

FOR RELEASE: JUNE 21, 1967
WEDNESDAY PM'S

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI
JUNE 21, 1967

Joe...my good friends of the Communications Workers:

Whenever I get together with you I am reminded of the battles we've fought together. I remember, for instance, some 20 years ago when you had a strike in Minneapolis. It was hard going. I remember that there was an effort to undercut you by having the supervisory people live in the office and run the exchange.

As mayor, I had to take action. A few of you may remember what that action was. Naturally, I ruled that a telephone exchange is not a hotel--and that, if they wanted to operate it as a hotel, they'd have to apply for a hotel license.

Over the years, again and again, I've been accused of being pro-labor. I plead guilty to that. And I'm proud of it.

Because I believe our free labor movement is an indispensable ingredient of a better and stronger America...just as I believe our free enterprise system is indispensable... and a strong rural America is indispensable.

I am pro-labor. I am pro-people.

And I must say that I don't have much patience with those who say one part of our society can move forward only at the expense of some other part.

We all need each other. And I think most Americans know it in their hearts. The job ahead is to convince the rest of them.

President Johnson knows how I feel about labor.

The other day, when I checked into Bethesda Naval Hospital for some minor repairs, the President told a union gathering in Washington what went on out at the hospital. I can tell you it was an accurate account.

Naturally, the first thing I wanted to know was whether the doctor had a union card.

Then I inquired as to whether the operating room was an open or closed shop.

And finally, I made a doublecheck to be sure that my room number was not 14-B. It wasn't.

I can report to you that the hospital not only was well-organized, but that the workmanship was good.

As I said earlier, we've been through a lot of battles together. And we've won our share.

But I am--and I know you are--far more interested in the battles that lie ahead than in all the past victories put together.

The future is what concerns us, not the past. And that is as it should be.

My good friend Joe Beirne has been doing a lot of hard and original thinking about the future.

He has urged, for example, that education be made free all the way up through the graduate level, so that every American boy and girl will have an equal chance in life.

Joe has also called for a "minimum guaranteed annual income for every American." As you may know, President Johnson is now setting up a commission to look into this question.

Our objective is to create opportunity for every American who is capable of working. But I believe our rich nation can and must assure to those unable to work, or unable to find jobs--through no fault of their own--enough income to provide the essentials of life and of human dignity.

Joe, I have been doing a good deal of thinking and talking about the future myself.

I generally reach out to the year 2000--to the 21st century that lies ahead.

Today, though, I want to focus on the next ten years -- because what we do with them will affect greatly where we go as a nation from then on.

We know some things for sure about these years.

Our spectacular scientific and technological progress will continue. Whether we use it or abuse it will be up to us.

As you are, for example, I am deeply concerned about the danger of electronic invasion of our privacy. You know better than anyone else the grave potentialities here, and you were among the first to warn us about them.

As you know, this Administration has called for the outlawing of "all wiretapping, public and private, wherever and whenever it occurs, except when the security of this nation is at stake."

We know also that automation will be applied more and more widely--although not, I hope, to the Presidency or Vice Presidency of this union or of the United States.

Automation can mean economic disaster to many workers, if we do not handle it wisely. But if we do, it can be a great blessing, freeing people from the deadliest kind of physical and mental drudgery.

These are things we have to watch closely, and act upon wisely.

I also call to your attention today an important decision which will face this country in the days ahead.

It will come when the fighting stops in Vietnam.

I cannot say how soon that day will come--but it surely must come.

Our country has faced that kind of decision before--not always with the right result.

There may be a few people here who remember what happened after World War I. A major political party campaigned on the slogan "Back to normalcy"--and won hands down.

We paid dearly in the next few years for turning our backs on our responsibilities at home and abroad -- first with the Great Depression and then with World War II.

The same kind of thing happened at the end of the Korean War. The people in charge didn't actually say: "Back to normalcy," but they acted on that basis.

We had the chance then to channel the resources that had gone into war into the works of peace. Tragically, we missed that chance.

It was: cut the budget, cut taxes, no new starts.

"Back to normalcy" again. But what kind of normalcy?

Our cities were sick before Korea, and they got sicker after. Poor and untrained people came crowding into our great cities -- and their slums grew bigger, dirtier, more dilapidated, and more unfit to live in.

Money went into furs that could have gone to schools.

A new wing for the country club or decent family housing for the poor?

A second car for the already prosperous or first-rate care for the slum child?

Those were the questions before us. And we gave the wrong answers.

We are still paying for those wasted years after Korea -- in every American neighborhood where children are growing up without first-class education, without good health, without adequate housing or equal opportunity.

We are paying for it with violence and crime in the streets...with welfare rolls jammed with people who are untrained and uneducated...with lost and wasted human lives in the midst of the most prosperous society the world has ever known.

I ask: Can we learn from history? Or are we condemned to repeat every mistake we have ever made?

When peace comes to Vietnam, what choices will we make?

Your President, your Vice President, and the people in this Administration are planning today for peace tomorrow. A Cabinet-level committee is at work now putting together plans and ideas for peace.

But it doesn't matter how well you've designed the machine. It won't work unless you can plug in the power.

That power is money voted and appropriated by the Congress for investment in America's future.

Let's get down to cases:

Will the Congress-- this 90th Congress, for example -- rise to the opportunity? Will it meet its obligations?

