

Program



~~Ed Miller~~
~~Eddie Garmatz~~
~~Sam Friedel~~

Master of Ceremonies

OLIVER SINGLETON

Director, Region 4, AFL-CIO

Oliver Singleton

Invocation

REVEREND CLARE J. O'DWYER

~~John O'Dwyer~~

~~Tommy O'Keefe~~
~~Madrigie~~
~~Desardis~~

Chairman

CHARLES A. DELLA

~~John Hogan~~

President, Maryland State & D. C., AFL-CIO

Charles Della

Introduction of Honored Guest

THE HONORABLE DANIEL B. BREWSTER

United States Senator from Maryland

~~Kitty~~
~~Claude Callegary~~
~~DAU~~

~~Dan Ann~~
~~Brewster~~

Address

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice President of the United States

~~Jay Turner~~

Benediction

REVEREND FRANK L. WILLIAMS

Rev Williams

Brewster Dinner Committee

General Chairman

CHARLES A. DELLA

DINNER COMMITTEE

JACK GERSON, Chairman

Alvin Akman

W. F. Strong

Phillip J. Daugherty

Cyprian O. Tilghman

Publicity

DOMINIC N. FORNARO

TICKET COMMITTEE

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Albert Atallah

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Angela Bambace

Emory J. Metz

Walter Bierwagon

E. T. Michael

Thomas Bradley

George Morrow*

Claude Callegary

Josiah Mullenax

Raymond Callegary

Howard Mundorf

Dr. Oscar Camp

Samuel Nocella

Ernest Crofoot

Patrick O'Brien

Joseph F. Curtice

Clark A. Robertson

Darrell D. Diehl

Carlton R. Sickles

Raymond C. Fogarty

Oliver Singleton

Arthur G. Fouche

Thomas Smith

Guido Iozzi

John F. Sullivan

Ray L. Johnson

Joseph J. Talerico

Frederick Lawton

John G. Thomas

* Deceased

Great Day!

Congressional Delegation

EXCERPTS

Bolton

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

Tommy Delacorte
Young
Vigore

AFL - CIO DINNER

IN HONOR OF SENATOR DANIEL BREWSTER

OCTOBER 20, 1967

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Dan Brewster
Joe Tytkin
Chas Della

I can't tell you what a great pleasure
is to be here in Baltimore, a fine, thriving,
bustling city that is the heart of the Land of
Pleasant Living.

Land of
Pleasant
Living

Baseball

As a supporter of the ^{men} Twins, I feel a strong
sense of companionship in grief with the local
baseball brotherhood. But I want you to know that
as a fan of both the Redskins and the Vikings,

I am not commiserating with the Colts.

yes, L Orioles, Colts and crabcakes are a lot to be proud of, but Maryland has much more.

L Much of this country's history was written in Maryland. L Annapolis was once the capital of the United States.

L Francis Scott Key wrote the National Anthem as he watched the bombardment of Fort McHenry.

L And Baltimore has been a melting pot for thousands of people, yearning to be free, who came here from other countries to begin a new life.

L Maryland can also be proud of another important contribution to America -- Senator Dan Brewster.

L I have known Dan since 1958, when he came to Washington as a member of the House of Representatives after serving 8 distinguished years in the

Maryland State Legislature, ^{How Green America} You ~~sent this country~~
a fine legislator, and we want him back next year!

↳ Dan has been a public servant in the fullest sense. His first concern has always been with the quality of life in America...with the kind of environment our prosperity can and should provide.

He Cares.

↳ He cares for the consumer. He vigorously supported truth in lending. He has fought to remove hazardous products from the marketplace. He was among the first to call for Congressional investigation of the automobile insurance industry.

Among his other good causes is one which I know is familiar to all of you who are here tonight from the District of Columbia.

in DC

↳ Dan is for Home Rule, but until we get it, he

he has made it his business to speak up for the residents of the District of Columbia -- on roads and streets, on traffic, or urban development in general.

↳ And as a member of the Civil Service Committee, he has spoken up for the tens of thousands of workers who keep government going in this country.

↳ Dan also knows how to get things done, an invaluable asset, I have found, in the United States Senate.

↳ His ability to get things done has made him assistant majority whip, and I have watched him, with his special dignity and grace, rallying the Senate behind those important ~~magnificent~~ Administration programs.

