

NOTES

George Harrison
(*Presid. Emeritus*)

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY AND STEAMSHIP CLERKS

FREIGHT HANDLERS, EXPRESS & STATION EMPLOYEES

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

MAY 8, 1967

President C. L. Dennis
Geo. Hubbons - Sec. Treas.

Chr. Heidenreich
Father Nelson

G.V.P's

✓ Your union ... your membership ... and the
Johnson-Humphrey Administration have been working
together in a common cause -- the building of a better
and stronger America.

✓ In the 89th Congress, a Congress which will go
down in our history, ^{we} set down the framework for progress
in the years ahead.

✓ Let me say, that achievement was due in no small
measure to the effective work done by your union and your
officers. ✓ For you represent over 1/4 of a million workers, and
this figure is growing, and your support means a great deal.

Let me mention just a few of the places where we made a beginning in the 89th Congress.

└-- Realistic help in the field of education, at all levels.

└-- Medical care for senior citizens and other health
breakthroughs such as the heart, cancer and
stroke centers.

└-- Progress toward a cleaner and more beautiful
country with the passage of water and air-pollution
legislation.

└-- Highway beautification and recreation.

└-- Steps toward rebuilding and revitalizing our cities,
including establishment of a new Department of
Housing and Urban Development.

└-- The Civil Rights Act of 1965, which will give real
meaning to the 14th Amendment of our Constitution.

└-- The Economic Opportunity Act, which put
Americans on record as being willing to help
millions of our fellow citizens lift themselves
to self-respect.

└-- Major measures to safeguard the consumer,
from Highway Safety to Truth-in-Packaging. !

└-- An increase in minimum wage benefits and
additions to Social Security coverage.

9 million
more!

But most important to your union was the creation
of the Department of Transportation.

This is something in which you can take a great deal
of pride.

As the President said when he signed the legislation
creating this new department: "Transportation is this nation's
biggest industry. It accounts for 1 dollar out of every 5 dollars
in the American economy, and employs more than 2-1/2
million people. To insure that this great industry serves the

needs of our people and satisfies the demands of our expanding

economy, we will look to the Secretary of Transportation."

This new department will be working with you to develop a balanced transportation system for the United States.

It has been commonplace to say that the world is experiencing a scientific and technological revolution.

But you know it. Because you are in the midst of this revolution.

I was proud to read the statement of Les Dennis, in his speech to this convention, that the over-riding aspiration of this Brotherhood was to be a modern union that could set the pace for the future.

↳ I was equally interested in his remarks on the computer.

He rightly said to you that computers would be doing some of the work in the future that you are doing today, but that those computers would be manned by members of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

∟ I know that your membership has been concerned about automation.

∟ Working together, our job is to keep the economy expanding enough so that we can meet this change without undue hardship to the individual.

Finally, I think we would take a look at where we are.

To those who predicted the end of employment in the railroad industry, I say that there are today 737 thousand railroad employees.

∟ The railroad industry is one of the nation's largest employers.

∟ To those who painted a dismal picture for railroad freight, I point out that railroads have reduced the cost of freight handling by 15 per cent since 1958, and that in 1965 railroads handled 705 million ton-miles of freight -- which compares with 650 ton-miles in 1956.

A few years ago, many were predicting the end of passenger transportation by rail.

Now, sophisticated planners point out that the most feasible method of transportation within megalopolis, from central city to central city, will in the future be rail transportation.

∟ In late 1965 President Johnson signed legislation calling for a 90 million dollar, three-year study of high-speed rail transportation within the so-called Northeast Corridor. I

know that you are very familiar with this.

∟ The first demonstration run, between Washington and New York, will come soon.

I think that, if we see things in their proper perspective, we see a future for the railroad industry filled not only with change -- but also with opportunity.

I know you, and I know the men who lead you. And I am confident that you will seize that opportunity.

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[Transcript]

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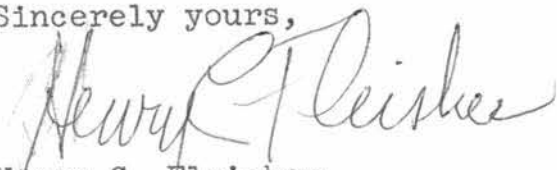
RECEIVED

The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
The Vice President of the United States
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Vice President:

I thought you might like to have a copy
of the transcript of your address to the convention
of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, AFL-CIO, on
Monday, May 8, 1967, and on behalf of the BRC, I am
pleased to send it to you.

Sincerely yours,


Henry C. Fleisher

HCF:sh
Enclosure

... The Delegates arose and there was applause and cheers as Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey was escorted onto the stage ...

GRAND PRESIDENT C. L. DENNIS: Sisters, Brothers, Delegates, visitors and friends, it is about the greatest honor of my life to introduce to this great Convention the Vice President of the United States, whom we all love dearly--Hubert Humphrey. (Prolonged applause)

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

... The Delegates' attention was drawn to the Official Photographer at the rear of the Auditorium, who then took the Convention Photograph ...