I don't know the answer. But I do know that Congress will heed the voice of the American people, if they speak out

so plainly that they cannot be misunderstood.

We the American people need to raise our voices and make our message crystal clear: We want a better and a freer America and we are willing to pay the price.

The choice is ours.

Do we want our brave young men in Vietnam -- many of them the children of city and rural slums -- to return to the same slums, only worse by the years they have been away?

Do we want our Negro American veterans to be told once more: Move to the back of the opportunity bus...the job bus...the self-respect bus.

Do we want those men to come home not to the fullness and richness of life they deserve, but to the taste of ashes?

We can have an America worthy of them -- a land fit for heroes -- if we want it deeply enough, if we think big enough.

So I say let's think big.

Let's think about the kind of America we can build with the 20 to 30 billion dollars we will save with peace, and the 7 to 9 billion dollars extra revenue the federal government will have each year, if we keep up our vigorous economic growth -- as we can.

Yes, we can have some tax cuts. But let's invest, too, in a better America.

Let's not demobilize our social conscience at the same time we demobilize our armed forces.

As for myself, I plan to take a leaf from your trade union book. I plan to do a little picketing. (And I've been on the receiving end of it for awhile now.)

I'm going to carry a placard: "Better Schools -- Follow Me!" And I'm going to look back from time to time to see who's following me and who's ducking out into the high grass.

I can think of other placards, like "Better Homes!"... "Better Neighborhoods!"...and "Better Health!"

And there is another sign I'm going to raise: "More for Foreign Aid."

For, while we're talking about better neighborhoods, let us remember that, with modern communications, this world of ours is becoming a single great neighborhood.

Our young men are at war today, thousands of miles from home, because we know that one part of that neighborhood cannot be left to lawlessness, and other parts remain safe.

The men of the Communications Workers of America know that. And you have made your position clear.

But it is far better to prevent wars than to wage them. That is where really adequate foreign aid -- at least twice our present level -- comes in.

With it, we can begin to dig out the bitter roots of poverty where violence and war come from. As Pope John warned us, where there is constant want, there is no peace.

These are the challenges, these are the opportunities and these are the decisions which will confront us when peace breaks out.

This will be our rendezvous with conscience.

And if we do not tire, or sit back in self-satisfaction, this can be our greatest victory yet -- a victory which breaks this country through into the sunlight of what we know it can be...of what it stands for to all the huddled, hopeful people of this world.

We can make America -- no more or less -- "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

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Rabbi Solomon

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA - Canada

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

JUNE 21, 1967

29th annual
Convention!

LBS - Grandfather

Honorary Member!

Fellow members -

Great DAY

Truman

LBS Grandfather
(Uncle Pat)

now
CWA

9/1/65

Joe ... my good friends of the Communications

Workers:

It was 17 years ago in St. Paul, Minn when I spoke to you.

Whenever I get together with you I am reminded of the battles we've fought together. I remember, for instance, some 20 years ago when you had a strike in Minneapolis. It was hard going. I remember that there was an effort to undercut you by having the supervisory people live in the office and run the exchange.

Just
"Live in!"

As mayor, I had to take action. A few of you may remember what that action was. Naturally, I ruled that a telephone exchange is not a hotel -- and that, if they wanted to operate it as a hotel, they'd have to apply for a hotel license.

Over the years, again and again, I've been accused of being pro-labor. I plead guilty to that. And I'm

proud of it. *But I'm pro-free enterprise too, and absolutely Pro-People - Pro-freedom!*
~~Because~~ I believe our free labor movement is an

indispensable ingredient of a better and stronger America...

just as I believe our free enterprise system is ~~indispensable~~

and a strong rural America is indispensable *too better and stronger America!*
~~I am pro-free enterprise~~
~~I am pro-labor, I am pro-people, and I am pro-freedom.~~

~~And I must say that~~ I don't have much patience with those who say one part of our society can move forward only at the expense of some other part.

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The other day, when I checked into ~~Bethesda Naval~~ ^{the} Hospital for some minor repairs, the President told a union gathering in Washington what went on out at the hospital.

I can tell you it was an accurate account. *and here is how he described my hospital experience.*
Naturally, the first thing I wanted to know was whether the doctor had a union card. - *and he did!*

Then I inquired as to whether the operating room was an open or closed shop.

And, finally, I made a doublecheck ^{to} be sure that my room number was not 14-B. It wasn't. !

∠ I can report to you that the hospital not only was well-organized, but that the workmanship was good.

As I said earlier, ~~we~~ we've been through a lot of battles together. And we've won our share. !

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what lies ahead!

ahead

Thinking
Planning
Action!

✓ The future is what concerns us, not the past.

~~And that is as it should be.~~ ✓ CWA on the International front
✓ CWA on the Domestic front.

and ✓ My good friend Joe Beirne has been doing a lot of hard and original thinking about the future.

✓ He has urged, for example, that education be made free all the way up through the graduate level, so that every American boy and girl will have an equal chance in life.

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century
21

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↳ We know some things for sure about these years.

↳ Our spectacular scientific and technological progress
will continue. Whether we use it or abuse it will be up to us.

Science
&
Technology
Progress

Space
medicine
destiny
communication
satellites

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↳ Automation can mean economic disaster to many workers, if we do not handle it wisely. But if we do, it

can be a great blessing, freeing people from ~~the heavy burden~~ kin of physical and mental drudgery. - Shorter work week
Tom Watson, IBM.

