

President Meany
Member of the Exec. Council
Delegates + friends
from the free labor
movement from all over
the world.

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

AFL - CIO CONVENTION

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

DECEMBER 10, 1965

Great Speech by LBJ

The President is sorry that he could not be with you today. But, frankly, I'm not. It's just as well he doesn't hear all this talk about replacing Vice Presidents.

Seriously, I think you know how much President Johnson would have enjoyed being with you today.

Both publicly and privately, he has spoken often and with deep feeling about his high regard for this great organization and its leaders.

⊗ — uplifters are compulsive talkers — and we are so

Insert

On this 10th anniversary I salute all
of you -- but especially I commend
and congratulate the two men, above all,
who made the merger possible, who
defied and ignored the cynics by
making that merger work, and who
continue to give great leadership to
a ~~the world's largest and finest free~~
~~trade union movement~~

George Meany

-- and

Walter Reuther

Two years ago -- eight days before his tragic death -- our late beloved President John F. Kennedy addressed you.

He took the opportunity to express to you his deep appreciation of all that you had done, in his own words, "not only for the labor movement, but for the United States ~~as a whole.~~"

President Johnson feels exactly the same way. *He spoke to*

LBJ
you yesterday
and

Recently, when he signed the Older Americans Act,

he said that the AFL-CIO "has done more good for more people than any other group in America."

and I'm not tongue-tied about this either, I recall

with pride that I rose on the Senate floor June 24, 1959

-- during the consideration of the Landrum-Griffith

Act -- and said:

“For two years now we have been hearing much about what's wrong with the American labor movement . . . I rise today to discuss what's right with the American labor movement . . . The public should know the full story of what decent, honorable, devoted trade unionists are doing day by day for their fellow men, for their country, and for the cause of freedom in a troubled world . . . ”

And then I reminded the Senate of what was right with labor. And I have often done so before and since.

We can never forget

~~I have told of~~ labor's leading role in the New Deal of the 1930's, which lifted this nation out of the darkest

depths of despair. ~~And I have told how labor turned with~~

~~equal zeal and dedication to making the United States~~

~~the arsenal of democracy in World War II.~~

Arsenal of Democr

New Deal

Lest we Forget -

Labor Support U.N.

Lest we forget⁴ it was labor that gave -

~~I have told of~~ its vigorous and effective support

to Policy of the historic initiatives President Truman launched

to rebuild democracy and contain Communist expansion

-- aid to Greece and Turkey, the Marshall Plan, Point

Four and NATO. and it was organized labor who

in ~~I have told how~~ backed up the UN action to resist aggression in Korea.

and labor ~~I have told how~~ it continued its fight for a better

America into the 1950's, during years when the going was uphill most of the way.

✓ In the past few years -- and particularly this year -- the American people have reaped a rich harvest from the seeds you planted on what often seemed barren and stony ground.

yes ✓ It is good to dream great dreams. But it is even sweeter, after long years of toil and struggle, to see them come true.

Aid to Greece
Turkey
Marshall
Plan
U.N.
Korea

1950

More than 20 years ago, at Warm Springs, Georgia,

FDR
Franklin Roosevelt sat at his desk to write his address
for Jefferson Day, 1945 -- an address that was never to
be delivered. The last words Franklin Roosevelt wrote
were these:

"The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will
be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong
and active faith." Text

↳ The words of Franklin Roosevelt were a challenge
to us all. And, in these 20 years, we have met that
challenge. ↳ That challenge was met by Presidents Truman
and Kennedy. ↳ It is being met today by President Lyndon
Johnson. It has been and will be courageously met by
the American labor movement.

yes

It was a great day in July, in Independence,
Missouri, when President Johnson signed the Medicare
Act, in the presence of President Truman.

