

TRANSCRIPT

Cope Conference
December 2, 1968
Perry Point, Md.

Thank you very much George. I think its a most appropriate time to put on the Order of the Buffalo because we may have to dig in for quite a while. And I want to get in on the digging early so that there's no chance to be shoved aside. Presently, through you, and to you, I want to say a very grateful thankyou in capital letters to every member of COPE, to this great labor movement, and to all of my friends....(lost)..... to laboring people everywhere. I just owe you so much and I'm firmly grateful and in the years that lie ahead I intend to show you that gratitude in many, many ways. Thank you George, for what you've been to me.

There are many people here today that I could say a word about but I will forgo that pleasure. I want to of course acknowlege our host here of this wonderful facility and I'm looking forward to tracing all parts of this great facility. And to Paul, Paul Hall, our thanks, and to all of your officers and members and the trainees that are here -- I look forward to a visit with them. Joe is here. My friend Joe Keenan that traveled with me on the plane so many times. Joe suffered with me, he worked with me, he had moments of joy with me and we had a few moments of sadness together but I can only say to you President Meany that every moment we had together was a rich and rewarding one and the same with Eddie. Eddie I want to thank you to ; for your wonderful help and the different members of this labor movement joining me not only in the campaign itself, that is out on the Hudson, but as we traveled around the country. And to Al, Al Barkley, BARKLEY listen, you just couldn't do better than to have a man like Al Barkley, great leadership and hope. And I want you to take a minute out now just to thank this fellow for a job well done.

We have here a representative from the House of Representatives, and a member of the Senate. I just thought I'd bring him along to remind you of the work that lies ahead. We have Senator ~~Fred~~ Moss, one of your loyal friends. And on the way, driving this morning I said to Ted that I was hoping that the labor movement would realize, and I know it does, that a Senator from Utah, a thinly populated state, is every bit as important as a Senator from the most populated state. The way you ought to judge these men ~~is~~ by ~~these~~ kindness and ~~their~~ generosity, is on what they stand for and what they do , not on the number of people that they are supposed to represent in a state, because one vote in the Senate is one vote. Ted Moss has got a vote and there are others like him, and that vote has never hurt you -- it has always helped you. Now you take a good look at him. I believe he's in the class of 1958 and that's the class that would end and come up this time. And I see Andy bobbing his head out there, and he has to work with these legislative fellows and he knows that a man like Senator Moss needs your help and your cooperation. And then I have a fine gentlemen from the State of Michigan who has headed the Democratic study group, who worked for me brilliantly, ably, sucessfully, and he is a liberal. He is a conscience worker. I'm very proud of his voting record and you've been proud of it too because you've given him high marks. And I asked him to come along today because he's been extrodinarily ~~helpful~~ kind to me and very helpful and he's a fine Democrat ad he knows how to bridge the many differences that we have and still come out as a man of progressive principle, and that's Jim O'Hara.

I have a few observations to make and this is informal, all off the record, and of course I know that sometimes that the record gets spread around a little bit and I'm going to be very precise. I haven't made very many speeches since the election, that's one of the grea t public services that I've already given. I went out home to Minnesota to visit with some of my friends out there in the farmers union. I've been there 19 years -- every year for 19 years. And I felt, I'll ~~talk to you~~ talk to you very openly about it, one of my associates said "Well you really don't need to go out there this year". And I said "I want there people to know that in the hour of adversity I'm still as good a friend as I was in the hour of our glory. And I'm going to go out to see those people just to let them know that I care as much after the elction as I did before the election.

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Well we had a little over 11,000 people out there and I talked with them a little bit about this country, about what we were up against -- problems that we might have in the tomorrows, and had a wonderful meeting with them. ~~They~~ They helped me, there weren't enough members is all. But the ones they had were pretty good. We didn't do too well out in that great agricultural area, but in the areas where the farmers Union was an effective force we did well.

And now I come to this COPE meeting. Well I guess you know that I most likely been ~~even~~ even a ~~candidate~~ candidate had a not a man like George Meany come to my office and said come one let's get going. What are you waiting for? In fact he wanted me to announce on the moment he was in the office. I said George, will you mind if I just take an hour or two to kind of collect my thoughts. And he was kind enough to say, if you want only an hour, that will be alright.

