



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

TUESDAY PM 13
MAY 28, 1968

REMARKS
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS'
UNION CONVENTION
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY
MAY 28, 1968

These past few days have been full ones for me: moving across the country...making speeches...counting birthday candles...and convention delegates. They have been mighty good days, too.

I bring to this union especially the greetings of a man I visited Saturday in Independence, Missouri. When I told him I was going to be here with you today, he said "Tell them hello. They're my kind of people." Then he gave me some advice. You know what it was.

Nobody ever captured so completely the real spirit of the people of this country...and won our warm love in return...as Harry S. Truman.

I have been following...as closely as I could from a distance...the proceedings of your Convention.

You heard last Saturday one of the most moving addresses in the history of this Union...by probably the most "moving"...get-it-done...President in the history of this Nation.

He said it: The difference that counts in the life of this country today...in making the lives of the people of this country better...is the difference between talking...and doing.

That goes for Lyndon Johnson...and there are five years of almost unbelievable doing to prove it.

That goes for Louis Stulberg and this Union...and there are a record 451,000 members now...enjoying the unparalleled benefits of over 2000 collective bargaining agreements...to prove it.

And that goes for me. I've been doing things all my life and I'm ready to do some more.

We know that action takes its real meaning from its purpose -- from the ideals that inspire it and the vision that guides it.

We know, too, that we are on course today toward our highest American ideals and vision...the course set in these past seven years under the leadership of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

"Let us begin," John Kennedy said almost eight years ago.

And here on Saturday...eight years later...eight years that have seen the most remarkable growth in any nation's history...not just in the gross national product of this country...but in the well being of its people...

--over 12 million rising above poverty,

--over 10 million more men and women at work,

--a 60 percent increase in the minimum wage,

--and 9 million more people covered,

--over 2 million more young Americans in college,

--civil rights established, and civil results coming,

--Medicare,

--and 200 other human welfare measures enacted,

...after all of this a President looks back over it and reports "We have just begun."

Yes, we have just begun.

But we do know -- all of us here -- where we're going. We do know now -- all of us here -- what we want. We are properly reminded that the question...the question of the doer...is How.

There are four pieces to the answer -- four pieces which you and I have to put together in 1968.

Place number one is to elect...again...enough of the kind of men and women we had in Congress...and in State and local offices...in 1965 and 1966. The "how" of social progress

in America depends on a lot more than the Presidency.

Number two is to start right now to plan...to prepare... to get ready for what comes after Vietnam.

Peace will come in Vietnam. Are we clear what we will do then...with the victory of peace?

In 1954...after Korea...the meaning of peace in the world was recession and retreat in America. We will not let that happen again.

It would be wrong -- shamefully wrong -- if a cease-fire order in Vietnam meant a cease-work order in the factories in America. That must not be.

It would be wrong -- criminally wrong -- if young men who fought from an integrated bunker in Khe Sanh came back to live in a segregated slum in an American city. That must not be.

The third piece of our answer is this: America has to decide to invest in our most underdeveloped resource -- the millions of under-fed, under-clothed, under-educated, under-employed. The stress is on invest because until now we have too often been penny-wise and people foolish -- readier to pay vast amounts for relief, for hospital care, for jails...than to make the human investment that would have prevented those costs...and the human tragedy that goes with them.

We think in terms of investment when we plan for the development of our natural resources...our business enterprise... the development of technology...the exploration of space.

But most of our thinking about human development is on a current cost basis -- the cost, too often, of not making the investment we could have made.

Every penny we invest to bring health to our sick, education to our untrained, jobs to our jobless, will come back a hundred-fold to the enrichment of America.

We must wisely put the great wealth of this land to work to develop the underdeveloped millions whose hands and whose minds will bring new greatness to America.

We have the wealth. We know the way. What we need in 1968 is a national decision to invest more now to achieve the quality of life we want later.

And the fourth piece of our answer is unity ...unity of purpose -- unity of determination...unity of faith in America -- and the enormous power that goes with it.

By my oath under the Constitution, I am pledged to help "form a more perfect union." I intend to do exactly that. I intend to do whatever is in my limited power to unite -- not divide -- this nation, to make a union that will embrace black people and white people, Northerners and Southerners, businessmen and workers, yes, old people and the young.

And I intend to hear from a million of them in the months ahead -- not as members of separate groups...not as statistics... but as individual citizens. I intend to hear from you.

I shall hold a series of campaign forums in cities and towns around our country at which individual citizens and community leaders will be invited to give me their views and policy suggestions. There will be between two and five thousand volunteers administering these campaign forum programs, and I shall personally attend as many of them as I can.

What message will we hear when a million ordinary Americans have a chance to speak up? Division?...Uncertainty?...Hatred?... Despair?

I doubt it.

We are going to hear impatience, yes -- impatience with poverty and discrimination...impatience with the uncertain place of the individual in a society of bigness...impatience with a world that has known too much of war.

PAGE 5

But I think we are also going to hear high purpose expressed in the language and hopes of mothers and fathers, grand-parents and students, rich and poor -- individual Americans.

I think we are going to hear confidence...determination... commitment.

I think we are going to see America stand up and say, "Yes! One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

"It can be done. We'll do it."

#

Emily Dubrow
Bruce Tyler

President Louis Stulberg
Honorary Pres. David Dubinsky
V.P. Luigi Antonini
REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

"Beesbe"

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION CONVENTION

ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY

MAY 28, 1968

~~451,000 members~~

38 States

P. Rico

Canada

Resolutions

OMIT IN RELEASE

I accept.

President Stulberg, Honorary President Dubinsky, First

Vice President Luigi Antonini, fellow trade unionists ... and fellow schools

Democrats:

Thank you from the bottom of my heart.

You didn't even wait to hear what I had to say.

But I guess you know what I'm going to do -- with your help --

We shall open!
and that's what counts.

Endorsed me!

A Sunshine of your Friendship
your support
your Trust!

It's going to be another great Democratic year in America.
And another great year for the ILGWU. !!

(Y) L You know I meant that "fellow trade unionists." I got my
union card when I was Mayor of Minneapolis ... from the
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. -1947

Got
my
Union
Card.

(X) L Yes, sir! I am the first member of the ILGWU to be elected
Vice President of the United States. But that isn't good enough for
this union!

L I hope you will agree, Luigi ... there's one too many Vice
Presidents around here. One of us has got to go. And everybody
loves you so much that I'm going to make the sacrifice.

Dave (K) Dave, if you're going to be an Honorary President ... I refuse
to be just a plain ex-Vice President. [We've been through too much
together. You are one of the grandest trade unionists I've ever known.

L And you're one of the few fellows in the world who gets as much fun
out of life as I do.

*Honorary
Full fledged
American!*

Anybody who can do as much as you do and laugh as much
as you laugh isn't just an Honorary President of the ILGWU. He's
an Honorary American -- and that's the way we think of you.

and Louie I read that speech you made here last Thursday. I
sure like your politics! Yes, and I like your way of doing business!

↳ You called yourself, last Thursday, a "rookie President." I
know better, and so does everybody in this hall, You're a pro from
the word go, and this union and this country are mighty lucky to
have you in here pitching.

↳ When it comes to "rookie Presidents" ... well, I'll be seeing you
around next season ... and the next ... and the next ... and for a
long time. !

↳ But Luigi, and all other Vice Presidents here today ... I
want to take up one piece of unfinished vice-presidential business.

L I understand there was talk here last Saturday about a new union -- the AURP -- American Union for Retired Presidents. And I suppose that if Lyndon Johnson and Dave Dubinsky want something ... well, they're probably going to get it. They always do.!

L So I've got another idea. Since everybody's organizing ... ~~from Honorary Presidents to labor union working stiffs (and who do they think they are?) ... I say why not~~ ^{organize} ~~vice-presidents.~~ ^{There are no many of us.}

and L Our seniority clauses are terrible ... ~~especially on promotions.~~ ^{Seniority clause!} I don't even have one.!

What's more, we haven't ~~got~~ ^{any} a grievance procedure. Talk about management prerogatives! Why you ought to try working for one of these presidents. The only place we can take a gripe is to our wives ... and as all you ladies here know, wives need a union and a grievance machinery of their own.

So I say: Vice Presidents of the World: Unite! We have nothing to lose but our ... why we haven't anything to lose at all. Period!

Luigi,
But one other thing. When we do get that Vice Presidents' Union set up I'd sort of like to be its first Past President ... if it's all right with you.

START RELEASE

These past few days have been full ones for me: moving across the country ... making speeches ... counting birthday candles ... and convention delegates. They have been mighty good days, too!

I bring to this union especially the greetings of a man I visited Saturday in Independence, Missouri. When I told him I was going to be here with you today, he said "Tell them hello. They're my kind of people." Then he gave me some advice. You know what it was.

*about campaigning
and how to treat
the Republicans —*

1. Summary

∠ Nobody ever captured so completely the real spirit of the people of this country ... and won our warm love in return ... *Then respect and affection*
in return as Harry S. Truman.!

∠ I have been following ... as closely as I could from a distance ... the proceedings of your Convention.

