



INTERNATIONAL UNION OF UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

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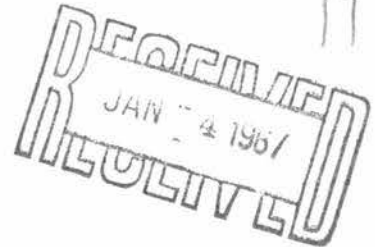
Redevelopment Area

younger generation
Bill Dodd
my 30 yrs mts

7 years
Hgw4-uaw

January 21, 1967

The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice President of the United States
Washington, D. C.



Dear Hubert:

I spoke to Bill Connell the other day about having you as a luncheon speaker on Tuesday, February 14th at the Gramercy Inn at 12:30 noon, or failing that, perhaps in the afternoon of the same day, if that fits into your schedule better.

We are holding a meeting of our full-time political-legislative staff representatives from across the country -- a group numbering approximately 40 people. We would like to have you speak frankly at an off-the-record session, on programs and policies of the Administration and what labor can do to mobilize support, as well as on any observations you may want to make on any other problems as you see them. We would like to follow your remarks with a question period.

Although Bill advised that you will be busy with a TV program on the morning of the 14th, I am hopeful that you can be free to join us at luncheon or later in the afternoon -- whichever is most convenient for you.

I look forward to seeing you. In the meantime, my warmest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Roy L. Reuther

Roy L. Reuther, National Director
Citizenship-Legislative Department

rlr/sbw
opeiu-42

accepted by phone

~~Senate - U.S.~~
~~New Representative~~ — Not Changed

OUTLINE OF SUGGESTED REMARKS AT UAW LUNCHEON

WHAT WILL BE THE SPIRIT OF '76? - 1976:

200 years after freedom and union; in the last quarter
of the 20th Century

1. We have a pretty good idea of what can be accomplished
under a progressive, Democratic administration and Congress.

To assume progress at the same rate in the next 10 years as
in the last 5 probably will underestimate what we can do
economically.

1976
2. A central question - talking about the leadership spirit
in 1976 of the national government--will be how we are using
the great resource of federal revenues, Federal fiscal policies--
what we collect in taxes, from whom; and how we spend it and for
what--are the fundamental tool through which leadership is
exerted. We are learning to use these policies to stabilize
economic growth, and we are using them to advance basic

national policies for aiding people to realize their full potential.

3. There are increased calls for "sharing" national revenues with state and local governments through percentage allocations; tax credits and block grants.

And increased discussion of income maintenance plans.

The decisions on how we allocate our vastly increased

national revenues will mainly touch these questions.

Re: statement
a - will the allocation of federal revenues

contribute to developing an effective cooperative

energized effort by state - local and federal

governments, and by all the private groups -

business, labor, church and civic?

b - will the sharing or allocation of federal revenues

result in state and local governments maintaining

their relative level of effort, and increasing it -

- rather than decreasing their effort and simply treating federal revenues as windfalls (e.g., when social security benefits are increased, should the states just reduce their welfare payments to the poor recipient of the minimum SS benefit by the same amount?)

c - will the sharing or allocation result in the development of state and local tax systems which are progressive -- and not increasingly regressive (e.g. sales taxes and in many states no income or earnings taxes; taxes mainly on wage earners without fair taxation of income from investments).

d - will the sharing or allocation result in programs which help people to advance toward the goal -- (e.g. decent housing or full education) rather than simply increase the costs of present conditions and reward those blocking progress (e.g. income

maintenance for poor alone may just result in increasing the costs of slum living and the profits of slum landlords without improving the conditions of life).

e - will the sharing or allocation be aimed at helping
people who need assistance -- not Negroes or
Indians etc. - but people as people.

5. And this leads to some realistic talk about what you do and can do to see that these principles are followed.

The President and others can help to educate the nation to
support these principles -- but the decisions really will be
made in the Congress. And you folks know where the power is
in the Congress -- in the Committees where seniority - as
subcommittee and full committee chairmen really counts.

If we are to have the spirit of '76 we are talking about, then we need to do two things:

a - work to see that the members of Congress who will

be the subcommittee and full committee chairmen
of 1976 are re-elected.

b - work to educate these members. Get your Members
of Congress down to see in person a headstart
operation, or a multi-service unit under the
community action program. Get mobilized for the
appropriations battles of this year and at the same
time educate the men who will be making the
Congress's decisions in a decade.

<u>Technology - Science</u>	<u>Universities</u> <u>Educ - Quality -</u> <u>Comm. Satellite</u>
<u>Short work week</u> <u>Senior - + Employment -</u>	<u>Educ - TV -</u>
<u>Disarm - And - World Poverty</u> <u>Food</u>	
1976 - <u>DISARM - (Technology)</u> <u>Regional Develop</u>	

(#5 - Suggested Rem. UAW Luncheon)

UAW CITIZENSHIP STAFF MEETING
Gramercy Inn

Washington, D. C.

Remarks by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey

February 14, 1967

Thank you, Roy. I never really believed that you would ever get to a point where you would consider yourself elder statesman in the presence of this young fellow, Bill Dodd~~s~~. I am glad to see that you recognize the generation gap.

