

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
UNITED MINE WORKERS
DENVER, COLORADO
September 9, 1968

I've noticed recently in the newspapers that Mr. George Wallace and some others agree that Hubert Humphrey and Dick Nixon are two peas in a pod and that it doesn't make any difference which one of us is elected President.

Mr. Nixon came out the other day and vigorously denied the charge. I am here today to tell you that he's right.

Republicans and Democrats are not the same. They don't hold the same political beliefs. They don't act the same way in office.

And the differences mean a lot to you and your families.

Differences, for instance, in paychecks. Republicans are for small paychecks. Democrats are for large paychecks.

Now, don't expect Nixon after all these years to tell you he's for small paychecks.

But I say this. Let's look at the record and let's see who's for what . . . who just talks and who acts . . . which party means what it says . . . which party is just after votes on election day.

During the last eight Republican years in the 1950's we had three job-killing recessions. Khrushchev said he would "bury us economically."

During the Democratic years we have had 90 consecutive months of economic growth -- an all-time record.

We have had no recessions. And all over the world, people marvel at the American economy.

What happened to your paycheck during those two eight-year periods?

After all federal taxes are deducted -- this is take-home pay I'm talking about -- and after all the inflation is taken into account (and there was inflation under both Administrations) this fact is clear:

--Personal income -- paychecks -- went up over three times faster during the Kennedy-Johnson and Johnson-Humphrey years than during the Republican-Nixon years.

The difference is almost 3 thousand dollars for a family of four.

That's a new car or a year's college education -- and that's a difference worth talking about.

And it's not just a difference in wages. It's also a difference in jobs.

During the Republican-Nixon years, unemployment rose by 2 million. During the Democratic-Humphrey years, unemployment dropped by 2 million.

Now, my friends, this is not accidental.

Democrats believe that working people in America -- and I mean farmworkers and shop workers and factory workers -- All workers -- have the right to good wages and decent working conditions.

Democrats know that this policy is best not only for labor but for business.

It enables people to buy more. It enables business to produce more. It enables us to invest more on things like Medicare and social security and education for our children.

The Nixon-Republicans are still living in a horse and buggy age while TRW Systems is building space satellites. ;

When it comes to performance, Republicans still believe that the workers ought to get the economic left-overs and that big business needs to be protected by perpetuating a pool of unemployed workers.

I don't believe that -- and I'll tell you this, the enlightened businessmen in America don't believe it either.

But that's the Nixon-Republican record and I'm not going to let them forget that record.

But that's not the whole record of differences between Democrats and Republicans.

It's not so much what Republicans say that makes the difference. It's what they do.

This year their platform promises a "vigorous effort -- nationwide -- to transform the blighted areas of our cities."

But 89 per cent voted against Model Cities in 1966.

And 80 per cent voted to eliminate all funds for it in 1967.

They say "Elderly Americans desire and deserve independence . . . and dignity."

But 93 per cent voted against Medicare. And 65 per cent voted against the 1967 Social Security increases.

They want "fairness for all consumers."

But 68 per cent voted to kill Truth in Packaging . . . 83 per cent voted against the Meat Inspection Act designed to protect your wife at the meat counter.

They say they're for an "equitable minimum wage." But apparently 71 per cent of them thought a dollar-sixty was too much in 1965.

My friends, this is more than election-year partisanship.

We are making a choice in 1968 which can't be taken back.

They are choices about our families' futures -- about the kind of schools our children attend . . . about the safety and peace of our neighborhoods . . . about when and where we can afford to retire.

And even more importantly they are choices about our society.

Is this going to be one America, united and at peace with itself?

Or are we going to have two, three, or four Americas ---
a nation divided against itself --- poor against rich . . .
black against white . . . slum against suburb . . . North
against South?

Are we going to accept as inevitable the conflict
and hatred which threaten to become a part of our everyday
life?

We can let those fears and divisions overwhelm us --
and there are candidates for the Presidency this year who
are counting on that.

Or we can choose a New Day where every American child --
regardless of his color or his last name or his religion --
can receive the best education in the world . . . where all
of us stand together -- proudly.

Jobs . . . decent housing . . . better schools . . . real
security . . . health care for young and old . . . and a new
feeling of unity in this country -- these are the things
I offer you.

This is the choice I want you to make.

I appeal not to your fears, but to your reason.

I ask you to vote your hopes and not your hates.

I ask you to join with me -- with faith in the essential
greatness of this country -- in building America so strong
and so free that no one will ever be able to tear it down.

I ask your help.

#

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

UNITED MINE WORKERS of America.

DENVER, COLORADO

SEPTEMBER 9, 1968

45th Convention
Endorsement
Humphrey-Murphy

President
Lois Boyle
Mark Hogan
Rayon Rogers
Frank Seano

I'VE NOTICED RECENTLY IN THE NEWSPAPERS

THAT MR. GEORGE WALLACE AND SOME OTHERS ^{say} ~~ARE~~ THAT

HUBERT HUMPHREY AND DICK NIXON ARE TWO PEAS IN A POD

AND THAT IT DOESN'T MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE WHICH ONE OF

US IS ELECTED PRESIDENT.

Well - / MR. NIXON CAME OUT THE OTHER DAY AND

VIGOROUSLY DENIED THE CHARGE, I AM HERE TODAY TO TELL

YOU THAT HE'S RIGHT.

L REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS ARE NOT

THE SAME: THEY DON'T HOLD THE SAME POLITICAL BELIEFS.

and THEY DON'T ACT THE SAME WAY IN OFFICE.

AND THE DIFFERENCES MEAN A LOT TO YOU

AND YOUR FAMILIES.

L DIFFERENCES, FOR INSTANCE, IN PAYCHECKS.

L REPUBLICANS ARE FOR SMALL PAYCHECKS.

L DEMOCRATS ARE FOR LARGE PAYCHECKS.

NOW, DON'T EXPECT MR. NIXON, AFTER ALL

THESE YEARS, TO TELL YOU HE'S FOR SMALL PAYCHECKS.

*His a new Nixon - 1952-56
60-62-64-66-68*

↳ BUT I SAY THIS: LET'S LOOK AT THE

RECORD AND LET'S SEE WHO'S FOR WHAT ... WHO JUST TALKS

AND WHO ACTS ... WHICH PARTY MEANS WHAT IT SAYS ...

WHICH PARTY IS JUST AFTER VOTES ON ELECTION DAY!

↳ DURING THE LAST EIGHT REPUBLICAN YEARS

IN THE 1950'S WE HAD THREE JOB-KILLING RECESSIONS!

↳ KHRUSHCHEV SAID HE WOULD "BURY US ECONOMICALLY."

↳ DURING THE DEMOCRATIC YEARS WE HAVE HAD

90 ~~months~~ CONSECUTIVE MONTHS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH -- AN ALL-TIME RECORD.

2.5 - 5.2 growth

↳ WE HAVE HAD NO RECESSIONS. AND ALL OVER

THE WORLD, PEOPLE MARVEL AT THE AMERICAN ECONOMY.

*The American
Miracle*

↳ WHAT HAPPENED TO YOUR PAYCHECK DURING

THOSE TWO EIGHT-YEAR PERIODS?