Medicare

*my first
bill*

I say to you and to all the American people: There
would be no Medicare today had it not been for the support
of the ~~AFL-CIO~~ *labor*

Educ

The Congress this year enacted historic legislation
to aid education . . . to invest in the future of our
children. ~~We would not have these education laws today~~
without the ~~AFL-CIO~~ *help of labor*

There would be no aid to

help of labor

*Rt to
Vote*

The Congress enacted legislation to keep promises,
~~unkept a hundred years, so that all our citizens might~~
~~have the right to vote.~~ There would be no Voting Rights
Act -- no Civil Rights Act, in fact -- without the

~~AFL-CIO.~~ *The Vigorous support of
Labor*

War on
Poverty

↳ The Congress enacted legislation to strengthen our
war on poverty. There would be no war on poverty

without the ~~AFL-CIO~~ Militant Support of Labor

The Congress enacted legislation to provide better
housing. There would be no such laws . . . no national
commitment to better housing without ~~AFL-CIO~~ your help.

The Congress purged our immigration laws of the
racial and national discrimination which, for so many
years, deeply stained them. + Labor Said yes

↳ The Congress acted to make America more beautiful,
by launching an attack on the pollution of our air and
water, by moving to rid our highways of billboards and
junkyards, and by further expanding our wonderful
system of national parks. - Labor Said yes!

None of these things could have been done without
the ~~AFL-CIO~~ political action of LABOR.

yes, you have
~~The AFL-CIO~~ has been in the front line of the
battle wherever the fighting was fiercest. ~~You have~~
you are
truly earned the right to be called "the people's lobby."
and you have put
I thank you, too, for putting the welfare of our
nation above self-interest, by respecting the wage-price
guideposts in collective bargaining.

7
Labor and all Americans have benefited greatly
from our sustained economic expansion, which has
continued for almost six years.

By your cooperation with Government
The guideposts have, in my view, been an essential
part of the policy mix which has kept this expansion going,

Labor and all Americans have
without inflation. *benefitted from our 5 yrs of expansion*
economic growth without inflation
To labor, our balanced expansion has brought the

highest real wages in history -- and has pushed unemployment
down from 7.1 per cent in May, 1961, to 4.2 per cent
last month.

↳ This is good, and we are proud of it. But it is not good enough.

↳ We cannot forget those still unemployed, or ignore soft spots that may develop in the construction industry or elsewhere.

↳ I promise you that this Administration will fight on until every American willing and able to work has the opportunity to do so.

↳ For our goal is ~~nothing less than this~~ ^{opportunity for all -} ~~The creation~~ ^{first class citizenship for all.} in our country of a state of opportunity.

↳ ~~We work toward the time when every American~~ ^{must have} ~~can step forth into life with~~ a full and equal chance to be a participant in his society.

↳ We want every American to have the education, the tools and training to sustain himself and his family.

Insert
JOB CORPS
Let me tell you a true story

THERE ARE THREE WONDERFUL YOUNG MEN NOW WORKING IN MY
OFFICE. A FEW MONTHS AGO THEY FELT LOST, UNWANTED, HOPELESS. |

L BUT DURING THE LAST FEW MONTHS THEY SERVED IN THE JOB
CORPS. AND TODAY THEY HAVE THE SKILLS, THE OUTLOOK, AND THE CONFIDENCE
TO WORK IN THE OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES --
DOING USEFUL AND RESPONSIBLE WORK.

L ALL THESE ~~POOR~~ YOUNG MEN NEEDED WAS A CHANCE -- AND THE
JOB CORPS GAVE IT TO THEM. L OTHERS ARE GETTING THAT CHANCE IN THE
NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS. L AND IN OTHER ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS.
AND WE MEAN TO GIVE SIMILAR OPPORTUNITIES TO MILLIONS OF OTHERS
NOW LOCKED IN POVERTY AND DESPAIR. !

L I SERVE AS CHAIRMAN OF THE SPACE COUNCIL -- AND ALSO OF THE
WAR ON POVERTY'S ADVISORY COUNCIL. I AM SOMETIMES ASKED WHETHER I SEE
ANY CONFLICT IN THESE TWO ROLES. I SEE NONE. *none*

A NATION THAT CAN AND SHOULD SPEND ~~30~~ 30 BILLION DOLLARS
TO PUT A MAN ON THE MOON CAN AND WILL SPEND WHATEVER MAY BE NECESSARY
TO HELP PLACE MAN ON HIS FEET...

man
Earth

*To Be an American
Citizenship*

↳ We want every American to be able to hold his head high, to respect himself and his job and his place in life . . . to be able to communicate with his fellow citizens.