I thought you would be interested in knowing that Mrs. Humphrey paid me a rather subtle indirect compliment the other day, two months ago, in fact. We moved and I signed a 30 year mortgage ... and I like to pay my bills. So you can see I plan on being around for quite a while.

I would like to take the time to single out everybody in this room for a friendly word of greeting and fellowship, but we have other things to do. As the letter said to me that I received, that this is going to be sort of a frank, off the record session on programs and policies; the Administration; what labor can do to mobilize support, as well as your own observations that you may want to make and any other problems as you see them, and then we would like to have a question period. So I am going to try to accommodate all of that -- and this is informal.

I was at another meeting this morning and took some papers out of my pocket and I said, "I only do this out of habit, I really

haven't prepared any speech for you, but it makes me feel a little better when I take them out of my pocket, and I sort of reassure you that I prepared for it." But I want to be honest with you, I just came over to visit and I thought maybe that way we could find it more profitable on all sides.

When Gus Tyler was introduced I couldn't help thinking the thought went through my mind like that! About seven years ago, or a little less than that, I sent out a SOS message from Minnesota that I desperately needed some help in my campaign for reelection for the third time to the United States Senate. We were broke. I had been through the Presidential primaries -- I ended up as primaries not only in defeat, but bankruptcy, but no regrets. And I had entered into a hard battle in my home state, not only for my own reelection, but desperately wanting to carry Minnesota for John Kennedy, and I am happy to tell you, as you recall, we did. We were one of the few in that part of America that carried for Mr. Kennedy. And I sent out this SOS and two unions came to my immediate help, or should I say the first two that came to my assistance, because I think we got around to others a little later. But with a very generous and helpful contribution from their Political Action Committees, the UAW, my friend, Walter Reuther, and the ILGW, my friend, David Dubinsky. Of course, the telegrams that went out to them were rather sharp and carried words of desperation, and pending doom, and these good men and their organizations and their workers helped me. This

was just one of many times. What I am trying to tell you is I am very grateful and I want you to know it privately and publicly how much this has meant to me personally. How much it has meant to me in my public life to have your support and how much it has meant to me to work with you, because, my goodness, I can remember meetings in Chicago and Detroit and all over the country, where we would have these long sessions. I'd generally give a long speech, and there would be a long session and we would stay up half the night arguing about what was said and what should have been said and what somebody thought we said and that's the way we built a political ferment in this country of political organization, political parties. That's the way we built a political party in my State of Minnesota.

Now, having reviewed just a little bit of the past which is filled with happy memories, let me talk about where we are now and then where we're going to go. Or where we, where I would like to go. We can talk ourselves into a awful lot of trouble. We lost some seats in this last election 1966. But if you want to take a good professional objective look at it, it was not a disastrous defeat, it was a defeat that follows a historical pattern in an off-year election where a President, in a Presidential election received over 75% of the votes.

Now you and I know that the Republican Party is never going to be so foolish again and do what they did in 1964. That was an abnormal, unusual situation. I think we ought to, looking at it from

my point of view as a Democrat spokesman of the Democratic Party -- I think we ought to remember that the election of 1960 and 1962 was much more characteristic of the general political pattern of our Country rather than the election of 1964. I think we all remember what happened in 1936 when Roosevelt's great victory. Two years later he lost 81 seats in the House of Representatives. He lost sixteen Governorships, fourteen United States Senators -- two years -- at the peak and the zenith of his power, and this didn't mean that Roosevelt was a failure, it didn't mean (as some Governors said recently) that it was all his fault, they lost. I want you to know that I told President Johnson that we didn't need his help in Minnesota to lose. We did it all on our own. We did it all by ourselves. We're not going to let him have credit for that. And I think it is basically true that what happened was the result of a number of factors -- which you've analyzed -- which I've analyzed -- which we ought to know about -- but which we ought not cry about, but on which we ought to do something to rebuild. Now, quite frankly, and I'll make it quick, we must strengthen and rebuild the Democratic National Committee -- we're in the process of doing that. The President is serious about this. He's very serious about his meetings with the Leadership in the House and in the Senate. He's had the Chairmen of the Committees in to talk -- just talked turkey to them as we say. Laid it right on the line. Yesterday, we had a meeting with the Civil Rights Leaders. We're outlining a Civil Rights message.

It's going to be a -- it's going to be the best one we've ever had and we're going to try to get action in the Congress. We had a two hour meeting on how to get that action and he's going to stand by his guns. Now when the President had a meeting with the Governors down at the ranch, what do you think they talked about? -- Guidelines. They said, "Now Mr. President, if you just ease up on those guidelines, we can do something. Guidelines -- guidelines. And the few that didn't talk about guidelines, didn't say anything. Well, we're not going to relax on guidelines. We have committed ourselves to the proposition of human equality. We have committed ourselves to constitutional propitiates. We have committed ourselves to Civil Rights. We can't back out. We don't intend to back out. And the President made it crystal clear yesterday that he is going to put in all he has to make this promise of the Emancipation Proclamation a reality in every area of human endeavor. And I want to say quite candidly, I think he's done his job -- done it quite well. And as I said to some of our friends who were gathered around there -- I said, "now listen, this message may not be perfect, but it's the best one you've ever heard or you've ever read. It goes further than any we've ever had before. It's not only as good as the one last year, but it is better because it is more comprehensive. Now I want to know whether or not you're going to fight for it, or are we just going to talk about it, because if you're going to fight for it, you're going to have to name names, you're going to have to join the battle, and when somebody gets up and starts a patronage, you're going to have to counter-attack. Not go