∠ You heard last Saturday one of the most moving addresses in the history of this Union ... by probably the most "moving" ... get-it-done ... President in the history of this Nation. — *Lyndon Johnson*

He said it: The difference that counts in the life of this country today ... in making the lives of the people of this country better ... is the difference between talking ... and doing. |

∠ That goes for Lyndon Johnson ... and there are five years of almost unbelievable doing to prove it.

— *Doing Action!*

That goes for Louis Stulberg and this Union ... and there are a record 451,000 members now ... enjoying the unparalleled benefits of over 2000 collective bargaining agreements ... to prove it.

And that goes for me. I've been doing things all my life and I'm ready to do some more.

We know that action takes its real meaning from its purpose -- from the ideals that inspire it and the vision that guides it.

We know, too, that we are on course today toward our highest American ideals and vision ... the course set in these past seven years under the leadership of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

"Let us begin," John Kennedy said almost eight years ago.

And here on Saturday ... eight years later ... eight years that have seen the most remarkable growth in any nation's history ... not just in the gross national product of this country ... but in the well being of its people ...

Action
Course

- over 12 million rising above poverty,
- over 10 million more men and women at work,
- a 60 percent increase in the minimum wage,
- and 9 million more people covered,
- over 2 million more young Americans in college,
- civil rights established, and civil results coming,
- Medicare, ✓ *Expanded Social Security and new Social opportunity*,
- and 200 other human welfare measures enacted,

...after all of this a President looks back over it and reports

"We have just begun." —

↳ Yes, we have just begun.

But we do know -- all of us here -- where we're going. We do know now -- all of us here -- what we want. We are properly reminded that the question ... the question of the doer ... is How. — How to do more — How to do better

L There are four pieces to the answer -- four pieces which you and I have to put together in 1968.

1968

#1
89th
L Piece number one is to elect ... again ... enough of the kind of men and women we had in Congress ... and in State and local offices ... in 1965 and 1966. The "how" of social progress in America depends on a lot more than the Presidency.

Country

#2
L Number two is to start right now to plan ... to prepare ... to get ready for what comes after Vietnam.

L Peace will come in Vietnam. ^{But} Are we clear what we will do then ... with the victory of peace?

L In 1954 ... after Korea ... the meaning of peace in the world was recession and retreat in America. We will not let that happen again.

It would be wrong -- shamefully wrong -- if a cease-fire order in Vietnam meant a cease-work order in the factories in America.

~~That must not be.~~

It would be wrong - shamefully wrong - if a cease fire in Vietnam - meant a cease progress at home in America.

4/10 It would be wrong -- criminally wrong -- if young men who fought from an integrated bunker in Khe Sanh came back to live in a segregated slum in an American city. That must not be. !

#3 L The third piece of our answer is this: America has to decide to invest in our most underdeveloped resource - the millions of under-fed, under-clothed, under-educated, under-employed. The stress is on invest because until now we have too often been penny-wise and people foolish -- readier to pay vast amounts for relief, for hospital care, for jails ... than to make the human investment that would have prevented those costs ... and the human tragedy that goes with them.

L We think in terms of investment when we plan for the development of our natural resources ... our business enterprise ... the development of technology ... the exploration of space.

Investments!

and during this campaign I shall
speak up for America - and I shall
speak up for the people - I shall
speak of our hopes and dreams.
ever mindful of our problems
and difficulties - But if we
are to overcome the problems, we
must lead from strength -

- ✓ the strength of confidence in our
selves and
 - ✓ the strength of faith in our
system
 - ✓ the strength of idealism in
our heritage
 - ✓ the strength of ~~purpose~~ experience
 - ✓ the strength of achievement
- not despair, doubt, + fear!

↳ But most of our thinking about human development is on a current cost basis -- the cost, too often, of not making the investment we could have made.

Every penny we invest to bring health to our sick, education to our untrained, jobs to our jobless, will come back a hundredfold to the enrichment of America. (*man on the moon
man on his feet on Earth.*)

We must wisely put the great wealth of this land to work to develop the underdeveloped millions whose hands and whose minds will bring new greatness to America.

↳ We have the wealth. We know the way. What we need in 1968 is a national decision to invest more now to achieve the quality of life we want later.

#4 ↳ And the fourth piece of our answer is unity -- unity of purpose ... unity of determination ... unity of faith in America -- and the enormous power that goes with it.

←

Our more perfect union!

By my oath under the Constitution, I am pledged to help
"form a more perfect union." I intend to do exactly that. I intend
to do whatever is in my limited power to unite -- not divide -- this
nation, to make a union that will embrace black people and white
people, Northerners and Southerners, businessmen and workers,
yes, old people and the young.

And I intend to hear from a million of them in the months
ahead -- not as members of separate groups ... not as statistics ...
but as individual citizens. I intend to hear from you.

I shall hold a series of campaign forums in cities and towns
around our country at which individual citizens and community leaders
will be invited to give me their views and policy suggestions. There
will be ~~between two and five thousand~~ ^{several} volunteers administering these
campaign forum programs, and I shall personally attend as many of
them as I can.

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But I think we are also going to hear high purpose expressed in the language and hopes of mothers and fathers, grand-parents and students, rich and poor -- individual Americans.

I think we are going to hear confidence ... determination ... commitment.

I think we are going to see America stand up and say, "Yes! *we are* - One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

"It can be done. We'll do it." !

#

International Ladies Garment
Workers Union
May 28

READING COPY. NOT IN RELEASE

President Stulberg, Honorary President Dubinsky, First
Vice-President Luigi Antonini, fellow trade unionists . . . and
Fellow Democrats!

Thank you from the bottom of my heart.

It's going to be another great Democratic year in America.
And another great year for the ILGWU.

I guess you know I meant that "fellow trade unionists." I
got my union card when I was Mayor of Minneapolis . . . from the
International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

Yes, sir! I am the first member of the I L G W U to be
elected Vice-President of the United States. But that isn't good
enough for this union!

I hope you will agree, Luigi . . . there's one too many Vice
Presidents around here. One of us has got to go. And everybody
loves you so much that I'm going to make the sacrifice.

Dave, if you're going to be an Honorary President . . . I
refuse to be just a plain ex-Vice President. We've been through

too much together. You are one of the grandest trade unionists I've ever known. And you're one of the few fellows in the world who gets as much fund out of life as I do. Anybody who can do as much as you do and laugh as much as you laugh isn't just an Honorary President of the I L G W U. He's an Honorary American -- and that's the way we think of you.

Louie, I read that speech you made here last Thursday. I sure like your politics! Yes, and I like your way of doing business.

You called yourself, last Thursday, a "rookie President." I know better, and so does everybody in this hall. You're a pro from the word go, and this union and this country are mighty lucky to have you in here pitching.

When it comes to "rookie Presidents" ... well, I'll be seeing you around next season ... and the next ... and the next ... and for a long time.

But Luigi, and all other Vice-Presidents here today ... I want to take up one piece of unfinished vice-presidential business.

I understand there was talk here last Saturday about a new union -- the A U R P -- American Union for Retired Presidents. And I suppose that if Lyndon Johnson and Dave Dubinsky want something . . . well, they're probably going to get it. They always do.

So I've got another idea. Since everybody's organizing ... from Honorary Presidents to labor union working stiffs (and who do they think they are?) ... I say why not vice-presidents.

Our pay is OK, but you can't beat the hours. We work double time on holidays and week ends ... at no extra pay ... making captive speeches for somebody who didn't show up to captive audiences who wish they hadn't shown up either.

Our seniority clauses are terrible ... especially on promotions. I don't even have one.

What's more, we haven't got a grievance procedure. Talk about management prerogatives! Why you ought to try working for one of these presidents. The only place we can take a gripe is to our wives . . . and as all you ladies here know, wives need a union and a grievance machinery of their own.

So I say: Vice-Presidents of the World: Unite! We have nothing to lose but our . . . Why we haven't anything to lose at all. Period.

But one other thing: When we do get that Vice-President's Union set up I'd sort of like to be its first Past President . . . if it's all right with you.

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He said it: The difference that counts in the life of this country today ... in making the lives of the people of this country better ... is the difference between talking ... and doing.

That goes for Lyndon Johnson ... and there are five years of almost unbelievable doing to prove it.

That goes for Louis Stulberg and this Union ... and there are a record 451,000 members now ... enjoying the unparalleled benefits of over 2000 collective bargaining agreements ... to prove it.

Yes, and that goes for me ... and I can't wait to get started.

Sure, we know that action takes its real meaning from its purpose ... from the ideals that inspire it and the vision that guides it.

We know, too, that we are "on course" in this great country of ours ... the course set in these past seven years under the leadership of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

We know, too, their advice to us.

"Let us begin" John Kennedy said almost eight years ago.

And here on Saturday ... eight years later ... eight years that have seen the most remarkable growth in any nation's history ... not just in the gross national product of this country ... but in the well being of its people ...

over 12 million rising above poverty

over 10 million more men and women at work

a 60 percent increase in the minimum wage

and 10 million more people covered (CHECK)

_____ million more young Americans in college (CHECK)

civil rights established, and civil results coming

Medicare

and 200 other human welfare measures enacted.

