- to build a better life for themselves and their children.

In these great tasks, I ask your help.

TRANSCRIPT OF ADDRESS BY  
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

June 9, 1965

at the Convention of  
UNITED HATTERS, CAP AND MILLINERY  
WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION

Hotel Astor - New York City

PRESIDENT ROSE: Fellow delegates and guests, there is no one in our government who is more in demand than the Vice President of the United States. (Applause)

And no one is prouder than we are to have him as our guest this morning. (Applause)

The hours he puts in in one working day, no labor union would tolerate. (Laughter) Yet, organized labor is in love with him and so is the rest of the nation.

He is a man of great ability and remarkable mobility. His profound eloquence inspires our nation to greater vision and gives meaning and purpose to our national objectives.

Today, he holds the second highest office in our land, and yet to all of us he is the same dear Hubert. (Applause)

His political and legislative struggles always were and always will be close to our hearts. (Applause)

Our country is richer and happier, because there is a Hubert Humphrey in our midst. (Applause)

Ladies and gentlemen, with a great deal of personal pleasure, I present to you the Vice President, Hubert H. Humphrey.

(The delegates arose and applauded.)



VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY: Thank you very much.

My good friend, Alex Rose, and delegates to this 12th Triennial Convention of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union: I guess you already know that I am mighty happy to be here. In fact, when I arrived, I brought my hat, just to make sure that Alex would let me in. (Laughter and applause)

Mayor Wagner, I brought one along just in case you might want to use it. (Laughter)

Truly, I want each and every one of you how very appreciative I am of your cordial and warm reception. Sometimes in public life you need just a little pepper-upper like you provided this morning -- an expression of friendship and of loyalty and of helpfulness, such as you have given is the food and fuel that I need for continued energy and vitality in public service. (Applause)

And I know my good friend, the Mayor of this great metropolis, feels exactly the same way. It is an interesting thing, Mayor Wagner, how everybody seems to know how to do the job better than the one that is doing it. I recall when I was teaching school some of my students would tell me about the ugliness of politics and they were a little critical of people in public life. I used to say to them, "Well, now, get off the bleachers, get off the sidelines, and get down on the field of battle and demonstrate your capability or hush up and don't try to tell people how wrong they are or even how right they are until you have tasted the whole struggle yourself. (Applause)

And this wonderful Mayor, he has tasted and felt the battle that goes on in public life, and he has also, may I say, tasted the inspiration, the wine of your inspiration and encouragement this morning.

I know, Bob, that you feel a lot better right now than you have for a long, long time. (Applause)

I want to be very frank with you -- I didn't have the slightest idea, when I arrived here this morning, that the Mayor of this city could be present. In fact, Alex Rose asked me to come to the suite so he could just tell me -- he wanted to remind me that the Mayor was going to be there, and I said, "Well, this is a wonderful, wonderful thing for him, to take time out to be here when I come once again to New York."

I just about wear this Mayor out, coming up here, and having him greet me. (Laughter) But we are friends of many years, and our families are friends, and I am always singularly honored when Mayor Wagner will extend the hand of welcome and of friendship to me as I come to this great City of New York. (Applause)

And When you can get Bob Wagner and Alex Rose on the same day, you are really doing things, you know. (Applause)

Let me just say a word about your Mayor. Of course, many of you here are from many parts of America, but there are a goodly number from the City of New York. I was once the Mayor of a much smaller city, but a very fine city, the Mayor of Minneapolis, Minnesota, a city of about a half million people, and surely with only a half million people, your problems are nothing like the problems of this great city with its millions and millions and millions of people who live here and millions of people who come to visit here.

But the Mayor of a great city is in the very heart -- as this Mayor has indicated to you -- of the problems that confront this nation at home.

This has become an industrialized, urbanized nation, and the changes that have taken place in your lifetime and the lifetime of the delegates here in terms of our cities are as great as the changes that have taken place in science and technology itself.

