



FOR RELEASE
FRIDAY PM's
AUGUST 16, 1968
Telephone 202/225-2961

REMARKS
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
UNITED FEDERATION OF POSTAL CLERKS
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA
AUGUST 16, 1968

This is the year of the New Politics, as you know.

But I don't think many of us were prepared for the amazing transformation that occurred in Miami last week.

We knew there was a ^{new} Nixon.

We knew there were some recent Republicans like Strom Thurmond -- one of the first people ever to walk out on me.

But who expected them to spin off a new party... the Nixiecrats?

Of course there was the usual Platform of Empty Promises ... promises that somehow seem to get lost when the Republicans settle down in Congress.

This year they promise to "attack the root causes of poverty"--but 90 percent of the Republicans in Congress voted to kill the extension of the War on Poverty in 1965.

They promise a "vigorous effort--nationwide--to transform the blighted areas of the cities"--but 89 percent voted to kill the Model Cities program in 1966...and 80 percent voted to eliminate all funds for it in 1967.

"Elderly Americans desire and deserve independence... and dignity"--but they voted 93 percent against Medicare--and 65 percent against the 1967 Social Security increases.

"Fairness for all consumers,"--but 68 percent voted to kill the truth-in-packaging legislation--and 83 percent were against the Meat Inspection Act.

The American people caught on to this sleight-of-hand years ago--and they are not going to be fooled in 1968.

And I don't think they are going to be taken in by all those comparisons of the Good Old Days with the last eight years, either.

PAGE TWO

To hear the Nixiecrats' candidate tell it, the Democratic Administration has just about destroyed the glorious accomplishments of the Republicans.

Do you remember those struggles for postal pay raises back in fifties? I do. My first Senate committee assignment was the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

We passed the raises, without any trouble, but a Republican President vetoed them in five out of eight years.

In the last eight years since 1960, there have been seven increases, with another automatic one coming up next year.

* * *

I don't say Nixon Republicans have any less sympathy for postal workers. It's just that you can't afford much when you have three recessions in a row.

And I was interested to hear how our international prestige had declined compared with those glorious 50's. Do you remember the Vice President who was mobbed and spat upon in Caracas...or the President who had to cancel his trip to Japan?

Well, this is just a little batting practice. I don't mean to leave you with the impression that I will campaign on the Republican record alone--entertaining though it is. I think the Nixiecrats will pretty well take care of themselves, while the rest of us Democrats--and I expect no small number of liberal Republicans to join us--get on with the business that really counts.

* * * *

First, let me do some straight talking about an issue that I know concerns all of us--the need for a Federal Employees Labor-Management Relations Act.

I am for it, and I have been for a long time.

But as one who has a long record of defending the rights and interests of our federal employees, I want to say this very frankly: I want a good law--one that means real protection.

PAGE THREE

To get that kind of law we need a Congress that is ready to accept innovation...which means as few Nixiecrats as possible.

It is up to you. I'll do my part.

Meanwhile, there are some important improvements we should make in Executive Order 10988 to protect the interests of federal employees, and if I am elected you can be sure those improvements will be made.

* * *

The urgent business this year will be to mobilize the resources and the commitment of America to deal with the urgent problems that confront us as a nation.

I mean urban decay...pollution...lingering poverty... education that is still inadequate for the needs of today, much less the year 2000... crime... hunger... a still-hazardous international environment.

In 1968 we have the resources and the knowledge to deal responsibly with those challenges.

We owe it to ourselves.

We owe it to the working man who has to fight his way home at night through miles and miles of congested traffic and dirty air.

We owe it to the mother who wants her children to be able to play safely in the park.

And most of all we owe it to that young American who has just been born into an urban ghetto. Yes, his chances are a little better than they would have been last year.

But his mother knows that as he grows up, he has a more-than-average chance of illness... a less-than-average chance to get through school... a more-than-average chance to be robbed or shot... a less-than-average chance for a decent job.

In fact--let's face it--there's a good chance he just won't make it.

I think we owe that child an American standard of opportunity. I think we owe that mother the assurance that things are going to be a lot better for her children than they have been for her.

Those challenges won't be met by rhetoric and broken promises--and that's what the Nixiecrats are prepared to offer.

But they will be met when a nation as rich as ours puts its resources and its commitment on the line for a living environment.

They will respond when a fundamentally decent nation declares itself unequivocally in favor of the rule of law and social justice for every citizen--and makes good on that pledge with action.

They will respond if we have an Administration committed to reconciliation and peaceful engagement... to ending the costly arms race which is today diverting too much of the world's wealth away from the human needs.

* * *

My friends, in 1968 it comes down to this: Do we have the courage to innovate--not only in labor-management relations for federal workers, but across the board in the things that count to Americans?

We have the capacity.

We have the wealth, if any nation ever did.

We have the knowledge.

I seek the Presidency because I believe we must put those resources to work for America--for all Americans.

I ask your help.

Don Dunn
G. V. P.

Pres. Roy Hallbeck (all)
Pat Inman
Mrs Reimann

REMARKS

✓ Good to Mrs H.
✓ Hansen Deligations

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

UNITED FEDERATION OF POSTAL CLERKS

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

AUGUST 16, 1968

171-010
160,000
members

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amazing transformation that occurred in Miami last week.