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: President Dennis and President-Emeritus Harrison--old friend George--and George Gibbons, Grand Secretary-Treasurer; the many Vice Presidents, of whom I will have something to say in just a moment; and members of the Board; and Delegates here to the great Convention--I believe it is your 23rd, am I correct?--of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers,

Express and Station Employees; and anyone else we can organize (laughter and applause).

You know, when I heard that voice coming from the back of the hall a while ago, I said, "Well, it's just like it has been at these recent meetings I have been attending. Somebody intended to give the speech instead of me." (Laughter) Then, when I came in here and saw three podiums from which to speak, I said, "Well, this is the first convention in which I have ever been able to sing in a trio." (Laughter) I thought possibly we were going to have George Harrison over here and President Dennis over here and the Vice President in the middle, as usual. (Laughter)

But I see they are going to let me have it all alone for a little while. And I do want to thank you.

First may I say how pleased all of us are, of course, to have you in this great City of Minneapolis. I know the Mayor of Minneapolis already has given you a warm welcome. If you have not heard from the distinguished Mayor of St. Paul, Mayor Byrne, you

will. Mayor Naftalin of Minneapolis and Mayor Byrne of St. Paul are both very, very good mayors, both of them the leaders of great cities, and both of them Democrats. I just thought I would toss that in. (Laughter and applause)

This is strictly a non-partisan gathering. That is the way I thought I would start. (Laughter)

I noticed the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks has a very, very impressive roster of officers. I really feel sorry for President Dennis, according to what President Johnson tells me about Vice Presidents. He only has one, and look at the trouble he is in. (Laughter) President Dennis has nine. Or there is another way of putting it: I am overworked. (Laughter) If it takes nine vice presidents for this great Labor organization, I think you will agree that just to be one Vice President of the United States means that you are really sort of a member of a "company union"; you are being overworked all the time. (Laughter)

Truly, I am highly honored to be at your Convention. This is not my first experience with you,

and it is a very singular pleasure for me to come back and to greet you in my home city, to say a few words to you about our country, to talk with you just a little bit about our common concerns, and to share with you a few minutes of friendship and fellowship.

First I want to take this opportunity to express a very sincere thanks to your Officers, to your Board members, to the membership of this growing and splendid organization for your support, not only in recent years, but throughout all of the years of my public life. I am ever grateful.

I can remember the days when your President Emeritus would come here and speak for me and help me, always speaking up and working for social and economic and progressive democracy. I considered it a high honor to enjoy the friendship of and to be privileged to share in the friendship of your distinguished President, Grand President Dennis. He is a good man. He represents the best in American Labor, and I salute you for him. (Applause)

I want to express, too, our thanks to the Chairman of this Convention, Chairman Heidenreich,

for his arrangements and for all the effort that has gone into making this Convention what it will be. You have a big program ahead of you.

My goodness, I am glad I got on while you are still fresh. (Laughter) But you will enjoy it here. I am sure the weather will improve every day. (Laughter) We will try to keep the Minnesota Twins around occasionally. They have been doing all right until they were derailed yesterday. (Laughter) I don't know whether it had anything to do with your coming to town or not. (Laughter)

It is a good ball club, and I am an enthusiastic supporter.

I think I should let you know, though, that when I first became Vice President, I was so enthusiastic about the local ball team that I kept talking about it wherever I went. Then, when the Twins were the champs in the American League, I supported them, of course, in the World's Series. I received a letter from a lady in Los Angeles--and you may recall the Los Angeles Dodgers were the opposition in that series--and the victors--and I received a letter that

read like this:

"Mr. Vice President: I am a Democrat, and I voted for you and President Johnson. But I did not vote for you to be Vice President of Minnesota. I voted for you to be Vice President of the United States. I am for the Dodgers, and why don't you shut up?" (Laughter and applause)

So I have to be exceedingly careful now about my parochialism of interest. I have to remind my fellow Minnesotans when I am back here that if I say a good word about California, New York or Texas, or Maine or Florida, don't think that I am any less faithful to Minnesota. It is just that I have wider responsibilities, and I ought to tend to them, which I try to do.

Now, this morning I want to talk to you about not your Union as such, because you know how to run your Union. I do not think you need to have people come to you from the outside and tell you how to organize, to tell you how to tend to your business. You have done very well with it. You represent high quality citizenship. You represent experienced, long-

experienced, trade unionism, and you represent a bulwark of strength in this country. We are grateful to you for your responsibility and your sense of civic service. You represent a great industry, a tremendous industry, the transportation industry. It is a growing industry.

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I think one out of every five dollars of our economy relates to transportation, and you represent an industry, if I have been properly informed by your President, that is a growing industry in terms of the handling of freight -- tonnage of freight. You represent an industry that is one of the largest employers in the railroad industry. There are today almost seven hundred and fifty thousand -- I think seven hundred thirty-seven thousand -- employees in the railroad industry.