And surely it is a fact that just as some of us strive to put a man on the moon, the mayor of a great city works day and night to help man on earth stand on his own two feet and live a good life and live in a good community, and have a job and rear a family.

These are difficult assignments. A mayor must be able to say "yes" or "no" and he has a great deal of conflicting advice. So does a President, so does a Senator, and so does a Vice President. The Vice President fortunately doesn't have to make quite as many decisions as those who are the executives of our land and the legislators of our land. I served 16 years in the United States Senate. I had to make up my mind every day on a bill, and we had only two kinds of votes. When they called the roll, it was "yea" or "nay". There was no "maybe" column. (Laughter) If I could have voted "maybe" I would have been the happiest fellow, and everybody would have said, "Now, isn't that Humphrey just fine?" (Laughter)

The trouble is, you didn't have that choice. When the hour of decision came after the debate and the discussion, when the moment of decision was there, you voted "yes" or "no," and in so doing, some people admired you, others were discouraged with you. Some people were for you, some people were against you.

But a man in public life today must make those decisions, and this Mayor has made them. I don't know what this Mayor is going to do. I have



no idea what his plans are, and those plans are to be his decision. He will make up his mind what his future is to be or what he wants for his future, and I am not here to tell him what to do. But I know what he has done, and I know that New York City is a better city because this man, Robert Wagner, served as Mayor of this city. (Applause)

I think New York has needed him, I know New York has loved him, and I know that throughout the country, where some of us live -- you know, we do not all live in your great city; some of us live in the midlands of America, the Far West, the South, the Southeast -- one thing I can say to you is that I have yet to hear a word of scandal, a word of maladministration, a word that is derogatory about the man who is the Mayor of this city. (Applause)

And that is quite a compliment for any public official. Yes, the Mayor must say "yes" or "no" and this Mayor has said "no" to corruption. (Applause) He has said "no" to reaction. (Applause) He has said "no" to bigotry. (Applause) He has said "no" to racial prejudice. (Applause) He has said "yes" to integrity in government. (Applause) And he has said "yes" to progressive government, which this city has. (Applause)

My friends of the labor movement, he has said "yes" loud and clear to the right of every worker to organize in the union of his choice. (Applause) And he has said "yes" to the men of industry and finance who live in this city and work in this city and who seek to come to this city.

He has sought to bind up the wounds, not to open them. He has sought to unite the people, not to divide them. He has said "yes", in other words, to what I think is the most important of all -- "yes" to brotherhood, (applause), to better human relations. (applause)

Well, Bob, I wanted to say this. I don't know whether I will be back up here for some time, and I just thought that you ought to know that some of us in other parts of America -- we don't have to vote here but we do have a voice -- we feel very strongly about your commitments and your ideals.

I think that I am speaking, I know that I am speaking of a man of deep idealism, a man who loved and loves his family, who walks honorably in the footsteps of a great father and one who has demonstrated qualities of public service that all of us can admire and respect.

So whatever you want to do, Mr. Mayor, you let me know later on and all I can say is that I have a feeling that in the days ahead New York City will have as its Mayor, Mayor Robert Wagner.

(The delegates arose and applauded.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I want you to know that this wasn't even written out, Bob. So, you know, it is just from the heart. (Laughter)

I have had a very wonderful morning, a busy morning. I regret, Alex, that I had to upset your timetable, but I have a simple rule in public life. I was not elected to make speeches, I was elected to fulfil my duties, and if I have to be a little tardy for a speech, when there is work to do, I do the work and then come along and make the speech. Sometimes we have to cancel the speech. Yesterday, I spoke to the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen Union. I had to cancel them last year. I had work to do -- we had a Civil Rights Bill up in Congress -- and I put my public duties ahead of my private pleasures. This is indeed a great pleasure for me. (Applause)

This morning, before I left Washington, I had a very interesting

telephone conversation. I decided to call up a couple of distinguished Americans who have brought great honor to themselves and to our land. They were out on the Caribbean and they were on a great ship, the "Wasp", the aircraft carrier. I picked up the telephone and said, "I would like to speak to Major McDivitt and Major White." (Applause) You see, I happen to be Chairman of the Space Council that coordinates the activities of our military and our peace Space Agency, the NASA organization. So I just picked up that 'phone and said I wanted to talk to the two great American heroes. (Applause)