around with a feather duster. You're going to have to speak up, or you're going to take out some things in it that ought to be in it. And if that's what you are going to spend all your time talking about, then we're going to lose the fight. But I suggest, that if you can't climb Mt. Everest, you ought to at least make Pike's Peak. And in this message, we're a lot higher than Pike's Peak, we're at the top of the Andes, and we can get a good clear vision of the kind of a society that we ought to have, as mentioned here in the Great Society. Well, I heard somebody say this the other day -- "it doesn't belong to one man, it doesn't belong to one party, it belongs to one Country." That's what we're really talking about. We're talking about what the President talked about at Ann Arbor -- the quality of our lives. We're talking about the enrichment of our lives. We're talking about generations yet unborn. We're talking about the first steps. We're talking about the beginnings. We're talking about yet so far to walk. We're talking about hope -- and I'll tell you I know how we built a great liberal movement in this country. We didn't build it just on achievement. We built it on hope, enthusiasm, inspiration, and we don't just need to have a check-list of what we've done, but rather, if you please, a kind of a poem of what we wish to do -- where we're going to go.

Now, I said to a group of Senators the other day that you're not going to prove yourself a great Senator by just thinking about 1967, or what we ought to do in 1967, because we already know what

we're going to do in 1967, or ought to do. We have a Budget Message before the Congress. We have a State of the Union Message. We have sixteen other messages that are going to go much further in the text of those messages and in the asking of programs than the Congress is willing to go, so you're not going to make yourself a great Senator by saying that in 1967 we ought to do this and do that. What you ought to be thinking about is 1976.

I spoke to a group this morning -- dropped in to hear the Housing and Redevelopment officials, the people that do our public housing, our urban renewal, but in there were members of the clergy, social workers, workers in the war on poverty, educators -- and I said, "well, at long last you're getting together." So frequently these organizations act as if they have a membership in the United Nations with special sovereignty and what we're really talking about is a total life and a total community, and it's good that you're together -- when brethren and sisters gather together in this place to talk about what needs to be done to build a better life. Now, I said, imagine it, I live now in a redevelopment area down in Southwest. I live in a fully integrated community. I happen to live in what they call a luxury apartment -- it ought be, I paid enough for it. And I said, "you know what, there hasn't been a person that's said that I destroyed their real estate value by moving in -- not one." And you know, it's rather dangerous having a politician move into a neighborhood, but I haven't had a single soul say that you're going -- it's

going to destroy the real estate values here with your presence. I walked 25 blocks last Sunday -- if I walked one -- around seeing the children in that area. I was like a Pied Piper, I had anywhere from ten to fifteen to twenty-five to fifty of these youngsters following behind me. And I want to their -- where they lived -- into their apartments, and some of their low-income housing. I saw playgrounds that are being built for the first time in Washington because some of us had cared and I've been raising you-know-what in this town to get these playgrounds lighted; to get some swimming pools and get some recreation areas. I went to their schools. I've been around. I don't just live around Harbour Square, I'm going to make myself a member of that neighborhood, and that neighborhood has low-income, middle-income, upper-income, high-income, high debt and low debt -- we've got it all, and we have every conceivable kind of person, and if there's a new color or a new shape, we've got 'em, and it's a wonderful place to live. And then I said, you know, I'm a very happy man in many ways. I've lived to see, yet in what I consider to be the prime of my life, many of my dreams come true. I've lived to see Federal Aid to Education -- and the first bill that I ever voted on in the Senate was Federal Aid to Education in 1949. It passed the Senate, 77 to something. It was killed in the House. The next two years it passed the House; it was killed in the Senate. We either killed it on the basis of religion or race, one or the other, and

finally, and I say quite candidly, under President Johnson's leadership we passed the greatest Federal Aid to Education program this country's ever known, and we're on the march. On the march!!

I remember when we used to talk about medicare. I introduced the first bill. I had a chance to introduce -- there's a reason for me telling you this. I took all the brick-bats in those days, with your help. You were there encouraging me and backing me and thank goodness you're about the only ones I ever saw that thought I was doing alright -- and I used to doubt whether or not you fellows had good judgment. But I introduced Medicare on May 17, 1949, and introduced it every two years, and finally I found Clinton Anderson who was on the Finance Committee, and took the bill to him and said, "Clint, would you introduce it and let me be your co-sponsor because I found out to get a bill passed you ought to have somebody, when it goes to a committee, you ought to have one of the members of the committee in charge. I introduced the first Wilderness Bill. They wanted to shoot me up in Northern Minnesota -- and that's a fact. The Chamber of Commerce up there passed a resolution saying that if I ever came into their city that my life would not be safe, they were so angry with us. The Wilderness Bill! And me from Minnesota! So I went through some of those little battles. Group health -- practice -- group practice facilities, we got it. Medicare, we have it. We have three and one-half million people treated under Medicare since July 30 this year. Three and one-half million of them! And we're just getting