Then I went on up to the AFL-CIO Convention in Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, and I must say that I almost took the dive right then. With the enthusiastic support we received on that occasion. But it is a fact that the main encouragement that I received in the earliest days after President Johnson announcement on March 31 was from members here in this room, from the leadership of the Labor movement, and in particular, from George Meany. I am very grateful for that early support and that expression of confidence and friendship. And during the months of contest for the nomination I knew where my friends where and I knew who they were, and you surely did your job. And you did it beautifully.

And then in the campaign, where we had no organization many places in so far as the Democratic Party was concerned you were there. And I can say to this group this morning that you can take a look at election districts across this country and you can just pinpoint where you were effective is where your membership was and where your good leadership was at work. You were the backbone of our campaign effort. We had many other things that were _____ We were finally able to mount a reasonably good media campaign and finally got hold of enough money to do it in the last two weeks. But in that dry spell, you know I come from the plains, and I remember the long years of drought. In the dry spell when there were very few that had any faith at all, and very few that would say they were _____, you were there. You never quit. You had made up your mind that you were going to fight this battle and you were going to fight it on to what you hoped would be a victory.

Even when the odds where demonstratably against - I think there were just about two groups that thought we might have a chance, you and my family. And I have never lost faith in either one. In fact I can recall on one occasion saying to the members of my ~~sax~~ staff that no one else is willing to fight in the campaign I'll do it if I have to go out by myself, like I did once before.

But you were able to maintain ~~the spirit~~ enough of the spirit and enthusiasm so that it started to catch on. And I can tell you that regardless of the ultimate outcome, it did catch on. There is no doubt about that. We had something going for us. I couldn't get the President to change the date of the election you know. It was prescribed by law. We are a law abiding group. So that on November 5th we had to take the count. We were a little short, but through no fault of yours.

I frankly have only one regret. That we didn't get started sooner, that I wasn't able to do a little better, and of course the ultimate of that is that we didn't win. But we did get 30 million votes and the other fellow just gets 31 million votes, you don't have too much to complain about except that you didn't get the prize and the blue ribbon, that's all. And I want to thank you for what you did for me.

We are going to do a little talking this morning about some of the things that we ~~ought to~~ overlooked. One of the things that came out of this election was the concern over the selection process of the candidate for President and the election process of the ultimate selection or election of the President.

3 We are going to take a look into Congress and I suppose all across this Country in every conceivable research group - Foundations, Universities, labor movement and all as to the best manner to elect a President of the United States. The electoral college is a hangover from the past. It has some justification, of course, in our federal system. But I believe that the closeness of this election in the popular vote tells us that in a election of the President of the United States who is the only national officer plus the Vice President to be elected by all the people then something must be done to make it a more precise and a more Democratic election... with a small "d". ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ And I wouldn't mind if it was a capital "D". But in this instance it's a small "d". And therefore, as you know, there are already hearings in the conference about what we should do about the Constitution and that part of the Constitution that relates to the election of the President.

It appears that we are moving towards what we call a direct election. I was by the way Bill Langer and myself used to sponsor an amendment ~~XXXX~~ in the Congress back in 1950, '51 and '52 for the direct election of the President. Like most things at that time, it wasn't very popular.

But I noticed recently, the American Bar Assoc., a rather prudent and conservation ^{use} group has endorsed the principle of the direct election of the President. And I think we are moving towards that. And if we are, and if this should happen by Constitutional Amendment it will take some time, but it could be done before the next ~~elections~~ Presidential election.

Then you have some other questions you had better ask yourself.

What are we going to do about registration?

What are we going to do about the 8 or 10 million people, for example, in this last election that could not vote under state election laws for the President or the Vice President simply because the registration and the election laws denied them the right to vote? They were in movement. Now every state in this country has its own election laws. And each of them has some differences. ~~And~~ In some places ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ if you don't have 30 days in the voting precinct, 60 days in the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ county, and a year in the state, you can't vote. In other places, such as we were talking about, in the state of Michigan you have a so-called permanent registration, but if you miss voting in any election you lose your registration and you have to go back and re-register.