To those who have any dismal pictures to paint and feel that the world is not what it ought to be and look with a degree of pessimism upon the future, I think we ought to point out about the railroad industry, of which you are an integral part, that the railroads have reduced the cost of freight handling by fifteen per cent since 1958, and that in 1965 railroads handled seven hundred and five ^{billion} ~~million~~ tons of freight, which compared with six hundred and fifty ^{billion} ~~million~~ ton miles in 1956.

Seven hundred and five ^b ~~million~~ ton miles of freight in 1965 compared to six hundred fifty ^b ~~million~~

ton miles in 1956. This doesn't represent retardation. It doesn't represent regression. It represents progress. And a few years ago everybody was predicting that the passenger service on railroads would be all over. Well, now what do you think is happening?

As we study the problems of communication in the metropolitan areas, as we study the problems of communication on the Eastern Seaboard, for example, communication and transportation, it is now pretty well agreed that the future of mass movement in transportation is rail transportation.

In late 1965, the President of the United States signed legislation calling for a ninety million dollar experiment -- a three-year study of high-speed rail transportation in the so-called Northeast Corridor from Boston to Washington, Boston-New York to Washington, Boston to Providence. I know you are very familiar with this. The first demonstration run between Washington and New York will come soon. I believe it will be a success. In fact, quite frankly, it has to be a success!

You know, any nation that plans on putting a man on the moon and bringing him back ought to be able

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to get him from New York to Washington in less than a week -- don't you think? (Laughter and applause)

So we have our challenges before us and we have our problems, but I think we have the people that know what to do about it.

I have heard your President speak about the new technological and scientific advances that are taking place in transportation. I know of his concern and your concern about automation. I know of his concern and your concern about the computers that make some of the decisions that control some of the movement of men and materials on rails. But I also know that President Dennis said that it is members of this union that run the computers. And as long as you keep it that way, you can look upon the computers as a friend and not as an enemy.

As a matter of fact, a growing economy -- and that is what we have and that is what we are going to have -- is going to require more manhours, and it is going to require more people, no matter how much we mechanize. Needless to say, we will mechanize. It is

4R inevitable, and in the long run, it is desirable. But the purpose of automation and mechanization is not to deny people the benefits of a good life. The purpose is to make possible the good life.

That is why when we look down the road the next twenty years, we look to a shorter work week. When we look down the road the next twenty to twenty-five years, and even less than that, we must look in terms of collective bargaining in negotiation and wage and price policy, in terms of a shorter week and a higher wage, the better use of leisure time, and the improved standard of living.

I heard Tom Watson, the President of IBM, International Business Machines, speak not long ago in Washington. He predicted by the year 1980 a twenty-five hour work week would be characteristic of the American work scene.

And then he said, "The question is, what will we do with the time that we have available?" And that is why today we plan a much richer, an enriched culturally, educationally better life for our people, and that is why we are so interested in the education of our young. That is why we are so interested in the development of community programs, because trade union members are not just members of a great union. Trade union members are also members of families, churches, fraternal orders; they are members of veterans organizations; they are members of a host of civic organizations. And the purpose of America was well stated in the Declaration of Independence, and it was a bold purpose, a revolutionary purpose, at the time it was uttered, and it still is one, and that purpose is life -- a life with liberty, which makes possible the pursuit of happiness.

This is the first time that an organized society ever proclaimed such high ideals. Not just survival, but life in its full meaning. Not just some grants or gratuities that some monarch would give to us, but individual liberty without license; individual freedom with responsibility. And the purpose of it all: the pursuit

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of happiness, the happiness that comes not so much with things as it comes with satisfactions, as it comes with understanding that things are as you want them for your loved ones, for yourself, and for your country.

These are high ideals and noble objectives, but I am here to say that we have done a good deal to achieve them, and to obtain them. And I ask this audience, for the moment that I have with you today, to look to the future.

I know that every one of us can be very, very pessimistic about all of the things that we hear of contemporary life if all you want to concentrate on are the racial tensions, the riots, the disturbances, the crime, the corruption, the war. You can soon lose faith as to man's ability and capacity to govern himself, or as to his purpose here on earth. But I ask you to lift your eyes to a broader scene and to new horizons. Keep your feet on the ground, but gaze at the stars, because there is a brighter future and there is a great deal that is going on today that is simply fantastic, incredibly good.

I spoke to a young group last night -- honor students up at Chisholm, Minnesota. One-third of the total

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graduating class were honor students, under the highest standards. One-third of the graduating class -- 47 honor students, A students and B students, every one of them going on to college. Every one of them was the son or a daughter of a working man or a shopkeeper; not the son or daughter of a privileged or unusually rich family in the entire group. And what a great opportunity they have ahead of them, and yet what great challenges. But what tremendous resources they represent in terms of human ability and energy and capacity. And I feel that that young generation that is now taking off, so to speak, leaving their high schools this year, and leaving college, the high school graduate and the college graduate of this year, while he faces a very uncertain future, he is better equipped to manage that future than any other before him, and there is literally opportunity unlimited -- unlimited opportunities.