↳ Yes, we want every American to exercise citizenship in its highest and fullest sense.

↳ We want ~~it known in the world~~ ^{*the world to know*} that to be an American citizen is to stand upright and proud . . . to be committed to ~~the~~ ^{*the*} future . . . to have compassion for one's fellow human beings . . . to be unconcerned with such irrelevant marks of the surface as a man's last name, or the color of his skin, or the place he comes from, or his faith.

↳ And so we invest in America to fully develop our human resources.

Citizenship

Our great programs in the war against poverty,
for better education, for better housing, for better
health, for human rights -- these are our investments
in our people.

These are the things we do to meet Franklin Roosevelt's
brave challenge of 20 years ago.

The stronger the labor movement ~~is~~ the stronger is
America ~~is~~ at home and abroad. ~~That is why we consider~~
~~action to fulfill labor's reasonable and responsible~~
~~objectives to be in the best interests of business and,~~
~~indeed, of the American community as a whole.~~

14B
That is why this Administration is determined to
fight -- to fight hard and win -- on the repeal of Section
14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

They call the "open shop" laws that Section 14(b)
has spawned in 19 states "right-to-work" laws.

They do not offer anyone the right to a job. All they do is to maintain the so-called open shop. And the open shop is all too often where the door is open for the union man to be turned out.

Some people claim that the repeal of 14(b) is a narrow, selfish concern for labor. ^{But} I say it is everyone's concern.

"Right-to-work laws attract low-wage employers. And once they move in, they take charge. ~~They open~~ ^{They undermine} industry which will pay ~~more than the prevailing low~~ ^{a decent wage.} ~~wages in the areas where they operate.~~

They work against progressive social legislation.

Only two of the 19 right-to-work states have a minimum wage of even 1 dollar an hour -- and then only for women. ~~Even have no minimum wage laws~~ at all. Only three require equal pay for women.

Right to work laws violate
Only five of them meet even three of the eight

international standards governing child labor.

These conditions are linked with poverty and
perpetuate it. They are tragic for the people concerned.

and
But they are ~~also~~ a heavy burden to ~~our~~ *the* entire nation.

Modern, progressive business understands that
well-paid, well-organized workers are good producers and
good customers.

The people of the right-to-work states are not given
the opportunity either to produce or to consume at real
American standards. And that is a net loss to all of us.

The repeal of 14(b) will lift the standard of living for
millions of workers.

It is a major battle to be won in the war on poverty.

It will improve labor-management relations.

↳ It will strengthen collective bargaining.

↳ It will help eliminate unfair and cut-throat

competition.

and ~~↳~~ It will help America. ——— But

~~but~~ there are other goals we share. you seek

~~You seek~~ an increase in the minimum wage and the

broadening of its coverage; ~~you seek~~ to improve and
modernize unemployment compensation benefits. And

so does this Administration. It will be done.

↳ You seek ever-improving education and health
programs; you want better homes, roads, and ports,
and the opportunity to build them. And so does this
Administration. It is being done.

↳ You seek a stronger merchant marine. And so
does this Administration. Together we will get it done.

⌞ You seek legislation to protect the American consumer -- ~~that is, all of us~~ -- from unfair interest rates and hidden interest costs, and from the baffling and often costly confusion that some present-day packaging and labeling can induce. And so does this Administration. This too will be done. !

⌞ All these things ~~can~~ help to build a better and stronger America, capable of fulfilling its responsibilities at home and abroad. *# But America labor*

~~The AEE CIO~~ has recognized that a Great Society cannot and should not stop at the water's edge. The America that ^{*we*} ~~we~~ build must be an inspiration and ~~a~~ source of strength to all mankind.

⌞ The American labor movement has long understood the fact of interdependence in our world. *We are our brother's keeper. This is one world - one neighborhood.*

Far in advance of many Americans, you saw the dangers of fascism. ~~And again, far in advance of many Americans,~~ you recognized the expansionist designs of Communism and took effective steps to counter them.