In other words, we have put the burden of registration on the voter. And he has to meet all the peculiar requirements of his city, of his county, of ~~XXXX~~ his state. In some places, for example, they have mobile registration units. In other places, like in my state, you have to come ~~down~~ down to the city hall. And you can't find a place to park, and what's more is it is difficult to get the city council to give extra ~~hours~~ hours for registration. We make it difficult in this democracy for people to exercise ~~their~~ their democratic rights.

Now the labor movement has a stake in this. I'm not sure what the precise figures are, but let's take a guess. You have Mr. Scammon here this morning who is one of the great statisticians - he knows more about elections than any man that I know. But I would venture to say that ~~X~~ about 30% of the American potential ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ electorate is not registered. Maybe more than that. Between 30 and 40%. So that when we elect a President of this country and the Vice President we have at best a majority of the registered voters. And the registered voters represent only a majority of the potential voters. So that you generally end up with a majority of the maximum voters, that are making the ~~decision~~ ultimate decision as to who will be the President of the United States. It is not right.

So if we are going to amend the Constitution ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ on the matter of

4 the election of the ~~President~~ President, I would hope that COPE and I would hope that other forward looking groups would take a look at - What are we going to do about legislation?

Shouldn't the burden of registration be on the government? Rather than on the citizen. In other words, you are a citizen of the United States, and in the Presidential election shouldn't any person that is a citizen -- we can have either by constitutional amendment at age 18 or you can leave the voting age up to the states. But any person that qualifies under the age limitations or the age qualification, shouldn't that person be permitted to vote without any hindrance, without any obstacles? We take a ~~sexus~~ census of the people of the United States every 10 years. And that is paid for out of the public treasury. Isn't it possible to take a census ~~for~~ of ~~people~~ the American people for voting rights so that you know on the voting lists ~~that~~ who the people are and the voting lists are prepared by the state and the county and the city. So that what you have to do on election day is to come in and cast your vote and have your name checked off that list. I think we can do this.

And let me tell you something that is the best protection that we people have and the best protection that working people have -- mark my words -- of the people that were not registered in this last election, most of them would have been on our side.

We know that when we went into the areas of the poor, into the Black areas, the Mexican-Americans, the Spanish-speaking Americans, of the working people, we know that when we went into most of those precincts and they were registered, that we had better than a 50-50 chance of getting the vote., for our candidate. We have a great stake in this. Now, of course, other people know this, the opposition knows this, but we have a moral principle on our side. We have a basic democratic principle on our side. But in a country of representative government all of ~~the~~ the people should have a chance to select and elect those who will represent them. And that you ought to remove every barrier from that ~~the~~ selection process. Now we removed the racial barrier in the Voting Rights Act of 1965. It took a long time to do it and you helped to get it done. And I was told that about 600 Federal observers were around the country looking at how the Voting Rights Act of 1965 operated. And not a single incident, there was not intimidation. The Voting ~~Act~~ Rights Act worked. The only limitation was that we didn't have enough registered and there was still some voting education that needed to be done. But the Voting Rights Act saw to it that a person would not be denied the right to vote because of race, or would not be intimidated. That act worked. There was Federal enforcement and Federal observation and it worked. And the repeal of poll taxes and it worked. Now those are the most obvious limitations on the right to vote.

We've cleaned those away. Now some people didn't exercise that right to vote. But there was another limitation underneath all of it, namely that you had to get registered. And it placed the burden upon many a person and that burden was sometimes augmented by local officials seeing to it that it was difficult to register. Or not being particularly cooperative in the registration process.

And why should the labor movement have to spend hundreds of thousands of dollars in a registration program when it ought to be run just as you do for example, on registering every potential taxpayer.

One of my ~~aid~~ aides that was with me this morning said that in his county they have a computerized list of every potential taxpayer in his county. And they have a way of checking out if you pay your taxes.