↳ These are things we have to watch closely, and act upon wisely.

↳ I also call to your attention today an important decision which will face this country in the days ahead.

Post-Vietnam.

↳ It will come when the fighting stops in Vietnam.

↳ I cannot say how soon that day will come -- but it surely must come.

↳ Our country has faced that kind of decision before -- *but* not always with the right result.

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no, no, not now, go slow, veto!

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Money went into ~~factories~~ luxurious Hotels that could have gone to schools.
We were faced with choices --
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Pub. Education CWA

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We willing to pay the price!

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⌈ We can make America -- no more or less --

"one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty

and justice for all."

and ~~and~~ we can have
America be what Woodrow Wilson
~~and~~ envisioned as its mission

#

"My dream is that America will come
into the full light of the Day when
all shall know that she puts human
rights above all other rights, and
that her flag is the flag not
only of America, but of humanity"

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY: Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you very much; thank you. My dear friend, Joe Beirne, Rabbi Solomon, Officers, Members of the Executive Committee, Delegates to this the 29th Annual Convention, my fellow Minnesotans, *I am* mighty happy to see you here (Applause), and all you friends from Texas, too. I never forget that. (Laughter and applause) I just want that on the record. I hope that will be in print. (Laughter)

When Joe Beirne introduces you, you are introduced! He really sets you off. It always reminds me of what our beloved friend, Adlai Stevenson used to say about introductions. He said, "Flattery is all right, so long as you don't inhale it." I sat up here breathing deeply, expanding every moment, because when you are Vice President, a little flattery goes a long way, I want you to know. (Laughter)

But, speaking of Vice Presidents, I inquired *Came on* before I ~~mounted~~ this rostrum as to the number of Vice Presidents the CWA has. Now, I want to put in a complaint to the Grievance Committee. (Laughter) I find

that I have been doing the work of nine! (Laughter)
The CWA has nine Vice Presidents. Joe Beirne has nine
Vice Presidents, Lyndon Johnson has one Vice President,
and sometimes I am not sure but what he thinks it is
one too many. (Laughter and applause)

Well, it is good to be with my fellow members.
I looked at this badge and it says "Guest". I guess that
is what they mean when you are an Honorary Member. I
have been an Honorary Member of the CWA for twenty years--
twenty years -- and I am proud of it! (Applause)

~~And~~ I want you to know that being an honorary member doesn't help build the coffers of the treasury. It is ~~sort of~~ one of those free rides that you get. ~~But~~ I have been able to participate in your many activities and have felt as close to you as I do to a member of my own family. I do feel today that I am in the presence of not only fine Americans, not only friends and neighbors from other parts of the world, ~~and~~ other parts of the world that love freedom as we do, but I know that I am in the presence of dear and good friends who have fought the good fight for a better America for many, many years.

This has been a great day for me. I spent the weekend and an extra day or two in Minnesota. I left there early this morning, ~~and~~ came here to Missouri and went over to see a remarkable man, ^A ~~a~~ man who is an inspiration to me, and I think is an inspiration to everyone, a former President of the United States and a man who had the courage of his convictions, a man of unbelievable character and strength, a friend of yours and a friend of mine, ~~and~~ you know who I mean -- Harry Trumn, our former President. (Applause)

MTI

When the history of this century is written, Harry Truman will have one of the most prominent places in that history. I said to a reporter as I left his home today -- and by the way, Joe will testify that we did not want to tire the President and on three occasions I got up and was ready to leave and he said, "Oh, sit down, let's talk some more." He was alert and he was feeling fine.

I told this reporter when I came out, "If I were to go out on the street and to ask any of our fellow Americans to name me five great Americans, I would be willing to bet my life that in that list of five you would name, one of those names would be Mr. Truman."
(Applause)

The reason is quite plain and simple. He did what he thought was right. He remembered what Lincoln said, "with malice towards none, with charity toward all, but with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right."

That is the way he acted, and believe me, it pays off. You are not always popular, at the moment, but greatness is not to be equated with popularity, and

character^{is} ~~is~~ not the same thing as just being a good guy and I have a feeling that America is what it is today because there were leaders in every walk of life who were willing to risk their popularity to do what they thought was right and who were willing to stand up and be counted, even when there were only a few standing alongside ~~of~~ them, when they faced hard decisions.

So I speak to fellow members: A great day!

~~First, Mr. Truman, but the first thing that~~
~~greeted me when I waked -- well not awakened, but~~ When

I was getting ready to board the plane this morning ~~was~~ ^{I heard}

^{the first} news item: Lucy had a baby, ^{an} eight pounds ten ounces baby boy. (Applause)

Since we just went through Father's Day, Pat and Lucy had a baby. While we were in the hotel, just prior to coming here, I picked up the telephone and I called the President of the United States to congratulate him on becoming a grandfather. He is now an official member of the Grandfathers' Club. I am four times in that club. (Laughter and applause) Joe is thirteen times in the club. (Laughter and applause) But our family are slow starters, Joe. We will catch up. (Laughter)

Now that Mr. Truman and President Johnson have become charter members of the Grandfather's Club, here I am with my good friends of the CWA. Not only the Communications Workers of America, but the communications of America and Canada, and I welcome, once again, as a citizen of this country and as Vice President, our friends and delegates from Canada who are here in such numbers that I was able to shake the hand of a few as I came through the line outside. What a wonderful thing it is to have such good neighbors to be bounded on the north by Canada, and on the south by Mexico. What a pleasure to be in that kind of company, isn't it, my fellow Americans. (Applause)

And how proud I am of the CWA for its work in the international field. A little earlier today I met with the delegates from Asia, many of the delegates who are here from South Vietnam, delegates from Latin America, and several other countries.