He lives in the space age. He lives in the age of nuclear technology. He lives in the age of fantastic scientific and technological development. He lives in a time when life will be extended. He lives at a time when more children will be educated than ever before. And he

-4 lives at a time when men have created the instruments of total destruction. And yet, those same men that create those implements of total destruction, if they are properly motivated, if they have high enough ethical standards, if they are sufficiently moral, can change that same power for destruction into power for construction, power for good, power to tame and conquer disease; power, if you please, to change even and control the weather; power to move men and material to new heights of achievement and accomplishment.

It is here, and I made up my mind a long time ago that I was not a natural born pessimist. There are some people who are never so happy as when they are unhappy, and they are never so unhappy as when they are happy. I am not one of those. I leave pessimism to other people who seem to enjoy that more than I do. I am essentially and basically an optimist. Yes, I hope a realistic, cautious optimist, but I have seen enough in my lifetime to know that you can make progress. I have seen enough in my lifetime to know that you can have a better life, despite all of the terrible things that happen, despite wars and despite depressions and natural calamities.

I have lived to see an America that is more prosperous than ever before. I have lived to see a world that has recovered from a tragic World War II. I have lived to see a world today where the cause of freedom is not in retreat, but where totalitarianism and dictatorship is in retreat, and I know that much of this is due to the great achievements of the American people. And as the Vice President of this country, the second-highest office within the gift of the American people, I feel prayerfully grateful and humbly proud -- prayerfully grateful for the blessings that are ours, and humbly proud of the accomplishments that are ours, because never in the history of all the world have so few done so much to influence so many for social and economic progress and basic good as the American people have been able to do in the 20th Century. I think this is a remarkable thing! (Applause)

Now let me just remind you for a moment of some of the current things. I am in government, and I speak primarily of the work of government. I am not unaware of the fact that America is more than government.

Most of the things that happen in our lives are not government. They are what happen at our home and our community, and where we live. But government has a role to play, and the role of government today is not to dominate, but to cooperate. The role is to be a partner and not a boss. And every one of us in public life needs to remember that. Sometimes we forget it,

And there is a new partnership today in America which has been very real. We are beginning to grow up. We have a partnership of government at all levels of government. It used to be the pattern of the day that if you were a mayor of a city or the governor of a State, if you had any troubles, you blamed the federal government, and if you were in the federal government and you had troubles, you blamed the State and local government. Well, that day is all over. People are too smart to listen to that demagoguery, because that is just a coverup. If we have problems today, the fact is we are all guilty, and we all have responsibilities, and today the partnership is between federal, state and local government, and we are asking each one of those partners to get updated, to be ready

r to work together, not to be a drag on the other.

And then there was a time when you had people in government who spent all of their time talking about labor bosses and labor crooks, or somebody else would talk about economic royalists. I hope that day is over, too, because it wasn't fair. And today there is a better working relationship between government, and labor, and management. Not the perfect one, not the one that doesn't have its difficulties, as we well know -- but it is better. And I will tell you why it is better. Because it has to be. We can't afford division -- at least deep division -- in our country.

So we have this new partnership, and the reason is that every single problem that we face today is so big that it requires the best of us. How can we rebuild our cities, where over eighty per cent of the American people will live by the year 1975? How can we do it unless we work together? And yet our cities today are sick in many areas. They need curative treatment. Many of them need to be remodeled, redesigned. But we can do it.

You know, I have said so many times that any

r nation that can afford to put a man on the moon -- and we will and we can -- that that same country and that same nation can afford to help put a man on his feet right here on earth. (Applause) We can do it. (Applause)

Because -- make no mistake of it -- very few of you are going to the moon. There are some people who are suggesting that I should make the trip. (Laughter) I have some candidates of my own for that. (Laughter) Most of us are going to live right here, and therefore we had better make the most out of what we have here.

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I have quite a time joking with our President about this. I am Chairman of the Space Council in Washington, handling all of these activities of outer space -- at least coordinating them between the civilian and the military. The Congress gave me that responsibility, to be Chairman of the activities in space. I am also Chairman of what we call the Council on Marine Resources, that is oceanography, dealing with the oceans, the fish life, the tides, the currents, the minerals, the gas, the oil, everything that goes into the seas, and the government and private industry working together to develop those resources.

I told the President one day, I said, "Mr. President, you know, I looked at the map and I find that 71 percent of the earth's surface, the surface of the globe, is water; 29 percent is land; and of the 29 percent you have about 4 percent of it that is under your jurisdiction."