And, you know, we had the most wonderful conversation. Isn't it marvelous to have men of such humility, of such good humor, of such brilliance, bravery, and courage, and yet of just such genuine -- well, just genuine commonplace friendliness? Why, these men while they were in orbit in this sensational flight of theirs, with all of the dangers, with all of the problems, were great human beings, rather than just great astronauts. They knew their job. They were well trained. They were healthy mentally, physically, spiritually. They were representing the greatest country on the face of the world. They never had a moment of doubt. They knew exactly what they were going to do, and they had such fun. Not only that, they made it a family affair, which is the way it ought to be in this country. (Laughter) They tied in that telephone conversation between Pat McDivitt and Pat White, the wives of these two great astronauts, and, you know, right away one of the wives said, "Now, behave." Can you imagine that! (Laughter)

I tell you, there is no way to get away from them. (Laughter) We males might have thought there might be some hope in outer space (laughter)



but I guess we just as well admit it. The upper hand is in the soft hand of the lady. (Laughter) But it was so wonderful.

And this walk in space! I am sure many of you have now seen the television film. It is another world, isn't it? It is a whole new world and yet, while it is a whole new world, there were the people right from this world acting as people ought to, respectfully, considerately, ably, efficiently, in good humor and in good conscience and good sense.

Oh, I have never been prouder in my life of Americans than I have been in these past few days when these two great astronauts of ours exemplified by deed and by word, by action their great citizenship and their maturity as American representatives in the Space Age. Weren't they wonderful!

(Applause)

Our President talked to them the other day and imagine the joy that must have been theirs when they, after the splashdown and after they were picked up and were on that carrier, the first telephone call they got was from the President of the United States! (Applause) I must say that the only one who gets more telephone calls from the President than these astronauts is Alex Rose. (Laughter and applause)

Yesterday, when the President heard that I was coming here he said, "I want you to take on another duty, Mr. Vice President."

It is wonderful to work with such a good man. He keeps me quite busy.

I said, "What would that be, Mr. President?"

He said, "You are going up to see my friend Alex. You are going up to the Hatters Union. I want you to tell them, first of all, that I do keep wearing my hat."

(Laughter and applause) And he does.

But, more importantly, in all seriousness, the President gave me a message and I read it now.

It is from the White House, dated June 8th.

"It is with the greatest pleasure that I extend my warm best wishes to Alex Rose and to the delegates attending the Twelfth Triennial Convention of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

"A fundamental goal of the Great Society is to assure every citizen the opportunity to enjoy the full fruits of his daily labors. The way to this national goal has been made simpler by the tireless efforts of the Hatters' Union over the years to achieve social and economic justice in America.

"In striving to better the lives of your members as well as other citizens, you have played a large role in bringing about America's record prosperity. This prosperity is impressive as our nation's economy thrusts forward in its 52nd consecutive month of expansion -- the longest peacetime expansion in our history. Wages, employment and total output are at all-time levels and the unemployment rate, at 4.6 per cent, is down to its lowest point in 91 months.

"Our great national challenge now is to extend our record well-being to the millions it has bypassed through no fault of their own. I welcome your continuing support in this vital endeavor.

"May your convention be productive for your members and for the nation you have served so well.

"Lyndon B. Johnson."

(Applause)



Now, my friends, I want to talk to you a little bit about some of the matters of interest, I am sure, to both of us.

The Mayor has given you a powerful message. It is indeed a message that you need to understand and to study.

I have been in many political campaigns and I have said, as my friend Alex Rose knows, whenever I throw my hat into the ring, it is always one that has been made by your members. (Laughter)

My friend, Frances Swanson, from Minnesota wouldn't let me do anything else. She is here on the platform. I am carefully supervised at home all the time by the members of this Union. Alex has someone every place. You never get away from them. (Laughter)

But I want you to appreciate that since becoming Vice President, and this goes for all the officers of this great Union and the delegates here, I have done a great deal for you, much more than Alex Rose said in that marvelous introduction that he gave me.