I recall in particular our friends from Brazil. (Applause) Delegates from Asia and I recall in particular not only South Vietnam, but those many good friends who are here from Japan. (Applause) And

delegates, of course, from the countries of Europe. They are here today from Sweden, ~~and~~ from Germany and from Berlin. I was in those countries, some of them, just a short time ago and it is just wonderful to know the good work that is being undertaken and accomplished by CWA in building international understanding and in building the free trade union movement in Asia, ~~and~~ Latin America, and Africa, ~~and~~ helping to strengthen that movement in Europe, because, put it down in your notebook today, my fellow Americans, you can't have a free country without a free labor movement. They go together. (Applause)

Well, it was 17 years ago that I got at you last. (Laughter) It was out in St. Paul. I was a freshman United States Senator then. I remember on that occasion we reviewed some of the activities that had taken place in the Twin Cities at that time.

You remember the very difficult labor dispute, the strike, the labor-management dispute, of 1947. I was Mayor of Minneapolis then. It was hard going in more ways than one. I look down here and see a few smiles on the faces of some of my fellow Minnesotans. That was when they had the first what we call "live-in" out my way. The supervisory people were living in the office and were running the telephone exchange.

The courthouse was just across the street. As the mayor, I had to take some action. A few of you may remember what that action was. Naturally, I ruled that a telephone exchange is not a hotel or a motel. (Laughter and applause) I said politely and courteously, "If you want to run a hotel, you will have to apply for a license." (Laughter)

Well, things worked out all right. I think one of the outstanding achievements of this great segment of Organized Labor is your splendid Labor-Management record, and you have obtained this record, you have attained it, without the sacrifice of your rights or without the sacrifice of your economic and social gains.

This is a good, strong, active, progressive, reaching-out, growing, building, Labor organization, and that is the kind we need. (Applause)

You have got this get up and go that is necessary. As the young people say, you want to be and you are where the action is.

I know what your goals are. We were talking about them earlier today. Here you are almost a half million members now. You have the goal of 750,000 members by 1970. You have the goal of 1,250,000 members by 1975. By the way, I want you to invite me back in 1975. I want to check up on you and see if you are doing it. (Applause)

Don't worry about whether I am in public office or not. I will still be able to travel. (Laughter)

Speaking of that, you know, I understand my friend Joe Beirne was just reelected. What a pleasant thought. (Laughter and applause)

I strongly endorse the whole proposition of reelection for Presidents and Vice Presidents-- (Laughter and applause)--of the CWA--(laughter)-- and the U. S. A. (Laughter)

Well, over the years I have been called many things. Some I liked. Some I did not. But after having visited Mr. Truman, I remember what he used to say: If you can't take the heat, get out of the kitchen. (Laughter) I want to be there, in the kitchen, heat and all.

I have been accused of being pro-Labor.

I guess I ought to confess: I plead guilty. (Applause) In fact, I am proud of it, because I think when you analyze the record of the American Trade Union Movement, you will see that it is a pretty fine record that has contributed immeasurably to the progress of this nation, economically and socially and politically.

Yes, I am proud of it. But I can say with

equal candor that I am also pro-freedom. And I am pro-free enterprise. I think you do better under that kind of system. (Applause)

But above all, what a man ought to be in this country is pro-people. And I mean just people, not certain kinds of people; not just people that look like you or look like me; not just people that are from one section of the country or another section of the country; not just white people; not just colored people or black people. Just pro-people.

I long for the day when we will speak of each other in this country in just one way: Citizens of the United States of America. (Applause)

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We are going to build a better country and a better America. Our work has only begun. We haven't even scratched the surface of what we can do. I don't have much patience with those who seem to feel that you can slow everything down or that you can move just one segment of the society ahead of another at the expense of another. You can't do that. You have to move the whole country forward, get the country moving and keep it moving forward.

If you stand still in these days, you lose ground. If the Labor Movement stands still, it loses ground. What I like about the CWA above all is the fact that it understands that progress is absolutely essential if you are going to maintain your position of leadership.

President Johnson understands exactly how I feel about the Labor Movement. I want you to know that he made some comments about it the other day. I was going to speak to a segment of the Labor Movement in Washington. The Building Trades Conference was there, but I had to check into the hospital for some minor repairs just about the time that I had promised to be at that

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meeting. The President went on over and spoke to the gathering and told what went on over at the hospital, and I thought I ought to relate to you the account as it was given to me as the President stated it to the Building Trades Conference. Here is how he described my hospital experience: He said, "Naturally, the first thing the Vice President wanted to know was did the doctor have a union card." (Laughter) I can tell you he did. "Then he inquired as to whether or not the operating room was an open or closed shop." (Laughter)

And finally the President said, "The Vice President insisted on double-checking to be sure his room number was not 14 (b)".