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New South
Old South

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"A Better Education for every child" -- but
 95% Voted Against The Negro Educ Act
 73% " " " - 3 - " Elementary + Secondary Ed Act
 65% " " " " Teacher Corps
 64% " " " " Special funds for Head Start
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To hear the ^{major} ~~Democrats'~~ ^{Republican} candidate tell it, the Democratic
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⌈ Do you remember those struggles for postal pay raises
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⌈ We passed the raises, without any trouble, but a Republican
President vetoed them in five out of eight years.

∟ In the last eight years since 1960, there have been seven increases, with another automatic one coming up next year.

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~~Keep!~~
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ADDRESS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
BEFORE THE 35th NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE
UNITED FEDERATION OF POSTAL CLERKS

LEAMINGTON HOTEL
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

AUGUST 16, 1968
5:20 O'CLOCK P.M.

1 Well, Pat, the United Federation of
2 Postal Clerks sure know how to make a Vice President feel
3 good. I want to thank you for this wonderful reception
4 that you have already accorded Mrs. Humphrey and myself,
5 this very enthusiastic and jubilant reception that you
6 have given to us. I want to thank you, too, for the
7 flowers that you have given to Muriel, saving me a little
8 money. I do appreciate it. I told Muriel when I was
9 courting her, I said, "Young Lady, you marry me and you
10 will have flowers every day." I just didn't tell her
11 that they were going to come from somebody else, but we
12 are so grateful, too.

13 And I want to thank the delegation from
14 Hawaii for the lei that they presented to me. I hope they
15 will forgive me for not wearing it up here, but I want to
16 keep it and when I get to speaking, I sort of warm up and
17 the flowers start to wither.

18 Well, there is much in my mind today. I
19 hear that our good friend, your President Roy Hallbeck, is
20 down with the flu. I know what that means. I had it. May
21 I tell him he will recover, but while he has it, he will
22 hope he won't. It is really rough.

23 Mrs. Reimann, we want to thank you very,
24 very much for your thoughtfulness and kindness to us.

25 This is a special pleasure to me to come

1 back to Minneapolis and to see my friend here, my very
2 dear and good friend, the distinguished Mayor of the City,
3 Mayor Naftalin. I hate to confess it but when I was the
4 Mayor of the City of Minneapolis, Mr. Naftalin was my
5 secretary and my assistant and he does claim that every
6 good idea that I had, he gave me, and there is an awful lot
7 of truth in it, but for those that are wondering whether I
8 have any good ideas, he is still giving them to me, so be
9 of good cheer and don't you worry.

10 Mayor Naftalin, I know that you have
11 welcomed these wonderful delegates representing this great
12 United Federation of Postal Clerks, to this beautiful city.
13 When we flew in here this late afternoon, this early
14 evening, I just couldn't help but just sort of puff up with
15 a little extra pride. I hope my friends from other parts
16 of the country will permit me to sort of brag just a little
17 bit, but the skies were clear and blue and the ground was
18 green and the fields were plowed and terraced and the trees
19 were wonderful and the flowers were good, the girls were
20 pretty, the men were healthy and I am feeling fine. Of
21 course, I have heard the same speech from other people in
22 every state I have been into.

23 Today, I want to talk a little politics
24 to you and I hope that you will forgive me for doing that,
25 but the word is out that I am doing a little politicing of

1 late. I think I should explain to this fine Union what
2 happened and why I am doing this. My seniority clause
3 wasn't nearly as good as yours. My contract is running
4 out. As a matter of fact, the management is resigning. I
5 was going to content myself with just continuing on hopefully
6 with what I have been doing and all at once, I was listening
7 to the radio one night and they decided to close up shop.
8 How would you feel if they closed up all the post offices?
9 Don't worry, I am not going to let them do it.

10 But when that message came through, I
11 had to make a decision as to what I would do and I made the
12 decision after a couple of weeks, thinking it through and
13 talking to friends, friends like my friend Pat Nilan here
14 and Roy Hallbeck and others, and I decided that I would seek
15 the nomination in the Democratic Party for the office of
16 President. This is a great undertaking. It is a very
17 sobering and exciting experience both and it is a very
18 demanding experience. And I have been around our country
19 a great deal, both as a candidate and as a Vice President
20 and a senator, and I felt I knew a little bit about our
21 Great America and that I might be able to speak for some
22 of our fellow Americans and hopefully be able to offer them
23 some leadership at a time when our nation needs leadership
24 and will continue to need it for many, many years to come.

25 I want to share with you a few thoughts

1 first and then I want to talk a little bit about what our
2 friendly competition has been up to and then I would kind
3 of like to tell you what we can do about it.

4 I said that I made the decision to seek
5 this, the highest office and gift of the American people.
6 When you make that kind of a decision, you have to ask
7 yourself first of all are you worthy of it, and I think the
8 answer is, if anyone is really true to himself, that you
9 are not sure at all that you are worthy of it. The only
10 thing you know is that somebody and some fallible human
11 being, some other fellow citizen or some fellow citizen
12 will have that office. Then you have to ask yourself are
13 you prepared for it, and I suppose it is fair to say that
14 only the testing of the office, itself, only facing up to
15 the tremendous responsibilities of that office can tell you
16 if you are really ready for it and prepared for it.