... after all of this a President looks back over it and reports

"We have just begun."

We know Where we're going. We know now What we want. We are properly reminded that the question ... the question of the do-er ... is How.

The answer starts now... in this campaign ... in this election.

This election is about a lot more than the Presidency. It's about electing ... again ... enough of the kind of men and women we had in Congress ... and in State and local offices ... in 1965 and 1966.

And this campaign is about a lot more than the election. For it is the Nation that has to decide How we move forward now ... past the beginning.

I press with you here today one central, critical element in this decision.

We have been paying in this country ... and we are paying today ... enormous costs for the underdevelopment of our human resources.

We have been penny-wise and people foolish -- readier to pay vast amounts for relief, for hospital care, for jails ... than to make the human investment that would have prevented

those costs ... and the human tragedy that goes with them.

We think in terms of investment when we plan for the development of our natural resources ... our business enterprise ... the development of technology ... the exploration of space.

But all of our thinking about human development is on a current cost basis -- the costs, too often, of not making the investment we could have made.

We must determine in this year of decision to invest in our most underdeveloped resource: the millions of underfed, underclothed, under-educated, under-employed.

Every penny we invest to bring health to our sick, education to our untrained, jobs to our jobless, will come back a hundredfold to the enrichment of America.

We must wisely place the great wealth of this land to work to develop the underdeveloped millions whose hands and whose minds will bring new greatness to America.

We have the wealth. We know the way. We need the will.

When I say, "we," I mean the millions who make up this great "union," we, the people of the United States.

By my oath under the Constitution, I am pledged to help "form a more perfect union." I intend to do exactly that. I intend to do whatever is in my limited power to unite -- not divide -- this nation, to make a union that will embrace black and white, North and South, management and labor -- yes, old and young.

We can find the way if we have the will to face these problems as one people -- and not as warring sects, ages, races, classes. By acting in union we can make this a more perfect union, so that once more "this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, so that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from this earth."

Transcript of the Vice President's remarks

I.L.G.W.U.
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY
May 28, 1968

I've been having some busy days myself, moving across this country, making a few speeches, counting birthday candles, and even counting convention delegates. These have been mighty good days, my friends.

I had a wonderful privilege just his past week end, Saturday. I was in Kansas City, Missouri, and I got in the car and we drove on over to Independence, Missouri, where I was privileged to sit for an hour in wonderful conversation, talking to one of the greatest of the great, the man that stood up when he needed to stand up, the man that had the courage when his country needed courage, and the man who called them as he saw them -- Harry S. Truman, from Independence.

No one ever so completely captured the spirit of this country, and no one ever won so fully the respect and the affection of the American people as this man that I've referred to, the courageous one, the determined one, the fearless one -- Harry Truman -- my kind of man.

You heard last Saturday one of the finest addresses ever given by a President of the United States. It was a moving address, and it came from a man that's a mover and a doer. It came from a "get-it-done" President, and I think one of the most effective "get-it-done", moving Presidents that this country has ever had, the man that I stood alongside of these four years and worked with -- President Johnson.

And I think you'll remember his emphasis. He said it wasn't just the rhetoric or the talking. It's the doing that counts. And he went on to say that it was the doing sometimes by people that you've never even heard of, that never got their name in the papers, by ordinary American citizens who believe in this country, who believe in social progress, who keep working. Sometimes their main

work is to go to that ballot box and vote for the kind of leadership that keeps the country moving forward. That's the kind of a message you heard.

And this wonderful President has had five years of almost unbelievable doing -- on the job, taking every kind of abuse, being condemned and criticized from every side. But he has stood there like the man that I mentioned before, Harry Truman. The two of them are cut out of the same cloth! Both of them unafraid, both of them putting their country above their popularity, both of them putting principle above their own personal ambition. And I say to you that this country is fortunate to have two such men in such perilous times as Mr. Truman and Mr. Johnson.

You build a country just the way you build a union, and you build a union just the way you build a country: you set your goals, you get the leadership, you go on out and earn the respect and the support of the membership, and then you go to work.

And I've watched what's happened in this union throughout all of its years of history. The tremendous leadership that you've had -- the leadership of Dave Dubinsky and now the leadership of Lou Stulberg. And look what's happening to this union. A record of over 450,000 members now enjoying unparalleled, unequalled benefits of over 2,000 collective bargaining agreements, which proves what I said.

You've been doers. You're getting the job done for your people.

Many people never read about those collective bargaining contracts. They're concluded peacefully even though with hard work and sacrifice. And that's the way it is in this country. Most of the good things that are done come by the hard, personal sacrificial work of a number of our great citizens and some of

our less-than-great citizens, who do their job, every day, who have great faith in this country and who do not underestimate our problems.

My friends, I've been trying to do a few things in my life, too. You've recited some of them in your resolution of endorsement, for which I'm exceedingly grateful. You've honored me far beyond what a man deserves.

Yes, I've been doing things all of my life, doing some things that some people didn't like, but some things that needed to be done. And I want to let you in on something. I'm ready to do a whole lot more. If we'll work together, we can get this job done.

I read as I came into this Assembly, this hall, about our COPE, the political action arm of the labor movement. It's getting things done. And it's not getting things done just for organized labor. It's getting things done for everybody in America.

The labor movement has not asked for special treatment in this country. The labor movement has asked for one thing: the right to bargain, the right to organize, the right to make something better for its membership. And the labor movement has fought for every program, domestic and foreign, that has been good for the prosperity and the security of this nation.

That's why I'm proud to have the endorsement of organized labor.

And you ought to be encouraged and heartened, because the candidates that COPE is endorsing are coming through. And all I want you to do is to do the same thing for me that you've been doing for some of these candidates that you've endorsed for Congress, and for the United States Senate.

And, my fellow Americans, if we stand together, if we work together, there isn't anything that we can't do for the good of this country. We can do it, and I'll be honored to march arm in arm with you throughout this land in the cause of social justice and social progress, which has been the cause of this union.

We've been on the right course. We've been on the right course towards our highest American ideals and visions. And that course has been set in these past seven years under great and determined leadership. I've had a chance to be a part of that leadership team.

That course of new direction, of opening up new frontiers, of helping to build a great and a better society has had the leadership of two of the most gifted men of our time: first the beloved, the articulate, the dramatic President John F. Kennedy; and now that hardworking, constructive President Lyndon Johnson.

Almost eight years ago this country was in the doldrums. Your Union was having problems; unemployed workers. The management was having problems trying to keep a profit sign in the ledger books.

And then eight years ago, John F. Kennedy said, "Let's get this country moving again. Let us begin."

We did start. We did begin, and we got this country moving again. When the mantle of leadership was taken from him by the cruel assassin's bullet, there was a man ready there to take up where President Kennedy left off. And he didn't say, "Let's scuttle what we've done." He didn't spend his time telling the American people that the previous years, the almost three years of John Kennedy's leadership had been for nought.

Lyndon Johnson, when he became President, said, "John Kennedy said 'Let us begin.'" And Lyndon Johnson said, "Let us continue." And Hubert Humphrey says, "Give me a chance and let's move forward."

And here we are almost eight years later, eight years that have really seen the most remarkable record of economic growth in our nation's history, and not just the growth of the gross national product of this country, but growth and improvement in the well-being of its people.

As Thomas Jefferson once said, the only legitimate objective of government is the health, the happiness, and the well-being of the people. And that's what we've been working on.

And there are far too many fellow Americans who have not kept their eye on this record. Remember, that you have made it possible in a very large measure for these two great presidents, Kennedy and Johnson, to serve and to lead this country. And you have helped make it possible for a Congress, particularly that dramatic 89th Congress, to do what was almost the impossible.

Over 12 million of our fellow Americans have been lifted out of the swamp and the despair of poverty so that they can stand today as self-respecting dignified, earning citizens in this country. I submit to you that a record of 12 million lives saved, 12 million productive workers put to work, 12 million despairing people who can hope, is quite a record in eight years.

Let's not let that sort of record stop at this point. This is but a beginning. We've proven that we can do it. We've tried the experiments. They work. Let's apply it across the board now, and win this war on poverty.

Over ten million more men and women are at work, now, than there were eight years ago. This is over and above those that came out of poverty. We got a 60% increase in the minimum wage, and you helped do it. You helped pass the first minimum wage bill. And you made it possible for the people of this country, the unorganized, to have a minimum wage now of \$1.60 an hour. You understood that these programs must grow. They must develop. They must expand. They must improve. Nine million more people are covered under minimum wage today, because the ILGWU and the American Labor Movement had a Democratic President and Congress who cared.

Two million more young Americans today are in college, because your government cared and did something to help them. Nine and a half million boys and girls

that were the victims of separate and unequal education, nine and a half million disadvantaged children, the children of the poor, today are being aided by the elementary and secondary education act, so that at long last they can have their opportunity in education. You helped make that possible by supporting our program.

Civil rights for which we fought together, for better than a quarter of a century have been established by law. And now civil results are coming in.