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

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: But I will let you in on it -- I have never been for 14 (b) ~~(Laughter)~~

(APPLAUSE)

I can report to you that the hospital was not only well organized because it was, but the workmanship was good, too. (Laughter) The repairs were made. I am back in shape, so just lean back. (Laughter and applause)

Now I have been telling you a little bit about our past. You do not want to hear about that. This is a young union, young of heart and spirit, and young in its membership. I think one of the most ^{WEARISOME} ~~wearysome~~ things that happens these days is when some of us get up and start telling about everything we have done. I have watched my own sons and daughters sort of yawn, you know.

I have to tell you, my youngest son is a freshman in college. I have been trying to tell that young fellow for a long period of time about the depression, trying to impress ^{UPON OUR} ~~new young~~ youngsters how you ought to work and shape up and what dad had to do and so on. I hate to admit it, but I don't think I was doing too well. I got ^A ~~A~~ frantic telephone call about three months ago from this young fellow. He had to ^{WRITE} ~~give~~ a term paper. He said, "Say, dad, can you give me some help?"

I thought, well, it is money. (Laughter). I said, "What jam are you in now?"

He said, "No, no." He said, "I have got a job. I am doing all right in the money department, but," he said, "I want you to give me some help. Can you give me some help? Will you help me out and tell me something about that depression that you used to talk about all the time?"

I said, "good grief, Doug, I have told you about that one hundred and one times."

He said, "I have to write a term paper on it."

I said, "But I have told you about it."

He said, "Yes, dad, but I never listened and now I have to write a term paper." (Laughter)

It does not do too much good to talk about the yesterdays. I am and I know you are far more interested in the battles that lie ahead than in the past victories. I want to talk to you not about the battles we have won. We have been in some good ones; we have won some and lost some. Frankly, I like to win them better than I like to lose them. I have tried both.

Some people say you can build a lot of character in defeat. My dear friends, I will let you

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in on a big trade secret -- you can build every bit as much character on victory and it is much less painful.

We need to talk about the tomorrows, the future. That is what concerns us, the present and the future; the past is prologue -- it is over. Sometimes we would like to relive it but I am not sure that we really would on second thought.

My good friend Joe Beirne has been doing a lot of thinking and talking about the future. So is this organization. I remember what you put out through your Research Department. May I commend you for the fine research that you do, for your educational programs, your political action programs. It is good citizenship.

Your President, for example, has urged as one of the thoughts of the future that education be made available, free, to every boy and girl in America who wants it all the way on up to the graduate school level. That is thinking about the future, and it is not an impossible dream. It is the kind of thinking that this country needs. (Applause)

Joe Beirne has called for a minimum gauranteed annual income for every American. That is not a pipe

dream. This is a man who dares to look to the tomorrows.

As you may know, the President of the United States has now appointed a special commission to take a good, frank look into this very proposal and to come out with recommendations and proposals that will meet that objective.

Our objective -- what is it in this country today? What are we trying to do? Just to get bigger and richer?

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Bigness is not greatness; territory does not make a nation; wealth does not make for character or even power. The real question is what are you going to do, or what are we going to do with this wealth, this power, and these riches that we have. That is the question. What is our primary objective? Well, we often say freedom, but freedom means something else. It means more than just being free to do as you want. It means responsibilities, too. It ^{also} carries with it ~~also~~ justice, fair play, and, above all, it carries with it opportunity.

A man hasn't much freedom if he is ignorant. "You cannot be both ignorant and free," said Thomas Jefferson, "you have to make a choice." You are not very free if you are the victim of religious bigotry or racial discrimination. You are not very free if you are the victim of abject poverty, and you are not free if you are the victim of disease that tears away your life.

So, freedom takes on new meanings when we get ^{down to} the specifics. Freedom must mean, above all else, an opportunity for every American -- every man his chance;

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every man the right to live and the right to work and to make something of himself. That is what this country is all about. That is what America is all about. That is what we need to project to the world. We need to have the world understand that if, by chance, we are wealthy, it is a by-product of what we really seek to do. If per chance we are mighty and powerful, it is a by-product of trying to build a society of social justice, because what is really important is what happens to people. I remember what Franklin Roosevelt told this nation -- and I only paraphrase it -- he said it is not the purpose of government to add to those who already ^{have} ~~had~~ too much, but it is the duty of government to help those have enough who already have too little. (Applause) Now that is what we mean by justice. (Applause)

So, I not only believe in a government and in a system which provides opportunity and education as the key to that opportunity, but I believe that our rich nation can and must assure to those unable to work, unable through no fault of their own, who are unable to

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find jobs through no fault of their own -- we must be able to assure them enough income to provide the essentials of life and human dignity. You see, Joe, I have been doing a little thinking about the future, too, because I hope to my dying day that I am a restless man. We Americans can never afford to rest our case on yesterday's achievements. The records of production, the records of economic benefit, the records of progress that we have made for yesterday are only a base ^{upon} ~~on~~ which we build for tomorrow. I generally reach out when I am talking to ~~these~~ high school or college graduating classes to the year 2000. By the way, it is not too far away; it kind of ^{scares} ~~threatens~~ you. We are in the last third of this ^{century} ~~^~~ [^] Three-fourths of the people in this room will see the year 20000. Think of it -- you will see the year 2000! ~~on a calendar, 20000!~~ The 21st Century! And what is that century going to look like? Well, the only way I can project it at all is to take a little look ahead and, like I said, I would like to look ahead to the year 2000. Let's take a look ahead in the next ten years, at least, because what we do in the next ten years will greatly affect what will happen in the years to come. We know

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something for sure about those next^{ten} years. This organization knows that the communication satellite will revolutionize communication in this world. You know that communication satellites will revolutionize education.