17 Nevertheless, I have spent now over twenty
18 years in public service. I started out as a student of
19 government and then a professor of government. I continued
20 on as the Mayor of this great city and it was a wonderful
21 experience to be Mayor of one of the most beautiful cities,
22 I think one of the finest cities in our country, even
23 though there are so many people from St. Paul here. And
24 then I moved on and I became a United States Senator, and
25 may I say for some of you here that are not familiar with

1 that background, I was the first elected Democrat to the
2 United States Senate in a hundred years in this State.
3 That was quite a dry spell we had. And I had sixteen
4 years in the senate, every one of them a very, very
5 interesting year and every one of them a year of new
6 experiences, new challenges, some disappointments but more
7 often what I thought were rewards. Of the last thousand
8 days of that sixteen years, or should I say the last
9 four years of that sixteen years, I spent as the majority
10 whip of the United States Senate and it is there where many
11 of us did a lot of work together. Of course, I served
12 early in the Senate on the Post Office and Civil Service
13 Committee, the Committee that means so much to every
14 member here and every family represented in this audience
15 today. But I believe that my role as the majority whip was
16 even more meaningful, I know it was to me and I hope it
17 was to you and your great organization, your great Union,
18 because many is the time that Mr. Hallbeck and Pat Nilan
19 and others of your officers and your representatives,
20 would come to me and talk to me about what we could do
21 about legislative programs, something that was related to
22 the well being and the compensation and the rights of our
23 government workers and particularly our Postal Clerks, and
24 I have had a wonderful experience working with your people.

25 But I had the unique privilege of

1 being the majority whip, which is a floor leader, for the
2 late President Kennedy, when we tried in those thousand
3 days of his administration to get this country moving
4 again and get it moving forward. Those were wonderful
5 days, and what a rare privilege it is for any American to
6 be able to sit in the councils of the President, the
7 legislative conferences, to help work out legislation, to
8 fashion it, to prepare it, and then to see that it becomes
9 a reality, and day after day we would have that opportunity
10 and that experience.

11 It was during that time that I had the
12 opportunity to present my Peace Corps legislation and have
13 it become a fact. It was during that time that I had the
14 opportunity to expand our Food for Peace Program that has
15 fed millions of people around the world and seen it work.
16 It was in those days that we had the opportunity to set up
17 our Disarmament and Arms Control Agency, hopefully to bring
18 some sense to this world before we consumed our resources
19 in a futile and dangerous arms race. And it was in those
20 days that we made the plans for forwarding the cause of
21 human rights and civil rights, and then as you recall, our
22 President was struck down with the assassin's bullet and
23 a new President came in, President Johnson. And during
24 those next few months, I again served as the majority whip,
25 the floor leader, for the legislation that you were

1 interested in and that America was interested in.

2 One of my privileges during that time,
3 and I know I speak to an audience here -- I see the
4 signs from every state in the land, from all over this
5 great republic of ours-- one of my privileges was to be
6 the manager of and the floor leader for the most
7 comprehensive program for civil rights legislation ever
8 passed by any country or any government, and we passed it
9 by a thousand votes.

10 New legislation in the field of
11 housing was designed. We started our program that related
12 to the well being of our senior citizens, Medi-care. We
13 started our program that expanded federal aid to education.
14 And I recall when President Johnson came in, the message
15 that he gave to that joint meeting of the congress, and
16 how well I recall it because I had been with him the night
17 before when it was being prepared, John Kennedy said let
18 us begin and it was like an electrical shock throughout
19 America and people did begin to take new faith in their
20 country. He asked us and he said to us, "Ask not what
21 your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your
22 country," and people all at once felt a new sense of
23 purpose in their citizenship. And when President Johnson
24 took over after this President had been struck down, I
25 remember him going to Congress and saying, "Let us continue

1 finish the work that is undone," and we did.

2 And then I can recall in August, and
3 this month of August is a very important month for me,
4 it seems like it does something good every August,
5 something good comes along. The only month which is
6 better is September. I married Muriel in September -- the
7 month of August, 1964, and I went to a City called
8 Atlantic City in New Jersey. There were several other
9 people there, quite a few of them, They were all Democrats.
10 And we had a convention and in that convention I was
11 privileged to be nominated for the second highest office
12 and the gift of the American people, the Vice Presidency,
13 and I carried the message of our party as best I could
14 from one end of this country to another. That effort,
15 together with the effort of the President and the limited
16 efforts of the Vice President, ended up in a tremendous
17 victory in 1964. And in these four years, my fellow
18 Americans, I tried to do one thing above all that you
19 expected me to do, I have tried to faithfully and
20 honorably fulfill the responsibilities of the office of
21 Vice President, and above all to be first loyal to my
22 country and what it stands for and secondly to be loyal
23 to the President of the United States. I thought that
24 was the least I could do.

25 Now, there is a new day. These are

1 different times. And by the way, one thing we need to
2 remember all the time is that there is always a new day.
3 I am sure that I speak for all of you when I say you
4 can't relive yesterday. It is gone, and all you can get
5 from it are the -- well, you can get the memories of
6 success or failure, of happiness or sorrow. All you learn,
7 all you get from it, is the experience of it.

