#### MESSAGE BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

#### AFL-CIO NATIONAL CONVENTION

Los Angeles, California

December 8, 1977

I am sorry that I cannot be with George Meany and all my labor friends this year at the annual AFL-CIO Convention. But I am delighted that our Vice President and my most able and compassionate friend and fellow Minnesotan, Fritz Mondale, is with you. I have attended these conventions so often in the past that it seems as if I am missing a national holiday or a traditional family get together. You all mean so much to me. Particularly this year, your warmth and brotherhood have been an abiding source of strength.

My message to you today is a simple one. Your work has restored majority government to America. You now have friends in the White House and in Congress. They have inherited a bewildering array of serious, complex problems, and they have organized the attack. But unless you are as tough and persistent in pushing for progress as you were in the election of one year ago, your victory -- our victory -- will be an empty one. We must work to assure that the "Contract with the People," established by the Democratic Party Platform, is fulfilled.

Our first priority must be to restore our nation to full employment. The full support of the President and American Labor for the Humphrey-Hawkins bill is most encouraging. This is the indispensable first step in the march toward a new era of full employment and vigorous economic growth. The bill itself is no miracle cure. Follow-up programs will be essential in fulfilling its objectives. But without the goals and requirements of Humphrey-Hawkins, we very likely will continue to suffer the scourge of intolerably high unemployment, economic stagnation and periodic recession.

A second item on our priority agenda must be labor law reform.

The Senate will move promptly, beginning in January to address this requirement. The time has come to protect the rights of our workers. We cannot permit some employers to ignore these rights with disdain for the law. Most employers obey the law. This reform would not hurt them at all. It is designed to get tough on the chiselers and cheats who have wriggled around the law at a great cost to our working people for years. We can put an end to this injustice, and we must.

Third, the President soon will announce a new urban development policy for America. It is designed to end the "malign" neglect, the callous indifference, that has resulted in the tragic decay of our cities. Ugliness, joblessness and hopelessness must be defeated in our urban areas, and with them the bitterness and rage that throb and fester just beneath the surface. Our cities must be restored, and our neighborhoods must become clean, lively, safe and healthy for all to enjoy. We must do all that it takes to make our cities the showplace and not the shame of a great nation.

Finally, we must deal with the harsh fact that unfair competition from abroad has cost thousands of American workers jobs and income. I am for free trade, but that is not the cause of our problem. There is no free trade when other governments provide massive subsidies to our competitors, permit exploitative wage rates, and dump excess production into the American market while maintaining trade barriers to the products we produce.

We will work hard to achieve agreements with other nations to reduce their exports where current levels are causing serious damage to American industry, with extensive joblessness. But those nations also should understand that we will fight fire with fire if American jobs cannot be protected from unfair competition in any other way.

These are my priorities in the months ahead and, I believe, they should be yours as well. All our families have a high stake in finding solutions that are fair and just. And, with your constant effort, support, and prodding, Congress and the White House will respond.

Our nation is strong; our people are decent and hard working. We are blessed with good and honorable leaders. And we have the most effective economic machine in the world.

The challenge today is to combine these great strengths to produce a new day of hope, optimism, confidence and justice in America. This is the challenge to the American experiment in democracy today. And it is a challenge that shall be seen as a great achivement in the decades ahead.

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#### TWELFTH

#### CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

of the

American Federation of Labor

and

**Congress of Industrial Organizations** 

1977

#### **PROCEEDINGS**

Los Angeles, California, December 8-13, 1977



#### Report of

#### FIRST DAY—THURSDAY MORNING SESSION

**December 8, 1977** 

Pursuant to law, the Twelfth Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations convened in the California Ballroom of the Bonaventure Hotel, Los Angeles, California, at 10:10 o'clock, a.m., Mr. William R. Robertson, Executive Secretary-Treasurer of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, presiding as Temporary Chairman.

While the delegates and guests were assembling they were entertained with musical selections by the Frank Natale Orchestra under the direction of Manny Harmon.

... The national anthem was sung by Ms. Arlene Wells.