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As I have gone across this land this past month, talking to college graduating classes, I have reminded them in the next ten years we will be having our professors brought into classrooms from the communications satellites from a host of countries all around the world. Language will be translated instantaneously. The miracles of medicine, the transplant of human organs -- literally the removal or obsolescence of ^{VIRAL}~~viral~~ disease, all of this is possible within the next few years.

But there are some other things I would like to talk to you about, not just the miracles of science and technology, because whether we use it or abuse it will be up to us. Do not forget this for a moment. The same scientists that made the atom bomb that can destroy ~~man kind~~ ^{mankind}, are capable of making great achievements and great discoveries that can remove from mankind many of his burdens.

The question is one of morals and ethics. The question is, what are we going to do with this power? What are we going to do with this wealth? What are we going to do with this science? Are we going to destroy ourselves, debauch ourselves, or are we going to (in a sense) save ourselves? That is the question.

— A BONA FIDE REPORT —

I think every one of us in this room have a role to play. For example, I am deeply concerned in the few years ahead about the danger of electronic invasion of our privacy. (Applause)

There is nothing worse than a nation of cowards, other than a nation of snoopers. (Laughter and applause) You know better than anyone else the great potentialities in the invasion of privacy. Thank God you were the ~~first~~ among the first, to warn us of these dangers. (Applause)

This Administration has called for the outlawing of all wire tapping, public and private, wherever and whenever it occurs, with the one exception, when the security of this nation itself is at stake. It is about time we got at that, and we need your continuing help. (Applause)

We know that automation will be applied more and more throughout our economy, although I hope that it will not be applied in so far as the Presidency or Vice Presidency of this Union, or the United States. There is a place it has to stop. (Laughter)

— 3 ~~But~~ Automation can mean economic disaster to many workers if we do not handle it wisely. But if we work at it, as we are capable of doing, it can be a great blessing, a great boon to mankind, freeing people from drudgery, and from physical pain and work.

RECENTLY
I heard Thomas Watson, the President of the International Business Machines, ~~recently~~ speak in Washington, and had anybody from the labor movement made the same speech, I am afraid they would have been sharply criticized but he made a courageous speech. He said by the year 1976 -- not very far off -- we will be talking about a 30 hour and 25 hour work week. Then he posed the question: What do we do with the rest of the time?

That is part of our job, too, in the Union Movement today. I do not want to see our America have as its living memorial that when we gained more leisure, all we did was to look at the tube and erect ourselves a pile of beer cans as a monument. (Laughter and applause)

No, I think there are better things. By the way, I am not trying to reform you. (Laughter) My father was my inspiration in ~~my~~ life. My dad never ever told me in his life what time to go to bed. He never scolded me for staying out late. But he was the best getter-upper in the county. (Laughter) So I am not telling you what not to do. I am just saying there are better things, greater things, we can do. These are the things we have to watch closely and act wisely upon.

Now let us take a look at some of the decisions we are going to have to make ahead. Every mother and father in this room is worried and you know it. You are worried about war. You are worried about the Mideast, and you are worried about Southeast Asia. And you should be. These are perilous

days, dangerous days; yet, they are the greatest days man has ever known, filled with unknown dangers and filled with unknown wonders. And these are the days that require people of capacity, of education and of determination.

The fighting is going to stop one of these days, my dear friends. I wish I could tell you when. I cannot say when that fighting in Viet Nam will stop, but just as surely as I am on this platform, it will stop.

May I say it will stop with a South Viet Nam remaining free and with communist aggression having been checked and stopped in its tracks. (Applause)

Our country has had to face tough decisions in these postwar periods before; but we have not always made the right decisions. That is what I want to talk to you about.

There may be a few people here--and I am looking out over this audience, and there are not very many, but there may be a few--who remember what happened after World War I. A major political party

campaigned on the slogan "Back to Normalcy" and it won hands down. Did we ever pay for that slogan. We paid by a great depression and a second world war.

Now that same kind of thing happened at the end of the Korean War. The people in charge did not actually say "Back to Normalcy". They changed the lyrics a little, but the tune was the same. They acted on that basis.

We were spending about 14 to 15 per cent of our Gross National Product on that war, the Korean War. Today we are spending less than 10 per cent for defense, all of our defense, and about 3 per cent of our Gross National Product for the war in Viet Nam.

But I take you back to those days after Korea, when the peace came. What did we do with it? We had the chance. We had the chance to channel our resources that had gone into the war into the building of the peace. Tragically, we missed that chance. You know we did.

What was the temper of the times? It was to cut the budget, to cut taxes, no new starts. I

remember I used to characterize it this way: "No, no, go slow. Not now. Veto." That is the way it was. (Laughter and applause)

Our cities were in trouble before Korea, and they got sicker after Korea, and nothing was done. Poor, untrained people came rushing into our cities, and the slums grew bigger, filthier, dirtier and more delapidated and more unfit to live in, and little or nothing was done.

Money went into luxury hotels, money that could have gone into schools, desperately needed schools.