8 Now, many people like to spend their
9 times on those yesterdays, wishing they could relive them,
10 but you can't. The only way that I know to relive a
11 yesterday is to start a new day with a new purpose. People
12 say that we are at a time of great change. We are. My
13 goodness, there is always change. The only question is,
14 is it for the better or for the worse. The forces of
15 change are always at work and the forces of change have been
16 at work in this country as no other place possibly in the
17 world: the impact of science and technology, the impact of
18 the automobile, the change from a rural society to an urban
19 society, the shift of population. It is a wonder that we
20 were able to fashion social and political institutions that
21 were strong enough to take this impact.

22 I fly a great deal and today as we left
23 Pittsburgh, just before we left there was a very, very
24 severe thunderstorm. Fortunately, we didn't leave in the
25 thunderstorm, we let it pass through, but when you fly,

1 and most of you I am sure, or a great number of you, maybe
2 came here by plane, I don't know if you are like I am, but
3 I always like to take a look at that weather map in the
4 morning. It isn't that I am a coward, it's just that I get
5 scared once in awhile. I have had quite a few experiences
6 flying around and I take a look at it and I will see a line
7 on there -- if you see that Today Show, for example, you
8 see that line on that weather map and it will say a low and
9 a high and then they will have some words in there. It
10 says thunder showers, thunder storms and so on. If you
11 are going to make as many airplane trips as I do, you listen,
12 you tune in, and then you also know that you want to be sure
13 that you have a good plane and you want to be sure that you
14 have a good crew, a good team, a good captain, and a good
15 co-pilot and a navigator and an engineer, and all that
16 goes to make one of these modern jet aircraft function.

17 You know, we are really in a sense going
18 through a similar experience here in our country. We are
19 changing so rapidly, it is like the weather systems
20 themselves, and we have been flying, if I could use this
21 simile and this analogy, for a long time, in one kind of
22 weather and it's had a good deal of bumps and storms and it's
23 had what I would call a low, and I must be very frank and
24 open with you about this, it had a low in it where a lot
25 of our people never had a chance, where many people were

1 the victims of discrimination, where many people were the
2 victims of deprivation, white and black. Remember, poverty
3 and deprivation knows no race. As a matter of fact, there
4 are more poor whites than there are blacks and there are
5 more poor people in rural America than in urban America.
6 Poverty knows no ethnic group or no race, religion or
7 geographical section. None whatsoever.

8 So we look at this social map of ours
9 and I think it is safe to say that we had kind of a low
10 and when you see that on the map you can rest assured as
11 you see it on that weather map, that says thunder storms,
12 in it it may say hail, it may say strong winds, and it
13 means you are going to be buffeted around, and when you
14 listen to that weatherman, he will tell you, or if you are
15 a pilot and call up and get information, they will say,
16 listen, you are going to fly through the low up until as
17 far as so-and-so, such-and-such a distance, and then you
18 are going to go through a period of turbulence. What is
19 that period of turbulence? When the low meets the high,
20 when the two weather systems collide, when there is a
21 great change. And, ladies and gentlemen, that is what is
22 going on in America today. We are lifting ourselves. We
23 have been flying first through kind of a low and we are
24 beginning to come into what appears to be clear skies, a
25 high, but just before we get into that, that better

1 position, for that better America, where there really is
2 equal treatment and where there really is equal
3 opportunity and where we really regard human dignity with
4 practice as well as with rhetoric, when we go through that
5 period for awhile, the old plane shakes and they say
6 strap on the seatbelt and even once in awhile they put on
7 the sign that says No Smoking, and then believe me you want
8 to be careful, and then you say to yourself as you finish
9 that quiet little prayer, you say to yourself I wonder if
10 this plane can take it, I wonder if the pilot is all right,
11 too, and I wonder what about the co-pilot, and then you
12 break out, you break out into the bright sunshine, into the
13 blue skies, into the high, and it is all over and you are
14 doing much better and you see a whole new day. That is
15 really what has been happening to us: we are still in that
16 period of turbulence.

17 Now, I regret to tell you, that the pilot,
18 the captain, has decided he doesn't want to make another
19 flight, but I want you to know that the co-pilot is at the
20 controls and is perfectly willing to fly through. And
21 above all, folks, what a mad situation it would be -- it
22 would be worse than being hijacked and flown off to Havanah--
23 if you threw out the co-pilot just because the captain
24 decided to quit.

25 Well, now, let me get down to the nitty-

1 gritty of some politics here. Of course, I know you are
2 all hatched. Let me get down, as I said, to that nitty-
3 gritty of politics. This is the year they say of new
4 politics. Well, I found every year has been a year of new
5 politics, because if you don't stay up to date, you are
6 soon out of line and when you are out of line, you are
7 out of commission. But I don't think that many of us were
8 really prepared for the amazing transformation that took
9 place down in Miami just a little while ago.

10 Now, my Republican friends in this
11 audience, you will just have to bear with me for a little
12 while. You will just have to bear with me. Just remember,
13 whatever I say, it is for the purpose, may I say, of your
14 political salvation.

15 Well, we knew, of course, all of us knew
16 that there was a Nixon because I read the signs. They say
17 Nixon is the one. By the way, he is the one. And we knew
18 and I hope now that my friends here from Georgia and
19 Alabama, all around I see them, they are here, and I am so
20 glad to see Louisiana down there. I went to LSU: never had
21 more fun in my life. It was really great.