I spoke from this platform one year before I went to Philadelphia to the Democratic Convention. And my fellow Democrats should have known what was in my heart, because I spoke to you from this platform then about the necessity of America making sure that every American, regardless of race, color, or creed, had every benefit and every privilege unrestrained and undiminished as a citizen of the United States.

That work isn't done. We've only started. And we're going to have to stand together to complete that work.

Medicare -- why, here is the union that first spoke of it. Here is the union that first practiced it. Here is the union that asked the Congress to enact it, and you're looking at the man that introduced the first Medicare Bill in Congress, May 17, 1949.

That bill introduced called for hospital and nursing home care under the terms of the Social Security for persons aged 65 and over. And what I was called should not be put in print. That dangerous radical, that man that was trying to break up a whole system.

Medicare took 16 years to pass. The genesis of Medicare came from a report of President Truman's commission on the health of our people. I came to that Congress a Truman Democrat. I remained in Congress until 1965, and I was

out at Independence, Missouri, when President Johnson brought the legislation that today is know as Medicare, and signed it in the presence of the former President of the United States, who dared to venture -- I stood alongside -- as the first man to sponsor that legislation. And we were a happy group.

We've expanded Social Security. We've improved it.

But what we're looking for now is not just some more social security. We're looking for more social opportunity, social opportunity for every living mortal in this land, every boy and girl, every father and son, every mother and daughter, every person in this land, regardless of race, color and creed.

In these eight years, over 200 measures for human welfare enacted by the Congress. Over 30 of them were in the field of education. Thomas Jefferson said you cannot be both ignorant and free. We want to be free. So we waged war upon illiteracy and upon ignorance.

We used to have every federal aid to education bill killed on either the basis of race or religion, until we got a man from the South, who is a Protestant, who overcame the issue of race and religion. And today there are billions of dollars of Federal funds that are going into the school systems of this country to help children to become better Americans, more enlightened Americans.

And yet that President who came here last Saturday said: "We've just begun."

I have been the partner of this President. Some of my friends say I've been loyal, too loyal. Let me make it clear from this platform, you can't have a Vice President that is too loyal to a President. Loyalty is what you ought to expect first from the man who stands alongside of the President of the United States.

And, Mr. President, we have just begun and, if I'm given the chance, I'll take up the challenge that you laid down before this convention. Yes, President Johnson, we have just begun, and your Vice President, if he's given the opportunity

to succeed you, will continue to move in the same path and move this country on to greater dimensions of accomplishments, not repudiating the record of Kennedy and Johnson, but building on that record to build a greater country.

We do know, all of us here, where we're going. We do know now what we want. We are properly reminded, however, of the question of the doer: How -- how to get more done -- how to do the job better.

And so when I put the question of how do we do a better job, I would put it in this manner: there are four pieces to the answer, four pieces which you and I have to put together in this year 1968.

Piece number one, is one that you know about. Elect, again, as you've done before, enough of the kind of men and women that we've had in Congress and in state and local offices in those critical years from 1964 through 1966, in the 88th and the 89th Congress.

Elect your friends. Elect people that stand with you. The how of social progress in America depends on a lot more than just the Presidency. If you elect a President, give him a Congress that he can work with. Give him a "board" that he can work with, so that your dreams and your hopes will not be dashed to despair and failure by conflict between a President and a Congress.

Now, the number two item is to start right now to plan, prepare, to get ready for the day when peace comes after Vietnam. Peace will come in Vietnam.

And, lest there be any doubt, let me make the record clear. The real peacemaker in this country, the real man of peace, the man that has had to bear the burden of the heavy responsibility of this nation and the man who has given the great personal sacrifice of his political life for peace, is the President of the United States.

The pursuit of peace is a lonely struggle. Blessed are the peacemakers, not just the peace-wishers.

One thing we've learned in the union movement is, when you're negotiating, it's good to have the membership stand behind the leadership. We're negotiating in Paris now. And what this country needs to do, every man, woman and child, is to give the President of the United States, to give our country the benefit of the doubt and to stand behind our negotiators and our President until we find that road to peace.

Every once in a while I have somebody say to me, "Well, Mr. Vice President, why don't you speak out more on Vietnam?" I don't think there's a word that I can say that will help accomplish our objective of an honorable and a genuine peace.

I think there may be some words that some can say that will impede the fulfillment of that objective, and I want you to know I will, to the best of my ability, say nothing or do nothing that will in any manner stand in the way of achievement of a just and an honorable peace.

To put it more directly, I will do everything that is required of me as a human being and a citizen, regardless of the personal or political cost, to help bring about an end to this struggle in Vietnam and an honorable peace.

If our President could sacrifice his political life, as he did, I think the least that I can do is to try to be a faithful, helpful, cooperative, thoughtful Vice President and not to cause him any difficulty or troubles.

I am your Vice President, not just a candidate for the Presidency. I am the Vice President of the United States, and I intend to fulfill my duties and responsibilities with every capacity at my command and with all the honor that I can muster, even if it means I don't do well in the election. But I think we'll do well in both.

But when peace comes, what will we do with it? Are we clear what we'll do with the victory of peace? In 1954, after Korea, there was peace. The troops were brought home. The war was over, the killing was over, thank God. But here, back home there was recession and retreat. The victory of peace did not help this economy. It did not help our schools. It did not help our children. It did not help our cities. It did not help our poor.

What happened was that the forces of conservatism and reaction in this country gained control. Or should I say the forces of apathy, the forces of indifference? I think that's more accurate. And this nation suffered three economic recessions in eight years.

There were more poor then than there are now, but no war on poverty. There were more illiterates than there are now, but no federal aid to education. There were more sick elderly people than there are now, but no Medicare.

Peace did not bring victory at home. And I hope and pray that we're not going to let that happen again. And I call upon you to see to it that we have the political leadership in these coming years so that when that day of peace comes in Vietnam, we can move this country forward here at home like you want it.

It would be wrong, shamefully wrong, if a cease-fire in Vietnam meant a cease-progress at home here in America. It would be wrong, criminally wrong, if young men who fought for an integrated bunker at Khe Sanh, came back to live in the segregated slums in American cities, and this must not be!

And the third item of our answer is this: American has to decide to invest in our most underdeveloped resource, the millions of underfed, underclothed, undereducated, underemployed people. Until now we've often been penny wise and people foolish. We've been readier to pay vast amounts for relief, for hospital care and for jails than to make the human investment that would have prevented those costs and the human tragedy that goes with them.

We think in terms of investment when we plan for the development of our natural resources. Business men think in terms of investment when they consider their business enterprise, or the development of technology, or the exploration of space.

But most of our thinking about the human development is on a current cost basis, the cost all too often of not making the investment that we could have made.

Every penny that we invest to bring health to our sick, education to our untrained, jobs to our jobless, every penny will come back a hundredfold in dividends and in enrichment to America. And this is the kind of investment that I am going to call upon you to make in this country, if I am given that chance.

Any country that could invest up to 35 to 40 billions of dollars to put a man on the moon, can make whatever investments are necessary to help put a man on his feet right here on this earth.

We have the wealth, we have the know-how, we have the science and the technology, we know the way. What we need in 1968 is a national decision, a national decision at that ballot box, to invest more now to achieve the quality of life that we want later on. And I'm going to ask you to cast that ballot of investment on November the 5th, 1968.

And finally, the fourth piece of our answer is unity, unity of purpose, unity of determination, unity of faith in America, and the enormous power that goes with it. And during this campaign I shall speak up for America. If others want to, they can speak down to it, but I intend to speak up for it, and I do not intend to tear down somebody else in order to do myself up.

And I shall speak of our hopes and our dreams, ever mindful of our problems and our difficulties. You know them and I know them. But if we're ever to overcome these problems -- and they're staggering problems, we will never do it in

despair and doubt and confusion. We must lead from strength, the strength of confidence in ourselves, the strength of faith in our economic, political and social system, the strength of the idealism that's in our heritage, the strength of the brilliance that's in our history, and the strength of achievement that is the record of this government and this people.

Franklin Roosevelt was right: All we have to fear is fear itself. And let's not have fear; let's have trust and faith.

By my oath as Vice President, and by my oath if I'm permitted to be your President, I am pledged to help form a more perfect union. That's what a President and a Vice President are supposed to do. And I intend to do exactly that. I intend to do whatever is in my power, my limited power, to unite, not divide, this nation, to make a union that will embrace black people and white people, northerners and southerners, businessmen, workers, old people, young, to unite the American people into these great United States of America, we the people of these United States of America.

And I shall go across this land holding a series of campaign forums in cities and towns, in which individual citizens and community leaders will be invited to give me their views, and their thoughts and their suggestions. There will be several thousand volunteer workers, administering these campaign forum programs, and I shall personally attend as many of them as I can.

I want to hear from the people. I do not want to read graphs and charts and statistics. I want to hear from the individual citizen, and I shall. I want to make the American people participants in the politics of the people, not merely the listeners, but let them be the talkers.