AFTER ALL FEDERAL TAXES ARE DEDUCTED ---

THIS IS TAKE-HOME PAY I'M TALKING ABOUT --- AND AFTER

ALL THE INFLATION IS TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT (AND THERE WAS

INFLATION UNDER BOTH ADMINISTRATIONS) THIS FACT IS CLEAR:

-- PERSONAL INCOME -- PAYCHECKS -- WENT UP

OVER THREE TIMES FASTER DURING THE KENNEDY-

JOHNSON AND JOHNSON-HUMPHREY YEARS THAN

DURING THE REPUBLICAN-NIXON YEARS.

THE DIFFERENCE IS ALMOST 3 THOUSAND DOLLARS

FOR A FAMILY OF FOUR.

THAT'S A NEW CAR OR A YEAR'S COLLEGE

EDUCATION -- AND THAT'S A DIFFERENCE WORTH

TALKING ABOUT.

*Personal income
up 3 Times
faster
last 8 years
up
\$3000 for
family of
four*

⌞ AND IT'S NOT JUST A DIFFERENCE IN WAGES.

IT'S ALSO A DIFFERENCE IN JOBS.

Employment

⌞ DURING THE REPUBLICAN-NIXON YEARS,

UNEMPLOYMENT ROSE BY 2 MILLION. DURING THE DEMOCRATIC-

HUMPHREY YEARS, UNEMPLOYMENT DROPPED BY 2 MILLION.

⌞ NOW, MY FRIENDS, THIS IS NOT ACCIDENTAL.

DEMOCRATS BELIEVE THAT WORKING PEOPLE

IN AMERICA -- AND I MEAN FARM WORKERS AND SHOP WORKERS

mine workers
AND FACTORY WORKERS -- ALL WORKERS -- HAVE THE RIGHT TO

GOOD WAGES AND DECENT WORKING CONDITIONS. ②

⌞ DEMOCRATS KNOW THAT THIS POLICY IS BEST

NOT ONLY FOR LABOR BUT FOR BUSINESS.

h IT ENABLES PEOPLE TO BUY MORE.

L IT ENABLES BUSINESS TO PRODUCE MORE.

L IT ENABLES US TO INVEST MORE ON THINGS

LIKE MEDICARE AND SOCIAL SECURITY AND EDUCATION FOR

OUR CHILDREN.

L THE NIXON-REPUBLICANS ARE STILL LIVING

IN A HORSE AND BUGGY AGE.

and WHEN IT COMES TO PERFORMANCE, REPUBLICANS
STILL BELIEVE THAT THE WORKERS OUGHT TO GET THE ECONOMIC

LEFT-OVERS AND THAT BIG BUSINESS NEEDS TO BE PROTECTED

BY PERPETUATING A POOL OF UNEMPLOYED WORKERS.

Lennie McLean

29th

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Series

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h I DON'T BELIEVE THAT -- AND I'LL TELL

YOU THIS, THE ENLIGHTENED BUSINESSMEN IN AMERICA

DON'T BELIEVE IT EITHER.

h BUT THAT'S THE miserat NIXON-REPUBLICAN RECORD

AND I'M NOT GOING TO LET THEM FORGET THAT RECORD.!

h BUT THAT'S NOT THE WHOLE RECORD OF
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS.

h IT'S NOT SO MUCH WHAT REPUBLICANS SAY
THAT MAKES THE DIFFERENCE. IT'S WHAT THEY DO. }

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"VIGOROUS EFFORT -- NATIONWIDE -- TO TRANSFORM THE
BLIGHTED AREAS OF OUR CITIES."

L BUT 89 PER CENT VOTED AGAINST MODEL CITIES
IN 1966 AND 80 PER CENT VOTED TO ELIMINATE ALL FUNDS
FOR IT IN 1967.

Gop Platform
L THEY SAY "ELDERLY AMERICANS DESIRE AND
DESERVE INDEPENDENCE ... AND DIGNITY."

L BUT 93 PER CENT VOTED AGAINST MEDICARE
AND 65 PER CENT VOTED AGAINST THE 1967 SOCIAL SECURITY
INCREASES.

L THEY WANT "FAIRNESS FOR ALL CONSUMERS."

L BUT 68 PER CENT VOTED TO KILL TRUTH IN
PACKAGING ... 83 PER CENT VOTED AGAINST THE MEAT
INSPECTION ACT DESIGNED TO PROTECT YOUR WIFE AT THE
MEAT COUNTER.

THEY SAY THEY'RE FOR AN "EQUITABLE
MINIMUM WAGE." BUT APPARENTLY 71 PER CENT OF THEM
THOUGHT A DOLLAR-SIXTY WAS TOO MUCH IN 1965. !

MY FRIENDS, THIS IS MORE THAN ELECTION-
YEAR PARTISANSHIP. #

WE ARE MAKING A CHOICE IN 1968 WHICH
CAN'T BE TAKEN BACK. !

THEY ARE CHOICES ABOUT OUR FAMILIES'
FUTURES -- ABOUT THE KIND OF SCHOOLS OUR CHILDREN

ATTEND ... ABOUT THE SAFETY AND PEACE OF OUR

NEIGHBORHOODS ... ABOUT WHEN AND WHERE WE CAN AFFORD

TO RETIRE.

Family

L AND EVEN MORE IMPORTANTLY, THEY ARE
CHOICES ABOUT OUR SOCIETY.

L IS THIS GOING TO BE ONE AMERICA, UNITED AND
AT PEACE WITH ITSELF?

L OR ARE WE GOING TO HAVE TWO, THREE, OR
FOUR AMERICAS -- A NATION DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF --
POOR AGAINST RICH ... BLACK AGAINST WHITE ... SLUM
AGAINST SUBURB ... NORTH AGAINST SOUTH?

L ARE WE GOING TO ACCEPT AS INEVITABLE THE
CONFLICT AND HATRED WHICH THREATEN TO BECOME A PART
OF OUR EVERYDAY LIFE?

h WE CAN LET THOSE FEARS AND DIVISIONS
OVERWHELM US -- AND THERE ARE CANDIDATES FOR THE
PRESIDENCY THIS YEAR WHO ARE COUNTING ON THAT.

OR WE CAN CHOOSE A NEW DAY WHERE EVERY
AMERICAN CHILD -- REGARDLESS OF HIS COLOR OR HIS
LAST NAME OR HIS RELIGION -- CAN RECEIVE THE BEST
EDUCATION IN THE WORLD ... WHERE ALL OF US STAND
TOGETHER -- PROUDLY.

h JOBS ... DECENT HOUSING ... BETTER
SCHOOLS ... REAL SECURITY ... HEALTH CARE FOR YOUNG
AND OLD ... AND A NEW FEELING OF UNITY IN THIS COUNTRY --
THESE ARE THE THINGS I OFFER YOU.

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THIS IS THE CHOICE I WANT YOU TO MAKE.

I APPEAL NOT TO YOUR FEARS, BUT TO YOUR

REASON.

I ASK YOU TO VOTE YOUR HOPES AND NOT

YOUR HATES.