You probably have seen some of the headlines recently: "Humphrey Wears Many Hats." The President has his friendship for this Union and he keeps assigning new obligations, new responsibilities. And the reporters say, "Humphrey has a new hat on today." (Laughter) The hat that I use when I work with the Mayors; the hat that I use when I am privileged to coordinate the civil rights activities of this government; the hat that we use when we lead the program for travel, "See the U.S.A." The hat we have today for the youth opportunity campaign to provide summer jobs for our young people. The hat when I am at the National Security Council or the Cabinet meeting as chairman of the Space Council. We have a lot of activities.

The only thing is, Alex, you haven't sent me a hat yet. (Laughter and applause) And now he doesn't dare do it because the President put a ban on the receiving of gifts. You might have thought he would have been a little more timely than that.

But his old friend, Dave Dubinsky, decided he was going to give me a topcoat. He did it right out in broad daylight down in Miami Beach. You know what I had to do in order to keep myself on the job and legal? I had to send him a check (Laughter) So, Alex, if you are sending any hats, remember, I am in the middle-income bracket. (Laughter)

I just want to say, few men in public or private life have done so much for a better life and for so many people, both through his work in the labor movement and his political leadership of our country, as your President. Alex Rose has been a counselor and friend of the leaders of our country. He has been a great friend to me. I am indebted to him.

Let me tell you something a few of you may not know. When our late and beloved President, John Kennedy, was taken from us on that cruel day in the fall of 1963, and the then Vice President, Lyndon Johnson, became our President, the first thing President Lyndon Johnson asked me to do, as his friend, was to make several telephone calls to personal friends of ours, particularly personal friends of President Johnson -- men of great importance to the welfare of this country, and men that could be of some counsel and some consolation to a new President who came in under the most difficult of circumstances, with a broken heart and a grieving nation.

Among those several men that I was privileged to call and ask to stand by was Alex Rose. (Applause) He was needed. When he was needed, he

was there. President Johnson knew that the wisdom and the experience of this labor statesman and this enlightened political leader was crucial in our country. And it is not flattery or an exaggeration to say that on many an occasion the advice and counsel of this man has been sought; it has been welcome.

I don't want to speak now of just one wonderful man because I think you have a wonderful union. I want to speak about all of you and to all of you.

All of you can take great pride in your union, with Alex and your other Officers, in the knowledge that the Hatters' Union is not only one of the oldest on our Continent. I understand some of your Locals go back as far as 115 years. But that it is one of the most thoughtful, the most progressive, the most effective in reaching out towards the goal of a better society.

And that is our goal. I am sure we will not live to have what we think is the perfect society. But each of us should seek to add something to a better society. I have it in mind every day and I say it to myself every day: I want this day to add up to be a better America. I want something to happen this day somewhere to someone in some area or in some place, to make it a better America.

Because, believe me, for those of us that have traveled, what a wonderful, wonderful country we have. (Applause) Sometimes when we talk like this, I hear our commentators and our critics say, "Oh, they are getting sentimental."

Well, I am sentimental about my country, just as I am sentimental about my family, my mother, my dad, my wife, my children. Why shouldn't we



be sentimental about our country? It is our home. We ought to love it. In the process of loving it we ought to try to do just as we do with our children: try to help it, to encourage it, to add something to it. A good dose of old-fashioned patriotism is just exactly what this country needs at this hour. (Applause)

You men and women here in this audience, you have been pioneers in many a movement, many a cause. You have been pioneers of the 20th Century in labor-management relations. In a sense, labor-management relations in America are the key to our economic and industrial progress. You pioneers have been improving and developing your industry to keep pace with change. That is one of the responsibilities of a good union.