going. And when I think of the things we have been able to do -- the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 -- the things that we have done! So I have some, you know, I feel encouraged -- but you know what I really feel? I've got to level with you, I think that somehow and other we've just said, "well, so what!" And I guess that's all right. You're never supposed to tell anybody "you've never had it so good" because then no one likes that. But I don't want us to lose our sense of achievement. After all, what are the joys of getting a better job or what are the joys of seeing your family grow up and mature and become something we can be proud of is that you can say "well, maybe it wasn't so bad after all." So, while I know that it doesn't really take us where we want to go in terms of our enthusiasm and our dedication to point out what we've done -- don't forget what we've done. Don't forget the fight it took to build this union. And you all will gain inspiration from it. And I don't think the newcomers to the union ought to be given the privilege of forgetting what the old-timers did. Its one thing to have yourself knocked around and beaten up to build a union and its another thing to have somebody hand you a card and say, "well come on in, get the good wages, get the fringe benefits, get the vacations, get the sick leave, get it all." But, I can remember, and you remember when people **had** to literally give their lives to build this union. And just as I said to a group here the other day at the National Education Association, its about time we started to put in our textbooks what some of the

minorities of this country have meant to this country. They're not all Anglo-Saxons. Let's talk about some of the Negro heroes, the Indian heroes, the Mexican heroes, the Chinese, Japanese-American heroes, the Filipino heroes -- let's talk about all of us. Instead of having it appear if somehow or the other the only folks that were ever heroes made it -- came over on that small boat called the Mayflower. And we're going to start to rewrite our textbooks -- not to rewrite them with prejudice, but to rewrite the prejudice out of it, because there has been prejudice -- and one of the reasons we're having trouble in America is we brought up our children not to understand the labor movement -- not to understand the struggle in this country of racial minorities and religious minorities. We're never had a clear understanding of that in the thousands and thousands of school buildings across this country, and we have to take, we add something to the, for new education. Let's make education real education. The history of America is just not Bunker Hill and Appomattox. The history of America is waves in immigration -- its farmers, its workers, and its my dad, your children, your folks, its schools and colleges, its medicine and science -- its a whole lot of things and all this is what I call understanding our country and getting it into proper perspective so that we can do more than we've done even thus far. Now my friends, I believe that we ought to have our own standards. I've never believed that its good for the United States to compare itself to any other

country because we're more blessed. I don't think that it's good for us to compare what we are and what we do today with what they used to do other days. I think we have to look ahead. Now I want to look ahead. Now, what's the future tend to offer us? Well, uncertainty. I know its common-place now for people to get out their handkerchief and start crying and say, "oh, these are the terrible of times. This has appeared like no other generation has lived through. Oh, the young people of today and the old people of today live under constant terror and mortal fear." Well, let me tell you they lived that way when the crossbow was invented too and when the first gun powder was invented, and when the first bow and arrow was invented. I think we just ought to put it in perspective. To be sure, this is the nuclear age. To be sure, this is the space age. To be sure, this is an age of tremendous power. But its all relative, its always been so. But, there is something else about this age. This is an age in which more people have experienced what we call self-respect and human dignity and liberation than ever before in human history. And, even in countries where self-respect and liberation was denied, there's beginning to be a little light at the end of the tunnel. A little damper opens up and some fresh air comes in. That's what we've done thus far -- the greatest thing of this period has not been developments in science and technology -- as great as they are. What's greater in this period is the recognition of what man can be. St. Augustine once said, "the most marvelous thing of all is man himself."

Not these fantastic machines. You know I can tell you a lot about these machines. I'm Chairman of the Space Council, Chairman of the Oceanographic Council. I joke about this -- these are two assignments that the Congress gave the Vice President. No other Vice President has ever had those two assignments. One Vice President had one of those assignments. Did you notice everytime the Congress gives the Vice President an assignment it's either out of this world, or in the bottom of the ocean. I'd say you may be able to read something into that.

And I learned a great deal on the Space Council. And I've learned what it takes to get that job done. And I want to say it to you quickly. If the government of the United States were trying to do the job in space alone, it wouldn't be done. The government is only part of this country and that's why you're so important. This is why your own independent political actions -- this is why free trade unions are so important. We have done what we have been able to do in space because of a team of government and private industry, skilled labor and labor and university -- all of them put together. Scientists and technicians and engineers, a management performance... Now it's going to take the same kind of cooperation -- the same kind of commitment, the same kind of deadline, the same kind of will, the same kind of drama to put a man on his feet here on earth, as it does to put a man on the moon, that's what it's going to do. And if we can't gear ourselves up to it, we're just going to fritter away our time. We're going to put a man on the moon. I know many people doubt its value. I can spend some time with you here showing you there are