I ASK YOU TO JOIN WITH ME -- WITH FAITH

IN THE ESSENTIAL GREATNESS OF THIS COUNTRY -- IN

BUILDING AMERICA SO STRONG AND SO FREE THAT NO ONE

WILL EVER BE ABLE TO TEAR IT DOWN.

I ASK YOUR HELP.

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REMARKS OF
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
BEFORE THE UNITED MINE WORKERS

- - -

Denver, Colorado

September 9, 1968

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REMARKS OF
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
BEFORE THE UNITED MINE WORKERS

- - -

Grand Ballroom
Denver-Hilton Hotel
Denver, Colorado
Monday, September 9, 1968
7:50 p.m.

This gavel is for all those Pennsylvania delegates.
I just left Pennsylvania.

(Applause)

Well, Mr. President, you know, I have said Mr. President
so long I began to like it and thought I would like to apply
it to myself.

(Laughter and applause)

Mr. President, Tony, the one and only Tony Boyle,
it is good to be here.

(Applause)

And the officers and the delegates to this 45th
Consecutive Constitutional Convention and one of the truly
great unions of America, the United Mine Workers of America.

(Applause)

I wonder if the American people realize what truly
great labor leadership has come from your ranks. You can look
down through the annals of American labor history and if you
see a man that has really made his mark generally you will find
that he had some place somewhere, a little experience with the
United Mine Workers of America.

(Applause)

I am mighty glad to rub shoulders with this fellow,
Tony Boyle. He has been giving me advice and counsel for a
long time.

(Applause)

It was Toney who stopped by my office one day and
said, aren't you tired of being Vice President? I said, you
couldn't imagine how tired I am. He said, well, why don't
you try being President? I did, and it is great fun.

(Applause)

I don't think you said it was great fun, Tony. I
think you said it was hard work, and, it is. But ladies and
gentlemen, I would like to come to my friends of organized
labor and tell you my problems. You see, my, well, my
seniority clause isn't as good as yours.

(Laughter)

It sort of ran out. What's more is the management decided to

close up.

(Laughter)

Yes, they closed down the mine, and I had to go shopping. And I am telling you, I am glad to be with a union that knows how to put a man on the job.

(Applause)

Really, I am very pleased to be here with you. It is something I have looked forward to for a long time. Muriel, that is my Muriel -- stand up, Muriel. I want them to take a good look at you.

(Applause and whistles)

Don't you think she would look fine in the White House, ladies?

(Applause)

Well, how about you men? Don't you think she would look fine in the White House?

(Applause)

I don't know if we will have enough room for the 46th consecutive convention in the White House, but we will try.

(Applause)

Well, I think I had better talk to you a little bit about non-partisan affairs like politics.

(Laughter)

The first thing I want to do is to thank you for your endorsement. You are both courageous and kind and I thank you most kindly.

(Applause)

I think you know that all of my public life it has been my good fortune to have the help and the support of the great unions of organized labor. That is the way I got started in politics.

(Applause)

You good friends helped me out there when I was trying to be Mayor of Minneapolis and you are going to help me all the way from City Hall to Courthouse into the White House and when I am there, you are going to be there, too.

(Applause)

I can just see Tony and Mrs. Boyle there right now, just us having lunch together. Tony, you bring in some folks with you because we will have plenty to go around. They tell me there are agricultural surpluses available.

(Laughter)

Well, as I said, I thought maybe we ought to talk a little politics. I haven't had much chance to do it today. We started out in Philadelphia. We touched up the opposition just a little bit, just enough so they will need a little political liniment tonight and a hot bath in order to sleep good.

I thought if you didn't mind I would touch them up a little more. You know, I read in the papers the other day

1 -- you don't have to believe everything you read but once in a
2 while you hit one, you know. I read in the papers that Mr.
3 Wallace and some others were saying that Hubert Humphrey and
4 Dick Nixon are two peas in a pod and it doesn't make much
5 difference which one is elected President. Well, I was worried
6 about that for a while but then Mr. Nixon the other day
7 vigorously denied the charge and I am here today to say that
8 that is the first time he has been right.

9 (Applause)

10 Every fellow has the right to be right once, doesn't
11 he? You know, the truth is that we are not alike and Republicans
12 Democrats, at least most of them are not alike. You can find
13 a few that can get under the covers at the same time and kind
14 of wrassle around in the blankets but most of them are not
15 and they don't hold the same political beliefs, at least I
16 don't hold the same political beliefs with some of those who
17 today represent what I call a new political party in America,
18 the Nixiecrats, I mean.

19 (Applause)

20 I think some of you remember the days when the Dixiecrats
21 walked out of the Democratic Party. Well, they have been in
22 cold storage back there in the shadows, the cobwebs for 20
23 years and what do you think happened, they revived them and
24 they joined down in Miami Beach with Nixon. Strom Thurmond,
25 Richard Milhouse Nixon. Now, by golly, if that isn't a concoction I never heard of one. And these Republicans and Democrats, they don't act the same way in office or out of office. And I think that the differences mean a great deal to this union and they mean a great deal particularly to the families that are represented here. I wonder if it wouldn't be a good idea if we would start talking about our families because if there is any great institutions in this country that holds us together, it is our family and if there is any institution in this country that seems to have some troubles today, it is the American family. And I believe that whatever we do, whatever we plan, whatever we hope for should be designed and programmed in such a way as to make family life just a little better, to enrich the family of America.

26 (Applause)

27 I will tell you one thing that means a lot of difference
28 to a family. It is called a paycheck and there are differences
29 between these political parties and these political candidates
30 this year by paychecks.

31 Now, I don't accuse all Republicans of wanting
32 smaller paychecks for others but I will tell you I have met
33 a lot of them that sure make me think there are far too many
34 of them that feel that way.

35 (Applause)

1 And, I don't say that all Democrats are necessarily overly
2 generous but I have met enough of them starting back with Franklin
3 Roosevelt right up today to tell you that Democrats believe
4 in the main in larger paychecks and you have had them.

(Applause)

4 Now, don't you expect Mr. Nixon to come around here
5 and tell you that he is for smaller paychecks this year because
6 he won't. He won't do that. After all, he is the new Nixon.
7 I read about that.

(Laughter)

6 I read about it in 1952. Then he had a renewal job in 1956.
7 He got another touch up, a new paint job in 1960. Every time
8 I have read about him he is the new Nixon. YOU know what I would
9 like you to know, I am just the old Humphrey, the one you have
10 always known.

(Applause)

9 I have been too busy to get any of this political
10 cosmetics and I will tell you it isn't what is on the outside
11 that counts anyway. It is what is in here on the inside.

(Applause)

11 So, let's take a look at the record for a while. Did
12 you ever hear that? You remember, well, Tony remembers, I
13 think he is, must have been a sort of a cousin. Remember
14 when old Al Smith said, let's look at the record. Gosh, they
15 tell a story about Al Smith. He was coming down the hall one
16 night in Madison Square Garden, great big meeting and somebody
17 there had just a little bit too much of that juice and somebody
18 that wasn't exactly on his side got up and said, tell 'em all
19 you know, Al, it won't take long.

(Laughter)

16 But, he was as quick as Tony Boyle and he said, I will tell
17 them all I know and tell them all you know and it won't take
18 any longer.