But you have done something much more. You have, without question, contributed greatly to American political life, to the growth of that liberal and progressive spirit, to the determination that all of our people, regardless of where they are born, their name or how they spell it, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin -- the determination that these people shall have opportunity for personal fulfillment in our society.

That, my friends is also a prime responsibility of a great union like yours. A union isn't just for wages. It isn't just for collective bargaining. It also helps to build a living environment in which you can grow and blossom. A union has a responsibility in a free society, as does government and industry. I think that today that responsibility is being met. It is being met because of two factors. First, the vigorous leadership that is being provided this country by President Lyndon Johnson. And, secondly, the unprecedented peacetime unity of our nation which now exists. There has never been such

unity.

It isn't a unity that is surface. It is in depth. I heard the President say the other night to a group of assistants in the Capitol -- men and women at work for Senators and Congressmen. He said, "We are trying to do something in America to get us as one people to move toward common goals and objectives.

He uses the word "consensus." What "consensus" really means is unity. This consensus comes about just like you get an agreement out of collective bargaining, out of adjustment, conciliation, compromise, hammering out a common policy and a common purpose.

In other words, consensus is voluntary agreement based upon a constructive discussion and debate, mutual respect and understanding.

We Americans are doing this. We are learning more about self-government, how to operate our own affairs, than any people on the face of the earth.

The President pointed out to this group of very young people, and some of them older, workers in the Halls of Congress, who help write the legislation -- technicians, clerks, secretaries, he said, "I want to tell you something. This White House belongs to the people -- the rich people and the poor people; the financier; the unorganized worker; the corporation president; the union member; the union president; the farmer; the elderly; and the child."

He said, "One thing that has never happened in this House since I have been President is, I have never chastised our businessmen for being economic exploiters. I have never called our labor people labor bosses or labor crooks." In other words, try to deal with people in mutual respect. To respect, for

example, what Samuel Gompers once said. He said, "The greatest crime against a workingman is a business that fails to make a profit."

Is it any wonder that workers are concerned about their industry?  
Is it any wonder they are worried about the condition of their industry?  
Because the only way a man has a job is if somebody has a business and has a profit to pay a wage.



And the only way you can have a profit to pay a wage, if it is well enough paid, is to keep the business operating. We are tied together. (Applause)

Every once in awhile I read in the press, "You know, that fellow Humphrey is overtalking business."

Why not? My father was a businessman. I regret he wasn't a union officer. He was a businessman, but he was a progressive. He taught his sons early that the only way that business would be maintained and make a profit was if the customers who came in the door had good income. And we have been interested in good income and good working conditions. And isn't it interesting that as the labor movement in America has prospered, so has industry? As the worker has prospered, so has the banker, and as both have prospered so has America — the greatest prosperity we have ever known. (Applause)

So, united we stand.

Do you remember what old Ben Franklin said — a wonderful man in our history — at the time of the Constitutional Convention, when everybody was getting in each other's hair, so to speak, and there were arguments? He said, "Listen, we either hang together or we are going to hang separately."

That is why you have a Union. You can stick together — solidarity, fraternity. You work together. And that is why we have collective bargaining. We think that collective bargaining in this country is better than any government-dictated program and better than any kind of company-dictated program. We think that collective bargaining is the way that free people ought to negotiate their differences and no union has a better record over

the long term for the good of the American economy than the one I am looking at right now this morning. (Applause)

So we are united and we gain together. As our Constitution says, all Americans shall have equal voting rights, not just some -- all. And mark it down in your legislative notebook now that before the 4th of July and we celebrate Independence Day, legislation that protects the right to vote of every American, regardless of race, color, or creed, that removes these impediments of poll taxes and literacy tests will be on the President's desk and there will really be Independence Day in America. (Applause)

You can't ask a man today to go to Viet Nam and deny him the right to vote in Mississippi. )Applause) And we as a nation gain when our people agree that all Americans shall have an education which can give them the opportunity to lift themselves, the best of education. And, mothers and fathers in this audience, this government, the Johnson-Humphrey administration, is determined to see that American youth has the best educational opportunity that has ever been given to any young person in the history of our country. (Applause)

