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PLATFORM GUESTS Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks Convention Hall, O'Hare Inn Chicago, Illinois Monday, August 19, 1968

C. L. Dennis, International President, Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks

George M. Gibbons, International Secretary-Treasurer, Brotherhood of Railway, Airline, and Steampship Clerks

Honorable Samuel Shapiro, Governor of Illinois

Honorable Richard Daley, Mayor of Chicago

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# BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY & AIRLINE CLERKS

Address by: THE HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice President of the United States

Auditorium, O'Hare Inn Chicago, Illinois

Monday, August 19, 1968 9:00 o'clock, a.m. VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much. Thank you very much.

My dear friend Les, I didn't want you folks to stand too long and to exercise too much. It is a little too early in the morning to be that rambunctious. I think I should tell you the reason I was a bit delayed. My wife has told me that I am positively unbearable, I am too mean to see anybody before I have eaten; so I had a cup of coffee and a glass of orange juice in the hotel room before I came over, because I wanted to be at least of sweet temperament so I could address this wonderful audience.

President Dennis -- you know wherever I go I start out always talking president -- Mr. President --I got the habit.

### (Laughter and applause.)

How good it is to see George Gibbons. I always like to see a secretary and a treasurer. And what a rare privilege it has been for all of us this morning, all of us to have had the Governor of this great state, Sam Shapiro, and the mayor of this great metropolitan center of Chicago, Mayor Daley, here with us for this breakfast. This is a high honor paid to

this great Union and to this organization, and also to have with us the Mayor of Rosemont. I think we are mighty lucky, we have two mayors, a governor, a vice president, a secretary and treasurer, and a president.

# (Applause)

But Les, I was checking up on you and the Railway Clerks and I find that you have nine vice presidents. My goodness, --

# (Laughter)

-- look at the work I have been doing all the time as Vice President. Just one Vice President.

### (Applause)

Is it any wonder that I want to change jobs?

### (Laughter)

And I think I should tell you that one of the reasons I like to come to my friends of organized labor, is because we are -- I am in the business of negotiating a new contract --

### (Laughter)

-- and I need some good experienced hands at the conference table.

# (Applause)

I don't have as good a seniority clause as the members

or this great organization. My seniority clause is running out. In fact, the management quit.

(Applause and laughter)

By the way, I noticed an old friend of mine out here in the audience and there are many, many out here, but when I was sitting here alongside of Mayor Daley, I looked out there and I saw a wonderful friend of labor and a great citizen and truly a very great and talented member of the Congress of the United States, my friend, Claude Pepper. Claude, I am so proud to see you.

# (Applause)

Well, now, some of you may have noticed that I was kind of cozying up to the Mayor while he was here --

# (Laughter)

-- he has a lot of delegates --

### (Laughter)

-- and I was nice to this governor, too, but it wasn't difficult. Both of them, in my book, are two of the outstanding public officials of this nation, and I am proud to be called a friend of theirs.

(Applause)

Now, just a word about this spade and this shovel that has been handed around. Let's see, I believe, yes, there is one left for me. Les, you don't need to worry there, I don't want to be leaning over too much for that. I want you to know if I am presented with one of those spades -- and I have been told I am -first of all I am glad it is painted gold. Things have been a little rough. It makes you feel better when you see that. I want you to know if I am presented with this spade, I will use it to throw no dirt in this campaign. That is number one.

### (Applause)

But I want the opposition to know that we will dig deep into their record. Then I want the American people to know that we will use that spade to cut a new path to peace and social progress at home and abroad.

# (Applause)

There is just something about this gathering that expresses a great hope in tomorrow and a great hope in the future. I thought that when Mayor Daley spoke to you that he gave the proper emphasis and the proper tone to our thinking as Americans. I do not believe that it is typically American, nor do I believe

it is in the spirit of this country, to be constantly downgrading our efforts or to be constantly pointing with fear and alarm at some of the problems and difficulties that beset us. This doesn't mean that we do not have difficulties, because we do. This doesn't mean that we are not beset with all kinds of complex problems, because we are.