(Laughter and applause)

18 So, in the spirit of that happy warrior, let's see who is
19 for what. Who just talks, who acts. And which party means
20 what it says and which party is just after the votes on
21 election day. Let's take a look at the record. I know of no
22 better way to judge a man. I don't think that you would hire
23 for your, or elect for your President a scab or a strike
24 breaker. No, I don't.

(Applause)

22 I think you would want to get a pretty good idea what
23 kind of a labor man he has been. Has he been out there in
24 that picket line? Has he had to go through the fires of the
25 trials that always measure a man's greatness? Has he stood
firm when you needed him? Has he been there when it was hot and
sometimes when he was alone? And you, when you find that he
has been there on that picket line, that he has fought the

1 good fight, that he stood for you when nobody else stood for
2 you, you say that is my kind of a man. That is what you have
got in Tony Boyle.

(Applause)

3 Well, let's apply the same rule to another
4 Presidency. I am not going to recite the record. I just
lay the record before you to take a look at. I want you to
5 examine the voting record of Richard Nixon and Hubert Humphrey
and then I want to see whose side you will be on if you are a
6 real labor man.

(Applause)

7 Because let me tell you dear friends, you are
negotiating a contract and it is a four-year one. You had
8 better be sure that you have got the right fellow and you better
be sure that in making that contract that you have some idea by
9 the record that he has accomplished, that he has performed,
as to what you can expect of him if you put him with high
10 responsibility in high office and I stand ready here to have
that record examined by anyone.

(Applause)

11 Well, now, let's take a look at some of the good
12 economics. Somebody said money isn't everything and another
fellow jumped up and said yes, but it sure makes a good second
best.

13 And, I know that my friends in the labor movement
understand the importance of a new contract. I know you under-
14 stand the importance of a paycheck and you understand the
importance of fringe benefits. And, I know what this union
15 has done to get this for families in America. Not just worker's
families but American families, because you are not just
16 members of the United Mine Workers, even though that is a high
enough honor for anybody. You are members of the United
17 States of America, citizens of this country.

(Applause)

18 I saw where the labor movement the other day
checked us out. I am happy to stand before you and may be
19 a 100 per cent voting record on the labor chart. A 100 per
cent. Now, that is pretty good.

(Applause)

20 That is about 25 per cent better than Mrs. Humphrey gives me
21 as a husband.

(Laughter)

22 And, then, she said she stretches it a bit. But, you fellows
know that is a pretty good batting average around home, isn't
23 it? How come? Do you do better than that?

(Laughter)

24 But during the last eight Republican years, in the 1950's --
I think you remember them -- we had three, I repeat, three
25 job killing recessions. Khrushchev said that he would bury us

1 economically. Since that time Mr. Khrushchev has gone into
2 retirement and we started to move this country forward.

(Applause)

3 During the Democratic years starting with the late
4 President Kennedy, we have had 90 consecutive months of
5 economic growth, not one single recession, an all-time record
6 of economic progress. The Republican years had an annual
7 rate of growth of 2.5 per cent. The Democratic years have
8 been 5.2 per cent. You see, all you have to do is turn a
9 Republican upside down, take it from 2.5 and to 5.2 and you
10 have got a Democrat.

(Applause)

11 Now, as I said, we had no recessions. And all over
12 the world people marveled at what they called the American
13 economic miracle. But, I want to make it quite clear, you
14 helped make that miracle. This great economic progress is not
15 due only to the policies of government. It is due to the
16 fact of one basic policy of government, that we believe in
17 the right of collective bargaining, that we believe that a
18 free trade union, that we believe that the union movement
19 of this country is vital to the economic and social and the
20 political progress of this country.

(Applause)

21 Now, what happened to your paycheck during those
22 respective two-eight year periods. After you deducted all the
23 federal taxes, and that is quite a little bit, I know, and
24 this is the take home pay I am talking about now, after all
25 the inflation has been squeezed out, and there has been
some inflation under both Administrations, the fact is clear
that personal income, paychecks, went up over three times faster
during the Kennedy-Johnson and the Johnson-Humphrey years
than during the Republican Nixon years. That is an incontro-
vertible fact and let Mr. Nixon try to argue that.

(Applause)

26 Now, what is the difference of that to a family in
27 this country? Well, for a family of four, that is equivalent
28 to a little over \$3,000 in paycheck take-home pay. Now, that
29 will send a son or a daughter to the most expensive university
30 in the country or you can go out and buy yourself a brand new
31 car and pay cash. Now, that isn't bad. It could be better.
32 We intend to make it a little better. But I will tell you that
33 it is a lot better record than what others can claim. So
34 that is the difference that we are talking about on paycheck.
35 But there is another difference that goes beyond wages. During
those Republican Nixon years, unemployment rose over two
million. It went almost up to seven per cent of the work force
and the United Mine Workers union knows of what I speak.
And during these Democratic Humphrey years, unemployment has
dropped two million. Down from 6.9, down to 3.2. Not as good

as we would like it but twice as good as you had it under those Republican years.

(Applause)

You see, the whole thing is wound up in this philosophy, that we believe that working people, working people in America, and I mean farm workers, I mean shop workers, I mean factory workers, and I mean mine workers, I mean all workers have the right to good wages, high standard of living, and good working conditions. That is the faith that we have and that is the pledge that we bring to you and we have kept the promise not only a promise made but a promise kept, and we are going to keep on keeping it because it is good for America and good for you.

(Applause)

Now, we know that this policy is not only good for labor. It is good for business. Business can't prosper unless you do. And you can't prosper unless business can invest. When you have good working conditions, when you have better paychecks, it enables people to buy more. It enables business to produce more, and generally when business produces more, it hires more, and it enables business to invest more and it enables all of us, all of us when we have a going economy, to invest in those social dividends like Medicare which has been a blessing for the senior citizens and the elderly people of America, and Social Security.

(Applause)

Of course, you pioneered Medicare in your own union. You led the way. You led the way for your workers and then by setting a good example, America caught on. I was the man that introduced the first Medicare bill in the Congress of the United States. I introduced it 16 years before it became law and Tony, they called me more names than any United Mine Worker officer has ever been called by anybody, anybody, and that is something.

(Applause)

Thus, it took us 16 years but we bought it and today, ladies and gentlemen, this last year, over 4-1/2 million of the senior citizens of America received the finest hospital and medical care that modern medicine and hospitalization is able to provide. Millions of them cared for, and why not? This is a rich country and it can afford it.

(Applause)

And this growth of our economy has permitted more in the field of education. We invested in this land last year in Federal Aid to Education alone, elementary, secondary, vocational, technical education, college, higher education, scholarships, research, we invested last year over 13 billions of dollars in education. Not bad, right?

(Applause)

What does this mean? It means that it was 300 per cent more than we invested five years ago. It means that it

1 was 500 more than we invested eight years ago. Ladies and
2 gentlemen, there has never been a nation that has ever faced
3 the prospect of insolvency or bankruptcy by investing in
4 education. As Thomas Jefferson once said, you can't be both
5 ignorant and free. And when we put our money into education
6 for our young, when we put our money into the great institutions
of learning for our college students, we build a better America.
We build a better union. We beuild a better country and we
build better families. That is why we are investing in
education.