And we gain when we are in agreement that all Americans shall have the best of modern medical care and healing. That is why we are launching a tremendous effort this year in research to see if we can't find the answer to something that will take one out of every four in this audience, -- cancer, a disease that will strike down hundreds of thousands, a stroke, and heart disease and mental retardation. Mothers, one out of every ten or twenty children can be affected by mental retardation. One out of every two hundred can be seriously retarded. We are not going to let this waste go on unchecked. We are going to invest in medical research. We are going to put a half billion dollars into it this year alone, more than we ever



did before (Applause) And we are going to do it so that you, mother, can be a little more sure of the happiness of yourself and your family and that you, the breadwinners of the family, will not be struck down prematurely.

Last year heart disease, cancer and stroke cost this nation over \$30,000,000,000 in lost income, \$30,000,000, 000. You talk about waste ! Discrimination cost us over \$20,000,000,000 in lost income, because of discrimination in jobs. These are not my figures. These are the figures of the Council of Economic Advisers, the top financial institutions of your country. We are determined to eliminate this wast, and we ask for your help.

Every so often I hear somebody say, "But where is the liberal program?" How much more liberal a program do you want than that? This isn't only a liberal program. It is a sensible program. It is your program. It is an American program, and we are going to get it passed. Mark that down right now. (Applause)

And, Mr. Mayor, we are going to do something about these cities, and you have struck the keynote not only for this year but for the future. The great progressive programs of government in the future will be related to our cities. Many of our cities have to be literally rebuilt.

If we can find a way to get a man from Cape Kennedy to the moon, we ought to be able to get a fellow from the Bronx down here in Manhattan. We ought to be able to get a man from his worker's home into his shop without losing an hour of his time. We are going to answer these problems through research, through money, through cooperation, through Federal, state, and local partnership, with each area doing more than it has done. And the Mayor of the City of New York has sounded the battlecry. He has declared war on the problems of the cities. And who better should be the field commander

in that effort than one who has been in the midst of the battle for years, and yet who stands strong and stands unsullied, and stands there knowledgeable in how to win this war?

Do you know what else we are going to do? We are going to help preserve this nation's beauty and its natural resources. There isn't any reason why America needs to look like a sort of dumping ground. We are going to see that our cities are a little better, our highways are better, and our parks. We are going to have millions of more people in America and if we don't watch out, if we throw all the beer cans in the ditch (laughter), we are going to have mountains of these little trinkets.

No! We are going to beautify America with its trees and its flowers and its shrubbery and its green spots. We are going to open up our cities so that children won't have to live on concrete and asphalt. They weren't intended to live that way. They are supposed to be close to God's good earth. And, mothers and fathers, your Government and you, the people of this land and their Government, we are literally going to move mountains. And why are we going to get the job done? Because that is the only way that a free people ought to live.

Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, said Thomas Jefferson. And life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are a trilogy that go together with American citizenship, and we are going to achieve it. (Applause)

And we are going to open our doors again to the immigrants who can enrich and lend new vitality to our national life. We are going to make it possible, my dear friends, so that this kind of iniquity no longer exists: If you want to hire somebody to come to work in your penthouse, under existing law, you can get someone from a foreign land to come in under a work permit.

But if you want to bring your dear mother over from Greece, Italy, or from somewhere else, you can't do it, even though you can provide for her.

What kind of a law is it that denies family reunion, that denies someone here in America, who has made it, who can support mother, dad, sister, brother, that denies to those people the right to bring families together and yet permits someone to bring somebody over to wash the dishes, as a paid worker in an apartment?

I just think it makes no sense, and I don't intend to let it happen.  
(Applause)

So your President has asked for a change in the law, and we need your help to get it. I know some of these things cost money, and I want to just conclude on this note: Everything that we do costs something. It costs something to do things. It costs a great deal not to take care of your health. It costs a great deal not to keep your Union. It costs a great deal, my dear friends, not to keep America strong. So we have to invest and we are investing, and we are going to invest in education, we are going to in war on poverty, we are going to help people get back on their feet through their own efforts, through cooperation with their government. We are going to invest so there will be less of a cost of illiteracy, fewer school drop-outs, less poverty, less discrimination, less disillusionment and bitterness.