Some of us are going to have a program. I call mine Humphrey listens. And I will sit there and let the people testify, taking myself to them, rather than asking that they come to me, because in a democracy, government of the people, and by the people, is the only way that it will ever do anything for the people.

I don't expect to hear ordinary citizens, when they speak up, talking of division and uncertainty, and hatred and despair. I know we'll hear impatience, impatience with poverty, and discrimination, impatience with the uncertain place of the individual in this society that is so big, impatience with a world that has known too much of war. But I'm convinced that out of the wisdom of the people will come the answers to the problems of the nation.

And I'm going to tap that tree of wisdom. And I'm going to find out between now and the month of September what's in the hearts and on the minds of the people of this land, so that if I'm privileged to carry the banner of the Democratic Party in this campaign this fall, that I'll not be speaking just my thoughts. I'll be speaking the thoughts and the hopes and the aspirations of the American people. And that way we'll have the voice of America, and we'll have an election victory.

Dick Moe Laughlin
Howard Johnson
Page 622

(Beginning of Vice President Humphrey's address.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, well. Thank you, thank you, thank you. Thank you, President Louis Stalberg, and thank you, the delegates and the members here of the ILGWU. Thank you, my dear, beloved friend, the Honorary President of this great organization, David Dubinsky. And thank you, the one and only Luigi Antonini. (Applause.) And let me just take a moment to thank also that wonderful escort committee that came -- they were swimming out to the airport this morning while we were sort of coasting in on a wave on our airplane.

I want to thank Angela so much. She's a sort of sweetheart of mine. (Applause.) And all the others, Morris Bialis, who was with us (Applause.) And David Gingold, and the man with the cap, Louis Nelson. (Applause.) And Phil Kramer, and all the others that were there. (Applause.)

And will you permit me to make a very special thank you to the NORTHEAST DEPARTMENT CHORUS for that wonderful song that they gave me. (Applause.)

And, President Louis, if you don't mind, let me thank that sweet wife of yours. I've

had my arm around her up here for 15 or 20 minutes,
and she's nice. Baby, I really like you. (Applause.)
One of the things you will have to learn, President
Stulberg, if you elect me President, is that I will
have a claim on your lovely wife. (Applause.)

And permit me, while I mention lovely
wives, to tell you how deeply Mrs. Humphrey, my Muriel,
regrets that she can't be here with you today. She's
had, as you know, a little hospitalization, but she's
feeling fine, she's getting sassy all over again .
She's beginning to run things again. Things will be
better for Hubert Humphrey after that. (Applause.)

End 70.

There's just one thing I'm sure of,
that President Stulberg and Honorary President Dubin-
sky, and Hubert Humphrey all out-married themselves,
every one of them. (Applause.)

And my sweet Evelyn. Ah, bless your
Lovely
heart, Evelyn. ~~xxxx~~ to see you. (Applause.)

Let me tell you that you just couldn't
have anybody down in Washington that could do a better
job for you than this wonderful Evelyn DuBrow. She's
-- (Applause.) And in case you haven't seen that
genius of political action, Gus Tyler, lately, he's
been taking care of me. (Applause.)

Now, Gus, you have a good start on
things. There's no reason that you shouldn't just
go ahead and get your candidate elected and seal it
up for once and for all. So, keep going. (Applause.)

President Stulberg told me there were
38 states represented here, and the Commonwealth of
Puerto Rico and our good friends in Canada, and I think
I saw every one of you go by, and I want to thank you
for that wonderful, wonderful demonstrate and parade.
Keep those signs. We're going to need them again.
(applause.)

Oh, they did look good. They did

look good, and I want you to be sure to bring them down to Chicago for the Democratic National Convention in August. (Applause.)

Now, I was told, and I received, a copy of a resolution that you adopted this morning. I want you to know that I feel pretty much like Adlai Stevenson once said after I glanced through this resolution, when he was introduced by one of his more enthusiastic friends and followers.

He got up and he said, "Flattery's all right, if you don't inhale it," but I've been inhaling everything & you've been doing for me this morning, and I love every bit of it. (Applause.)

So, I have an announcement to make. On the basis of the resolution that you've passed, and the demonstration that you had this morning, I accept. (Applause.)

And the nice part, the nice part of it all is, you didn't even wait to hear what I had to say, and that's what I really like, because you acted before. Maybe that's why -- you acted before I had anything to say. Maybe you acted because of what we've been doing together. That's the way I'd like

(Humphrey)

71/3

it. (Applause.)

Yes, my dear friends, outside this hall there's bad weather, they say, very bad weather. Rain, wind, cold -- but inside this hall, there's sunshine and there's warmth. There's the sunshine of your support. (Applause.)

There's not only the sunshine of your support; there's that most wonderful sunshine of all, that sunshine that's the precious gift of your friendship, which to me is the most important gift that a man can have, either in public or private life, and I want to thank you. (Applause.)

You know, I have a sneaking suspicion that this is going to be another great Democratic year in America. Look sharp. (Applause.)

And I think it's going to be another great year for the ILGWU, too. (Applause.)

Yes, my fellow trade unionists, and by the way, I can claim that honor because I received my union card from the ILGWU as an honorary member of this great organization in 1947, and I came right here to Atlantic City when you put the blessing on it. (Applause.)

There's a young fellow on this platform that handed me that card, and he said, "The dues are all paid up, Hubert." And that was David Dubinsky. And Dave, I want to ~~kan~~ thank you. (Applause.)

Yessir, I'm the first member of the ILGWU to be elected by...

End 71

Yes, sir, I am the first member of the ILGWU to be elected Vice-President of the United States.

(Applause)

But let's face it. Frankly, that isn't good enough for the ILGWU. We got to go further than that. (Applause)

Luigi, I hope you agree, that there's one too many vice-presidents around here. One of us has got to go, and everybody loves you so much that I'm going to make the sacrifice. (Applause)

And David, if you're going to be an Honorary President, I refuse to be just a plain ex-Vice-President. We've been through too much together. You're one of the grandest trade unionists I've ever known or ever will know, and you're one of the few fellows in this world who gets as much fun out of life as I do.

And anybody who can do as much as you do and laugh as much as you laugh isn't just an honorary president of the ILGWU -- he is the No. 1 Honorary American. And that's the way we think of you.

(Applause)

And now for you, my dear friend, Louis, I realtHat speech you made here last ThUrdsday, and it was

a pip. I sure like your politics, and that politics that you gave here was the kind of message that everybody needs to have. And I like your way of doing business. You called yourself, if I recall your speech of last Thursday, a rookie President.

Well, now, quit kidding. I know better, and so does everybody in this hall. You're a full, from the word go, in this union and this country, are mighty lucky to have you in there pitching. (Applause)

But Louis, if you insist on that title, when it comes to rookie presidents, well, I'll be seeing you around next season, next, and next, and I hope for a long time, Mr. Rookie. (Applause)

I want to become a new member of the Rookie Presidents Union. (Applause)

Now, let me take up one bit of unfinished business, for Vice-Presidents. I understand there was some talk here last Saturday about a new union, the AURP, the American Union for Retired Presidents.

Well, I suppose that if Lyndon Johnson and David Dubinsky want something, well, they're going to

get it. They always do. (Applause)

But I don't want this retirement business to get catchy. I'm not retiring one bit. I want everybody to know that. (Applause)

So I've got an idea, since everybody is organizing, and since my contract seems to be running out. The management is going to fold up, it's say, on January 20th, so I've got to be getting around a little bit -- why not organize all th vice-presidents? There are so many of us, particularly in the ILGWU.

(Applause)

I don't know about your seniority clause, but mine's terrible. I don't even have one. (Laughter)
And I'm ready to negotiate a brand new contract.

(Applause)

What's more, as the Vice-President of the United States, I don't even have any grievance procedure. Talk about management prerogatives! Why, you want to try working for one of these presidents. The only place we can take our gripes is to our wives, and as all of you know, all of you ladies here, wives need a union and a grievance machinery of their own, and I think they have one. It's a

non-dues paying one. (Applause)

So my plea to the vice-presidents here, gathered in this hall is: Vice-Presidents of the World, unite! We have nothing to lose but our -- why, we don't even have anything to lose at all. Period.

(Laughter and applause)

And when we get down to organizing those vice-presidents, I'd like to start it off by being the first past president of the Vice-Presidents Organization. If that's all right with you. (Applause)

Say, listen, what did you do to President Johnson? I want to tell you He has been on Cloud 9 ever since he was up here. You surely gave him a reception that he'll never forget. (Applause)

I read in the paper out in Minnesota when I was there. It said President Johnson almost endorses Humphrey. And I said I can wait, even if it takes another ILGWU convention. (Applause)

Well, I want you to know, from this man who has served alongside of our president, that you couldn't have honored a man who was more justly deserving of your faith and your confidence, and your tribute than when

you honored President Lyndon Johnson as President of the United States. (Applause)

Well, I've been having some busy days myself. Moving across this country, making a few speeches, counting birthday candles, and even counting convention delegates. These have been mighty good days, my friends. Mighty good days. Keep it up. (Applause)

And speaking of presidents, I had a wonderful privilege just this past week end, Saturday. I was in Kansas City, Missouri, and I got in the car and we drove on over to Independence, Missouri, where I was privileged to sit for an hour in wonderful conversation, talking to one of the greatest of the great, the man that stood up when he needed to stand up, the man that had the courage when his country needed courage, and the man who called them as he saw them, and you know whom I mean, Harry S. Truman, from Independence.