~~But you know it is not enough to be against something. America must also stand for something in the eyes of the world.~~

~~Therefore,~~ you have helped to organize free trade unions throughout the world -- in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

You have helped to establish workers' schools, build cooperative housing, and strengthen the fabric of free institutions in many ~~other ways~~ areas.

You know, sometimes even a Communist says something with which I can agree.

Special Tribute to Meany for early
support of nuclear test ban -

On March 26, 1959 -- I introduced
Senate Res. 96 expressing Senate
support for an inspection-proof agreement
on suspension of nuclear tests.

One of the first expressions of
support I received was a telegram
from George Meany - - -

Nikita Khrushchev once said to me, as he may have said to some of your own leaders in this very city: "Let the superiority of any particular system be proved, not on the field of battle, but in peaceful competition for progress, for improved living standards of the people."

I told him we'd be glad to take him on in that kind of competition, and that we'd compete him right out of Gorki Park.

And we have done just that.

Yes, before ^{many} other Americans, organized labor recognized the threat of totalitarianism and determined to meet it.

And that is why organized labor understands and supports our position today in Vietnam.

∟ We have heeded the lessons of the past.

∟ We cannot turn our backs to raw aggression in other places.

∟ We will not sacrifice small nations in the hope we may buy our own security.

∟ ~~Today~~ young Americans are dying in Vietnam not for the safety of strangers, but for the safety of all free men.

∟ We are not in Vietnam to establish any American colony or base. We are not there to enrich ourselves or to subjugate others to our will.

∟ We are there because, once again in history, it must be proved to aggressors that the price of their aggression comes far too high. We are there

~~in the~~ because we are
by history and conscience dedicated
to freedom

↳ The aggression we face in Vietnam is not one in which massed armies attack across national frontiers.

↳ It is one in which the battlefield is often the homes of men. It is one in which the innocent suffer to the pain of all of us.

↳ The aggression in Vietnam is one which deals in organized assassination and terrorism yet masks itself as a "war of liberation." It is waged by hard and callous men who seek to prove that force and Communist militancy can win the future -- by men convinced that democratic societies are soft and weak and unable to meet their form of warfare.

↳ Some Americans dissent from our policy in Vietnam. The right to dissent -- and no one knows better than labor how precious it is -- is a vital part of the kind of democracy we defend.

But there is a right to affirm as well as a right to dissent. And I am glad to see that the ~~AFL-CIO~~ ^{you are} is making full use of it.

We will remain in Vietnam until a just and lasting peace can be established there.

At the same time we shall now -- and after establishment of that peace -- dedicate ourselves to creating conditions which will enable all the people of Vietnam, North and South, and all of Southeast Asia to look forward to a tomorrow without danger of attack, without hunger, and with social justice and security.

There are times when American power must be used -- when there is no alternative in face of determined aggression.

~~You cannot reason with a~~
~~tyrant~~ = We faced this hard decision in 1917 - in 1941 - and in Korea. We face it again.

We know - 21 -

But military power alone will not provide stability and security unless it is accompanied by political, social and economic effort -- and the promise to the people of a better life. And thus we work with the Vietnamese people toward that goal.

Like building a union

No, peace will not come through military victory alone. Nor will peace come by good intention. Peace comes to those who earn it . . . work for it . . . sacrifice for it -- as you have worked and sacrificed over these many years.

We build Peace - just as you built the Labor movement

And so, my good friends, I congratulate you on your tenth anniversary. Congratulations to all of you and our thanks for all you have done throughout the years to lay the foundation for a Great Society -- yes,

that better and greater America so beautifully defined in our Pledge of Allegiance: *- oration*

under God etc (over)

- 22 -

"One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty
and justice for all."

This is our promise to ourselves and our children.

Let there be no doubt about tomorrow. We shall
fulfill that promise.

#

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY BEFORE THE
AFL-CIO CONVENTION, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA,
DECEMBER 10, 1965

The President is sorry that he could not be with you today. But, frankly, I'm not.

It's just as well he doesn't hear all this talk about replacing Vice Presidents.