Now if you can put on a computer every potential taxpayer and every property owner and do it at government expense, we can put on the ~~the~~ same list every potential voter and have the voting lists and have a permanent registration. And you can do it for every election where there are federal officers being

5 selected like President, Senator and Congressman. It can be done. ~~And~~ And I want you to get busy at it and see that we do do it, because there is not sense in the American people -- the people, and many of them the forgotten people as one candidate called them -- there is no sense that these people being denied their right to have something to say ~~ask~~ about who will be their President, their Vice President, their Senator and their Congressman. It is bad enough that they are denied as to who will be their governor, their state legislator and their mayor. You and I know, and I learned in this campaign there are some areas local officials just don't want those voting lists expanded. They have it tied up the way they want it. ~~They didn't want registration. They didn't want to expand the policies. They didn't want to expand the participation in this election.~~ Well I want them to know that in the next four years they are going to have to wrestle with me. Because I'm going to do everything I can to see to it that the base of American Democracy is broadened, and that the people do have a right to participate and that every hindrance and that every obstacle is removed. And I want Senator Moss and Congressman O'Hara to know that what little ~~shave~~ hair they have left, I'll be in it (LAUGHTER)

I know there are some problems, such as I made a note here of a constitutional question, I'm not a lawyer, but we can have a study made of that and If need be we can always work it out graphs and slates? and use the registration so that we don't run into a constitutional question. There are no problems that cannot be overcome. So ~~that~~ let's put that one down.

Now lets take a look at just one or two other things here. The elections of 1970. I was visiting with some of our friends and President Meany the other day in the labor movement out home. I stopped in at the Minnesota AFL-CIO executive board meeting. They really worked, boy. Dave ~~Boe~~ is the President out there of the ~~XXX~~ AFL-CIO and he's a wonderful friend and he ~~does~~ work his heart out to help us. We did well in Minnesota I want you to know -- they voted for Humphrey in Minnesota. And I liked that very very much. Well I said to our executive committee out there, I said look, this is sort of like a baseball game -- one strike, two strikes, three strikes and your out. We're still at bat -- we're still at the ball park, but the opposition ~~has~~ strike one on us in the presidency. Mark my words in a very few months they'll have strike two on ~~Hubert's~~ Hubert's corpse. And believe me the labor movement knows what that means. The last chance you got is the Congress -- and the elections of 1970 are crucial. In the elections of 1970 the class of 1958 in the senate and 1964 both Senators are up. Those are the best ones you got. They were elected in '58 in an amazing victory of the progressive forces in this country and they were reelected in 1964 in the landslide victory of President Johnson. Now 25 of ~~those~~ those Senators are up -- 25 -- one-fourth of the entire body. If you lose five of those -- if the opposition captures five the majority of the United States Senate has switched. And then like Strom Thurmond and a few others that are not so obvious -- maybe even a little more devious will be in charge. Very interesting to see who will be come the majority and minority whip in the United States Senate. It'll be very ~~xxx~~ interesting. We know Senator Tom Kuchel, a fine gentlemen. Now we'll see what the minority party ~~does~~ to the Senate in terms of selection of there their and what his political philosophy is. I could make a prediction but I'm not going to. ~~wrap up~~ I'll hold for a little while. I'm in a holding pattern.

You just keep your eyes up. But that election, if you lose twenty seats -- isn't that right? -- in the house or maybe even fewer because we have a very delicate balance there -- any kind of power. But a ~~maximum~~ maximum of twenty seats out of 435 and we've had it. Every major governorship -- with one exception -- the Governorship of Illinois -- New York, Pennsylvania, California, Ohio, Michigan, Massachusetts, everyone of them, are up this 1970. And do I need to tell my friends in the labor movement the importance of the legislatures? This is where we often miss the boat. Most of the bad legislation works its way up to Washington starts from some state ~~Governor~~ legislature with some Governor getting a lot of publicity. Standing up for the people in quotes with the right to work laws and what ever ~~else~~ else he has in mind. And I want to say right now that we've got a job to do and I intend to help do the job.

⑥ I'm going to ask my fellow Democrats to have a kind of a moratorium on factualism and who ~~these~~ they're going to run in 1972. Because if we don't win in 1970 the election of 1968 will look like its a special benefit for the Democrats as ~~compared~~ compared with what will happen in 1972. We have the chance of a life time in 1970 with these Governorships and with this Congressional election -- we have the greatest hazard and you and I know it. I've meet with the people who helped us finance this last campaign -- I went up to New York and sat down with a number of our fine friends. And I told them of some of my hopes and aspirations for the next two years.