22 Well, we knew there had been some
23 recent republicans, there had been some sort of throw-
24 back, and one of them had been a democrat at one time,
25 and he decided to -- well, he just decided that was just

1 too high living for him so he became a republican, and I,
2 of course, refer to my old friend and colleague in the
3 United States Senate, Strom Thurmond. Now, Strom was one
4 of the first persons that ever walked out on me in a
5 speech, and I have had a lot of them since. So they had
6 quite a time down therein Miami, but I think there was a
7 miscalculation. You know, I have traveled a great deal in
8 the South, in lots of it. Somebody once said to me when
9 I came down south and made a speech, they said, "You know,
10 Mr. Vice President, we think you have changed," and I
11 said, "You know something? I think you have changed, too,
12 or you wouldn't be listening to me."

13 But I want to say to my friends from the
14 North, that I know of no place in America that is making
15 the strides forward in terms of social progress and economic
16 progress and even in the field of education and health in
17 such geometrical proportions as I have seen in some of our
18 areas in the southern states, and I say that because there
19 are two Souths, too. There is the Old South, which in a very
20 real sense might be described as the midnight of politics,
21 and there is the New South that I see that I associate with,
22 that I call the dawn or at least the high noon of politics,
23 and I think that Mr. Nixon made a mistake -- of course, it
24 was late at night -- I think he made a mistake. I think
25 that he identified himself not with the New South that has

1 the AFL and the CIO and not the New South of the United
2 Federation of Postal Clerks; but he identified himself
3 with the Old South, with that Dixiecrat group that left
4 the convention of the Democrats back in 1948.

5 Now, I mention this because I didn't
6 expect that the New Nixon was going to spin off a new
7 party but I will be darned if he didn't, and I have
8 just got to name it, and you will have to bear with me,
9 the Nixiecrats.

10 Now, of course, this was the usual plat-
11 form. Platforms, they say, are generally made to run on
12 and not stand on, and I think there was the usual platform
13 of generalities and of empty promises, and you will have
14 to judge ours a little later -- I hope we do a little
15 better -- and promises that somehow seem to get lost when
16 some of our Republican friends settle down to Congress.

17 Now, this year, for example, that
18 platform promises, and I quote, "To attack the root causes
19 of poverty." Well, that is quite a pledge, but I will
20 tell you something, that ninety percent of my Republican
21 friends and colleagues in the Congress voted to kill the
22 extension of the War on Poverty in 1965. Now, that
23 might not be much of a army, but it is the best one we
24 have got working so far on the War on Poverty and there
25 is enough poverty to work on so we ought not to dismantle

1 the forces. That platform promised a "vigorous effort,
2 nationwide, to transform the blighted areas of the cities."
3 I know a little bit about it because I have been working
4 with the mayors of the cities of America for the last four
5 years. They promised a nationwide vigorous effort to
6 transform the blighted areas of our cities, but when they
7 had a chance to vote for the most far reaching legislation
8 that has been endorsed by govenors and mayors, that has
9 been endorsed by business and labor, that was endorsed by
10 the urban coalition, 89 percent of them voted to kill the
11 model cities program in 1966 and 80 percent have voted to
12 eliminate all funds in 1967. My, what a record of
13 performance. The only blight that I see is the blight of
14 that vote, and it doesn't add up to a vigorous effort to
15 clean up the blighted areas. And they said, for example,
16 elderly Americans desire and deserve independence and
17 dignity, and I agree, but, ladies and gentlemen, elderly
18 Americans deserve action, too. But 93 percent of my
19 Republican friends in the Congress voted against Medi-
20 care, the finest program of health insurance and medical
21 insurance that has ever been designed by a free government.
22 And 65 percent of them voted against the 1967 social
23 security increases. I was there when the roll was called
24 and I will tellyou it is mighty easy to have rhetorical
25 phrases about the dignity of the elderly, but I will tell

1 you what adds a little dignity to them, some decent housing,
2 some good medical care, and an opportunity to have as a
3 decent pension and an insurance program, and the simple
4 facts of life are that had our fellow citizens who are
5 elderly citizens waited for the opposition party to have
6 given them Medi-care, to have given them the chance that
7 they need, they still today would be getting relief and
8 county welfare care for their medical needs.

9 And now, the least that we should expect
10 is the fulfillment of this promise. And listen to this:
11 a promise made, a better education for every child with
12 specialized education, with pre-school education. Now,
13 what is the record? 93 percent of the Republican members
14 of the Congress voted against the Higher Education Act,
15 73 percent voted against the Elementary and Secondary
16 Education Acts, 65 percent voted against the Teacher Core,
17 and 64 percent voted against special funds for project
18 "Head Start." Now, you have got to be pretty grumpy and
19 pretty tight-fisted to want to deny project "Head Start"
20 which is the beginning program for the pre-school child.
21 You really have to sort of use a rearview mirror to get
22 your view of the world if you vote against that, and
23 almost two-thirds said no. I know a little bit about it
24 because I had the privilege in the Senate of breaking the
25 tie vote to get \$25,000,000 for little children in

1 project "Head Start."