things that have come from our space program that the man on the moon doesn't seem to directly relate to. The excellence, the competence, the professional competence, the technical efficiency, the fantastic technological growth of this country which is the modern world which, in fact, is the major problem today between ourselves and Western Europe today is so fast, growing so rapidly -- not only a technological gap between the United States and the under-developed countries, but a technological gap between the United States and the developed countries, our capacity to produce, our efficiency, our skill is incredible and it's the constant concern of every nation today in the world, and we are going to have to learn how to share some of that technology. My dear friends, this was made -- this is partly possible because of research and development, because your government made big commitments, because there was a keen effort and I submit that any problem that perplexes us today is so big that none of us can handle it alone. And that's why the government did it -- must act as a rallying point -- the catalyst -- the central pivot to move into action and to rally the forces to clean up our cities. I don't have the time here today, but I want to tell you something, we ought to make rebuilding our cities not only a public commitment, but a private benefit. If it takes a little profit to get it done, let's arrange it to get it done -- but more than that, it takes commitment and design, and will and dream, the dream of the kind of a city you want and not just all around nitpicking at it. So I come to the years ahead, the next ten

years, let's take a look at the next ten years in the areas of science and technology, I can tell you a few things in the next ten years. In the next ten years we will have a man orbiting laboratory in outer space. Just as sure as you're in this room. We'll have men that go up -- climb in -- climb out -- come back. We'll orbit the earth. We are going to be able to perfect in these man-orbiting laboratories -- ways and means of monitoring, so that we can have safe-guarded disarmament. And I can get to you and just talk a little bit about that. We are going to be able to have organ transplants in the human body. We're going to be able to extend the longevity of life -- extends man's life-- in the next ten years we'll do a great deal in terms of productivity that will make possible a shorter work-week -- with ever increasing productivity and increasing standard of living, we'll have in the next few years, as a matter of fact, for people who have heart disturbance, little isotope atomic batteries we can install in the heart to give perfect rhythm. We're doing it now as a matter fact. Unbelievable things in medicine and science and technology -- I have a list of about five pages of these things which I go out to talk to young people in the colleges. But after we get through with all of that, the question is, are we going to be able to live with each other? All these machines, all these inventions -- the real question is what kind of an environment are we going to live in. Are we going to choke ourselves to death with pollution and smog? Are we going to have any clean and fresh water? Are you going to have any places of leisure? I heard Tom Watson of the International

Business Machines speak here the other night and he said by the year 1980, the workweek will be 27 hours and he said, "what are we going to do with the rest of the time? Are we planning ahead for our wilderness areas, for our recreational areas, for our leisure activities? What are we going to do with the people that are on retirement -- are they just going to wither away or can we find ways and means for creating work for them. This what we have to be thinking about. Let me put it this way, that's what I say to the Senators. I said, listen, why don't you guys get out there ten years ahead of time? Why don't you start to dream and think? Why don't you get your young people around here to think ahead -- what kind of city do I want to live in? What kind of an America do I want to live in? What kind of world do I want to live in? What kind of education do I want for my children? What kind of health care do I want for my family? What kind of cultural activities do I want surrounding the home, or the place in which I live? Think about those things. Because what we are going to do in 1967 is pretty well mapped out right now. And we need to have a long lead time. Now let me just give you one little example here we jotted down here. Bill Welsh and I were talking, he knows that I have a couple of conservatives around me -- Ken Gray and Bill Welsh, which reminds me of one thing, I've just got to get this off my chest. Once I had been reading about some good souls, or friends, who said, "well I wonder what has happened

Hubert?" You've heard it and so have I. Well, I'll tell ya, I've changed jobs for one thing -- when you're a Senator, you're a Senator, and you are an independent man in your own right as a Senator, as you should be. You perform a vital function. Senators are supposed to hold hearings. Senators are supposed to be critics. Senators are supposed to look ahead. Senators are supposed to talk out loud. Senators are supposed to be argumentative. I was all of it. Our Constitution provided for a Vice President, and it didn't give much of a definition of what he was supposed to do, except to preside over the Senate. And even that power has been sorely limited by precedent and tradition and law. Even to the point of the appointments the Vice President makes -- he doesn't make those appointments, those appointments are -- he goes through the pro forma operation of making appointments -- those are made by the majority leader and the minority leader. This Vice President neither reserves the right of veto. I might add that this Vice President also gave people the chance to change the Rules of the Senate by majority vote. If they had the votes. I said I'd do that and I did. It wasn't too fogged-up. Anybody that can read and count and could remember his name and knew what to do. Our problem was that we just lacked the fifty-one votes. I told the boys, both sides, I didn't try to hide anything, I said, "let me tell you right now, those of you that are opposed to a Rules Change -- if somebody's got fifty-one votes around here there's a way

you could change the rules in the beginning of the session of the Senate. And our rules say that it can be done." And I said to my friends, like George McGovern and other, I said, "George, if you got fifty-one votes, you can change those Rules." I said to Russell Long -- Dick Russell and others -- "if you got fifty-one votes, you can prevent a change in those Rules. It's going to take fifty-one votes, the majority; or that is if all 100 Senators are there." I kept faith with my conscience and with my record. I did not violate the traditions or the precedence of the Senate. I studied them. And I had Bill Welsh study them. And we came up with the material that stayed within the traditions and the historical precedence of the Senate, which provided that the Senate could change its rules in the opening of the session by a majority vote. And everybody knew it. That's maybe some of the reasons that some of the men around there didn't get quite as active as they used to be. Well, the Vice President doesn't have a great deal of authority. He's full of advice. He's an advisory member. I thought I'd just spend a moment with you on that. The least that he can do is try not to cause the President of the United States embarrassment or harrassment. The best that he can do is to prepare himself for whatever ordeal or responsibility might come. And I try to do that. Studying at the budget process. Highest levels of security that our country is involved in. Knowing how this government operates I keep at it every day of the week. Long hours. And, to speak my mind within the