I said I want to help build a strong movement in this country that can protect liberal gains that we've made and haven't quite appreciated ~~xxx~~ yet. ~~xxx~~ It'll start to sink in I guarantee you -- just like the fellow that never attended church till somebody wants to close the door. You'd be surprised how religious people get when somebody says you can't go to ~~church~~ church -- you'd be surprised how much people like the humans when somebody says ~~xxx~~ they're going to destroy us. Long as its bringing home the benefits, as long as the leadership is getting no pay increases, no fringe benefits -- well we all feel free to take a shot at you. And the human leadership says well I don't whether they're ~~gxx~~ doing what they ought to do. But the minute that it looks like they're going to close up, somebody says well thats a pretty good outfit.

Now dear friends thats what we're going to face in 1970. We've got to get our people to understand that we could close up shop so to speak. And your going to have to do something about it and I want to talk to the people that helped us and I said now I want to pay back, we're going to ~~xxx~~ try to pay these debts. ~~xxx~~ But I want to tell you something -- we're not going to deprive ourselves on ~~having~~ having liquadated all of our liabilities between now and 1970 and at the same time find out that we've liquadated our chances to win the election.

So be patient boys. And they are. I'm happy to say that they have been wonderful about it.

I want to see money in the Treasury to help Congressman and Senators. I want to be able to say that the Democratic Party and those affiliated with it directly or indirectly have something in the coffers to be able to help people who deserve help so that we can have a victory in 1970. Rather than just going around and saying that we are experts in governmental bookkeeping coming out and ~~saying~~ having paid our debts and lost the election.

So that's the struggle - 1970. Now in ~~the~~ meantime there is a third party movement at work. You have proved that you know what to do about this when you really get to work. In plant after plant in this country, and in union after union there was a large body ~~of~~ in the month of September and early October of Wallace votes. But when you got busy and took the facts to the people, when you really went in there, when your local ~~xxx~~ union leadership went to work, when you put your material out, when you told them the truth, you had an amazing turn-about. And I really believe that we have demonstrated that we can change people's minds. We can do it if we put ourselves to the task. And I don't want to try to make any comparisons, but I can tell you where the leadership really went to work. And I don't mean just the top leadership that is here. But I mean the local boys and girls. Where they really went to work in those plants and shops. And where they put their own reputation on the line. To the eternal credit of many of you in this room, you have proved that you can be convincing, that you can persuade and that by truth and work and fact you can overcome prejudice and emotion and irrationality. But I want to warn you that that movement is not dead. They intend to organize. And remember that they intend to organize among all people. Because there aren't enough votes among the others. What is more they know that the Republican Party will try to bleed off as many ~~as~~ of their supporters as possible. So that they are going to try to find support in the ranks of the working man and the low middle-income, and the low-income group, the blue collar worker. Now you ~~were~~ were able to do a good job about this in 1968. But I want to warn you that if you wait until 1970 to start it all over ~~again~~ again you'll have to redouble your efforts, it will cost much more, and the chances for success aren't as great, cause it will not be a Presidential election, every election will be in a sense a local election. So we've got to keep up the good work that we have started. On registration, voter education, on meeting the threats of a third party movement on seeing to it that we don't let it go, go, go - and then try to meet it head on two months before the election.

Then let me add this. I had the responsibility of the DNC. (And I'm going to take care of it, don't worry about that.) I am the titular head of the Democratic party, and I intend to.... (APPLAUSE)

And I want to see the DNC something else besides a political morgue. I want it active. I don't think it needs a awful lot of personnel, I think it needs quality people. And I think it needs to know who its friends are. And I think it needs to have a close working relationship with those friends, without trying to destroy the economy of those friends.

I want to see that committee work with the Congress. I want to see us develop materials that are sensible and perceptive and on target. And don't worry about the issues, they'll come. We know what our issues are anyway. But ~~they'll~~ there will be a confrontation sooner or later. And I want to recall to your mind, the patriots of Bunker Hill said. Don't shoot until you can see the white of their eyes. All the net-picking early will just destroy any effectiveness that we may have to have later on.