What I am saying to you is that this is nothing unusual. We have had this since the beginning of our Republic and we had to fight for our freedom when it looked at Valley Forge as if we couldn't survive. We have had it during the dark days of the Civil War; we have had it through the dark and the difficult days of the Depression. We had it in the early days of World War II; we had it in those post-war days, when a Congress turned against the people and inflation was rampant. We have had lots of dark days, and the labor movement knows it. The labor movement remembers when it didn't have a chance, when forces of power were turned against them, but the labor movement, above all other groups in this country or those at least in the forefront, knows that no matter how difficult times may be that the people have been equal to the

occasion and we have been able to find the leadership to overcome those difficulties and to lift ourselves to new heights and to find a new day, and that is about what we are to do now.

# (Applause)

If there is one thing that this country needs now, it is a new sense of confidence; faith in its institutions; faith in itself and faith in its people; faith in its destiny, not a foolish childlike faith, but one that is the result of a careful inventory of where we are and what we are and what we do and what we have to do with.

I want to make it crystal clear, as one who has been in public life for a long time, I have seen many a difficult movement, I have come up against what seemed to be insurmountable obstacles, but there has always been in your midst a reservoir of strength and goodwill amongst the American people, that when it is tapped and aroused, we are the people that can do whatever needs to be done. In fact, we are the people that can do the impossible if that is what needs be done. That is why I am proud to be an American.

(Applause)

I don't think we are going to convince the people of the world that this is the last best hope of earth, as Abe Lincoln put it; I don't think we are going to convince themif we act hopeless, if we indulge in the politics of fear and despair, as some do. I want you to know that I shall not. I am going to be the advocate of the politics of hope and progress with faith and confidence in the ability of the American people to do whatever needs to be done for the American people now and in the days to come.

We are a people of the future. That is what America stands for.

# (Applause)

As the Mayor pointed out to you, we get this kind of conviction and faith in the labor movement. I have been associated with you, as Les said, from the days when I was just a young fellow, a boy, so to speak, in Minnesota and St. Paul, in that metropolitan area. I used to teach in the program called "Workers Education".

I went to more trade union meetings, more than most business agents. Mrs. Humphrey and I stopped by the Central Labor Union Temple in Minneapolis night

after night on our way home -- we only lived five blocks away. We have had a friendly association. Not one at distance, not one removed, but one that has been deeply involved with the growth of the labor movement in this country.

I have been from one end of this nation to another in all fifty states to carry the message of the importance of the American labor movement to a free economy and a free society.

I want you to know that one of the things that makes me proud to be a candidate for the high office of presidency is the fact that I have been privileged, in this campaign, to have the active militant open support of every one of the great trade union organizations of the United States.

# (Applause)

What do our working people ask for? Special privilege? No. Great wealth? No. Great power? No. I will tell you what they ask for. They ask for something for their families. The American labor movement is more than just an organization with initials. The American labor movement represents millions of families, people who own a home or rent a home; people who have

come from very humble beginnings; people with large families; people who go to church; people who participate in community activity; people who send their children to public or parochial schools; people who want their sons and daughters to go on to college or to vocational or training school of some kind; people who provide the sons for our armed forces; people who provide the daughters for our nurses and teachers, that is what the labor movement is about. The labor movement is not just collective bargaining, it isn't just an international president and the officers. The labor movement is America; the labor movement is as much a part of America as apple pie and the Fourth of July, that's why I am proud to be associated with it.

# (Applause)

We are going to spread this message across this country. I remember in the dark days in the Senate when everybody was attacking the labor movement and I heard about umpteen speeches about it. One day I arose and I said, "It is time for somebody to speak on another subject. I have heard at least a hundred speeches here on what is wrong with the labor movement, would the members of the Senate give me a little time

to tell you what's right with the labor movement?" And then we went down to talk about how organized labor fought in the beginning for public education when others said it was too radical. How organized labor fought for a program that would permit ordinary people to own and buy a home and, as has been said here today, the labor movement did not only fight for its own members, it fought for everybody. The greatest single force in this country in the war on poverty is the labor movement of America that helps lift the wage standards and the benefits that come with collective bargaining. Organized labor has done more to win the war on poverty than all of the rest of the governmental institutions put together.