CHAIRMAN ROBERTSON: It is my pleasure at this time to introduce for the invocation His Eminence Cardinal Timothy Manning. Cardinal Manning.

done and what we seek to do—all speak with a voice that can not and will not be quieted. And, our voice for progress, for justice, for human rights shall be heard—we shall never be silenced.

(Standing ovation.)

#### INTRODUCTION OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

PRESIDENT MEANY: Now, I would like to present just for an introduction and to let you know that they are with us, the fraternal delegates from the British Trade Union Congress and from the Canadian Labor Congress.

Brother Cyril Plant, representing the British Trade Union Conference.

Brother Leonard Edmondson, from the British Trade Union Conference.

And Brother Donald Montgomery from the Canadian Labour Congress.

(Applause.)

Now, at this moment, if you will give me your attention I would like to present a speaker. You know, you have heard the old cliche about someone you are going to introduce who needs no introduction. Well, if a fellow needs no introduction, you don't have to mention his name.

So I would like you to just listen to the voice of an old friend talking to us by telephone from Washington, D.C.

#### HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY United States Senator, Minnesota

Hello there. How are all my old friends out in Los Angeles?

(Standing ovation.)

This is an old card-carrying member of the American Federation of Teachers talking to you, that's all.

I just thought I ought to be allowed to let you know that I am, well, put it this way, I'm alive. I'm feeling better. I'm getting rambunctious and restless, and you never can tell, I'm apt to live such a long time that people will wish they had never said all those nice things about me.

I'm terribly sorry, to be honest with you, though, that I can't be with you, and particularly with George Meany.

George, let me just say this, you are one of the truly great men of our century, and I mean it in every sense of sincerity. You're something.

(Applause.)

I am deeply regretful, too, that the President of the United States is not there, but I am delighted that our Vice-President, who knows the score, who has been with organized labor since he was old enough to know how to spell it, that my friend Fritz Mondale is with you and will give you an address that will have you hanging from the rafters. He knows how to do it.

I have attended your conventions so often that it seems as if I am missing a national holiday, or a traditional family gettogether. You all mean so much to me, you know that, and particularly this year.

This has been a rough year. We have had some very difficult times on a personal basis. But your warmth and your brotherhood and your friendship have been a real source of strength to me, and every day I am more proud of the fact that I can honestly say that the labor movement of America has been the conscience of American politics, has been the source of American social progress, and that I have tried to be with them every step of the way.

Now, my message to you today is a simple one. I was going to say a short one, but you know darn well that might not be true.

George Meany told my secretary, he said, "Now, you tell Hubert not to speak over an hour." He said, "We won't tolerate that."

So I have decided to cut it right down to size here.

Here is what I want to say to you quite directly. Your work year after year, election after election, has made it possible to put progressive-minded people in government. Sometimes we haven't put enough of them in. We have missed some presidential elections that we should have won. We have lost some congressional elections. But it's been the labor movement that has been the driving, motivating force, and if the Democratic party doesn't understand that, then the Democratic party is dead and doesn't have any future at all. And I hope to goodness that they get my message.

(Applause.)

Your work in this past year has restored for the first time a majority government to America, and we owe an awful lot of that to the work of COPE. You now have friends in the White House and in Congress. We need to make sure that the true and loyal friends that we have there are back in Congress after that 1978 election, and hopefully add on a few extra. Now, you know that's a tough job. Off-year elections are not easy.

We need to let some of these young men know that are in Congress that got your support that there is such a thing as loyalty, that when they get your support and ask for your help and promise that they are going to do something, that they keep their word. And if they don't keep their word, my dear friends, I think the best thing to do for you is to let them go their own way and see how far they get.

#### (Applause.)

Well, now, this administration and Congress, as you know, inherited a massive array of serious and difficult problems, and we have had our difficulties with a new administration and new leadership in Congress. After all, remember, we had to elect a new Speaker, a new Majority Leader, a new President. We had to reorganize the Congress. It's taken some time to get things on the track but we are getting organized now for the attack upon the problems that we know exist.

But I want to warn you that unless you are as tough and demanding and as persistent in pushing for legislative and executive progress and action as you were in the election of one year ago, that your victory and our victory will end up being an empty shell. We can't quit. We've got to demand, we have got to insist, we have got to fight, we have got to put forward our programs and say this is what we want. Sometimes we know we are not going to get all we ask for, but we are not going to get anything unless we fight for it.