I said, "Mr. President, did you ever realize who is doing the most work?" (Laughter) "Here I am with 17 percent (laughter) of the waters of the earth, and you with just about 4 or 5 percent of the 29 percent

of the land surface of the earth." And I said, "What is more, Mr. President, my fish cause me less trouble than your people." (Laughter and applause)

Somebody said to me not long ago, they said, "Well, they must not think much of you down in Washington, Mr. Vice President."

I said, "Why is that?"

They said, "Every time the Congress gives you something to do, first of all it was the space agency, secondly it was oceanography. Whenever Congress gives you something to do, they show what they think of you. They give you a job out of this world, or in the bottom of the ocean." (Laughter)

But I will tell you what these two jobs have done for me. They have given me some sense of perspective as to what there is to do, and some sense of understanding of the meaning of science and technology, and its impact upon humankind.

So, to revert to my theme, the wonderful things that lie ahead, the things that we can do, and the things that we ought to be doing, and the necessity of all of us trying to pull our share of the load, and this

is why the effort is being made in this country, and we must make it around the world, to harness the human, and physical and material resources for building purposes, nation building, and to try to get people to understand that if we are going to rebuild our cities, if we are going to make efforts towards world peace, if we are going to be able to keep our water systems clean, if we are going to meet the problems of communication and transportation, it is going to take a tremendous effort.

Government cannot do it alone. You cannot do it alone. Management cannot do it alone. Private industry cannot do it alone. We have to do it together, and we have to do it in freedom, because the choices are getting to be pretty clear. Either it will be done as the communists try to do it with a totalitarian state system in which you have no rights, and in which everything, human beings and material things, are managed and directed by the State and that does work -- not well, but it is being done,--or it will be done by a system of freedom in which each of us preserves our own identity, in which each of us has our own area of

4 freedom, but we also have our area of responsibility, in which we preserve our identity in cooperation, in which we preserve our freedom in responsibility. And we have to make our choice one way or another, because the day in which everybody can go at his own, without regard to the other fellow, the day in which a person in public life thinks these problems can be handled by government alone, or a man in private life that thinks the government has no role to play, and it ought to be handled privately all alone, that day is all over, and those are the days for demagogues, not the day for people who are realistic and who love their country, and have something that they want to do for their fellow man.

Well, we have been busy everywhere. People are working hard these days, and people are concerned.

This is the period of rapid change. There has been more change that has taken place in the last twenty-five years, or the last fifty years, let us put it that way, than the preceding five thousand. No doubt about it.

There is more change in science and technology

in the last fifty years than the preceding five thousand. There are more scientists living today than in all of previous recorded history. More doctors living today than in the preceding 300 years. More teachers at work today than the preceding 100 years all added together.

So we are changing, and changing rapidly. I can remember only a few years ago when we used to talk about the possibility of a \$100 billion economy. Last year it was \$750 billions. The United States of America, with six percent of the world's population, produced over forty percent of all the wealth of the world last year.

Our country, the United States of America had -- well, let's put it this way -- all of Europe put together last year, all of Europe, exclusive of the Soviet Union, all of Western Europe produced about two-thirds as much as the United States did; \$475-billion, we, \$750-billion. Unbelievable economic growth, movements of people, tremendous social changes, racial changes.

Who would ever have believed fifteen years ago, ten years ago, that we would have had the legislation we have on the statute books today relating to Civil Rights? Who would ever have believed that we would

have been doing what we are doing in education?

I introduced the first bill in 1949, in the Congress of the United States for Medicare. May 17, 1949. And my bill was entitled "Hospital and Nursing Home Care under terms of Social Security for Persons aged 65 and over." (Applause) And they almost ran me out of Congress.

I said, and I meant it, they almost ran me out of Congress. I sent a letter home to some of my constituents that month, in 1949, and I said, "What do you think of this bill?" And they told me. I have never dared let my wife read the letters. (Laughter) I have never received such a lacing down in my life.

Nevertheless, we kept at it, and we have gained a victory. Tremendous change. The 89th Congress, I think, was one of the great break-through Congresses of all times. And I just listed down a few things that happened in that 89th Congress, and I don't want you to think that we are content with that, because I learned something in public life. People are not interested in what you did, as much as they are interested in what you are going to do. It does not do a great deal of good

just to talk about where you have been. People want to know where you are going to go. Some people have some good suggestions too. (Laughter)

But at least, to get some idea of what you are going to do for tomorrow, and where you ought to go, you ought to know what you have done, and where you have been. That is the purpose of history. It does not mean that it guides you. It means that it gives you a sense of direction.

Well, what did we do in these last few years?

We have done great things in the field of education. We have provided medical and hospital care for senior citizens. And we have a billion dollars worth of research underway right now in such diseases as heart, and cancer and stroke. And I want to make a prediction here that before the year 2000 arrives -- in fact, in the next fifteen years -- heart disease, cancer and stroke will have the same category on the disease charts as polio and some others that we have conquered. We are close now to making fundamental breakthroughs, and what a blessing that will be, because when I look over this audience, I know that the statistics tell me that one

out of every three will have some form of cancer, and I also know that the statistics tell me that one out of five will die of it. That is the average audience.