Let me give you an example of what we are up against. Right now, we spend about \$450 a year per child in our public schools. That is what the average is across the country. But we spend \$1800 a year for a child who drops out of school, is a school drop-out. We spend \$2500 a year, on the average in this nation, for a family on relief. And we spend \$3500 a year if they get locked up in a state penitentiary.



What kind of value do we have? Where are our priorities? \$3500 a year for a man who has been apprehended after committing a crime; \$2500 a year if he is on relief -- and we have relief families in the third and fourth generation; \$1800 a year if he is a boy who drops out of school in his freshman or sophomore year; and less than \$500 a year for public education.

We think the answer is to put more into education. We think the answer is to do something about youth, jobs and employment. We think the answer is training. We think the answer is inspiration. And we are going to ask you, as taxpayers and citizens of this great country, to join with us in this great investment, and the dividends will be good. (Applause)

Just remember what Franklin Roosevelt once said: "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today." And the last words that that great President ever penned were these: "Let us move forward with a strong and active faith." And that is what we need, a strong and an active faith.

Well, I think we have that strong and active faith, and I am asking you to keep the faith, I am asking you to stay strong. I am asking you to join with us in the fulfillment of our international obligations.

Remember this, my dear friends: If we learned anything out of the 1930's, we learned two things: that you cannot appease aggression and that racism, racial prejudice and intolerance are consummate evil, and if we Americans of the 1960's don't remember that, then we lost World War II -- Hitler won.

I thought the history books said he lost, but he will only have lost -- and Togo will only have lost, and Mussolini will only have lost, aggressors will only have lost if we learned our lesson, and you cannot, my

friends, feed one after another country into the insatiable appetite of the totalitarian monster and have freedom here at home. (Applause)

I know it is not easy. It wasn't easy then. Many a brave man lost his life in Germany and elsewhere in those days, standing up against the dictator. Six million Jews were incinerated, burned, destroyed. What a terrible price we paid for trying to just look the other way. The world was bathed in blood, because a man in charge of a military machine thought he could have the world, and that we would back up, thought that we wouldn't fight, thought that we wouldn't resist.

And there were leaders that wouldn't resist, and then one day the fury of the Stuka drive bomber, the fury of the Panzer division went all over Europe and we paid and paid and paid.

If we haven't learned that lesson, my friends, we have learned nothing, and the only difference between the Communist and the Nazi is that one is red and one is black. They are totalitarians and we will resist them. (Applause)

The only difference between the anti-semitism that existed in those tragic days of the '30's and the spirit of Anti-Negro in America, in some quarters, of racial intolerance is the difference between color and religion.

Oh, my friends, we have learned, I hope -- some may have not -- but I am here to say that freedom is indivisible, and I am here to say that when a nation has responsibility, it must act responsibly. You can't be a leader without paying the price, and you can't expect to have a better world if you are going to let those who believe in the law of the jungle dominate it.

So, just as you built your Union and taught employers -- some of them -- fair rules of the game in labor-management relations, just as you improved your working conditions -- and you had to fight for it and some people made terrible sacrifices -- so this great nation of ours must set some standards in this world. It must be unafraid.

And let me tell you one thing, my fellow Americans: We are the strongest nation on the face of the earth. Don't you forget it for a single minute. And people all over the world are watching us. They want to be sure that America is true to its faith and true to its ideals, and I can tell you that as long as you permit those of us who today have the responsibility of leadership, to serve you, we are going to ask you to be true to those ideals. We are going to say, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." We are not going to appease. (Applause) We are not going to appease either the aggressor or the racist. We are going to see to it that this is a world in which peace can live and in which human dignity is respected.

Thank you.

(Rising ovation)





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