We were faced with some choices. What should it be, a new wing for a country club or ~~a~~ decent family housing for the poor? The country voted for the country club.

What should it be, a second or third car for an already prosperous family, or first-rate health care for the children of the slums? You know what the answer was. Those were some of the questions before us, and we gave the wrong answers.

I mention this, my dear friends, because

we are still paying for those wasted years after Korea in every American neighborhood where children are growing up without first-class education. We are paying wherever there are children without good health. And we are paying wherever there are communities without adequate housing or equal opportunity.

We are paying for those wrong decisions and wrong answers, with violence and crime in the streets. May I ask this Union to do something? I want you to pledge the resources and the ability and the intellect and the quality of this Union in every community in which you live, to upholding the law, to seeing to it first of all that the conditions of social justice prevail in your community, so there will be respect for the law--that is number one. (Applause)

And, number two, may I ask you to recognize that you cannot tolerate violence, lawlessness and riots and have a free country and have one in which there is opportunity for every American? You just can't have it. (Applause)

Mothers and daughters have a right to be

able to walk our streets, gentlemen, without fear. A park should be a place of luxury and of accommodation, of meditation, of pleasure, of recreation. It should not be a trap for assault and battery. The parks of American ought to be oases of freedom and respectability and happiness and recreation. See that it is that way in your town. Back up your people who try to make it that way. Help your government in Washington, which is trying to do something to strengthen our police departments, to improve the quality of police service, to improve the training of our police officers, to recruit more and better people for our police departments, to provide adequate salaries and working conditions for our police officers, and to have some respect for that badge. (Applause)

Let me just say right now the people that have the greatest stake in what I am saying are the poor people themselves. The first victim of the riot is the Negro in the slum area. He continues to be the victim of inadequate care, inadequate housing, inadequate protection and inadequate opportunity.

Ladies and gentlemen, sometimes, if you wonder why people act the way they do, just put yourselves in their position for a moment, if you can. Then maybe some answers will come to you.

Yes, we have lost a lot of time, friends. Can we learn from history, or are we just condemned to repeat the same old mistakes?

When peace comes in Viet Nam, what choices are you going to make? What choices will America make? Your President and your Vice President and the people in this administration are planning today for peace tomorrow. We are ready. A Cabinet level committee has been on the job, putting together, working out a program for postwar Viet Nam, for America. We need your help. We need your thinking. We need your plans.

Don't rely on your government to do your thinking for you. You do your thinking for the government, and pass it along. That is the way a country like ours ought to operate. (Applause)

But it really doesn't matter how well you design a program or a machine. It won't work

unless you can plug in the power. The "power" I am talking about is the money, the money voted and appropriated by the Congress for investment in America's future. That is what counts.

So let us get down to cases. Will this Congress, the 90th Congress, the one you are dealing with right now, rise to the opportunity? Will it meet its obligations? Or are we going to have a result from this Congress that reminds one of the days of the 80th Congress?

I think the votes are there in that Congress. I think the votes are there to keep America moving ahead. But you are going to have to speak up.

My fellow Americans, I don't know all the answers to our problems. If I did, I wouldn't be here today. I wouldn't have the time. But I do know that the Congress of the United States will heed the voice of the American people, if the people speak out clearly and plainly, so that they cannot be misunderstood. I know something else. If you speak out clearly, so that you cannot be misunderstood, and then the Congress doesn't listen, you have

a chance to have them hear the final word in November, 1968. (Applause)

We need voices in this country that are speaking up and that make the message crystal clear that we want just one thing: We want a better and a freer America, and we are willing to pay the price.

There are no free rides. Freedom is not free and progress is not cheap.

The choice is ours. Do you want the brave young men who are in Viet Nam today, many of them the children of our city and rural slums, to return to the same old slums, only worse by the years that they have been away? Is that what you are going to offer them? We can't do that, friends.

Do you want our Negro American veterans to be told once more, "Move to the back of the opportunity bus. Get to the back of the job line. Get to the back of the self-respect bus?" You are not going to get by with it, my dear friends.

You cannot ask a large number of people to lay down their lives in a far away country to live

and die as Americans, and then bring them home and treat them as if they were second-rate citizens. It can't be done. (Applause)

But I am here to tell you that we can have an America that is worthy of them. We can have a land that is worthy and fit for heroes, if we want it deeply enough, if we think and act big enough.

So let us start to think and act big. Let us think about the kind of America we can build with \$20 billion to \$30 billion that we can save with peace. Gee, just think of that. Just think of what we can do with \$20 billion a year from peace in Viet Nam.

lr Think about what you could do with the seven to nine billion dollar increased revenues that come in every year because of the growth and the expansion of this economy. We have got a growing economy. We have got a growing proposition here.

Yes, my good friends, we could even have tax cuts with that kind of situation. But what is important is that we invest in a better America and the dividends will come rolling in -- dividends of health, dividends of social justice, dividends of tranquility, dividends of economic progress -- unbelievable dividends. Just think about what it could mean.

Let's not demobilize our social conscience at the same time we may be able to demobilize some of our forces after the war in Vietnam.