(Applause)

7 You know, there are even some people today that
8 believe that you serve the interests of this country if you have
9 a pool of unemployed lying around. Yes, there are some people
10 who really believe that a tight labor market is bad for the
11 nation, bad for business, but I want you to know that most of
12 the enlightened men of today don't believe in that any more.
13 Today we are down training and educating and placing the
14 hard core unemployed that never before had a chance for a job.
We know that full employment not only means a better paycheck
and a better dinner pail and a better home but the enlightened
businessman of America like every intelligent citizen, knows
that it means a better country. So, let's take a look at the
record again. Let's take a look at the whole record of
differences between Democrats, that is, liberal Democrats,
Humphrey-Muskie Democrats. Let's take a look at that record

(Applause)

-- and Nixon Republicans.

15 Now, this year their platform -- they wrote that down
16 in the sunshine of Miami Beach. Well, it is nice to be down
17 there but I want to tell you it is not really a place that you
18 really think too much about the hardships of others. You kind
19 of like to forget them. I have been down there. I love it.
Beautiful country. But it is awfully hard to think about the
poor. Mighty hard to think about a mine worker when you are
lying out there on the beach, Miami Beach.

20 Well, they wrote a platform down there and it was
21 being really nice and I want to tell you when I read it first I
22 said, you know, I think we have made the greatest mass conver-
sion this world has ever known. We have converted every
Republican to be a Democrat and, I took a look at their platform
and I said, you know, it is something I can embrace.

23 Here is what it said. It promises a vigorous effort
24 nationwide to transform the blighted areas of our cities.
Now, you would have to be pretty mean not to agree with that.
I will tell you, that is about as good as the Fourth of July
and Mother's Day, right off the bat. And I say to you, do
they really need it? So, I decided to look up the record.

25 They want to rebuild our cities. They want to get

1 rid of the slums. If you don't believe so, read their
2 platform. But if you really want the acid test, go over
3 and take a look how they voted. 89 per cent of the Republicans
4 in the Congress of the United States voted against the model
5 cities legislation in 1966 which is the first major effort that
6 this country has made to do something about slums and urban
7 blight in America, and they voted not only no, they voted to
8 kill it. And, then, 80 percent of them after the bill had passed,
9 despite their opposition, 80 per cent of them voted to eliminate
10 all the money under the bill. They weren't content just to
11 vote against it. They said take all the blood out of it,
12 too. Take all the meat off it.

13 Look at their platform on the elderly. They say
14 elderly Americans desire and deserve independence and dignity.
15 I will say they do. But what did my Nixon Republican friends
16 do? 93 per cent of them voted against Medicare and 65 per cent
17 of them voted against the 1967 amendments to the Social Security
18 Act that increased the benefits under that Act 13 per cent.
19 That is their record. Platform promises but when the roll is
20 called, the prayer meeting is over as far as they are concerned.
21 They are gone.

22 (Applause)

23 And, then, they said they wanted fairness to all
24 consumers. We are all consumers, you know. Fairness to all
25 consumers. 68 per cent of them voted to kill the Truth in
Packaging bill. Most of them voted against the bill that
was Truth in Lending. 83 per cent of them voted against the
meat inspection bill, so you could be sure of the cleanliness
and the wholesomeness of the meat products. Yes, fairness
for the consumer all right, but as I said when they got down
to voting for it, they said, excuse me. I got a telephone
call, and they left the hall. Those that didn't leave the
hall stood there and voted to kill it and then they said they
are for an equitable minimum wage. This is really something.

I didn't think I would find anybody left in America,
unless he was stuffed and in a museum, that would vote against
minimum wage. I can't imagine anybody thinking that a \$1.60
an hour is too much for anything in America. But, let me tell
you what the record is. Sure, their platform promises you,
they are for an equitable minimum wage, whatever that means,
but 71 per cent of them, that is over two-thirds, thought a
dollar sixty cents was too much in 1965 for a worker to get
in 1968. OD, they are for minimum wage. I will say, very
minimum, just as low as you can get it.

(Applause)

So, I do not come here to tell you that there is
just a difference. I come here with the record to show you
that there is a difference. And that record affects your wives
and your families. If those votes on minimum wage had been

1 the prevailing votes, millions of workers in America today
2 would still live in poverty. If those votes on education of
3 the Republicans had been the prevailing majority vote, over
4 nine million boys and girls in America today would still be
5 in substandard schools that are out of those schools and in
6 better schools. If those votes had been the prevailing majority,
7 there wouldn't be a senior citizen in America today that would
8 have Medicare. I know why the American people aren't going to
9 cast their vote for Mr. Nixon, because Mr. Nixon doesn't repre-
10 sent the future. He doesn't represent the present. He
11 represents the old coalition of the conservative Dixiecrat-
12 Democrat and the conservative Republican, and they are not good
13 for this country.

(Applause)

14 My friends, I want to leave you on a note as to
15 what we are hoping that we can do. Wages, yes. Working
16 conditions, yes. Economic progress, yes. Because everything
17 that we seek to do in this country costs something. It either
18 costs money or it costs commitment and personal sacrifice.
19 You can't build a better America resting on the laurels of
20 yesterday. You can't build a better America by those who
21 want to stand still. You can't build a better America by those
22 who join hands with the past. America's future is not to be
23 found in the midnight of its political life. America's future
24 is to be found in the dawn of the new day. Every new day is
25 what is important to us, and I want to see a new day in which
our cities can be clean, at least where we make the effort.
I want to see a new day in which every child regardless of
race, color or creed, nor how he spells his name or how he
looks, will have the best education that we are capable of
providing for him, and don't tell me that a nation that is
approximating \$900 billion of its Gross National Product
can't afford to see that a child starting age four has pre-
school and that they get a chance to go on to school as long
as they can absorb learning. We are going to see that that
happens for a better America and better land.

(Applause)

26 I see an America in which our neighborhoods are not
27 filled with angry people, fearful of each other, but neighbors
28 who care, and neighbors who know that they live in safety.
29 And I want to see the day when every American comes to that
30 period in life that is known as the twilight of life will
31 not only have the dignity that comes with happy retirement
32 but also if he or she wants to, can do something rewarding for
33 themselves and for their country, and my friends, even more
34 importantly, there are choices that are more fundamental about
35 our society. Is this going to be one America like this union
united, and at peace with itself or are we going to have two,
four Americas, a nation divided against itself, the poor against

1 the rich, the black against the white, the slum against the
2 suburb, the north against the south? Are we going to accept
3 as inevitable the conflict, the bitterness and the hatred
4 which threaten to become a part of our every day life or are
5 we going to do something about it? Now, we can let those
6 fears and divisions overwhelm us and there are candidates for
7 the presidency this year that may be counting on that. Or
8 we can choose a new day, the new day that I spoke of, where
9 the man that is illiterate can have an education, where the
10 person that is unemployed through no fault of his own can have
11 gainful and productive work, where the mother who is on welfare
12 but who would rather work if she could only leave her babies
13 and her children in a good day care center, we can have a
14 better America.

15 We can choose a new day where every person can
16 receive the benefits of this nation and can participate in its
17 decisions.