Councils of this Administration. Just exactly as some of you when you have your executive board meetings speak your mind within the closed confines of that meeting. And I do. We don't have any yes-man government. So I just thought I would just let you know -- it isn't that Humphrey's changed, the job changed. My attitude is every bit as strong as it ever was about where we ought to go and what we want to do. I never changed my commitments one little bit. And I don't intend to -- I'm too old for that and too vigorous in it. In fact, I want to go faster because I learned how much more you can do. I learned where some of these spigots are and some of the keys to power are around this government in this country. And I've also learned something else, I learned there are an awful lot of people in this country that are not in the labor movement, that are not in the liberal democratic forces, they might even change things too. They can be organized. They can be inspired. They can be mobilized to want to do things. And if we learn in the Civil Rights fight that when you put together that great alliance of the progressive mind of businessmen -- the trade union movement, the churches, the people of conscience of this country -- you can move mountains. You can even break a filibuster. And we did it. Now we ought not forget that lesson. That's the way we won in that struggle. Now one of the things that we're talking about of late is the whole business of the government's revenues and resources. Because this is really very important for you to understand. At the rate of economic growth that we have and there's no reason to

believe that this economic growth cannot continue, because it can, in fact, right now we have to try to slow it down so it doesn't go too fast -- let's say at a 4 to 5% rate, but at least a 4% rate. We will generate every year not less than 10 to 12 billions of dollars in new revenue and it grows as the economy grows. New revenue over and above what we had last year without any tax increase. Now, there will be a day of peace, my fellow Americans. Some of you may wonder when. Who doesn't? But just as surely as we're in this room, that day will come. And I'm gonna ask you a question. Are we gonna let happen after Viet Nam what happened after Korea? The cities were sick after Korea; the slums were there, the poor were there, the unemployed were there too. The schools were bad, the housing was terrible, the movement of the poor Negro and the poor White from the South to the cities was taking place; and what did we do after Korea? We cut the budget, we reduced the taxes, and we did not commit any new revenues or new resources to a better America. In fact, we tried to forget the poor. Now I just, as I said to some other groups, I'm gonna get me a picket sign and it won't be long because I think that we -- that we can see some light here now. I think there's -- that we can look forward to the day when we can have a peaceful world. And when I'm gonna have a sign and say, "Extra Billions for Schools, Follow Me", I'm gonna look around to see how many people have ducked into the weeds. Extra billions for new neighborhoods, better transportation,

better communication, better homes. Let's see where the people are -- that's what we gotta be talkin' about. We need to be looking ahead. Listen, we need a post-Viet Nam plan of social action. Now, I know many of you have what we call the freedom budget. You've looked at it. We need to study that. We need to be thinking ahead. If tomorrow morning, God willing, we could have an end to this conflict -- tomorrow morning with this 90th Congress right up there to ask ourselves this question -- "how much do you think we could get the 90th Congress to commit to the things you and I know and need to be done?" How prepared are we? What are we ready to do? Where are our plans? What could we move right away to make sure, first of all, that we have full employment, because whether we know, we just have to face up to the fact and expand the defense budget -- does add to the pressures on employment and the economy and if that's cut quickly twenty, twenty-five, thirty billions of dollars, which it could be, where are we? I want all of us to call ourselves to progressive-minded people, to be thinking ahead, not in generalities, but in specifics. What do we mean by quality of Education? What are we prepared to do -- how much is it going to take -- how are we going to break up the defacto segregation in the northern cities? Just by scolding and bussing, or are we going to make the schools in the central cities so good, so excellent, that people'll no longer run to the suburbs? You know, I don't wanna see our slums become low-cost flop houses, and I don't want to see our suburbs become high-class motels. They need to be real communities -- communities with all of the social services. A city today like New York, Detroit, Chicago is too big to be a city as such. It must be a cluster of neighborhoods that makes up a

metropolitan area -- a city -- but each neighborhood must have life unto itself, and yet there must be central services like water, fire, police protection, sanitation. But there must be in all of these neighborhoods access to jobs. You can't expect workers to be driving twenty-five and thirty miles through traffic to get jobs. There must be access to hospital, educational health facilities, to shops and professional talent, to cultural activities right in the neighborhoods. We have to be thinking ahead. How do we build a great area in which there are neighborhoods where people are neighborly; where they work together and live together, instead of just talking about how we're going to tear down some old slums and put up public housing. Or tear down some old shacks and have urban renewal. That doesn't give you what you want. The real truth is that we not only need to rehabilitate the physical environment we have to help rehabilitate the man that lives in a broken-down physical environment. This real question -- which comes first, the broken-down physical environment, or the broken-down individual? The area the physical environment that's deteriorated or the human spirit that's deteriorated? And I think that we have to do is wage war on both. We have to have a program of rehabilitation for both. And that's what the Model Cities Act is about. It's just an experiment. We ought to take a look at model cities and say "what does this mean ten years from now -- what's it mean in 1976 -- what are we going to do with it? We can build whole new cities, to be sure. But why run away from what we call the