And I want to tell you that I can think of nothing that would be more important to the health and the happiness and the pursuit of happiness to the American family than if every woman in this audience would know that her life would never be afflicted by cancer. And if every mother and father would know that it would never strike their family. It has struck mine. I know of what I speak. And what a day that will be.

And then think of heart disease and stroke, and we are learning so much, and we are pouring in resources to do something about it. And we are making progress towards a cleaner and a more beautiful America. Here we are in the state of ten thousand lakes. I think it would be good if you would ask sometime some of the public officials of this state how many of your lakes are clean, or have the people defiled them? How many rivers are unpolluted? Can your children go to swim safely in them?

The problem of water supply. We are beginning

to do something about it. We have made the beginnings, and remember, the longest journey is the first step. And we have made that first step. When I hear people say, "Well, I don't think you, Mr. Humphrey, and your President, Lyndon Johnson, I don't think you two have done much" -- and I hear that plenty -- I say, "Well, I am sure we haven't done enough, but the beginnings are what count."

It was the first Union that was organized, it was the first day that we passed Social Security, the first Minimum Wage law was only twenty cents an hour. The beginnings.

Once we get the beginnings, we can build on it. But it is the break-through, it is the start, and I have seen too many people in my life who never wanted to make the beginnings, because they were not sure what the endings would be like, or I have seen all of these highly intelligent people who say, "We have to wait for more facts." And they died while they were waiting.

Somebody once said, "What's the difference in the short run and the long run?"

I believe in the long run, but I want to tell you I also believe even more emphatically in the short run. The difference is that in the long run you are all dead; and it is the short run that we are working on. It is the starts, the beginnings that will help you achieve the long run.

We are making progress, and improving our highways, and the beautification of our countryside, and recreation for a population that will soon be over 200 million. And why shouldn't we? We are entitled to have parks, and forests, and wilderness areas, and lakes and campsites.

As an urbanized population becomes the pattern of the day, we need more of the out of doors, and it requires men in public life to have the courage, the fortitude, to resist the special interests who want to take all the land and use it for commercial purposes.

We need to protect this great heritage, because your grandchildren, your great grandchildren deserve a chance for a day in a canoe in a clean lake. They deserve a chance to go to a national park; they deserve a chance to have wholesome, clean outdoors. God did not

intend that the atmosphere be polluted by man's machines. And air pollution, and water pollution are indefensible, and your government is doing something about it -- beginning.

We are doing something about revitalizing our cities, and we need your help. Modernization of our cities, the establishment of a new department of urbanization and urban development. We are doing something about human relations. A great revolution is taking place in this country in human relations. If it seems turbulent at times, remember that every change is turbulent.

I fly a great deal, and I looked at the map this morning, and I noticed that the weather between here and the Appalachians was clear. I noticed that the man who was talking about the weather and showed me the map on the television this morning said that there was a front, on the eastern seaboard. It is the bad weather that moved through here. It moved towards the East.

Now I know just as sure as I am talking to you now that when we pass through that front, from one system into another, that we will hit a period of turbulence.

And we also wonder, don't we, if the pilot is capable, if the craft in which we fly, or in which we move is strong enough to weather that tension, and that strain.

Well, my dear fellow Americans, we are moving from one old system into another, a system of segregation into integration. We are moving from a system where we had two kinds of citizenship, a citizenship for the whites, and another kind for the blacks, and we are moving out of that into one citizenship for one people, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. (Applause)

And I know that when we move into that system, when we move through these two social forces, we are going to have some turbulence, and all we have to hope and pray is that we have built a society strong enough to take it. And we have to hope that we have people who are managing things, who are directing things, like a pilot who knows his business, and has fortitude and courage and training, and can bring us through.

And just as surely as I stand before you, if we have those two things, and faith in ourselves, we are

going to come out in clear skies. And you know what it is like after a storm passes through. The air is better than ever. You have been there, you have seen it. After those storms pass through, it is just crystal clear, and the air that you breathe literally just is perfumed with cleanliness and wholesomeness.

That is exactly what is happening in America if we can last it out. The greatest single social experiment that any nation has ever tried, to have one citizenship for one people. To have a nation that is not divided, but a nation that is united.

It was Lincoln who told us, "We are testing to see whether this nation or any other nation that has a government of the people, by the people and for the people can long endure." He told us that over a hundred years ago, and he said to us that we are being tested as to whether we will meanly lose or nobly save the last best hope on earth.

He was right then, and that was a hundred years ago. He is still right today. That is what makes Lincoln great. He was immortal. He was a man for all seasons and all time. He understood the verities of life.

So we are building and building. We even have built a new Department of Transportation, which your great Union supported. It was long overdue. We are making progress.