We should prepare ourselves. And we should have a cabaret of Congressmen and Senators that are working with us. **3**

And President Meany, I know what you do for us.

I can talk this way, because I ~~never~~ was with you all the way through these years of Congress. I didn't wait to get religion just before the election.

But I wouldn't give a Senator or Congressman a dime unless they are willing to work with you all of the time between now and 1970. (APPLAUSE)

Let them show some interest in you. Let them work with ~~by~~ you. That doesn't mean that they always have to agree with you. And you don't expect ~~that~~ that. But they ought to be willing to work with you. And when you call these conferences and you have these breakfasts and you have these meetings, you have a check list. And the fellows that come all the time see that they get a little extra help when the time comes. And the fellows that only come in just about on September 1970, Treat them, do unto others as they do unto you, in this instance. Or Samuel Gompers used to say, reward your friends, punish your enemies and treat the neutrals with the same degree of neutrality.

I think we have to understand this. What I think is important is not that they always vote your way as the fact that they are willing to sit down and talk with you and work with you. And try to work out programs and try to have some understanding.

Now I intend as the titular head of the Democratic party to activate the DNC and we are doing it now. So that it will have a public affairs section, so that it will have a research department. So that we will have bulletins and if we can work with you and your people so that we can let people know all between now and 1970 out in the states, and the counties what we are doing and what we are thinking and what the issues are and how we meet these issues. And that gets down to this point. The Democratic Party is not the DNC. That's just the.... a small part - I hate to use the terminology - iceberg, cause that sounds rather cold and rather inanimate, but what I think we ought to understand is that the DNC is but the symbol. And it is a very fragile symbol of the base of what we call a political party.

And you get your people here in COPE into those precinct ~~caucuses~~ caucuses into the party convention. Listen every one of the state parties with few exceptions between now and 1970 will be having a convention. Are you going to let a handfull of people that don't care about this thing that we ~~are~~ are talking about here - this program that we have been working for - are you going to let them run these parties?

Well I know we had a big to do out here at the National Convention about party participation. The problem was that there wasn't enough talk about your participation. Now we tried to set a little example out in my home state in Minnesota. And for a while we set a bad example. We forgot and our labor friends kind of withdrew. They kind of went off by themselves. I don't blame them. There was good reason for it, because the party officialdom wasn't trying to extend its hand. ~~And~~

And then we got into a real donnybrook~~ed~~ out there - a real battle. And we were able to save that party.

In 1968, simply because our friends in the labor ~~party~~ movement started to take a hand, they almost did it too late. I'll put it on the line, you have a stake in every precinct office, you have a stake in every county convention, you have a stake in every state party, you have a stake in who the officers of that party are going to be, who the county chairman is going to be. They talk about the new politics - listen, there is nothing new about politics. Politics is a question of whether or not the people - and you represent the people - you represent more people than any other single organization in this country. Whether the people - ~~the~~ plain people, working people, -- are going to have a chance to participate in going to take that chance and take that opportunity.

Politics is another word for power. And if you are going to let the power of politics be in the hands of a few who just make it their business to hold on to it, then you will suffer the consequence.

But you can get in there. You can get your membership alerted now. And I ask you to do it. Now I want you in your next bulletin to alert your unions and your COPE organizations. ~~When~~ We can find out when these conventions are going to be. And let's get ready. There isn't any reason at all why we should go into another campaign like I went into this one in 1968. By gosh, if we haven't learned that lesson, then we haven't learned anything.

It wasn't bad enough that we had to fight the ~~opposition~~ opposition cause you can see out in front and on the sides, but those fellows that are coming up behind you - it's kind of hard to work on once in a while. And I want to make sure I want to leave something here in this party and in this liberal movement where we are spending our time and our resources facing up to the conservative reactionary opposition, rather than have to fight jungle warfare ~~amongst~~ amongst what we thought was our friends, and our neighbors, and our brothers. So let's try to keep that in mind.