↳ Now this is a non-partisan occasion, and I don't want to abuse the warm welcome you have given Dan and me by injecting even the slightest touch of

Non-Partisan

partisanship. All I want to do is tell you what a wonderful job Dan Brewster has been doing.

If I happen to mention some Administration programs in the process, it is only because he has supported them all the way.

I can't help it if ^{President} Lyndon Johnson, ^{V.P.} Hubert ^{Sen} Humphrey and Dan Brewster are all on the same wave length.

I am talking about a wave of social progress in the United States that is very familiar to all of you.

It is familiar because the AFL - CIO has played a major role in building it up and keeping it going.

It is the wave of progress that gave 19 million older Americans the protection of Medicare. Five million Americans have benefitted directly from Medicare as we meet here tonight.

Administration

Wave Length

Soc Progress

Medicare

our programs and your programs

3
~~Three years ago they said we could never pass it. Now decent medical care is the right of every senior citizen, and the just reward for a lifetime of labor.~~

Educ

Take the field of education. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which was the historic breakthrough in federal aid to education, was passed only thirty months ago. Some 17 thousand school districts, and nearly ten million disadvantaged boys and girls in public, private and parochial schools have benefitted from it.

4
 A few years ago nobody had ever heard of the Head Start program designed to prepare pre-school tots from impoverished backgrounds for the most hopeful day in their lives -- the first day of school.

Head Start

2.9 million

Two million children have already been through that program.

↳ Nobody had heard of Upward Bound, a Head Start program designed to put needy students in college. Nobody had heard of the Job Corps, which has already given over 60 thousand jobless young men the skills they need for a lifetime of dignified labor.

our Cities

↳ There are many people today who are justifiably worried about conditions in our cities. That is why we have the Model Cities Program, a comprehensive package designed to put federal support behind the initiatives of local mayors, labor leaders and businessmen who want to improve their communities.↳ That is why

we have the rent supplement program, which is designed to stimulate building and renovation of low-cost housing.

Rent Supps

And that is why we now have before Congress

the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act designed to help every police chief in this country provide the best in police services and protection.

There is a lot more to the story of the past few years that every American can be proud of.

fact
reps

But I for one am not content to look back, and I know I am speaking to an audience that is not content to look back. So let me ask you, where do we go from here?

Do we pause or do we push on? That is a critical decision that this nation has to make right now.

Are we satisfied with a dollar and forty cent or a dollar and sixty cent minimum wage -- just enough to support a family at the poverty level? Or do we want to have ^{as our goal} ~~guarantee~~ every American worker, in every factory, in

every shop, on every farm, a decent living wage?

I say yes.

What about health care. Medicare was a historic achievement, but what about that third of the American citizens who still have no regular access to medical care of any kind? ~~What about the fact that there are seven other countries in the world that have infant mortality rates lower than ours?~~

What about the fact that poor people in some American slums, have 4 times as much heart disease, 6 times as much arthritis, and 6 times as much mental and nervous illness as the rest of the population? Will the American people stand for that when they don't have to? I doubt it.

Poor

↳ What about education? Is your child receiving
the very best education this prosperous society can
provide? Are you willing to settle for mere adequacy
or even less when it comes to schools?

↳ If this country should decide to pause, it will be
deciding to go backwards -- to watch more children
grow up in poverty....to watch explosive slums become more
tense and more crowded...to watch more American
children preparing for the twenty-first century in
inadequate classrooms....to watch more workers
inexcusably left behind in this prosperous society.

↳ That would be a tragedy -- a tragedy made all the
greater by the fact that for the first time in the history of
mankind there is a nation which is capable of providing
the best for all.

Now I don't mean the best in welfare, the best in care and feeding. I mean something much grander, something much more consistent with the inherent dignity of man. I mean full and equal opportunity.

Woodrow Wilson once said:

"If any part of our people want to be wards, if they want to be taken care of, if they want to be children patronized by the government, I am sorry, because it will sap the manhood of America. But I don't believe they do. I believe they want to stand on the firm foundations of law and right and take care of themselves."

↳ That is what I believe, that is what Dan Brewster believes. And I know that is what the members of the AFL - CIO have always believed.