What has this meant? I am not going to keep you any longer, except to be specific. Generalities are not enough for pragmatic and sensible people, even though we need to have ideals and goals. People say, "Well, for instance, what have you done?" Many people think what we are engaged in today is a war on poverty,

and I guess that is a good way to describe it. The President has said that what we are trying to do is build a Great Society. Franklin Roosevelt said it was a New Deal. Woodrow Wilson called it a New Freedom. Theodore Roosevelt called it a Square Deal. Harry S. Truman called it a Fair Deal. John Kennedy spoke of it as the New Horizons, this Brave New World that he spoke of. Lyndon Johnson speaks of it as the Great Society.

I would like to call it, in my own words, An Adventure in Opportunity.

I will tell you why.

What everybody really wants is a chance to be himself. What everybody wants is a chance to live and to work. As that poet and author of the 1930's, Thomas Wolfe, put it, he wants a chance to make something of himself. Every man seeks to combine together those qualities that will permit him to make the most of his life. This is the promise of America.

We are in a great adventure. We are doing something with it. No other people on the face of the earth are doing as much.

This Adventure in Opportunity did not start with Lyndon Johnson or Hubert Humphrey. It started early in our country; but it has had new impetus.

Franklin Roosevelt was a part of it with Social Security and Minimum Wage and the National Labor Relations Act, just to mention three. It includes the Full Employment policies of Harry S. Truman, and it includes a host of legislative enactments of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, a policy to create an environment of trust and of confidence.

The War on Poverty or this Adventure in Opportunity includes Medicare, the Economic Development Administration, Aid to Elementary and Secondary Schools, the Office of Economic Opportunity. So when I speak to you now of the achievements that we have made thus far, I am not speaking of one little segment of our activity. I am speaking of this whole spectrum of activities that all of you are familiar with in one way or another.

What are these programs and policies achieving and what have they achieved? Because we have so many people telling you what has not been done, maybe

you ought to know what is being done. Not that you should be satisfied. I hope you never are satisfied. It is so that you can properly judge whether or not the policies that are being pursued show any promise of fulfillment. I think they do.

Let me give you a few facts. Five million more Americans are at work today than a year ago. That's not bad. Wages are the highest in our history, and unemployment is the lowest in 13 years.

More than one million persons are receiving job training under federal programs today, compared to none only six years ago. Think of that. We are reaching down into the hard core of the unemployed. We are reaching down into the jobless youth. We are reaching down into that Negro boy in the ghetto whose heart is filled with bitterness and hatred, who has never had a job in his life, who comes from a broken family, who lives in a delapidated neighborhood, who has had little or no education, who has never known what it is to have responsibility.

My fellow Americans, we are reaching down and finding those Americans, and a million of them

are getting trained this morning--one million. Six years ago none of them were, and there were more of them then than there are now that needed training.

I know that a million is not enough; but I know, too, that it is a million more than other people did, a million more than anybody else dared to dream of or dared to do anything about.

I have been to these urban centers. I have been to these training programs. I know what it means. When I hear the critics say, "Well, you are not doing much," I said, "Where were you when the fight was on, you Monday morning quarterback? Where were you? You were sitting off in the bleachers while the battle was going on in the field, an armchair general, unwilling to get into the smoke and the din of battle."

We have had to do it the hard way, by trial and error. We have made mistakes. The only way not to make mistakes is to be totally paralyzed, inactive or dead. (Applause)

There are six million young Americans in college today, and there are one million of them there

because your federal government, through its Aid to Education programs, is helping them, in work study programs, scholarships and fellowships.

There were five million people that received Medicare help since last July 30th, in hospital and nursing home care. Three and a half million of the elderly received doctor's care. The hospitals received \$2 billion in payments. The doctors have received over \$200 million in payments. The five million that went to a hospital went to the hospital of their choice. The three and a half million that received medical care went to a doctor of their choice, and their bills were paid by their government under a social insurance program called Medicare.

I think that's progress. (Applause)

A million and a half children, ages 3 to 5, preschoolers, have been in Project Headstart in the last two and a half years. Some of them for the first time in their lives have had a decent meal. Some of them for the first time in their lives have had a medical checkup. And some of them for the first time in their lives have had a chance for a wholesome

environment. Project Head Start--all of you here, the mothers particularly--know of what I speak. It is a wonderful experience, not only for the children, but, as it is said, a little child shall lead them, and if you follow the child back home, you will find out what the problem is. It is not the child that is wrong. We are finding out in Project Head Start, by working with the parents, the depth of our social problem, going back into the community.

We have nine hundred thousand young people in the Neighborhood Youth Corps programs, youngsters that never have had a job, that are today doing good work and learning something about work. Thirty-five thousand young people from the slums of our cities, from the poor schools, youngsters that were tested and found to have a high I.Q., yet youngsters that were lost, young men and women that were bitter, young men and women that had no intention of going on to school. Thirty-five thousand of them.