# (Applause)

One good way to win on poverty and that is to get income, and you are involved in it. Look at this audience here today. Name me where you can find better people. This is what makes America strong.

I want to take a very few minutes, and they tell me I have to get out of here. I get the signals all the time. Not from you Les, I'll tell you, you ought to have a staff like I have. I long for one

moment of freedom, when somebody doesn't hand me a paper and say, "You are supposed to leave at such and such a time and arrive at such and such a time -- all of which I seek to violate. I love freedom.

(Applause and laughter)

But I thought maybe in about the next five minutes I might be able to -- I guess I'd better start wearing glasses. No, I can see that -- in the next five minutes that I might just say to you a little bit about what we have been doing. Now this does not mean that we have done enough. I hope you feel like I do. A kind of a restlessness to do better. That's what a collective bargaining negotiation is all about, just to do it. A little better pay, a little better fringe benefits, a little better working conditions, that's the way this country became what it is. We didn't become what we are by being dissatisfied with where they were before. This nation is known for a healthy, healthy restlessness. This nation is known for a wholesome dissatisfaction, wanting to make it better.

If I were asked what is his purpose in public life, it would be simply stated thus: To make

a better America for Americans; to make Americans better of America.

As John Kennedy once put it, "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country," and in so doing you will have a better country and you will be a better person.

That is what we are trying to do. It is not so profound; it is not so complex as someone would have you believe it. The lessons of good government and good citizenship are just the lessons of being a good person. "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you," and you won't have the problems of the slums and of the ghettos. You don't have to get yourself a Ph. D. in economics or political science to figure that out.

Maybe you ought to spend just a few minutes just reading some of the great eternal lessons of humankind and then we will begin to act as we ought to. And we can translate all of these great moral lessons, all of these great philosophical doctrines into political action. And that is what I am here asking you to do. When you vote in this election of November 5, you are going to be voting not just about an

election, you are going to be voting your moral committments, you are going to be voting your economic interests, you are going to be voting your political judgment and, believe me, get registered will you, and get everybody you can, to get registered. This country cannot afford to have slackers at the ballot box. We have to have people registered. This great opportunity to cast a vote is not just a privilege, it is a duty. We ought to call upon every citizen, regardless of how that person is going to vote, to become an active participant in the processes of democracy, which is Election Day.

I want your help now. Gear yourselves up for it. Now, what about the program? Well, we have been trying to do something here in recent years. John Kennedy said, "Let's get this country moving again." President Johnson said, "Let's continue, let's build and build," and I say to you: Not only get the country moving and build, but let's get to higher ground, let's set some new goals, let's lift ourselves a little higher. Some people have tried to identify people politically -- they say, "Is he to the left?" or, "Is he to the right?" or, "Is he

I want to be just standing a little higher to point to a higher vision, to a broader horizon. I want the American people to look up to the stars, not down into the gutter, and if we do it we will be on higher ground with a higher and better country. Isn't that what you want?

# (Applause)

We have been going, we have been moving, we are trying some things and it is beginning to work.

Education -- why, look at here; I can look at this audience and there are people here that never had a chance for a college education. There were no government programs; no government loans; no scholarships, but today, mother, your boy or girl can get a college education.

Mind you only twenty years ago there were 1,200,000 young men and women in America in college; this morning there are 7 million, and a million and a half of them are there on government loans and guaranteed loans and scholarships. Fifty-four percent of the families of America today have a son or a daughter in college, and in the next ten years 80 percent will have a son or a daughter in college

and that is exclusive of those that are in technical institutes and others. Nine million youngsters last year that never got a break before with a decent school, with decent teachers, under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act finally got better education. Nine million of them. We have increased our investment in education 300 percent at the Federal level from four million to thirteen billions of dollars. And this includes vast expansion in the vocational education and education for the mentally retarded, for the mentally handicapped, for the physically handicapped. Why not?

One out of every four hundred babies born in this country is mentally retarded. Hundreds of thousands are physically handicapped. They are God's children too, and they are entitled to every educational benefit that modern science and technology and modern teaching can present and can provide. It is not so much what you do for the best of these, but for the least of these that counts.