↳ This nation no longer has to settle for a stop-gap welfare state as the critics used to call it. We can now afford an opportunity state, where every man, no matter where he was born... no matter who his parents were... no matter what color he is... has a full opportunity to do a rewarding job, to support his family in dignity, and to take advantage of all the material and recreational resources this rich country has to offer.

↳ There was a time when that sentiment was no more than a noble ideal in the minds of men who established a nation dedicated to life, liberty,

and the pursuit of happiness for every man. Now, as we approach the end of the second century of our national existence, the power fully to realize that noble ideal is within our grasp. With your help, with Senators like Dan Brewster, we will not miss our chance.

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SPEECH BY - VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OCTOBER 20, 1967

BREWSTER APPRECIATION DINNER

Lord Baltimore Hotel, Baltimore, Maryland

Thank you very much. Thank you, thank you, thank you, thank you very much. Thank you, thank you. My friends of the musician's union are overly enthusiastic, but we love you!

Thank you very much Senator Brewster, my very good friend Danny. Wonderful to be presented, Sir, tonight by you, and to be with you and Ann to share this evening with your friends. And Oliver Singleton I want to commend you on putting a program on and getting it on and getting it underway, and giving the Vice President of the United States all the time he wants to speak as long as he wants. Thank you very very much. APPLAUSE

Father O'Dwyer and Reverend Williams, I always feel a little safer when I have a good member of the clergy praying for me on both ends of the program. It just helps. And how good tonight to see Charlie Della here and to have him bring us the greetings of the great State AFL-CIO of Maryland and D.C., and then to have my alderman here from the District of Columbia, Jay Turner. Jay, I want you to know my street needs to be repaired. LAUGHTER.

And I notice, too, tonight that a very special friend is with us at the head table here. He could sit at any table and he would bring honor to it and I'm just so proud of him because I have worked with him, and when he was the National Commander of the DAV where he's done such wonderful work for our veterans and our country. And Claude Callegary is my kind of American and Kitty is my kind

of girl. APPLAUSE

And how good it is to see my stalwart friends down here representing so ably and so well tonight this great Maryland congressional delegation, and I just want Eddie Garmatz to know and Sam Friedel how pleased we are to see you and I wanted you to thank all the other boys that couldn't get here. They were with us for noon lunch. I guess we wore them out during the day, but these two can stay with us. Eddie wants to be sure that I still stand firm for the American Merchant Marine. He doesn't want any doubt about it. Sam wants to be sure that all those appropriations still come flowing to Baltimore. LAUGHTER He wants to be sure of that and I want you to know Ed, John Grogan's here tonight to make sure that you behave. I just saw him. Where's John? Johnny, come on, stand up there, where are you? One of the great international presidents of our labor movement and I'm just so pleased that he could come over. APPLAUSE

I was very happy to share this day with not only my good friend Dan Brewster, of whom I'm going to have a little to say tonight, but also with Tommy D'Alesandro, and I want to tell you why. First of all, had I met Margie a little earlier, I'd of been a whole lot even more happier, because I've known all day, I kept telling Tommy all day long. I said Tommy, you're going to win, there's just no, just no doubt about it, you're going to win. He said, Well, I don't want to think that way, but he is going to win. APPLAUSE. And when I saw his lovely wife Margie tonight, I knew it's a cinch, you just can't lose, just can't lose.

My friend Jerry Keating is around somewhere here tonight, too. Where is he? Jerry! APPLAUSE. It's dangerous to start mentioning names because you leave someone out. I want you to know, those I've left out just because my memory is beginning to fail me you see.

It's just so good to be here. Oh! I've had a great day, just a great day in Baltimore City. I've been here many times. I haven't been here much these last couple of years but I've had a wonderful, wonderful, happy day amongst your people.

I was so honored tonight by the introduction given to me by Senator Dan Brewster. Oh! how I like to hear the nice things that Senator Brewster says about you. He makes you feel good, and when you're Vice President you like to have a fellow brag on you a little bit. LAUGHTER. You know Adlai Stevenson used to say that flattery is all right if you don't inhale it, but I was sitting up here breathing deeply all the time he was talking. From here on out I appoint Dan Brewster as my special introducer. APPLAUSE. Ordinarily Danny has a great respect for the truth, but there are times that he'll let go and he did so tonight. LAUGHTER