You know what he told me. I told him I was coming here. He first wanted me to bring his greetings to every one of you, to you, Lou, and to Dave, and to Luigi, and to everyone of the officers and the members, he remembers what you did for him, don't worry. He said,

Listen Hubert, if you have that crowd on your side,
You'll win, and I said -- (applause)

He said they're my kind Of people and
they're your kind of people.

And then I said this, Mr. President, look,
what kind of campaign advice do you have? Give me some
advice. What should I do?

And what do you think he told me to do?
I think you know. That's right. He told me how to treat
those Republicans. And the words were very clear and
unmistakable. He had a place for them to go (laughter
and applause).

I'll tell you this, and whenever I get a
little discouraged. And that does happen -- not often,
but once ina while -- whenever I become a little depressed
and that can happen in this country once ina while -- all
I do is just go on out to Missouri and see that wonderful
man, that fighting, that brave and fighting former
President of the United States, and I come Out of there
all pumped up with courage and inspiration and determination
and enough to take ontwo Republicans at once, kf need be.

(Applause)

And after all, they really ought to have two, because they ought to represent all parts of their party, you know. No one ever so completely captured the spirit of this country, and no one ever won so fully the respect and the affection of the American people as this man that I've referred to, the courageous one, the determined one, the fearless one -- Harry Truman -- my kind of man. (Applause.)

You've had quite a show up here. It's been mighty hard to compete with you for headlines. I don't know. I'm going to plan my campaign next time when you're not in session. Except I'll buy what we've done today. That's great. (Applause.)

You heard last Saturday one of the finest addresses ever given by a President of the United States. It was a moving address, and it came from a man that's a mover and a doer. It came from a "get-it-done" President, and I think one of the most effective "get-it-done", moving Presidents that this country has ever had, the man that I stood alongside of these four years and worked with -- President Johnson.) (Applause.)

And I think you'll remember his emphasis. He said it wasn't just the rhetoric or the talking. It's the doing that counts. And he went on to say that it was the doing sometimes by people that you've never even heard of, that never got their name in the papers, by the ordinary American citizens that believes in this country, that believes in social progress, that keeps working -- sometimes his main work is to go to that ballot box and cast that vote for the kind of leadership that keeps his country moving forward. That's the kind of a message you heard. (applause.)

And this wonderful President has had five years of almost unbelievable doing the job, on the job, taking every kind of abuse, being condemned and criticized from every side, but he has stood there like the man that I mentioned before, Harry Truman. The two of ~~xxxx~~ them are cut out of the same cloth! Both of them unafraid, both of them putting their country above their popularity, both of them putting principle above their own personal ambition, and I say to you that this country is fortunate to have two such men in such perilous times as Mr.

Truman and Mr. Johnson. (Applause.)

You know, you build a country just the way you build a union, and you build a union just the way you build a country: you set your goals, you get the leadership, you go on out and earn the respect and the support of the membership, and then you go to work.

And I've watched what's happened in this union throughout all of its years of history. The tremendous leadership that you've had. The leadership of Dave Dubinsky and now the leadership of Lou Stulberg, and look what's happening to this union. A record, am I right? A record of over 450,000 members now enjoying unparalleled, unequalled benefits of over 2,000 collective bargaining agreements, which proves what I said.

You've been doers. You're getting the job done for your people. (Applause.)

And you know what, folks? Many people never read about those collective bargaining contracts, but they're concluded peacefully even though with hard work and sacrifice, and that's the way it is in this country. Most of the good things that are done come by the hard, personal sacrificial work of a number of our great citizens and some of our less-than-great

citizens, who do their job, every day, and who have great faith in this country and who do not underestimate the problems at all. Who do not gloss over those problems, but who know ~~the~~ way that you build a better America is to build it in each contract, to build it each day, to build it each year, and as it adds up over the years, you get the kind of a union that you ~~now~~ have ~~now~~ here, and the kind of an America that we have here.

And I submit, both of them are pretty good. (Applause.)

And, my friends, I've been trying to do a few things in my life, too. And you've recited some of them in your resolution of endorsement, for which I'm exceedingly grateful. You've honored me far beyond what a man deserves.

Yes, I've been doing things all of my life, doing some things that some people didn't like, but some things that needed to be done, and I want to let you in on something. I'm ready to do a whole lot more. If we'll work together, we can get this job done. (Applause.)

(Humphrey)

73/5

I read as I came into this Assembly, this hall, about our COPE, the political action arm of the labor movement. It's getting things done. And it's not getting things done just for organized labor. It's getting things done for everybody in America. Because, let's face it right now, and let's go tell this satory.

The labor movement has not asked for special treatment in this country. The labor movement has asked for one thing: the right to bargain, the right to organize, the right to make something better for its membership, and the labor movement has fought for every program, domestic and foreign, that has been good for the prosperity and the security of this nation.

That's why I'm proud to have the endorsement of organized labor. (Applause.)

And you ought to be encouraged and heartened, my friends, because the candidates that COPE is endorsing, these candidates are coming through. By the way, you've got one of them standing before you. And all I want you to do is to do the same thing for me that you've been doing for some of these candidates

that you've endorsed for Congress, and for the United States Senate.

And, my fellow Americans, if we stand together, if we work together, there isn't anything that we can't do for the good of this country. We can do it, and I'll be honored to march arm in arm with you throughout this land in the cause of social justice and social progress, which has been the cause of this union. (Applause.)

We've been on the right course. We've been on the right course towards our highest American ideals and visions. And that course has been set in these past seven years under great and determined leadership, and I've had a chance to be a part of that leadership team.

Not the main part, but a part of it, which is an honor within itself. That course of new direction, of opening up new frontiers, of helping to build a great and a better society; that course has had the leadership of two of the most gifted men of our time: first the beloved, the articulate, the dramatic President John F. Kennedy; and now that hard-working, constructive president, Lyndon Johnson.

(Humphrey)

73/7

(Applause.)

Almost eight years ago, just think about it for a minute, almost eight years ago, this country was in the doldrums. Your Union was having problems: unemployed workers. The management was having problems trying to keep a profit sign in the ledger books.

And then eight years ago, John F. Kennedy said, "Let's get this country moving again. Let us begin."

My dear friends, we did start. We did begin, and we got this country moving again, and when it was taken, when the mantle of leadership was taken from him by the cruel assassin's bullet, there was a man ready there to take up that mantle of leadership, and he didn't say, "Let's scuttle what we've done." He didn't spend his time telling the American people that the previous years, the almost three years of John Kennedy's leadership had been for nought.

Because he knew better. Lyndon Johnson, when he became President, said, "John Kennedy said, 'Let us begin.'" And Lyndon Johnson said, "Let us continue." And Hubert Humphrey says, "Give me a chance and let's move forward in that..."

And here we are, eight years later, almost eight years later, eight years that have been the most -- that ha-e really seen the most remarkable record of economic growth in our nation's history, and not just the growth of the gross national product of this country, but growth and improvement in the well-being of its people.

Because as Thomas Jefferson once said, the only legitimate objective of government is the health, the happiness, and the well-being of the people. And that's what we've been working on.

And there are far too many fellow Americans who have not kept their eye on this record. Sometimes I think that it has almost been deliberate by some forces of this country to try to confuse that record, to spread doubt and confusion, to poke it in the smog of partisan politics and to poke it in the smog and the fog and the smoke of doubt, derision, and deceit. BUT my friends, there is a record, and you helped build it. Remember, that you have made it possible in a very
men as I've
large measure for these two/mentioned as our presidents, Kennedy and Johnson, you have made it possible for them

to serve and to lead this country, and you have helped make it possible for a Congress, particularly that dramatic 89th Congress, to do what was almost the impossible. What's happened in these few years? Over 12 million of our fellow Americans have been lifted out of the swamp and the despair of poverty so that they can stand today as self-respecting dignified, earning citizens in this country. I submit to you that a record of 12 million lives saved, 12 million unproductive workers put to work, 12 million despairing people can hope, that that's quite a record in eight years.

(Applause)

Let me tell you, Dear Friends, that those who are the victims of abject poverty, hopelessness, despair, frustration, bitterness, and sometimes hatred, in many ways when You look at it, they are like they're dead. Because the spirit of life has gone from them. And when they are able to wise up, when programs and policies are able to help them help themselves so they can stand tall once again, it's more than an economic gain, it's not only saving lives, saving lives, and I submit to you that many a life, millions of lives in this great country of

ours, have come into the full bloom of meaning, and of meaningful purpose, because you cared, because our President cared, because the Congress cared, because the American people cared.

Now, My Fellow Americans, let's not let that sort of record stop at this point. This is but a beginning. We've proven that we can do it. We've tried the experiments. They work. Let's apply it across the board now, and win this war on poverty.