Seriously, I think you know how much President Johnson would have enjoyed being with you today. Both publicly and privately, he has spoken often and with deep feeling about his high regard for this great organization and its leaders.

Two years ago -- eight days before his tragic death -- our late beloved President John F. Kennedy addressed you.

He took the opportunity to express to you his deep appreciation of all that you had done, in his own words, "not only for the labor movement, but for the United States as a whole."

President Johnson feels exactly the same way. Recently, when he signed the Older Americans Act, he said that the AFL-CIO "has done more good for more people than any other group in America."

I'm not tongue-tied about this either. I recall with pride that I rose on the Senate floor June 24, 1959 -- during the consideration of the Landrum-Griffith Act -- and said:

"For two years now we have been hearing much about that's wrong with the American labor movement . . . I rise today to discuss what's right with the American labor movement . . . The public should know the full story of what decent, honorable, devoted trade unionists are doing day by day for their fellow men, for their country, and for the cause of freedom in a troubled world . . . "

And then I reminded the Senate of what was right with labor. And I have often done so before and since.

I have told of labor's leading role in the New Deal of the 1930's, which lifted this nation out of the darkest depths of despair. I have told how labor turned with equal zeal and dedication to making the United States the arsenal of democracy in World War II.

I have told of its vigorous and effective support of the historic initiatives President Truman launched to rebuild democracy and contain Communist expansion -- aid to Greece and Turkey, the Marshall Plan, Point Four and NATO. I have told how it backed up the UN action to resist aggression in Korea.

I have told how it continued its fight for a better America into the 1950's, during years when the going was uphill most of the way.

In the past few years -- and particularly this year -- the American people have reaped a rich harvest from the seeds you planted on what often seemed barren and stony ground.

It is good to dream great dreams. But it is even sweeter, after long years to toil and struggle, to see them come true.

More than 20 years ago, at Warm Springs, Georgia, Franklin Roosevelt sat at his desk to write his address for Jefferson Day, 1945 -- an address that was never to be delivered. The last words Franklin Roosevelt wrote were these:

"The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith."

The words of Franklin Roosevelt were a challenge to us all. And, in these 20 years, we have met that challenge. That challenge was met by Presidents Truman and Kennedy. It is being met today by President Lyndon Johnson. It has been and will be courageously met by the American labor movement.

It was a great day in July, in Independence, Missouri, when President Johnson signed the

Medicare Act, in the presence of President Truman.

I say to you and to all the American people: There would be no Medicare today had it not been for the support of the AFL-CIO.

The Congress this year enacted historic legislation to aid education . . . to invest in the future of our children. We would not have these education laws today without the AFL-CIO.

The Congress enacted legislation to keep promises unkept a hundred years, so that all our citizens might have the right to vote. There would be no Voting Rights Act -- no Civil Rights Act, in fact -- without the AFL-CIO.

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None of these things could have been done without the AFL-CIO.

The AFL-CIO has been in the front line of the battle wherever the fighting was fiercest. You have truly earned the right to be called "the people's lobby."

I thank you, too, for putting the welfare of our nation above self-interest, by respecting the wage-price guideposts in collective bargaining.

Labor and all Americans have benefited greatly from our sustained economic expansion,

which has continued for almost six years.

The guideposts have, in my view, been an essential part of the policy mix which has kept this expansion going, without inflation.

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I promise you that this Administration will fight on until every American willing and able to work has the opportunity to do so.

For our goal is nothing less than this: The creation in our country of a state of opportunity.

We work toward the time when every American child can step forth into life with a full and equal chance to be a participant in his society.

We want every American to have the education, the tools and training to sustain himself and his family.

We want every American to be able to hold his head high, to respect himself and his job and his place in life . . . to be able to communicate with his fellow citizens.

Yes, we want every American to exercise citizenship in its highest and fullest sense.

We want it known in the world that to be an American citizen is to stand upright and proud . . . to be committed to the future . . . to have compassion for one's fellow human beings . . . to be unconcerned with such irrelevant marks of the surface as a man's last name , or the color of his skin, or the place he comes from or his faith.

And so we invest in America to fully develop our human resources.

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These are the things we do to meet Franklin Roosevelt's brave challenge of 20 years ago.