This is a wonderful City. You know it, but I wonder how well you know it. That's right, you ought to be mighty proud of this great City. APPLAUSE. I often find that those who become somewhat accustomed to, very much accustomed to a fine community, a good home, a great City, a fine family - they are the last to appreciate it. But you really have it, this City has vitality, it has spirit. And when I came here today and stopped off at the shipyard, I met some of our boys down there and Johnny Grogan was there along with others. I just knew that there was something going on here that was good and constructive and full of the spirit of life. And all day long, I've been in many sections of your great City. I've been with the poorest of the poor and the richest of the rich. I've been with business and labor, and I've been with the minority groups and the majority groups. And every place I've been, I've found one thing - an unconquerable spirit of confidence. This town is on the move and you take good care of it, will you. APPLAUSE

You know I envy the President sometimes in this sense. I guess the word I should say is that I really feel sorry for him because I get all the good things. I get the chance to be out amongst the people. I have the opportunity to come to dinners like this, to share a wonderful pleasant evening. The President of the United States has the heavy responsibilities of that awesome office. He often

tells me. He said, you know, he said Hubert, I feel like a man that is caged behind a big black fence. And you know, around the White House that is about the way it is. There he is required to stay at the job day after day, hour after hour, week after week. But as I said, Well, Mr. President you wanted to be President, I only wanted to be Vice President, So...APPLAUSE. I don't want Dan or Sam or Eddie to tell him I said that. That's absolutely off the record boys. LAUGHTER

Now I want to talk to you about a matter of mutual concern. Something that troubles me a great deal and something I think we ought to do something about. As a supporter of the Minnesota Twins I feel, I feel a sense of companionship in grief and sadness with this local baseball brotherhood of the Baltimore Orioles. That's what I said! Everything went good until we went to Boston. I could have told them. I met a fellow from Boston in 1960. APPLAUSE. So let me commiserate with the Oriole fans, the Twin fans. We'll sort of have a wake and we'll put Father O'Dwyer in charge of it down there. But, now having joined the club in this remorse for our baseball clubs, I want you to know that as a fan of both the Redskins and the Vikings, that this sympathy goes no further. If you do have a place kicker, we could use one over in the Redskins. LAUGHTER. And I wish you well with the Green Bay Packers this week. I think that's what you're taking on this week. We softened them up for you last week. APPLAUSE

Orioles, and the Colts, and crabcakes. They're a lot to be proud of. I know this is part of the legend of this wonderful community, but I think Maryland has much more to be proud of than just those fine things. You and I know that much of this country's great history is written right here. Today, when I was on a television show, I was reciting a little of the history of our country, because some people seem to forget. I wonder, I'm sure everybody here in this audience knows that Annapolis was once the capital of the United States, but don't feel too proud, the capital changed 11 times from 1776 to 1790. But at least

Annapolis made it and Minneapolis didn't. And Francis Scott Key wrote the National Anthem as he watched the bombardment of Fort McHenry. I wish he'd put it down one Octave, but he did the best he could under the...LAUGHTER. And Baltimore has been a new home that's literally been the haven and the refuge for thousands and thousands and thousands of people who have yearned to be free, who have come to the Port of Baltimore, who have come here to become American citizens. And I have seen these people across your City today and they are really the wealth and the power and the strength of this community. In fact, of course, that is the truth of this America: the different ethnic groups, the different races, creeds, religions, people of different origins that have come here and like a mighty stream, preserving their own identity and yet, in a real sense becoming as one. The oneness of an American citizen and the identity of their own family, their own race, their own religion, their own origin. That's the way that you make a beautiful country, a mosaic. APPLAUSE

So, I've had quite a time and I've had a good time with Dan Brewster, too. I want to tell you Maryland can be proud for many contributions, and I want you to know Dan, that this is not in the spirit of Adlai about flattery. This is in the spirit of the real truth like Jefferson, that Maryland can be proud of another contribution to America, Senator Dan Brewster of the State of Maryland. APPLAUSE. I've known this gentlemen since, well, in the mid 1950's when he came to, first when he came to Washington as a member of the House of Representatives after he had served. I had read about him, and knew about him but not as well personally as I would have, and he had served, how many was it eight, eight years I believe in the State Assembly here in the State of Maryland. You've given, you've given to our Congress and our country a very fine United States Senator and one that you can be justly proud of, and I want to make sure you re-elect him. APPLAUSE. I didn't clear these remarks with Dan, I didn't clear them with anybody. You have two fine senators, to be quite candid about it, and I want to say that you have honored us by both of them - Senator Brewster, the senior senator, and