#### (Applause.)

Now, as I see it, our first priority has got to be to restore our nation to full employment and a growing and expanding economy. We can't do any of these things we want to do unless we have people at work, people with income, unless we get people off of welfare that want to be on the job, unless we can put our young people to work instead of having them roam the streets and living off of crime.

So the first thing we have got to do is to make up our minds that we have got a war on our hands, and it's a war against recession, it's a war against inflation, it's a war against stagnation. And we have got to be willing to put resources to it, and we don't put nearly enough. I noticed in this morning's paper that we have spent now about \$20 billion in all of the past few years, I guess it was they said the last seven or eight years, in trying to help our cities. Well, my goodness, \$20 billion, that wasn't one year of fighting in Vietnam. When it comes to spending money to win wars overseas, we seem to have it. We seem to even have it when we spend money to give to people that don't want to win wars. But when it comes to putting up the money to do things back home for our own people, we have got a lot of folks that holler, "Oh, it's inflationary. Watch out. You are going to wreck the economy."

My goodness, you have got all these sad sacks and all these doomsday sayers, and I am just telling you we can't listen to them. They have always been there and they always will be there.

Now, we have the full support of the President, thank goodness, and of the American labor movement for the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill. Now, this is an encouraging development.

I am not trying to kid you. I know this Bill is not all it should be. I know that it is not a miracle cure. But I'm here to tell you that it is an indispensable first step in the march towards a new era of full employment and vigorous economic growth, and we have got to get our house in order.

We have had no planning in government. This Bill requires coordination, planning. It requires cooperation and planning between the Bureau of the Budget, the Council of Economic Advisors, the President's Cabinet, the Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve Board. The Federal Reserve Board thinks it's a government unto itself. It's time to bring it back into harness and make it a part of the Government of the United States, and not a special government of the bankers of this country.

#### (Applause.)

That's what the first objective is of the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill. You have read a lot about it. Most of the people that have been writing about it don't know what they are talking about. The first objective is to put in a little sensible planning, to have some goals every year, some priorities, to establish our goals of gross national product, of employment, of personal income, of unemployment, of inflation, to know what we want to do, and then to organize our programs and our government accordingly to accomplish those goals.

If we find that our goals are too high, we can revise them, but we have got to have a pattern. We have got to have a plan of action, and that plan has got to be presented by the President of the United States, as the result of the work of

his government and of his administration, presented to the Congress, and then the Congress will review it, will decide whether we want to amend it, whether we want to change it, whether we want to accept it, whether we want to reject it. But we'll have a plan. We will have a program. We will have priorities.

When we get it like that, we'll know where we are going. All we have got now is a ticket. We don't know what train to get on, or where the hell we are going to if we get there.

Now, I have got another little suggestion, a second time on our priorities of the coming year, to get rid of this intolerable high unemployment and this periodic recession that just raises havoc with working families. Don't forget that recession and unemployment, hard as it is on business, the people that really suffer are the people that go to those factory gates and find that there is no job. The people that suffer are the people that never get their first job. And we can't let that happen.

Now, a second item of our priority agenda must be labor law reform.

(Applause.)

And I can promise you that the Senate is going to move and move promptly beginning in January to address this requirement. It will be a battle, but we can win it. The time has come to protect the rights of our workers. Lord, we protect the rights of so many other people, it's about time the workers got their rights protected.

We cannot permit some employers to ignore these rights with distain for the law. You and I know that most of our employers obey the law. They bargain in good faith. They are happy to work with their unions. The reforms that we suggest will not hurt anybody for those that are lawful, it will be a blessing. It's designed to get tough on the chiselers and the cheats who have wiggled around the law at great cost to our working people for years. And we know who they are and we can put an end to this injustice, and we must do it. That's one of the things you have got to demand in 1978 when that Congress opens up; Demand that the new reform law be passed and passed quickly.

(Applause.)

Now, thirdly, the President will soon announce a new urban development policy for America. It's designed to end what was called the maligned neglect. Not benign, but maligned neglect, the callous indifference, the social cancer that eats at the very innards of our great metropolitan areas, that has resulted in tragic decay of many of our cities.