The stronger the labor movement is, the stronger America is, at home and abroad. That is why we consider action to fulfill labor's reasonable and responsible objectives to be in the best interests of business and, indeed, of the American community as a whole.

That is why this Administration is determined to fight -- to fight hard and win -- on the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

They call the "open shop" laws that Section 14(b) has spawned in 19 states "right-to-work laws".

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They work against progressive social legislation.

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Only five of them meet even three of the eight international standards governing child labor.

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It is a major battle to be won in the war on poverty.

It will improve labor-management relations.

It will strengthen collective bargaining.

It will help eliminate unfair and cut-throat competition.

It will help America.

But there are other goals we share.

You seek an increase in the minimum wage and the broadening of its coverage; you seek to improve and modernize unemployment compensation benefits. And so does this Administration. It will be done.

You seek ever-improving education and health programs; you want better homes, roads, and ports, and the opportunity to build them. And so does this Administration. It is being done.

You seek a stronger merchant marine. And so does this Administration. Together we will get it done.

You seek legislation to protect the American consumer -- that is, all of us -- from unfair interest rate and hidden interest costs, and from the baffling and often costly confusion that some present-day packaging and labeling can induce. And so does this Administration. This too will be done.

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The AFL-CIO has recognized that a Great Society cannot and should not stop at the water's edge. The American that we build must be an inspiration and a source of strength to all mankind.

The American labor movement has long understood the fact of interdependence in our world.

Far in advance of many Americans, you saw the dangers of fascism. And again, far in advance of many Americans, you recognized the expansionist designs of Communism and took effective steps to counter them.

But you know it is not enough to be against something. America must also stand for something in the eyes of the world.

Therefore, you have helped to organize free trade unions throughout the world -- in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

You have helped to establish workers' schools, build cooperative housing, and strengthen the fabric of free institutions in many other ways.

You know, sometimes even a Communist says something with which I can agree.

Nikita Khrushchev once said to me, as he may have said to some of your own leaders in this very city: "Let the superiority of any particular system be proved, not on the field of battle, but in peaceful competition for progress, for improved living standards of the people."

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And that is why organized labor understands and supports our position today in Vietnam.

We have heeded the lessons of the past.

We cannot turn our backs to raw aggression in other places.

We will not sacrifice small nations in the hope we may buy our own security.

Today young Americans are dying in Vietnam not for the safety of strangers, but for the safety of all free men.

We are not in Vietnam to establish any American colony or base. We are not there to enrich ourselves or to subjugate other to our will.

We are there because, once again in history, it must be proved to aggressors that the price of their aggression comes far too high.

The aggression we face in Vietnam is not one in which massed armies attack across national frontiers. It is one in which the battlefield is often the homes of men. It is one in which the innocent suffer to the pain of all of us.

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Some Americans dissent from our policy in Vietnam. The right to dissent -- and no one knows better than labor how precious it is -- is a vital part of the kind of democracy we defend.

But there is a right to affirm as well as a right to dissent. And I am glad to see that the AFL-CIO is making full use of it.

We will remain in Vietnam until a just and lasting peace can be established there.

At the same time we shall now -- and after establishment of that peace -- dedicate ourselves to creating conditions which will enable all the people of Vietnam, North and South, and all of Southeast Asia to look forward to a tomorrow without danger of attack, without hunger, and with social justice and security.

There are times when American power must be used -- when there is no alternative in face of determined aggression.

But military power alone will not provide stability and security unless it is accompanied by political, social and economic effort -- and the promise to the people of a better life. And thus we work with the Vietnamese people toward that goal.

No, peace will not come through military victory alone. Nor will peace come by good intention. Peace comes to those who earn it . . . work for it . . . sacrifice for it -- as you have worked and sacrificed over these many years.

And so, my good friends, I congratulate you on your tenth anniversary. Congratulations to all of you and our thanks for all you have done throughout the years to lay the foundation for a Great Society -- yes, that better and greater America so beautifully defined in our Pledge of Allegiance:

"One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

This is our promise to ourselves and our children.

Let there be no doubt about tomorrow. We shall fulfill that promise.



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