Remember what Franklin Roosevelt told you once. He said it was not the responsibility of the Government to provide more for those who already have too much, but it was the duty of Government to help those who had too little to have enough.

Now, that is the way I look at it.

(Applause)

And when you invest in an education you invest in the future.

Jefferson said, "You cannot be both ignorant and free." He also said, "The only legitimate purpose of the Government is the welfare and happiness of people." That is what we are engaged in.

Look what has happened in health. We have tripled our investments in research and heart, stroke and cancer. And why not? These are the great killers. And, believe it or not, we find the opposition party that voted 90 percent against our education measures --I could call on here, if this was an old Methodist meeting, for my friend Claude to get up and give a little testimonial -- over 85 percent voted against Medicare. I think Medicare is one of the great blessings of our time. Hospital and nursing home and Medicare for our senior citizens under the terms of Social Security. It has brought more happiness, more care, more benefits to more people than any one single

measure that we have passed in recent years. What a wonderful program.

# (Applause)

And for the first time your Government has taken an interest in consumer legislation. So, ladies, when you go down to buy something and it says, "Super-Duper Giant," you find out whether it has got 14 ounces in it or 16. In other words, truth in labeling; truth in packaging and truth in loans and lending. This is saving millions and millions of dollars for working people who have to watch their family budgets.

Look at what we have been able to do in feeding the hungry. We still have more to do, but we have over doubled our program of food assistance to needy families in this country in the last two and a half years.

The war on poverty -- some people say, "Well, it hasn't been successful. We haven't wont it." Well, we have had poverty with us. In fact the scriptures say, "The poor shall always be with you." But I always thought that some of us were put on this earth to do some of the Lord's work. He may be a little tired doing it all by himself.

# (Applause)

And we have started some things on the war on Poverty. Started, not nearly enough, but we have made some beginnings. Project Head Start for little kids -- it is a Godsend.

I had the privilege of breaking the tie vote in the Senate when it was tied as to whether or not we would have 25 million dollars more for Project Head Start, and where did I find my Republican opposition, the conservatives of the Congress? I found over 65 percent of them voting no. Listen, when you can vote against a four year old kid that comes from the slum or from rural areas that are poor, white and black, and let me tell you there are more poor whites than poor blacks, so let's get the record straight. When you can vote against a little four year old child who has never had a chance in his life, believe me, you have a big callus over your heart; there is no doubt about that.

# (Applause)

Jobs and job training -- ten years ago, ladies and gentlemen, there was no job training program. Today there are 1,500,000 men and women in job training

right today, being prepared for work. We have nine million people in the last three years that have come out of poverty into a much better set of living conditions with adequate income to support a family and, of those nine million, three million are black. That is the way you help a black man -- a job, a meaningful job -- that is the way you help a poor man. Not with a welfare check, but with a job and with job training and job placement and, if I am permitted to be President of the United States, we will job up this job program, and it has never been jobbed up before, we will get on with the job.

# (Applause)

Our economy has continued to move forward, forward, forward, forward, and this economy is the base of our strength. Everything we want to do depends on adequate income. It depends upon the resources that we need here at home and abroad to rebuild our cities, to complete our road program, to expand out education, to improve our hospitals, to do a thousand and one things that need to be done. You can't do any of it if the economy goes into a recession, if you have depression; you can't do any of it.

Now, the highest calling of any people is to find a way for a man to live in peace -- peace within himself, first. That is the toughest job for all of us. And then peace in the world. But the struggle for peace is not new. Mankind has been at war most of his recorded history. There have actually been more days of peace during the last 250 years than during the last five thousand, so we have made some progress even though some people would have you believe we made none. And this country has sought, as no other country on the face of the earth to spare the world from the tragedy of war. And I think it is time, my fellow Americans, for the great silent majority of Americans to speak up. We have sought no war, we have sought no conquest, we seek no spheres of influence, we seek not to expand our sovereignty or our domain and you know it.

This nation has given of its wealth and treasure in unlimited amounts almost around the world to help other people to help themselves. We have stood guard at Western Europe; we have stood guard in this hemisphere; we have stood guard in so many places in the world, so that people would not be the

victims of violence and aggression.