18 You see, I don't think that these are idle hopes
19 or false promises or foolish dreams. As America, the America
20 we know has always been a dream, the dream of a better life.
21 Some people have said it is the impossible dream and the great-
22 ness of this country rests on the fact that what some people
23 call impossible we made possible. We did it, jobs, decent
24 housing, safe neighborhoods, better schools, genuine security,
25 health care for the young and the old, and a new feeling of
togetherness and unity in this country, a feeling of community,
a feeling of belonging to a family of Americans. These are
the things that I work for. This is why I am in this election.
This is why I take my message to you.

Oh, yes, I argue the record, but more importantly,
I wish to argue for the future because all of us are going to
live in the future. The yesterdays are gone. In is what of
tomorrow? Will this be an America that settles its problems
in the streets in violence and hatred or will this be an America
where we can sit down around the table as members of a great
family and talk out our differences and recognize that each of
us has something to contribute? Will this be an America that
is united? I submit to you that it can be and I appeal to you
not on the basis of your fears, and we all have some, not on
the basis of our doubts, and I suppose we all have some, but
I appeal to your reason. Come, let us reason together, said
Isaiah the prophet. If ever there was a time that the message of
that old testament prophet should be put to work, it is now.

Come, let us reason together, but also let justice
roll like a mighty river. We seek not only a prosperous
America. We seek a just society. So I do not appeal to your
fears. I ask you to vote your hopes, not your hates, and if
you vote your hopes, if you vote for what you hope and for what
you dream, if you vote for the new day, if you want to vote for

1 a better America in which your children will have a better
2 life, in which your union will be able to play its great part
3 as it has, I think I know how you are going to vote and I
4 come to you to ask for your help.

Thank you very much.

(Standing ovation)

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ADDRESS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

FORTY-FIFTH CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

September 9, 1968

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Mr. President, you know -- I have said Mr. President so long I began to like it, but I would like to apply it to myself.

Mr. President -- Tony-- the one and only Tony Boyle -- it is good to be with you and the officers and the delegates to this Forty-Fifth Consecutive Constitutional Convention of one of the truly great unions of America, the United Mine Workers of America.

I wonder if the American people realize what truly great labor leadership has come from your ranks. You can look down through the annals of American labor history and if you see a man who has truly made his mark, generally you will find that he had some place, somewhere, a little experience with the United Mine Workers of America.

I am mighty glad to rub shoulders with this fellow Tony Boyle. He has been giving me advice and counsel for a long time. It was Tony who stopped by my office one day and said, "Aren't you tired of being Vice President?" I said, "You couldn't imagine how tired I am." He said, "Well, why don't you try being President?" I did, and it is great fun." I don't believe you said that it was great fun, Tony. I think you said it was hard work, and it is.

Ladies and gentlemen, I like to come to my friends of organized labor and tell you about my problems. You see, my seniority clause isn't as good as yours. It sort of ran out. What is more, the management decided to close up. Yes, they closed down the mine and I had to go shopping. I am telling you, I am glad to be with a union that knows how to put a man on the job. I am very pleased to be with you. It is something I have looked forward to for a long time.

Murial -- that is my Muriel. Stand up, Muriel. I want them to take a good look at you.

(Mrs. Humphrey rose to standing applause.)

Don't you think she would look fine in the White House, ladies? Well, how about you men? Don't you think she would look fine in the White House? I don't know if we will have enough room for the Forty-Sixth Consecutive Convention in the White House, but we will try.

I think I had better talk to you a little bit about non-partisan affairs, like politics. The first thing I want to do is to thank you for your endorsement. You are both courageous and kind, and I thank you on both counts.

I think you know that all of my public life it has been my good fortune to have the help and support of the great unions of organized labor. That is the way I got started in politics. You good friends helped me out there when I was trying to be Mayor of Minneapolis, and you were going to help me all the way from

City Hall, Courthouse, into the White House, and when I am there you are going to be there too.

I can just see Tony and Mrs. Boyle there right now, just us having lunch together. And, Tony, you bring in some folks with you, because we will have plenty to go around. They tell me there are agricultural surpluses available.

As I said, I thought maybe we ought to talk a little politics. I haven't had much chance to do it today. We started out in Philadelphia. We touched up the opposition just a little bit, just enough so they will need a little political liniment and a hot bath in order to sleep good. I thought maybe if you didn't mind I would touch them up a little more.

I read in the papers the other day -- you don't have to believe everything you read, but once in a while you hit one, you know. I read in the papers that Mr. Wallace and some others were saying that Hubert Humphrey and Dick Nixon are two peas in a pod, and it doesn't make much difference which one is elected President. I was worried about that for a while, but then Mr. Nixon the other day vigorously denied the charge. I am here today to say that that's the first time he has been right. But every fellow has a right to be right once, doesn't he?

The truth is that we are not alike, and Republicans and Democrats, at least most of them are not alike. You can find a few that can get under the covers at the same time and kind of wrestle around for the blankets, but most of them are not, and

they don't hold the same political beliefs. At least I don't hold the same political beliefs with some of those who today represent what I call a new political party in America, the Nixiecrats.

I knew you would get that. I think some of you remember the days when the Dixiecrats walked out of the Democratic party, when they had been in cold storage back there in the shadows and the cobwebs for 20 years. What do you think happened? They revived them and they joined down at Miami Beach with Nixon. Strom Thurmond and Richard Milhous Nixon. By golly, if that isn't a concoction I never heard of one.

These Republicans and Democrats don't act the same way in office or out of office. I think that the differences mean a great deal to this union, and they mean a great deal particularly to the families that are represented here.

I wonder if it wouldn't be a good idea if we would start talking about our families, because if there is any great institution in this country that holds us together, it is our families, and if there is any institution in this country that seems to have some troubles today it's the American family. I believe that whatever we do, whatever we plan, whatever we hope for should be designed and programmed in such a way as to make a family life just a little better -- to enrich the family life of America. I will tell you one thing that means a lot of difference to a family. It is called a pay check.

There are differences between these political parties and these political candidates this year about pay checks. I don't accuse all Republicans of wanting smaller pay checks for others, but I will tell you I have met a lot of them that sure make me think that there are far too many of them that feel that way. I don't say that all Democrats are necessarily overly generous, but I have met enough of them, starting back with Franklin Delano Roosevelt right up to today, to tell you that Democrats believe in the main in larger pay checks, and you have had them.

Don't you expect Mr. Nixon to come around here and tell you that he is for smaller pay checks this year, because he won't. He won't do that. After all, he is a new Nixon. I read about that. I read about it in 1952. Then he had a renewal job in 1956. He got another touch-up, a new paint-up job in 1960. Every time I have read about him he is a new Nixon.

I would like you to know I am just the old Humphrey, the one you have always known. I have been too busy to get any of this political cosmetics. I will tell you it isn't what is on the outside that counts anyway. It is what is in here on the inside that counts, and you know it.

Let's take a look at the record for a while. Did you ever hear that? Tony remembers it. I think he must have been sort of a cousin. Remember when old Al Smith said, "Let's look at the record."