Now finally, candidate selection

I want to say a word about that. You can't f win without a good candidate. Who are you going to let select these ~~canidix~~ candidates? For the legislature, for a non-incumbent Congress, or even against an incumbent Congress. Are you going to be in on it, or are you just going to let someone else do it.

We've read all about the faction of the Democratic party. ~~Am~~ And they have different names for them. They call them this by personal names. I won't go into the details, you know what I'm talking about. Just seems to me that you have a right in light of what you have poured into this '68 election, and the '64 election - John Kennedy would never have been President without you.

Make no mistake about it. He needed you. and you delivered. I'd never have gotten my votes without you. And I think the labor movement ought to be able to set down now with the so-called authorities of the Democratic party - if that's the one you want to work with, or where ever you wat to ~~xx~~ work, and say wait a minute. Before you make the judgment who you are going to back as a party, if that happens, and some states ~~say~~ they endorse that you have a word about it. That there ~~be~~ be a selection committee, at least an advisory committee. And I am going to see that this is done, in so far that I can. I'm not going to try to build ~~in~~ the Democratic National Comm. just in Washington, I intend to move around this country to the best of my ability, but I'm going to need your help. I want a solid cadre of people that will back me. Not for myself. I want a cadre of people that will say, that this fellow Humphrey is trying to build a responsible, broadly-based Democ~~ra~~tic party in which the labor movement can find a home. And I want ~~xxxxxx~~ your help.

So that when we have candidates for mayor of a city, or governor, or legislatur, or Congress, or Senate - that you are in on it - you are in on the take off. They want you always in on the crash landing - you know that, and not only that you can buy the fuel and all the equipment. But you can never sit in the first-class ~~xxxxx~~ seats, unless you demand it.

Since everybody else is demadding things ~~knixxday~~ these days, why don't you make a demand or two? (APPLAUSE)

As for issues I just~~xxxxx~~ say wait and see. You know what some of the basic ones are, we talked about them in the campaign.

Watch the budget. See who is the budget director. Take a look at what they do to social legislation, and watch the tax program - that will be an interesting one. Take a good hard look at what we call tax incentives. Do ~~xxxxxx~~ they really provide incentives for jobs, or don't they.

You ought to take a good look at these things. You'll surely want to think about what we are going to do about urban programs. Because that is where your members are. And I think we need to identify these issues with our membership, with our families, and I think we will want to take a good look at what happens in terms of our military budget. And it's relevency in theworld in which we live.

The new arms that are being proposed. Oh, there is a lot of things. But this we will work together on as we go ~~down~~ down the line and try to see what is ahead of us.

I'll leave you with these words.

I think my candidacy in 1968 came at a time in our history when it could not really be rewarded by what we call electoral victory. But I think it also came at a time that was needed, when we had to draw the line on certain matters and policies. When we had to face up to problems of the arms race, problems of race relations within our country, problems of urban blight, the ways and means of trying to help people lift themselves, in other words, there had to be some force and there had to be a voice.

And said to the American people to stop look and listen and see where you're going. And interesting, enough, a very large section of that public almost equal to the other that was decisive in the election said let's take a look. In fact in the last week of the campaign -- thousands, in fact millions of people were taking a new look. Now let's not lose that momentum. Many of you have come to me and said, "Look, I think we've really had a victory." Well, I've had those moral victories before. And I want you to know that I've said many time before -- there's not a thing that you can learn in defeat that you can't learn in victory. But I know that we did well. I know we didn't do well enough. And I think we ought to learn from that. I think we ought to -- I don't want to be a man that looks to the past, but I think we ought to look back and and see what transpired. What was it that denied us the privilege. And what is it that we can do about it? I have a pretty good idea myself. But I like to know objective views of others because I am a little bit subjective about this. Then I think we need to ask ourselves what can we do in the future to ~~and~~ make sure that the set of circumstances that prevailed in the year 1968 in so far as they're controllable by human reason and human action -- do not develop again. And if we do that in 1970, it can be the ~~giving~~ beginning of the resurgence of the progressive forces in this country -- the liberal forces. If we fail, well I worry then about the future. I think that ~~the~~ future is pretty much in our hands. And I want to offer you my hand in trying to save it, protect it, and develop it.

Thank you very very much.



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