2 Now, I am not going down all the rest
3 of it. I have some notes here about the Truth-In-Packaging
4 for every housewife. We tried to do something about
5 consumer legislation, Truth-In-Packaging, Truth-In-
6 Lending. You get a box that says super-giant. Now,
7 what does that mean? The government says you ought to
8 put on there the number of ounces that you are going to
9 get. You can call it super-giant if you want to, but if
10 he is only a 14 ounce super-giant, that is all he is. So
11 we have had a whole program of Truth-In-Lending and Truth-
12 In-Packaging and other consumer legislation, and I found
13 that 68 percent of the Republicans in Congress voted to
14 kill the Truth-In-Packaging legislation, 83 percent voted
15 against the Meat Inspection Act, and then there is a little
16 slight-of-hand that went on with some other things.

17 Now, I don't think we need to just go
18 over this record of what I consider to be a negative one,
19 but I would like to remind you of some of the struggles for
20 postal pay raises back in the '50's. I was there and I
21 remember them. I hope you do. My first Senate committee,
22 as I told you, was that Post Office and Civil Service
23 Committee. Now, we passed a lot of pay raises, we got
24 them through Congress and we had lots of Democratic votes
25 and enough Republican votes to get them through, but the

1 President vetoed them five out of eight years. Five
2 times. In the last eight years, since 1960, there have
3 been seven increases and there have been no vetoes, and
4 there is another automatic increase coming up this year,
5 next year.

6 Now, I don't want to be misunderstood.
7 I don't say that the Nixon Republicans have any less
8 sympathy for Postal Workers than anyone else, I just say
9 they have got a lot of sympathy but they are unwilling
10 to pay for it, and that doesn't help much.

11 Well, this is just a little batting
12 practice. I haven't made a speech like this for awhile.
13 I just thought I would try it out. I am going to carry
14 on a campaign and I hope that we will have a lot of
15 Democrats that will support us and I expect no small
16 number of progressive Republicans to join us and we are
17 going to get on with the business, my friends, that really
18 counts.

19 Now, let me do some straight talking
20 to you about an item of legislation that you are concerned
21 with, about the issue of the need for a Federal Employee's
22 Labor Management Relations Act.

23 (Standing ovation.)

24 I didn't know you were quite so
25 interested in that. Well, now, there is no use in quibbling

1 about it. I think first of all Pat will tell you in the
2 long days past I helped write this kind of a proposal, and
3 I am no johnny-come-lately to this stuff, dear friends. I
4 didn't get any of this political deathbed religion. I
5 have had it a long time, a long time, and I want to say to
6 you directly and concisely what I have right here so
7 that you will understand me solidly.

8 I am for it and I have been for it a
9 long, long time.

10 Well, now, friends, to get that kind of
11 a law, you not only need a president that is for it, and
12 I here to tell you that if I am elected president, there
13 will be that kind of a proposal sent down to Congress, it
14 will be one that we will work out -- I have worked with
15 this legislative group of yours -- listen, Pat, and I have
16 worked on so many things together, we are not sure which is
17 his and which is mine. And let me put it on this record --
18 be sure you get this now -- that I know of no better
19 legislative representative for any organization in
20 Washington than my good friend right from this great State
21 of Minnesota, than Pat Nilan. That's right. Let me make
22 it equally clear for those that are not postal clerks or
23 government workers, you haven't asked for a single thing
24 that is unreasonable, that a government like ours and a
25 nation likes ours should be unwilling to pay or unwilling

1 to provide. I have listened to hours of testimony, hours
2 of it, and believe me, the first duty of the Federal
3 Government of the United States is to be a model employer,
4 to set the standards.

5 I haven't found many postal clerks that
6 were on the "Big Board" in the stock market. I think
7 there are more mortgages per table here than there are in
8 most areas. What I am really just trying to tell you is
9 we have to continue this building process. We have begun,
10 this Government of ours, to have comparability between the
11 industrial sector, the private sector and the government
12 sector. It took us a long time to even move that far. We
13 started that back in the 1950's when we had early
14 proposals in the committees. The first things that I
15 worked on on the Postal Office and Civil Service Committee
16 was comparability and the need for a Federal Employee's
17 Labor Management Relations Act. I had your people and
18 others from other organizations in my office many times.
19 Now, I said to get that law you not only need the right
20 kind of a president but you need the right kind of a
21 Congress, and you need a Congress that is ready to
22 accept innovation and is ready to recognize that the
23 Government is a great big employer and it ought to act
24 like a responsible employer, and that means that you and
25 your rights as a citizen-- you ought to ask every candidate

1 for office where they stand on these matters and don't
2 get just some nice glib generalities that I think you
3 are entitled to a good living, get some specifics, and
4 you have your resolutions and you have your program and
5 you can ask -- you used to ask me; you didn't let me off
6 the hook easy -- I want you to put it to the rest of them
7 just like you did to me.

8 In the meantime there are some
9 improvements that we should be making in the executive
10 order, 10988 to protect the interests of the Federal
11 Employees, and I intend, if I have anything to say about
12 it, that those improvements will be made and they will be
13 made after consultation with the employees, themselves.
14 That is the only way it should be done.

15 Now, let's broaden our vision for a
16 moment. What I want to make quite clear, there is a very,
17 very snide way of dealing with Federal people and Government
18 people. They call them bureaucrats and that is suppose
19 to put you down at the low end of the totem pole. Well,
20 I happen to know that people that work in our Federal
21 Government are citizens, they are family people, too, and
22 they have jobs and they perform those jobs and they
23 perform them well. As a matter of fact, I think there
24 has been an excellent record of performance. So we are
25 going to talk to each other reasonably, responsibly, and

1 with respect.