(Applause)

Over ten million more men and women at work, now, than eight years ago. Over and above those that came out of poverty. A ~~EEK~~ 60% increase in the minimum wage, and you helped make it. You Helped pass the first minimum wage bill. And you made it possible for the people of this country, the unorganized, if you please, to have a minimum wage now of \$1.60 an hour. You understood that these programs must grow. They must develop. They must expand. They must improve. Nine million more people are covered under minimum wage today, because the ILGWU and the American Labor Movement had a Democratic President and Congress who cared. (Applause)

Two million more young Americans today are in college, because your government, your government cared and did something to help them. 9½ million boys and girls that were the victims of separate and unequal education, 9½ million disadvantaged children, the children of the poor, today are being aided by the elementary and secondary education act, so that at long last they can have their opportunity in education, and you helped make that possible by supporting our program.

(Applause)

Civil rights for which we fought together, for better than a quarter of a century, civil rights have been established by law, and now civil results are coming in, I'm ~~praised~~ proud of our record together. I spoke from this platform one year before I went to Philadelphia to the Democratic Convention, and my fellow Democrats should have known what was in my heart, because I spoke to you from this platform then about the necessity of America making sure that every American, regardless of race, color, or creed, had every benefit and every privilege unrestrained and undiminished as a citizen of the United States.

(Applause)

And my friends, that work isn't done.

We've only started. And we're going to have to stand together to complete that work.

Medicare -- why, here is the union that first spoke of it. Here is the union that first practiced it. Here is the union that asked the Congress to enact it, and you're looking at the man that introduced the first Medicare Bill in Congress, May 17, 1949.

(Applause)

That bill introduced called for hospital and nursing home care under the terms of the Social Security for persons aged 65 and over, and what I was called should not be put in print. My goodness, that dangerous radical. That man that was trying to break up a whole system.

Not at all. Medicare took 16 years to pass. The genesis of Medicare came from a report of President Truman's commission, on the health of our people and I came to that Congress as a Truman Democrat. I guess neither one of us remained very popular for very long. But I remained in Congress until 1965, and I was Out at Independence, Missouri, when President Johnson brought the legislation that today is known as Medicare, and signed it

in the presence of the former President of the United States, who dared to venture, and I stood alongside, as the first man to sponsor that legislation. And we're a happy group.

(Applause)

Yes, my friends, we've expanded Social Security. We've improved it. But what we're looking for now is not just some more social security. We're looking for more social opportunity, social opportunity backed up by social opportunity, for every living mortal in this land, every boy and girl, every father and son, every mother and daughter, every person in this land, regardless of race, color and creed, is entitled to be known as a first-class American citizen with every political, social, and economic right that goes with that.

(Applause)

These eight years, over 200 measures of human welfare enacted by the Congress. Over 30 of them alone in education. Thomas Jefferson said you cannot be both ignorant and free. We want to be free. So we waged

war upon illiteracy and upon ignorance.

I'm sure your President told you in graphic terms this struggle. We used to have every federal aid to education killed on either the basis of race or religion, until we got a man from the South, who is a Protestant, who overcame the issue of race and religion, and today there are billions of dollars of Federal funds that are going into the school systems of this country for what purpose? To help children to become better Americans, more enlightened Americans.

(Applause)

(Humphrey)

75/1

And yet that President that came here last Saturday and said to you this record, and pointed it out much more graphically than I have, what did he say? Was he content? Did he say our work is done? Did he say lean back and relax, we've accomplished our goal?

Not at all. Here's what he said: "We've just begun. We've just begun." Well, my fellow Americans, I have been the partner of this President. Some of my friends say I've been loyal, too loyal. Let me make it clear from this platform, you can't have a Vice President that is too loyal to a President. Loyalty is what you ought to expect first from the man who stands alongside of the President of the United States. (Applause.)

And, Mr. President, we have just begun. And, Mr. President, as your Vice President, if I'm given the chance, I'll take up the challenge that you laid down before this convention. Yes, President Johnson, we have just begun, and your Vice President, if he's given the opportunity to succeed you, will

(Humphrey)

75/2

continue to move in the same path and move this country on to greater dimensions of accomplishments, not to repudiate the record of Kennedy and Johnson, but to build on that record and to build a greater country. (Applause.)

Yes, we have just begun, but we do know, all of here, where we're going. We do know now, all of here, what we want. We are properly reminded, however, of that question, the question of the doer: How -- how to get more done -- how to do the job better.

As I've heard President Johnson say many times, it's not difficult to do what's right. What's difficult is to find out what is right.

And so when I put the question of how do we do a better job, I would put it in this manner: there are four pieces to the answer, four pieces which you and I have to put together in this year 1968. Peace, number one, is one that you know about. (Applause.) Elect, elect -- is to elect again, as you've done before, elect enough of the kind of men and women that we've had in Congress and in state and local offices in those critical years from 1964 up through 1966, and the 88th and the 89th Congress.

Elect your friends. Elect people that stand with you. The how of social progress in America depends on a lot more than just the Presidency. If you elect a President, give him a Congress that he can work with. Give him a "board" that he can work with, so that your dreams and your hopes will not be dashed to despair and failure by conflict between a President and a Congress.

You know how to do the job. You've done it before. (Applause.)

Now, the number two item is to start right now to plan, prepare, to get ready for the day when peace comes after Vietnam. And, ladies and gentlemen, peace will come in Vietnam. It will come. (applause.)

And, lest there be any doubt, let me make the record clear. The real peacemaker in this country, the real man of peace, the man that has had to bear the burden of the heavy responsibility of this nation, the man that is the genuine lover of peace, and the man who has given the great personal sacrifice of his political life for peace, is the President of the United States. (Applause.)

(Humphrey)

75/4

The pursuit of peace is a lonely struggle. Blessed are the peacemakers, you've heard me say it before, not just the peace-wishers.

Ladies and gentlemen, one thing we've learned in the union movement is, when you're negotiating, it's good to have the membership stand behind the leadership, and, ladies and gentlemen, we're negotiating in Paris now, and what this country needs to do, every man, woman and child, is to give the President of the United States, to give our country the benefit of the doubt and to stand behind our negotiators and our President until we find that road to peace. (Applause.)

Every once in a while I have somebody say to me, "Well, Mr. Vice President,^x why don't you speak out more on Vietnam?" Ladies and gentlemen, I don't think there's a word that I can say that will help accomplish our objective of an honorable and a genuine peace.

I think there may be some words that some of can say that will impede the fulfillment of that objective, and I want you to know what my posi-

(Humphrey)

75/5

tion is. I will do ~~in~~ to the best of my ability; I will say nothing or do nothing that will in any way stand in the way of the achievement of a just and an honorable peace.

To put it more directly, I will do everything that is required of me as a human being and a citizen, regardless of the personal or political cost, to help bring about an end to this struggle in Vietnam and bring an honorable peace. (Applause.)

If our President could sacrifice his political life, as he did, and there were some people that made it mighty miserable for him -- if our President could make ~~that~~ sacrifice, I think the least that I can do is to try to be a faithful, helpful, cooperative, thoughtful Vice President and not to cause him any difficulty or troubles, if the Lord God will permit me to have that wisdom and that sense of balance and judgment.

I thought you ought to know how I feel about it. I am your Vice President, not just a candidate for the Presidency. I am the Vice President of the united States, and I intend to fulfill my duties and responsibilities with every capacity at my command

(Humphrey)

75/6

and with all the honor that I can muster, even if it means I don't do well in the election. But I think we'll do well in both. (Applause.)

But now, my friends, when peace comes, and it will, what will we do with it? Are we clear what we'll do with the victory of peace? Do I need to

XXXXXXXXXXXXXX

refresh your memories after Korea? 1954, there was peace. The troops were brought home. The war was over, and what was the meaning of peace?

Oh, of course the most important thing was, the killing was over, thank God. But what happened here, back home? Well, I'll tell you what happened. There was recession and retreat in America. The victory of peace did not help this economy. It did not help our schools. It did not help our children. It did not help our cities. It did not help our poor.

What happened was that the forces of conservatism and reaction in this country gained control, or should I say the forces of apathy? I think that's more accurate. The forces of indifference, and this nation suffered three economic recessions in eight years.

There were more poor then than there are now, but no war on poverty. There were more illiterates than there are now, but no federal aid to education. There were more sick elderly people than there are now, but no Medicare.

Peace did not bring victory at home. And I hope and pray that we're not going to let that happen again, and I call upon you to see to it that we have the political leadership in these coming years so that when that day of peace comes in Vietnam, we can move this country forward here at home like you want it. (Applause.)

Let me put it this way. It would be ^{meant} wrong, shamefully wrong, if a cease-fire in Vietnam ~~and~~ a cease-progress at home here in America. It would be wrong, criminally wrong, if young men who fought for an integrated center at K Khe Sanh, came back to live in the segregated slums in American cities, and this must not be! (Applause.)