intro-structure that you already have in many of your cities. Why not use what is there -- the great investment. And remember this -- that man and mankind has sentiment. He's not a machine. People like to live where their dead have been buried -- where their loved ones have grown -- where it means something to them aesthetically, spiritually, as well as economically and physically. So let's be thinking ahead of the kind of an America that we would want if we could tomorrow morning have 50 billion dollars of our resources in hands to be used for the building that we would like to do. Now, there's a lot of talk about shared revenues. This is the big new kick in politics. Somebody saw that Uncle Sam could collect revenue faster than some state governments so everybody's down now to say well we ought to share the revenue. I want to put this to you. I got a couple of quickies here then I'm not going to keep you any longer here. Now, what about shared revenues? Well, first of all, we don't say no at all, because we're going to have to take a good look at our tax laws, and let me tell you right now, my dear friends, that modern economics includes more than just a kind of a -- accordian type tax structure. We stretch it and then pull it together -- contract and expand. A tax fiscal policy worthy of this country is one filled with equity and justice. We haven't forgot the fight over tax loop-holes, so don't let other people forget it. And one of the things I might recommend to you as you speak to our friends in Congress -- it isn't important that they pass a bill this year, or the _____ they make this year produces results, what is important is that they plant the seed. That they keep up the fight. That's what needs to be done.

It's just like, for example, our Civil Rights message, I'm not sure that we can pass all of that message this year. But as I said yesterday, how about having 25 Senators who will talk on it everyday. How about having fifty or a hundred Congressman who will fight for it everytime they have a chance, at every meeting and with every speech. That's the way you pass it. That's the way we fought to get what we have today. You've done that -- you've battled and battled and battled to get some of these things done. And we're letting people off the hook a little too easy right now. If I may say so, your letting somebody get out and make one liberal speech and say why he's a liberal. Baloney! You've got to go through the refiners fire, and have the marks on your back and the blisters on your hands and a few other places before you qualify in my book. Because some of us have had to go through that. And I'm not going to let somebody just get by and become a new voice or a liberal simply because they make one great speech, or three. Suffer! Suffer! some defeats. And enjoy some of the victories -- and then you'll know what it means. Ah -- it's just Humphrey speaking. You said you wanted it off the record and by golly its off the record.

Well, about these shared revenues, I'll ask these questions. Are we going to have shared revenues so that the State and local governments can just get along without doing anything more to improve their own tax structure? I hope that's not what we have in mind -- I think you ought to take a good look at it. I told Bill Welsh, I said --

talk to them a little bit about shared revenues because we've been thinking a great deal about this. We'll have allocation of federal revenues contribute to developing in an effective, cooperative energized effort between Federal and State and local government, and by all private groups. What will the money be done -- what will be done with it. To what purpose will the sharing or allocation of federal revenues result in State and local governments to maintain their relative level of effort and increasing it. Rather than decreasing their effort. Simply treating federal revenues as windfalls. And Social Security benefits are increased. Should the States just reduce their welfare payments to the poor recipient of the minimum social security benefit by the same amount. Some will, you know. Unless we stand up and put up a fight. Will the sharing of revenues result in the development of State and local tax systems which are progressive and not increasingly regressive. In other words, regressive like sales taxes in many states who have no income or earnings taxes. In some states it sort of just relish having taxes mainly on wage earners without fair taxation on the income from investments. You know shared revenues can bail out -- can seal in a lot of injustice. Now I happen to think that somewhere along the line we'll have to work out some programs of improving the revenue base of our States' and local governments. I'm not sure what it's going to be. But I don't want to get caught up -- you know -- in the emotion of this without thinking too. Because when I see who are some of the people who are

joining them in the shared revenue parade, I say to myself, well, when did they get interested in -- for what purpose. I've been around here before. They were some of the ones who used to talk about States' rights -- when they were practicing States' wrongs. They were some of the people that were condemning the Federal Government when it helped the poor person and didn't help anybody at home. I'm a suspicious man on that. I've been here too long in this town to be caught up in this kind of an act. Will the sharing or allocation of these revenues result in programs which will help people advance toward the goal of good education -- for example and of good housing, rather than simply increase the cost of present conditions. And reward those blocking progress. For example, income maintenance for the poor alone -- income maintenance is surely worthy of our consideration -- well let's think about it a minute -- may result in increasing the cost of slum living and the profits of slum landlords -- without improving the conditions of life. I can see some people when the poor get income maintenance, they'll say -- well now, they got some money -- let's raise the rent. In the meantime, nothing is done in the public sector to provide for playgrounds and streets and cleanliness and sanitation and decent housing and enforcement of building codes. Will the sharing of revenues be aimed at helping people who need assistance. All people -- not just Negroes, or Puerto Ricans, but people -- we ought to start calling each other fellow