Thank God many of our cities have seen fit to move ahead

and get themselves cleaned up, but there are some cities that can't do it without help. Ugliness and joblessness and hopelessness has simply got to be defeated in our urban areas. That's where the struggle is.

With all of this hopelessness and all of this joblessness, bitterness and rage that will throb and fester beneath the surface and cause us untold trouble. I say that our cities must be restored and that our neighborhoods must once again become neighborhoods and become clean and lively and safe and healthy for our people to enjoy. We must do all that it takes to make the American city the showplace of the world, not the shame of this great nation.

You know, we were able to do it for Europe. If we can help rebuild the European cities, tell me why we can't help rebuild American cities.

(Applause.)

We got the people, we got the money. We need a new type of urban development bank in this country that provides long-term financing, that makes it possible for cities and small towns and communities to have the things that they need to make their cities and their communities livable.

We got a world bank for the whole world; we got an Inter-American Development Bank for Latin America; we got an African Development Bank for Africa. God, we got a bank for everyone. An Asian Development Bank for Asia, and we haven't got an urban or domestic development bank for America. You just have to depend on what Arthur Burns says is going to happen to the interest rates. And I think that's too unreliable.

(Applause.)

I bet you're glad to hear that word from Hubert Humphrey.

Finally, we must deal with the harsh fact that unfair competition from abroad has cost thousands, yea hundreds of thousands of American workers jobs and loss of income. Now, there is a lot of talk about free trade. I grew up in that kind of educational atmosphere, but I'm here to tell you there is no free trade when other governments provide massive subsidies to our competitors, when they permit exploitive wage rates and when they dump excess production into the American market while maintaining trade barriers to the products that we produce. I think we ought to say to the whole world we have had enough of this and we will not tolerate any more of it.

(Applause.)

We will work hard to achieve agreements with other nations to reduce their exports where current levels are causing serious damage to American industry, industry that's suffering from joblessness and unemployment. But those nations also should understand—and I want you to get this straight—that we will fight fire with fire. If American jobs cannot be protected from unfair competition in any other way, we are not going to get rolled over; we're not going to be an easy take. I'm for fair trade. Not prefer trade, just fair trade. That's all we ask.

(Applause.)

Then, finally, we must lead the world in the search for peace. There is hope for peace in the Middle East now. Thank God for what President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin have been doing in Jersualem and Cairo. They have seized the opportunity to give some hope to masses of people that live in poverty and live under intolerable burdens.

Peace of an understanding between ourselves and the Soviet Union, too, but a peace that means respect for human rights, a peace that means respect for workers and their rights, a peace that realistically and honestly slows down this crazy, mad, costly arms race. The Soviet Union must come to understand that we do not tremble or shake in our boots at the sight of every new weapon system that they have. We are capable of leading them gun for gun, tank for tank if that's what they want; and we are capable of also walking the extra mile to get a just peace by which people will live in honor. But there can be no hanky-panky; there can be no cheating; there can be no double-dealing. We have to be on guard every minute of our life.

But peace is the goal of mankind, and the American labor movement has always understood it because it's your sons and your daughters, above all others, that do the fighting, that makes the sacrifices. So, we know what we are talking about.

Well, I think I have about hit the end here. All of your families have a high stake in finding solutions to what I have talked about. And with your constant efforts and support—and, believe me, it's going to take a lot of it; you have got to keep it up—Congress and the White House will respond. Don't let up.

And I say to the representatives out there from the respective states: Don't just rely on your representatives in Washington. They got so much to do that it's impossible to get it all done. You talk to those representatives and senators when they come home. Check their record, ask them why they promised you one thing last October and voted a different way last April. Put them on the spot.

It's time that people shaped up in this country. We have had enough of this business. Our nation is strong and our people are decent and hard-working. We are blessed with good and, I think, honorable leaders, and we have the most effective, the most productive economic machine that the world has ever known. There is nothing like it. And that isn't possible without good workers.

We not only have good technology, we not only have the best in science, but we have the best in people, people that know how to get a job done, particularly if they have a challenge. That challenge today is to combine these great strengths to produce a whole new day of hope and optimism and confidence and social justice in America. This is the challenge to the American experiment in self-government, and it is a challenge that shall be seen as a great achievement in the decades ahead.