So I call upon you to join with me, and I shall join with you, to look ahead, to lift our sights to that happier day, and to plan the proper use of our resources, material and human, when making over our cities, when modernizing our countryside, or improving our schools, or training our unemployed, for healing our sick, for housing those who are ill-housed. Ladies and gentlemen, that's the real test of patriotism.

Patriotism is not only saluting the flag and honoring the responsibilities of military service. That indeed is part of patriotism and it is a very important part.

But the other part of patriotism which makes it all the more meaningful is that diligent, day-by-day, work and service to see to it that in this land people are treated as human beings, and to see to it that in this land the injustices and the inequities are overcome, and to see to it in this land that it becomes the kind of an America that we've dreamed of, the land of hope, and the

land of promise, the land of equality and human dignity.
That's the patriotism that we need in America.

(Applause)

And the third item of our answer is this:
American has to decide to invest in our most underdeveloped
resource, the millions of underfed, underclothed, under-
educated, underemployed people. And I repeat the stress
is on investment, because until now we've often been
penny wise and people foolish. We've been ~~xxxxiflyx~~ readier
to pay vast amounts for relief, for hospital care and for
jails than to make the human investment that would have
prevented those costs.

And the human tragedy that goes with
them. (Applause)

We think in terms of investment when we
plan for the development of our natural resources. Business
men think in terms of investment when they think of their
business enterprise, or the development of technology,
or the exploration of space.

But most of our thinking about the human
development is on a current cost basis, the cost all too
often of not making the investment that we could have
made.

Every penny that we invest to bring health to our sick, education to our untrained, jobs to our jobless, every penny will come back a hundredfold in dividends and in enrichment to America, and this is the kind of investment that I am going to call upon you to make in this country, if I am given that chance.

(Applause)

Any country that could invest up to 35 to 40 billions of dollars to put a man on the moon, can make whatever investments are necessary to help put a man on his feet right here on this earth.

(Applause)

Now, let's face up to the truth and the facts: We have the wealth, we have the know-how, we have the science and the technology, we know the way. What we need in 1968 is a national decision, a national decision at that ballot box, to invest more now to achieve the quality of life that we want later on. And I'm going to ask you to cast that ballot of investment on November the 5th, 1968.

(Applause)

And finally, my friends, the fourth piece of our answer, is what this union knows by the very title of its own place of rest, it's own place of refreshment, unity, unity, this union has stood for, in all of its work, in all of its industry. So our answer is unity, unity of purpose, unity of determination, unity of faith in America, and the enormous power that goes with it, and during this campaign I shall speak up for America, if others want to, they can speak down to it, but I ~~inxxx~~ intend to speak up for it, and I do not intend to tear down somebody else in order to do myself up. I think it's ~~timezkk~~ that we stand on our own. (Applause)

And I shall speak of our hopes and our dreams, ever mindful of our problems and our difficulties. You know them and I know them. But I say to this audience that if we're ever to overcome these problems -- and they're staggering problems, we will never overcome them in despair and doubt and confusion. We must lead, as they say, from strength, the strength of confidence in ourselves, the strength of faith in our economic political and social system, the strength of idealism that's in our heritage, the strength of its brilliance that's in our history, and the strength of achievement that is the record

of this government and these people, my dear friends, if we're going to overcome the monumental problems that face this nation, we must do it from inspiration, the power that comes from reason, optimism, not the weakness that comes from despicable despair and doubt and fear.

Franklin Roosevelt was right: All we have to fear is fear itself. And let's not have fear; let's have trust and faith. (Applause)

By my oath as Vice-President, and by my oath if I'm permitted to be your President, by my oath under the Constitution, I am pledged to help form a more perfect union. That's what a President and a Vice-President are supposed to do. And I intend to do exactly that. I intend to do whatever is in my power, my limited power, to unite, not divide, this nation, to make a union that will embrace black people and white people, northerners and southerners, businessmen, workers, old people, young, to unite the American people into these great United States of America, we the people of these UNITED States of America. (Applause)

And I shall go across this land holding a series of campaign forums, cities and towns, in which individual citizens and community leaders will be invited to give me their views, and their thoughts and their

suggestions, there will be several thousand volunteer workers, administering these campaign forum programs, and I shall personally attend as many of them as I can.

I want to hear from the people. I do not want to read graphs and charts and statistics. I want to hear from the individual citizen, and I shall. I want to make the American people participants in the politics of the people, not merely the listeners, but let them be the talkers. And some of us are going to have a program, and I call mine Humphry listens, and I will sit there and let the people testify, taking myself to them, rather than asking that they come to me, because in a democracy, government of the people, and by the people, is the only way that it will ever do anything for the people. And you know it.

(Applause)

And I don't expect to hear ordinary citizens when they speak up, talk of division and uncertainty, and hatred and despair. Oh, I'll hear -- I know we'll hear impatience, impatience, and poverty, and discrimination, who isn't -- I'm very impatient with it. Impatience with the uncertain place, of the individual in this society that is so big, impatience

with the world, it has known too much ~~of~~ of war. But I'm convinced that out of the wisdom of the people will come the answers to the problems of the nation.

And I am going to tap that tree of wisdom. I am going to tap that vine of knowledge. And I'm going to find out between now and the month of September what's on the hearts and the minds and the souls of the people of this land, so that if I'm privileged to carry the banner of the Democratic Party in this campaign for this fall election, that I'll not be speaking just my thoughts, but I'll be speaking the thoughts and the hopes and the aspirations of the American people, and that way, my friends, we'll have the voice of America, and we'll have an election victory.

(Applause)

We are the people. I think we're going to see America stand up and say something that every one of us knows, that represents the highest purpose of this land, that represents everything that we seek.

Your children know it. Mothers and fathers, I hope you know it, and I think you do. It was stated so precisely and so beautifully. It's the one lesson of our freedom that we must remember, and it's the one lesson of our history that we must put into practice. It's the one hope for this land.

We do not want, nor can we tolerate, nor can we live with two societies, separate but unequal. We can't live that way in America. A nation torn and divided offers no hope for anybody, no hope for our own people, and no hope to the world. And therefore, what is the aim that we seek? What is this "more Perfect Union" that we want to build. What is, then, the purpose of a candidate for the President?

Well, his purpose should be no less than to fulfill the dream of this land, the promise of this democracy, the promise of "one nation, under God, indivisible and with liberty and justice for all."

I say it can be done. And I ask you to help me make it a reality in our time. (Applause.)

(Humphrey)

77/2

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT STULBERG: Even though you have not made use for the last 21 years, we are a broad-minded union, as you know. You've made such a profound, excellent, philosophic speech here of government, expressing a philosophy of government which we have always subscribed to in this Union, we've decided to give you a badge of this Convention to make you a participating member. (Applause.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you.

PRESIDENT STULBERG: May I say further, we knew -- in your case, we knew that you were coming. We didn't know about the President. We weren't so certain about the President coming to our conference, but we knew that you were coming, and therefore, we baked a cake. (Applause.)

I'm going to confide a secret to you that I hope you'll keep. I think it is only known now to about 200 million Americans. Today is the day after the Vice President's birthday, and we baked a cake for the occasion. (Applause.)

He asked me not to repeat, or not to say how many years. Perhaps he'll tell it to you himself, I don't know. But I saw him watching the girls

the girls, I wasn't too sure.

May I say to you one more word? You may
or may not remember, Mr. Vice President, ^{two} ~~xkwn~~ years ago
on the occasion of my assumption of the presidency of
this Union, and as a going away party, so to speak, for
our old friend, David Dubinsky, we had a party in the
Astor Hotel in New York. You graced the occasion, you
were kind enough to come down and visit ~~us~~ with us at
this party.

End 77

...And you may remember my saying to you then, and I want to repeat it here this afternoon. Look what happens to Vice Presidents, I told you at that time. (Laughter.) I had just become RRR President. And I also said, and I want to repeat it here, and I am talking, I am sure, and expressing the deep-seated feeling of every delegate to this convention: wherever destiny may take you, you will find us alongside of you, supporting you in every which way, because you ~~arxxxx~~ ^{represent} ~~xxxxxx~~ everything that we have striven for in our lives, our organization and for our country. You represent the best that this country affords, and we are with you. (Applause.)

I'm not very good at it, but will someone sing "Happy Birthday"? (Sung by Convention.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: President Louis Stulberg, I want first of all to express the initial thanks to Mrs. Stulberg for having baked that cake. That's very kind of her. Secondly, maybe I should tell the ladies here that I'm in the Jack Benny ^{But} school of thought. /In all candor, I'm 57 years young, feeling great. (Applause.)

But I read someplace that youth is not a

time of life; it's an attitude of mind. You are as old as our doubts and as young as your hopes. You are as old as your despair and as young as your ideals. You are as old as your bitterness and as young as your love. (Applause.)

And let me just say on that basis, I love this organization. I hold in the greatest esteem and affection the officers, members and families. My wife and I have been with you in good days and not so good days. We have been like a member of the family, and ^{if} believe me, ~~thatsix~~ confidence, faith, ideals -- can make you feel young, I've just become voting age.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT STULBERG: Thank you. and you'll find the members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union will be alongside of you...

Take 78 ends.



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