2 I remember when I used to run for the
3 Senate back in this State, somebody had some editorial
4 out here someplace, some fellow down the road here, would
5 write about those bureaucrats and those civil servants,
6 and I would try to find out who these sons and daughters
7 were from that town that were in the Federal Government
8 and I would find them -- it took a little doing, but I
9 got it -- and I used to pull my wagon up and put my loud
10 speaker right out there in front of that editor's office
11 and I would say "Now, I want you to know what this fellow
12 thinks about Sally Jones and Mary Smith and about Herschel
13 Schultz," or whatever his name was, and I would list them
14 all off and I would say, "Now, is Mr. and Mrs. Schultz here?"
15 and they would say, "Yes, they are here," and I would say
16 "I just want you to know what he thinks about your boy.
17 He said that he is a ne'er-do-well bureaucrat. Is that
18 what you think?"

19 I got a lot of votes that way, I would
20 like you to know. Not only that, I did what was right.

21 Now, the urgent business before all of
22 us is how are we going to mobilize the resources of this
23 great land of ours and the commitment of America to deal
24 with all of the big problems that confront us. We are
25 without a doubt the richest, the most powerful, the

1 greatest nation on the face of the earth, and having said
2 that, it imposes on us a greater responsibility to see
3 that any inequities, injustices, any deprivation is
4 remedied. It is possible to excuse people who cannot do
5 better from their failure to do better. It is possible to
6 excuse a country or a community that is incapable of
7 helping the helpless. You can maybe understand why they
8 don't do it and you can forgive them, but, ladies and
9 gentlemen, a nation that has so much as this nation, a
10 nation that has the wealth, the power, the production, the
11 gross national product, call it what you will, as we have,
12 has a moral obligation second to none to make sure that
13 those who do not share in the benefits of our society get
14 their chance.

15 Now, I am not one that believes that
16 the Government owes everybody a living. I am not for the
17 welfare state, but I believe that the Government of the
18 people, by the people and for the people, owes everybody
19 an opportunity to make a living.

20 We have retained a degree of social
21 security in our country in recent years, all to the good,
22 but there are literally millions of people now that want
23 social opportunity and they are entitled to it and they
24 are going to get it one way or another. I want to help
25 them get it peacefully. I want to help them to get it

1 through the normal processes of our democracy. I can
2 tell this audience that there is vast treasures of human
3 talent and resources untapped in this nation. I wonder
4 how many of us realize that this nation wouldn't look very
5 good in the Olympic Games if it were not for the sons and
6 daughters of the poor in the ghettos and the rural poverty
7 areas. Very few of the sons of the rich participate or
8 need to participate or apparently want to. Some do and
9 for those we honor them, but the fact of the matter is
10 that when the Gold Medals come back from these great games
11 which test the competitive spirit of peoples, you take a
12 look and see who wins them and I will tell you that time
13 after time, whether the boy is white or black, whether he
14 is an Indian or a Chinese-American or a Japanese-American,
15 whether he is a Puerto Rican-American, whatever he may be,
16 when they come back and they have the medals on or you
17 see it on television, you can bet your money that most of
18 the time that boy or that girl came from a poor family,
19 from an impoverished area of America, in the slums or in
20 the hollows or back in the back country of rural America.

21 Now, My friends, my fellow Americans,
22 if that talent is there, which we have discovered in
23 recent days, if it is there in the degree that I think it
24 is there, that I have found it to be, for athletics, for
25 the arts, for the theater, for entertainment -- the best

1 entertainers in America today with few exceptions, are the
2 sons and daughters of people who were the victims of abject
3 poverty and have lived that way. Most of them black.

4 Ladies and gentlemen, I think that if
5 olympic champions can be found in these areas and if
6 literary genius, entertainers, people of the stage, people
7 of the arts, if they can be found in these areas, then I
8 think there are engineers there, too, and lawyers and
9 doctors and businessmen. I think there is a whole new
10 America there, and I want to help get it. This is what
11 we need to be thinking about. We can't do these things
12 through hate or violence. We Americans cannot afford the
13 toxin of hate. We cannot take it. It is not the way we
14 have done things, nor is it the way we should, and there
15 isn't a single problem in America today that cannot be
16 corrected better and sooner through the peaceful processes
17 of community action and the peaceful political processes,
18 economic processes, of this nation, than through violence.
19 Violence and crime have no place in a free society and you
20 don't prove yourself to be a racist or anything else when
21 you say that law and order is the first duty of any
22 organized society. And with law and order or just with
23 a safe society, we can build a society of justice. Life,
24 liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, that is what this
25 country was founded to achieve, a meaningful life, the