That's what I live for; that's what I work for; that's why I'm with you. And I'm going to continue to be with you as long as the good Lord gives me the breath to live.

Thank you very much.

(Standing ovation.)

PRESIDENT MEANY: Well, I just express to you, Hubert, on your behalf, our deep appreciation.

He made this talk from his home in Washington.

As you know, he is having problems, but problems don't break the spirit of that man. He just goes on and on, as I have known him for 30 years. Tremendous, tremendous human being; tremendous public servant, and a great friend of everybody who works for a living in this country.

(Applause.)

We will now have a report of the Committee on Credentials, Chairman Fred O'Neal.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Committee Chairman O'Neal:

Mr. President, Officers of the Executive Council and Delegates to the Twelfth Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Your Committee on Credentials, in accordance with our laws, was appointed by the Executive Council as the Credentials Committee for the Convention, herewith submit the following report.

### MESSAGE BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

AFL-CIO NATIONAL CONVENTION

Los Angeles, California

DECEMBER 8, 1977

I AM SORRY THAT I CANNOT BE WITH GEORGE MEANY AND ALL MY LABOR FRIENDS THIS YEAR AT THE ANNUAL AFL-CIO CONVENTION. BU I AM DELIGHTED THAT OUR VICE PRESIDENT AND MY. HOMATE FRIEND AND FELLOW MINNESOTAN, FRITZ MONDALE, IS WITH YOU. I HAVE ATTENDED THESE CONVENTIONS SO OFTEN IN THE PAST THAT IT SEEMS AS IF I AM MISSING A NATIONAL HOLIDAY, OR A TRADITIONAL FAMILY GET TOGETHER. YOU ALL MEAN SO MUCH TO ME. PARTICULARLY THIS YEAR, YOUR WARMTH AND BROTHERHOOD HAVE BEEN AN ABIDING SOURCE OF STRENGTH Swing Aventhal My MESSAGE TO YOU TODAY IS A SIMPLE ONE. YOUR WORK HAS RESTORED MAJORITY GOVERNMENT TO AMERICAL YOU NOW HAVE FRIENDS IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND IN CONGRESS. - and we need to make swar that the true and long friend. Ore booken conques after the 78 elections. This a Bound sations conques

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A SECOND ITEM ON OUR PRIORITY AGENDA MUST BE LABOR LAW REFORM.

THE SENATE WILL MOVE PROMPTLY, BEGINNING IN JANUARY TO ADDRESS THIS REQUIREMENT. THE TIME HAS COME TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF OUR WORKERS. WE CANNOT PERMIT SOME EMPLOYERS TO IGNORE THESE RIGHTS WITH DISDAIN FOR THE LAW. MOST EMPLOYERS OBEY THE LAW. THIS REFORM WOULD NOT HURT THEM AT ALL. IT IS DESIGNED TO GET TOUGH ON THE CHISELERS AND CHEATS WHO HAVE WRIGGLED AROUND THE LAW AT A GREAT COST TO OUR WORKING PEOPLE FOR YEARS. WE CAN PUT AN END TO THIS INJUSTICE, AND WE MUST.

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BELIEVE, THEY SHOULD BE YOURS AS WELL.

ALL OUR FAMILIES HAVE A HIGH STAKE IN FINDING SOLUTIONS THAT ARE FAIR AND JUST AND, WITH YOUR CONSTANT EFFORT, SUPPORT, AND PRODDING, CONGRESS AND THE WHITE HOUSE WILL RESPOND OUR NATION IS STRONG; OUR PEOPLE ARE DECENT AND HARD WORKING WE ARE BLESSED WITH GOOD AND HONORABLE LEADERS ! AND WE HAVE THE MOST EFFECTIVE ECONOMIC MACHINE IN THE WORLD. THE CHALLENGE TODAY IS TO COMBINE THESE GREAT STRENGTHS TO PRODUCE A NEW DAY OF HOPE, OPTIMISM, CONFIDENCE AND JUSTICE

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IN AMERICA. This is the challenge to the American experiment

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