They tell a story about Al Smith. He was coming down the

hall one night in Madison Square Garden at a great big meeting. Somebody there had had just a little bit too much of that juice -- somebody that wasn't exactly on his side. He got up and said, "Tell them all you know, Al. It won't take long." But he was as quick as Tony Boyle and he said, "I'll tell them all I know and tell them all you know, and it won't take any longer."

So, in the spirit of that happy warrior, let's see who is for what; who just talks and who acts. Let's see which party means what it says and which party is just after the votes on election day. Let's take a look at the record.

I know of no better way to judge a man. I don't think that you would hire or elect for your president a scab or a strike-breaker. No, I don't think you would. I think you would want to get a pretty good idea what kind of a labor man he has been. Has he been out there on that picket line? Has he had to go through the fires and the trials that always measure a man's greatness? Has he stood firm when you needed him? Has he been there when it was tough and sometimes when he was alone? And you, when you find that he has been there on that picket line; that he has fought the good fight; that he stood for you when nobody else stood for you; you say, "That is my kind of a man." That is what you have got in Tony Boyle.

Well, let's apply the same rule to another presidency. I am not going to recite the record, I just lay the record out for you to take a look at. I want you to examine the voting record

of Richard Nixon and Hubert Humphrey and then I want to see whose side you will be on if you are a real labor man.

Let me tell you, dear friends, you are negotiating a contract, and it is a four year one. You had better be sure that you got the right fellow. And you had better be sure that in making that contract that you have some idea by the record that he has accomplished and that he has performed as to what you can expect of him if you put him with high responsibility and high office. I stand ready here to have that record examined by anyone.

Well now, let's take a look at some of the good economics. Somebody said, "Money isn't everything." And another fellow jumped up and said, "Yes, but it sure makes a good second best."

I know that my friends in the labor movement understand the importance of a new contract. I know you understand the importance of a pay check. And you understand the importance of fringe benefits. And I know what this union has done to get this for families in America; not just workers' families, but American families, because you are not just members of the United Mine Workers even though that is a high enough honor for anybody. You are members of the United States of America -- citizens of this country.

I saw where the labor movement the other day checked us out, and I am happy to stand before you because they gave me a 100% voting record on the labor chart. Now, that's pretty good. That's about 25% better than Mrs. Humphrey gives me as a husband. And then she said she stretches it a bit. But, you fellows know

that it is a pretty good batting average around home, isn't it?

Well, during the last eight Republican years, in the 1950's -- I think you remember them -- we had three, and I repeat three job killing recessions. Krushchev said that he would bury us economically. Since that time Mr. Krushchev has gone into retirement and we have started to move this country forward. During the Democratic years, starting with the late President Kennedy, we have had 90 consecutive months of economic growth; not one single recession. An all time record of economic progress. The Republican years had an annual rate of growth of 2.5%. The Democratic years have been 5.2%. You see, all you have to do is to turn a Republican upside down, take it from 2.5 to 5.2, and you have got a Democrat.

As I said, we had no recessions. All over the world people marvel at what they call the American economic miracle. But I want to make it quite clear, you have helped make that miracle. This great economic progress is not due only to the policies of government. It is due to the fact of one basic policy of government: that we believe in the right of collective bargaining; that we believe in a free trade union; we believe that the union movement of this country is vital to the economic and social and political progress of this country, and we are proud to stand as your friends.

Now, what happened to your pay check during those respective two 8-year periods? After you deducted all the Federal taxes,

and that is quite a little bit I know, and this is the take-home pay I am talking about now -- after all the inflation has been squeezed out -- and there has been some inflation under both administrations -- the fact is clear that personal income, pay checks, went up over three times faster during the Kennedy-Johnson and the Johnson-Humphrey years than during the Republican-Nixon years. That is an incontrovertible fact, and let Mr. Nixon try to argue that.

Now, what is the difference in that to a family in this country. Well, for a family of four, that is equivalent to a little over \$3,000 in pay check take-home pay. That will send a son or a daughter to the most expensive university in the country. Or you can go out and buy yourself a brand new car and pay cash. Now that isn't bad. Could be better. We intend to make it a little better. But I will tell you that it is a lot better record than what others can claim.

So, that is the difference that we are talking about on pay checks. But there is another difference that goes beyond wages. During those Republican-Nixon years unemployment rose over two million. It went almost up to 7% of the work force. And the United Mine Workers Union knows of what I speak. During these Democratic Humphrey years unemployment has dropped two million. Down from 6.9 to 3.2. Not as good as we would like it, but twice as good as you had it under those Republican years.

You see, the whole thing is bound up in this philosophy:

We believe that working people, working people in America -- and I mean farm workers, I mean shop workers, I mean factory workers, and I mean mine workers. I mean all workers have the right to good wages, a high standard of living, and good working conditions. That is the faith that we have, and that is the pledge that we bring to you and we have kept the promise; not only a promise made, but a promise kept. We are going to keep on keeping it, because it is good for America and good for you.

We know that this policy is not only good for labor. It is good for business. Business can't prosper unless you do. And you can't prosper unless business can invest. When you have good working conditions, when you have better pay checks, it enables people to buy more. It enables business to produce more. And generally, when business produces more it hires more. And it enables business to invest more. It enables all of us, all of us, when we have a going economy, to invest in those social dividends like Medicare, which has been a blessing for the senior citizens and the elderly people of America -- and Social Security.

Of course, you pioneered in medicare in your own union. You led the way. You led the way for your workers. Then, by setting a good example, America caught on. I was the man who introduced the first Medicare Bill in the Congress of the United States. I introduced it 16 years before it became law. And, Tony, they called me more names than any United Mine Worker officer has ever been called by anybody. And that is some record.

Yes, it took us 16 years, but we got it. And today, ladies and gentlemen, this last year over four and one half million of the senior citizens of America received the finest hospital and medical care that modern medicine or hospitalization is able to provide. Millions of them cared of them, and why not? This is a rich country and it can afford it.

This growth of our economy has permitted more in our field of education. We invested in this land last year in federal aid to education alone -- elementary, secondary, vocational, technical education, college, higher education, scholarships, research -- we invested last year over \$13 billion in education. Not bad -- right? What does this mean? It means that it was 300% more than we invested five years ago. It means that it was 500% more than we invested eight years ago.

And, ladies and gentlemen, there has never been a nation that has ever faced the prospect of insolvency or bankruptcy by investing in education. As Thomas Jefferson once said, "You can't be both ignorant and free." When we put our money into education for our young, when we put our money into the great institutions of learning for our college students, we build a better America. We build a better union. We build a better country and we build better families. That is why we are investing in education.

You know, there are even some people today who believe that you serve the interests of this country if you have a pool of

unemployed lying around. Yes, there are some people who really believe that a tight labor market is bad for the nation; bad for business. But I want you to know that most of the enlightened business men of today don't believe in that any more. Today we are down training and educating and placing the hard core unemployed who never before had a chance for a job. We know that full-time employment not only means a better pay check and a better dinner pail and a better home, but the enlightened businessman of America, like every intelligent citizen, knows that it means a better country.