My fellow Americans, they have been lifted out of that depravity, frustration and bitterness, and they are on to universities today, in this day

and age, 1967. They are at Minnesota, Michigan, Yale, Duke, in California; they are all over America. Thirty-five thousand of them in Project Upward Bound.

How do you know but amongst those 35,000 will be found the doctor or the scientist that will discover the cure that we look for in the field of disease, or will make some great achievement? All I know of is that these are 35,000 of the brightest young Americans that were lost, just as lost as if they had been drowned, and they had been rescued, and they are on to universities and colleges.

No other country in the world has ever done anything like that.

And there are 50,000 graduates of Job Corps Centers, and 35,000 more are in training.

The Job Corps gets a lot of heat. Everytime you want to get a good news story, go and find something wrong in a Job Corps Center.

I want to let you in on the Job Corps Center. I am the author of the legislation, and I know of what I speak. The Job Corps Center and the youngsters that go to the Job Corps in the main, the over-

whelming majority, over 95 per cent of them, were drop-outs before they ever went. They were in trouble with the law, many of them. They were referred to the Job Corps by social workers or juvenile judges or a school authority, because this was their last chance. They are ages 16 to 20, and 95 per cent of them were poorly educated. Five per cent of them had had jobs. The average wage of the 5 per cent that had a job was 70 cents an hour.

What do you think has happened to the 50,000 that have graduated? Their average wage is \$1.91 an hour. Seventy per cent of the graduates got good jobs. Twenty per cent of the graduates went back to school. Ten per cent of the graduates joined the American Armed Forces.

Now, I ask you: Wasn't it worth it? Wasn't it worth it to have 50,000 young men and women make something out of their lives, rather than to be sources of disappointment to themselves and their community? I think so. I don't think America will ever impoverish itself by investing in its people. I think we will be better. (Applause)

Finally, may I say that eight million youngsters are getting an education this year that never had it before in elementary and secondary education because of Aid to Education--federal aid to education. We used to kill every federal aid to education program on the issue of race or religion. You would pass it in the Senate, and they would kill it in the House. You would pass it in the House the next year, and they would kill it in the Senate. It was like a sort of ping pong game or tennis match, and the "education ball" hit the net every other time you hit it, and it failed.

Finally, you got a President who was a country school teacher, who taught in a Mexican-American school down in Texas. That President said, "Well, what about making Federal Aid to Education to the child? Why don't we talk about the children? Why don't we identify the government of the United States and its services with people rather than with states or churches or districts? Let's talk about people."

Today we have a tremendous program of aid

to education. We have tripled the federal government's investment in education in less than four years.

What has it meant? It has meant that America is being better educated. It has meant that millions of youngsters that never had a chance in their lives, for the first time have a chance.

rl My fellow Americans, you either believe what you say or you don't. If you believe that this is one nation under God and indivisible, you believe it or you are a hypocrite if you don't practice it. If you believe in liberty and justice for all, the word means exactly what it says. I happen to believe that we do believe it. I think we have to act on those beliefs. But I also know that we need everybody today. I know that we can't afford to have one-sixth of our people out of the mainstream of American life. I know that we can't afford to continue to have lawlessness and violence in our streets. I know that we must enforce the law, but I know we must also make possible opportunity. That is what we are trying to do.

 We are engaged in a mighty enterprise. We are not working on the easy things any more. Jobs are available to most people. Education is available to most people. Health is available to most people. But the test of a Great Society is not only what you do for most people but what do you do for the least of these.

 Franklin Roosevelt once said that it is not the

r2 duty of government to see to it that those who already have too much have more. But it is the responsibility of government to see to it that those who have too little have enough.

Thomas Jefferson said that the only legitimate objective of government is the health, the education, and the happiness of the people. And I am proud to work in a government and be a part of a government, and prouder yet to be a citizen of a nation, that believes that the highest priority of every service is the enrichment of the lives of our fellow citizens. And I am proud to come before a great union that has done so much for its own members. Your lives are better because of your union. America is better because of this union. The railroads are better because of this union. The communities are better because of this union.

I know of no force in America that has done more for the uplifting of the standard of living in America than organized labor. And I have been proud all of my public life to be called a friend of labor. I have been proud and valued the support of labor and I am exceedingly proud this morning to have been your

r3 invited guest to this, your 23rd Convention, because I know that I am in the household of good people. I know that I speak to good citizens. I know that I speak to people who will not only admire and respect their union and its leadership, but, more importantly, you are patriots. You love your country. You have given of yourself and your sons and your daughters. You have a sense of dedication to what this nation believes in and stands for.

 So permit me to say goodbye on that note and to thank you so much for letting me in this house to share these thoughts with you, my fellow Americans. Good morning.

 ... The delegation arose and there was prolonged applause ...

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you.

GRAND PRESIDENT DENNIS: Mr. Vice President, I have heard many, many speeches in my lifetime, and I have the sincere feeling that this convention will long remember your words of wisdom. I believe, Mr. Vice President, that you, throughout your career, have laid many foundations for organized labor to build upon



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