1 survival, itself, the protection of life and liberty so
2 that you have freedom of choice and then the pursuit of
3 happiness. If that was good enough for the founding
4 fathers of this republic, I think it is good enough for
5 us and I think that this nation today needs to make the
6 same committment that Thomas Jefferson made and John
7 Hancock made and George Washington made, and here is what
8 they said as they made this committment to start a whole
9 new way of life in America, they called to the attention
10 of their contemporaries and for people yet unborn, that
11 there are certain good-given natural unalienable rights
12 that come to you not because you are a member of the
13 AF of L -CIO or a member of Congress or a Vice President,
14 the come to you because you are a human being, created
15 in the image of your Maker. They are the basic rights of
16 the spirit and soul of the human personality and they are
17 precious, and that is why no tyrant can be justified, no
18 despot. That is why we have government by the consent
19 of the governed. What are those rights? I said them:
20 Life, the right to live, not to be shot down, not to be
21 attacked, not to be robbed, not to be raped, not to be
22 assaulted, and the right of liberty, not lidenese but
23 liberty, the right to speak, to worship, to move, to be a
24 free human being, and then the pursuit of happiness,
25 because that's really the ultimate purpose, an inner

1 sense of harmony that comes when you feel a sense of
2 fulfillment. The pursuit of happiness to me means my
3 child is educated, my home is safe, my life is in my
4 hands to be developed, that I live in a good community,
5 that I have a chance, that I can make out of myself
6 whatever I wish. Those are the rights, and then what did
7 the founding father's say about them? They said, we
8 pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor, to
9 securing these rights.

10 My fellow Americans of 1968, the
11 Americans of 1776 pledged that much and it took them
12 eight years to gain their independence and many years
13 before we could really fashion a republic that was one
14 nation, not two, even a civil war yet to divide us. I
15 think that the Americans of 1968 can afford to do no
16 less than those who inspired us and gave us our breath
17 of freedom and gave us this great structure of social
18 organization that is ours in 1776.

19 So I shall put it in particulars: We
20 owe it to the working man, we owe it to the working man ,
21 who has to fight his way home at night through miles and
22 miles of congested traffic and dirty air, to have it
23 better. We can't have it perfect, but have it better.
24 No man that comes to you and says he is going to remedy
25 all of these problems if worth listening to. The job of

1 a President and the job of a people and a Congress, is
2 to make America better, a more perfect union; not a
3 perfect union because no one man or no generation can do
4 that. But as our constitution says, to provide for the
5 common defense, to assure justice, to bring domestic
6 tranquility, and to form a more perfect union, and we can
7 make our gains, we can proceed each generation to have a
8 little higher standard, and we owe it to the mother who
9 wants her children to be able to play safely in the park
10 without being set upon by crime and criminals. We owe
11 that much to every mother, and most of all, we owe it to
12 the young American who has been born in the urban ghetto,
13 that he shall have a chance. Oh, yes, his chances, I know,
14 are a little better now than they would have been last
15 year, but his mother, black or white, knows that as he
16 grows up, that that little boy has a more than average
17 chance of illness; a less than average chance to get through
18 school, a more than average chance to be shot and robbed,
19 a less than average chance at a decent job. He cannot
20 justify this, my friends, nor can I. In fact, let's face
21 it, that little boy born in an urban ghetto, there is a
22 good chance that he just won't make it and really through
23 no fault of his own.

24 I think, therefore, that we owe that
25 child but one thing, an American standard of opportunity.

1 I think we owe that mother the assurance that things are
2 going to be a lot better for her children than they have
3 been for her. And it is because I believe these things,
4 my fellow Americans, that I come to you and ask for your
5 help. I think we can make it better for that child. I
6 think we can make it better for that mother. I believe
7 that we can build a better America. I know we have the
8 resources. I know that there is a basic goodness in the
9 American people that wants to be put to work.

10 I believe that a President must be a
11 teacher and a leader, and I want to have the opportunity
12 to help teach this nation just one simple lesson, do
13 unto others as you would have them do unto you. And my
14 friends, I said a president should be both a teacher and
15 a leader. He has to teach that Golden Rule, which is
16 not just simplicity of philosophy, it is basic. You can
17 figure up all the phraseology that you want and all the
18 rhetoric, but in those few words, there is more truth
19 than all of the philosophers in the ages, before and after,
20 ever conceived, and then that president must be a leader,
21 and a leader means that he must call the best out of the
22 nation. In the worst of times, we must do the best of
23 things, and these are difficult times, and the president
24 must have faith in his country. He must have faith in the
25 people. He must have a knowledge of his country, he must

1 have a basic knowledge and understanding of the people
2 that he serves, and the next President of the United
3 States must understand that there is a great silent
4 majority of Americans, millions and millions of them, I
5 think there is ninety percent or more of them, not the
6 extremes of the right or the extremes of the left, but a
7 great majority of Americans that want to do what needs to
8 be done if someone but can point the way.

9 Let me make it clear to you that I don't
10 want to be a man known to the left or to the right or in
11 the center. I want to be a man that asks America to look
12 up rather than to the left or to the right, or to the
13 center, look up to the higher grounds, look up to the
14 higher standards, look up to the new horizon, look up to
15 what you can do, and let's then make up our minds that we
16 can fulfill the promise of this land and the American
17 Dream, and that American Dream is simply put, and you
18 know it and your children know it and they recite it
19 every day of their school life, just one wonderful dream
20 and one wonderful hope and possibility of what, of one
21 nation, our Country, one nation recognizing its
22 humility before God Almighty, one nation under God with
23 liberty -- what a beautiful word; so few people have it
24 in the world and we have so much of it -- one nation
25 under God with liberty and justice for all. That is

1 what it is all about.

2 Thank you.

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