Let's take a look at the record again. Let's take a look at the whole record of differences between Democrats -- that is, liberal Democrats -- Humphrey-Muskie Democrats -- and Nixon Republicans. This year their platform was written down in the sunshine of Miami Beach. Well, it is nice to be down there, but I want to tell you it is not really a place where you really think too much about the hardships of others. You kind of like to forget them. I have been down there and I love it. It is beautiful country, but it is awfully hard to think about the poor. It is mighty hard to think about a mine worker when you are lying out there on the beach at Miami Beach.

Well, they wrote a platform down there and it was really nice. I want to tell you when I read it at first I said, "You know, I think we have made the greatest mass conversion this world has ever known. We have converted every Republican to be a

Democrat." I took a look at their platform and I said, "You know, there's something I could embrace."

Here is what it said. It promises a vigorous effort, nationwide, to transform the blighted areas of our cities. You would have to be pretty mean not to agree with that. I will tell you, that is about as good as the Fourth of July and Mother's Day, right off the bat. I said, "Do they really mean it?" So I decided to look up the record. They want to rebuild our cities. They want to get rid of the slums. If you don't believe so, read their platform. But if you really want the acid test, go over and take a look at how they voted. Eighty-nine percent of the Republicans in the Congress of the United States voted against the model cities legislation in 1966, which is the first major effort that this country has made to do something about slums and urban blight in America. They not only voted no, they voted to kill it.

After the bill had passed, despite their opposition, 80% of them voted to eliminate all the money under the bill. They weren't content just to vote against it. They said, "Take all the blood out of it too. Take all the meat off of it."

Look at their platform on the elderly. They say elderly Americans desire and deserve independence and dignity. I will say they do. But what did my Nixon-Republican friends do? Ninety-three percent of them voted against Medicare and 65% of them voted against the 1967 amendments to the Social Security

Act that increased the benefits under that Act 13%. That is a record. Platform promises, but when the roll is called the prior meeting is over as far as they are concerned. They are gone.

Then they said they wanted fairness to all consumers. We are all consumers, you know. Fairness to all consumers, but 68% of them voted to kill the Truth in Packaging Bill. Most of them voted against the bill called Truth in Lending. Eighty-three percent of them voted against the Meat Inspection Bill so you could be sure of the cleanliness and wholesomeness of the meat products. Yes, they were for fairness for the consumer all right. But, as I said, when they got down to voting for it they said, "Excuse me. I've got a telephone call," and they left the hall. Or those that didn't leave the hall stood there and voted to kill it.

Then they say they are for an equitable minimum wage. This is really something. I didn't think I would find anybody left in America, unless he was stuffed in a museum, that would vote against the minimum wage. I can't imagine anybody thinking that \$1.60 an hour is too much for anything in America. But let me tell you what the record is. Sure, their platform promises you they are for an equitable minimum wage, whatever that means. But 71% of them -- that is over two-thirds -- thought \$1.60 was too much in 1965 for a worker to get in 1968. Boy, are they for a minimum wage? I will say very minimum -- just about as low as you can get it.

I do not come here to tell you that there is just a difference. I come here with the record to show you that there is a difference, and that record affects your wives and your families. If those votes on minimum wage had been the prevailing votes, millions of workers in America today would still live in poverty. If those votes on education of the Republicans had been the prevailing majority vote, over nine million boys and girls in America today would still be in substandard schools that are out of those schools and in better schools. If those votes had been the prevailing majority there wouldn't be a senior citizen in America today that would have Medicare.

I know why the American people aren't going to cast their votes for Mr. Nixon, because Mr. Nixon doesn't represent the future. He doesn't represent the present. He represents the old coalition of the conservative Dixiecrat-Democrat and the conservative Republican, and they are not good for this country.

My friends, I want to leave you on a note as to what we are hoping that we can do. Wages, yes. Working conditions, yes. Economic progress, yes; because everything that we seek to do in this country costs something. It either costs money or it costs commitment and personal sacrifice.

You can't build a better America resting on the laurels of yesterday. You can't build a better America by those who want to stand still. You can't build a better America by those who join hands with the past. America's future is not to be found

in the midnight of its political life. America's future is to be found in the dawn of a new day. Every new day is what is important to us.

I want to see a new day in which our cities can be clean, at least where we can make the effort. I want to see a new day in which every child, regardless of race, color or creed or how he spells his last name, or how he looks, will have the best education that we are capable of providing for him. Don't tell me that a nation that is approximating 900 billion dollars in its gross national product can't afford to see that a child starting at age four has pre-school, and that they get a chance to go to school as long as they can absorb learning. We are going to see that that happens for a better America and for a better day.

I see an America in which our neighborhoods are not filled with angry people fearful of each other, but neighbors who care and neighbors who know that they live in safety. I want to see the day when every American that comes to that period in life is known as the twilight of life will not only have the dignity that comes with happy retirement, but also, if he or she wants to, can do something rewarding for themselves and for their country.

My friends, even more importantly, there are choices that are more fundamental about our society. Is this going to be one America like this union, united and at peace with itself,

or are we going to have two, three, four Americas -- a nation divided against itself, the poor against the rich, the black against the white, the slum against the suburb, the north against the south. Are we going to accept as inevitable the conflict, the bitterness and the hatred which threaten to become a part of our everyday life, or are we going to do something about it?

We can let those fears and divisions overwhelm us, and there are candidates for the presidency this year that may be counting on that, or we can choose a new day -- the new day that I spoke of -- where the man that is illiterate can have an education; where the person that is unemployed through no fault of his own can have gainful and productive work; where the mother who is on welfare, but would rather work if she could only leave her babies and her children in a good day care center, can do so. We can have a better America. We can choose a new day where every person can receive the benefits of this nation and can participate in its decisions.

You see, I don't think that these are idle hopes or false promises or foolish dreams. The America that we know has always been a dream -- the dream of a better life. Some people have said it is the impossible dream, and the greatness of this country rests in the fact that what some people called impossible we made possible. We did it. Jobs, decent housing, safe neighborhoods, better schools, genuine security, health care

for the young and the old, and a new feeling of togetherness and unity in this country. A feeling of community, a feeling of belonging to a family of Americans -- these are the things that I work for. This is why I am in this election. This is why I take my message to you.

Oh yes, I argue the record, but more importantly I wish to argue the future, because all of us are going to live in the future. The yesterdays are gone. It is what of tomorrow? Will this be an America that settles its problems in the streets in violence, in hatred, or will this be an America where we can sit down around the table as members of a great family and talk out our differences and recognize that each of us has something to contribute? Will this be an America that is united?

I submit to you that it can be, and I appeal to you not on the basis of your fears -- and we all have some -- not on the basis of your doubts -- and I suppose we all have some -- but I appeal to your reason. "Come let us reason together," said Isaiah, the prophet. If ever there was a time that this message of that Old Testament prophet should be put to work, it is now. Come let us reason together, but also let justice roll like a mighty river. We seek not only a prosperous America; we seek a just society.

So I do not appeal to your fears. I ask you to vote your hopes, not your hates. If you vote your hopes, if you vote for what you hope and for what you dream, if you vote for the new

day, if you want to vote for a better America in which your children will have a better life, in which your union will be able to play its part, as it has, I think I know how you are going to vote, and I come to you to ask for your help.

Thank you very much.



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