As for myself, well, I plan to take a leaf from your trade union book, and I plan to do something some of the folks have been doing to me. I plan to do a little picketing of my own. So get ready to join, friends. I have been on the receiving end of some of these pickets a lot lately. I am not going to throw

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any eggs. I am just going to carry a sign, that is all. I am going to carry a placard, and it is going to say, "Better Schools -- I am willing to pay. Follow me." And I am going to look back from time to time to see who is following me or who is ducking into the high grass or the side streets. I am going to be checking ~~up~~.

I tried that once before, you know. After Korea I said, "Come on, let's do things in the country." Ladies and gentlemen, I wonder how many demonstrations there will be in America when that day of peace comes? I wonder if there will be the same fervor in America for some of the things we need to do at home and abroad as I see some places now as they seek to influence American public opinion not to do our duty as we see it on the international front.

I can think of some other placards, too:
"Better homes; better neighborhoods, and better health."

There is another sign I am going to raise, too: "More aid to the needy, not just at home, but abroad," waging war on poverty in hammer blows ~~and waging war on poverty~~ and war on hunger abroad, for while we are talking about better neighborhoods, don't

32 forget for a single moment that with modern communications, of which you are an integral part, this world of ours is becoming a single great neighborhood. What happens in the Middle East, my dear friends, in the next few weeks and months, is much more important than anything that is going to happen in the Middlewest. Your lives are going to be affected by that. What happens in Southeast Asia, my friends from Minnesota, is much more important than what happened in Southeast Minneapolis.

This is a small world today, and it is being constricted every day by communications. Our young men are at war today thousands of miles from home because we know that one part of that neighborhood cannot be left to lawlessness and terror, and the other parts remain safe.

You workers in the communications field know that. But I think it is far better to prevent wars than to wage them, and that is where foreign aid, that is where high-powered diplomacy comes into being. That is what we mean when we say that we are out to help on the international front, in agriculture, health, education, economic aid and technical aid, waging the peace, building peace.

4r Remember what the Scriptures say. They don't say, "Blessed are the peace-talkers, the peace-walkers, or the peace pickets." What the Scriptures say is, "Blessed are the peace-makers" -- the doers, and you build peace through education, through economic development.

Pope Paul VI said that, "Development is the new name of peace." Development is the new name for peace, and it takes time; it takes perseverance.

Now, these are some of the challenges, as I see it. One of my favorite heroes -- and while I am not of his faith, he yet remains my hero -- is that late and beloved peasant priest, Pope John XXIII, who taught us so much. And, my dear fellow Americans, that believe in peace and long for that day, remember this: This blessed man of spirit said, "Where there is constant want, there is no peace; ~~where there is constant want,~~ ~~there is no peace;~~ Where there is poverty, there is no justice. Where there is prejudice, there is no justice."

These are our challenges, and these are the

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opportunities, and these are the decisions which will confront us when peace breaks out. This will be our rendezvous with conscience, and if we do not tire or sit back in self-satisfaction, I predict this can be our greatest victory yet--a victory which ^{will} break this country out into the bright sunlight of what it can be and what it ought to be; of what it stands for for all of the huddled, and helpless and, at times, hopeless people of this world.

I leave you with this thought: We can make America no more and no less than what ^{we} ~~you~~ teach ^{our} ~~your~~ children to say about it. And this is what they say every day in school as they take that pledge to the flag of the United States and to the republic for which it stands. Now, listen to every word, because if there is ever a penetrating phrase that means something to this generation it is this. Woe unto ye hypocrites; we either believe it or we don't. We either act in the spirit of the belief or we should quit repeating it, and here is what we say -- and I ask this question: Do you mean it? I think you do, but I want you to make that decision yourself.

6r "I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

Ladies and gentlemen, not two nations, white and black, North or South, not one nation under the dollar sign, but under God. Not one nation divided, but indivisible. Not a nation with liberty for some and justice for a few, but a nation indivisible, one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

I submit to you that ~~that~~ is more sound political doctrine, more sound social doctrine than you can put together in a few words, no matter how hard you try. I hope that will be our creed, not only for today, but for years to come, and I hope that this flag ~~that~~ ^{standing} ~~stands~~ here before you today will be what Woodrow Wilson asked of it, not to be only the flag of America, but to be the flag of humanity. That is its destiny, to represent hope and promise, to represent justice and freedom, not merely to represent a nation or a territory, but to represent the cause of mankind.

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Thank you very much.

... The delegation, and guests and visitors
arose and there was prolonged applause, cheers and
whistles ...

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PRESIDENT BEIRNE: From the most generous and most vocal way in which you acted, I know I need not in your behalf say "thank you" to the Vice President of the United States. You have said it in a wonderful way to him.

There are two things, however, I would like to ^{add} ~~partake in~~. ^{FIRST} ~~One is~~ on behalf of whomever may be the President of the Communications Workers in the year 1975, in his name, ~~to say that~~ this Union will be honored in 1975 by the attendance of the President of the United States. (Applause)

Mine is not a political expression. It is a real true, honest hope that I express in that remark.

The second matter is that we expected ~~for awhile~~ his lovely wife, Mrs. Muriel Humphrey, to be with us. She could not come. But I would want you to know, having met her in a business way, and ^{WORKED WITH her} on a number of committees, ^{to understand} it is very easy ~~and very quickly that you can determine~~ why Vice President Hubert Humphrey is not only energetic and loquacious, but why he has that real deep abiding concern for human beings. For if ever there is a wonderful lady with all the qualities of greatness, tempered



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