Remember this thing called violence. Violence does not settle problems. Violence cannot settle any problem in America and aggression settles no problems abroad. And just exactly as we cannot condone violence and looting and crime in America, and let me make it crystal clear that if I am the president of this country I will mobilize the resources of this nation to put down looting and violence and crime in this country.

# (Applause)

Just as we can't condone it here, we can't condone it abroad, and it doesn't go away just because you wish it didn't happen. There are times when you have to take a stand, difficult as it is, but let it be crystal clear that the purpose of this nation is peace, and peace is more than just the absence of war. Peace is progress; peace is harmony, and the peace that we seek will not be obtained by the timid or the fearful. It actually takes more perserverance, more courage, more daring to pursue the cause of peace than it does of victory on the battlefield, because people are less prone to be tolerant and understanding.

Now we have had a terrrible war on our hands.

No one could have predicted its dimensions, no one could have predicted its involvement. Three presidents -one who lies critically ill today, President Eisenhower, followed by President Kennedy and then President Johnson, thought that the American peop; e and the American nation had a vital interest in stopping aggression in Southeast Asia long before Hubert Humphrey came to a position of responsibility as vice president, three presidents. I don't think they were all wrong. I do not believe that any of them could have seen the depth of the degree of our involvement, but we are there and we have over a half a million men there, and whatever we do, we must not leave these men at the mercy of the aggressor. The first obligation is to protect them.

# (Applause)

But not only do we have our men there, we have our peace men in Paris, which some people seem to forget, and they are there in Paris because your President and your Government made a very great sacrifice to get them there and a sacrifice, may I say, in Vietnam itself. Many a young man over there wonders why we did sacrifice so much to get the conferences at Paris, but I think we did the right thing. We have been

trying to get a negotiation to end this war for four years. We have tried 18 times ourselves and have been rejected 18 times by third countries or third powers or other forces and rejected by Hanoi.

Finally, we have some people at Paris. The conference is going on even as I speak to you now. And two of our most able diplomats, Averill Harriman, who is regarded and respect throughout the world as a gifted, talented diplomat, and Cyrus Vance, who saved the peace in Cyprus, who went to hold down the emotions in Korea. One of the great diplomats of our time. Two of the best that we have are now in Paris talking to the North Vietnamese, seeking every honorable way to find a way to bring this ugly, cruel, costly war to an end.

Ladies and gentlemen, I think we owe them confidence. I think we owe them a debt of respect and gratitude. I think the American people ought to let the whole world know that we have faith in our country, our government and our negotiators and that's where we stand.

# (Applause)

Now, friends, I am going to do all I can to

back them up. I want peace as I want the breath of life. I want the killing stopped. I want to be able to get on with the business of peaceful reconstruction. I want Americans to be able to take care of their country and to help other people build freedom and independence in their countries.

And I can pledge to you as one who comes to you as your candidate and as your friend, and as one who comes to you as a fellow American, I can pledge to you that if I am permitted and given the high responsibility and opportunity to be President of this land that if there is not peace in Vietnam by that day, or if there is not a cease fire, that I will do everything within my power and my talents and my abilities within honor and with due regard for American security and the peoples in South Vietnam to bring peace and to bring it as quickly as it is humanly possible into Southeast Asia.

# (Applause)

Well, you know, you can't talk about this thing in five minutes. I said five minutes and darned if I didn't take twelve.

(Laughter)

I am sorry, forgive me; I am already late. Will you let me go now or can I say thank you so much for your help, for your support, and will you really just go home now and bring this message to your neighbors and friends. When you go to church and you leave on Sunday, afterwards, talk it up a little bit will you? I need your help and we can win this election. Thank you very much.

(Standing ovation)

STATE OF ILLINOIS) ) SS: COUNTY OF COOK )

PAULETTE M. SIEGRIST, being first duly sworn, on oath says that she is a court reporter doing business in the City of Chicago, that she reported in shorthand the proceedings given at the taking of said hearing, and that the foregoing is a true and correct transcript of her shorthand notes so taken as aforesaid, and contains all the proceedings given at said hearing.

Certified Shorthand Reporter

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 215 day of August, A. D. 1968.

Handler Notary Public.

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