Americans -- you know in the Country -- just good American citizens. Well those are just a few of the things I wanted to mention to you. So I ask you to think in terms of the Spirit of '76. In 1976, if you've got a boy or girl -- any of you -- back home that's ten years now, eight years old -- that boy or girl will be going to a college or high school that will have most of its education from communication satellite. We'll be able to tie in 10 universities at one time into one classroom. Communications satellite -- unbelievable tools of learning and education will soon be available to us. I want you to become deeply involved in and concerned about educational television, because the television is a powerful instant for good or for evil. And Educational television in the next ten years will come into its own. These are some of the things which we can be thinking about. I want you to be thinking about in the next 10 years, what are we going to do about this world in which the gap between the rich and the poor grows. If we could bind up the wounds in Viet Nam today, the world is threatened with trouble which is a constant growing gap between the rich and the poor. Pope John gave us some eternal truth when he said -- "where there is constant want, there is no peace." And believe me, there is constant want -- and its growing -- growing. I want you to be thinking about what our government ought to be doing in cooperation with private sector in this war on hunger -- this war on illiteracy -- we haven't won our battles -- we have just started. Gee I can remember when we got excited over the Point IV program -- the Alliance for

Progress, those were the beginnings -- that's like Headstart, now we need to follow through. Upward bound and let's not lose our enthusiasm for that Poverty Program. I talked to about sixty of the editors and publishers yesterday, I guess I'm one of the few left around town that's all for it. And I am for it. The President is for it. And we're committed to it. And we're going to fight for it -- and they're going to cut the heart out of it -- unless we do something about it. Now we have thousands of people organized in American community action committees, we have community action programs for the first time, people who have never been heard from before -- people who have been denied any decisions in their lives are on community action committees. They are going to make some mistakes. They are inexperienced. We've always make mistakes. But they are learning. And as I said to my friends on the newspapers, if you will just expose poverty and its misery, as much as you expose the poverty program, we'll start to make even more progress. We can't afford to tell 10,000, 25,000 people on Community Action Committees, that you are no longer needed. Imagine the disillusionment! Imagine the bitterness! And imagine the let-down! For the first time, we put democracy to work at the grass-roots. Right in the hovels, right in the back yards, and it is a good effort. We haven't done it as well as we should. But the Congress today has spoke ^{SPOKE MEN} who say we ought to cut it in half; we ought to cut out all the community action programs; or we ought to cut it all out. Don't let them do it. Mobilize! Go back home I said to a group of Congressmen the other night, "all right

when you cut these programs on job training and education, which you are talking about, I want you to ask yourself -- 'who are the children I am denying a break?' 'who are the people that I am cutting out?' 'who are the older people that I am saying -- get out of our way?' 'who are the jobless that you are saying to ... there is no place for you!' Now you and I know that we are down to the hard core, that we are dealing with the tough problems. It is just like foreign aid, it wasn't difficult to make foreign aid work in Europe. It was difficult. Victor could tell you a great deal about it -- but Europe had the skills, the built-in skills, it had the brain-power. It had the knowledge. What it needed was some capital and some tools. And in the areas where foreign aid could most readily be used and accepted, it has worked. And now we are down to foreign aid in Africa. And the Hills and mountains of Latin America, and the peoples of Asia; and it is tough, hard work. And we are not putting to it what we ought to. And we are not even putting even 1% of our G.N.P. in Foreign Aid. Not by a long-shot. We're putting in a half-about, well about $\frac{2}{5}$ of 1% or one-half of 1% into Foreign Aid. Now we are not going to have a peaceful world unless we can do better than that. I am so pleased to hear once again what we are doing in the Free Trade Union Movement around the world. We have to do much more. You can't have a democracy without a free trade union movement. You know that. And we ought to be interested, not only in economic development, my friends, but political development. A case in point is the War in Viet Nam. We can win every military battle there and we can pour in billions in economic resources, and lose it all. Or never win

any of it -- to put it another way. We have to help build viable political institutions. The same thing is true in Latin America. It is not good enough to have political Juntas. It's not good enough to have coups. It isn't good enough to point only to the G.N.P. and the rate of economic progress. You've got to point -- you've got to be able to point to the political progress -- social progress. You see this is the same old message. Somebody says, "we should get something new." Well we haven't even accomplished what is old yet. There's nothing new about the struggle for freedom. It's as old as Man's first contests with the problems of ignorant nature, and we are going to continue to struggle -- and broaden these horizons of freedom -- if I have anything to say about it. This is the way I believe. I believe that we can do it. I wish I had the time for you here to talk about this world in which we live; our policies in the Far East, in Latin America, the possibilities of disarmament. I only want to say: "don't give up the fight." The time to be most interested in disarmament is when you see what the dangers are of armament. The time to be most interested in a nuclear non-proliferation treaty is when you know that this is like spreading like a scourge across the earth. The time to be most interested in peace is while you fight a war -- to make sure that it never happens again. That's what we've got to do. We've just got to buckle down to these tasks. I would like to see the UAW -- in cooperation with others, and I think that you may have this in mind, just lay down the agenda for the next decade. Priorities for America and Humanity. Because America and Humanity are tied

together. I'll tell you that. Priorities for People and Progress. Let's just list it out there. And let us see how many recruits we can get for it. Think it through. Battle for it.

Ten years we will all be back together again. I plan on being around here then .. (I can't be Vice President, can I?) Well, any way, I'll be backthank you.

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