Senator Tydings and this fine congressional delegation. APPLAUSE

Dan has been a real public servant and I'll tell you what the first good quality of a public servant is. Does he care for the people. That's what really counts. APPLAUSE. Not how, not how loquacious or articulate he may be, even though he is that; and not how good looking he may be, even though he is that. What really counts in a government that is supposed to be of the people, by the people and for the people, what really counts is does he care for the people, and Dan Brewster does. That's why I like him. APPLAUSE

Let me say to my friends of AFL-CIO of labor, he has never failed you, and yet he has not had a narrow prejudice attitude about this economy. He has recognized what your own State president has said. That if you're going to get things done in this country you'll have to have cooperation. You can't go around and indulge yourself in the demagoguery of pitting management against labor, capital against labor, world against city. You just can't do it anymore. There was a time in America where that kind of politics got by. That day is all over. If there is one thing we need to know, is that to know we need everybody in this country pulling their share of the weight and everybody in this country to have a chance to be a part of this country, and we do not need to indulge ourselves in demagoguery and pettiness. And I can tell you that this man that we have here tonight as the honored guest of this banquet, whatever may be his shortcomings, and we all have some, and whatever may be his assets, and we all hope we have some, is that he is above all an American that cares for Americans, a patriot that loves his country, and one that does not forget the people that helped him get where he is now in the United States Senate. APPLAUSE. Now I can tell Jay Turner what he already knows down there. You know that Dan has been in the forefront of the battle for the District of Columbia and for Home Rule and better government, and he don't get much thanks for that. I'll tell you that doesn't make you popular with the local constituents but that's a part

of the Congressman and of the Senator. After all, the nation's capital ought to be the best that this nation has to offer, it ought to be the model, and Dan Brewster wants to see it that way. He is a member of the Civil Service Committee of the United States Senate and I want to tell you that if you wanted some testimony of what it means to be on that committee, just ask Jerry Keating of the Letter Carriers and he'll know what I mean. APPLAUSE. I served on that committee. I know what it means to our Federal workers, and he's been there to speak up for thousands and thousands of these Federal workers to make their, their employment better, their standards better, their salaries better, their fringe benefits better, and that makes them better. But, the best thing about this Senator, besides the fact that he cares, is that he cares and knows how to get things done, and it doesn't do much good to be in Congress if you don't know how to get things done, isn't that right gentlemen? You just got to know how to get it done and that means you have to know how to work with people, you've got to be willing to be there to understand the other fellow's problem or understand the processes of the legislative body, and to get things done, and you don't learn that in a hurry. Dan Brewster has had a very great apprenticeship in the Congress of the United States and the House and he's now one of our distinguished members of the Senate. And he is, as you know, an assistant to the majority whip of the United States Senate. Now I was the majority whip and I know what it means to whip them around, I know what it means to get something done and believe me how you pray for a good assistant, and Dan is fulfilling that responsibility.

He didn't ask me to make this speech for him and I didn't tell him I was going to. He's never seen a copy of it. Frankly, I haven't got it all written out anyway. I didn't know I was going to say it all. LAUGHTER. But I do know this, that I have a responsibility to the President of the United States and to this administration, to my party and to our country, and I do want to pay tribute to those that try to help us get the things done that we think ought to be done and we've been

able to rely on him, we've been able to rely on Dan Brewster for everything that needs to be done in this country from human rights for those that have been denied them, voting rights for those that have been denied them, economic rights for those that have been denied them, and all of the many things that need to be done for our country, rural and urban. And when you get a good legislator, and you've got some good ones in this hall tonight, and I salute them - I salute Sam Friedel, and I salute Eddie Garmatz and I salute this delegation - you've got some good ones here and I know the difference between a good one and a bad. I didn't spend 20 years in Washington and not learning anything. I spent a lot of time working, 16 years, in the Senate and there's nothing better than a man that knows his way around and knows how to get things done, and cares for the people that he's working for. Now you have that here tonight friends. Take good care of it, will you. Take good care of him. APPLAUSE

Now I know that this is a non-partisan gathering, but I am not non-partisan all the time. I made no pledges as to what I was going to say or do when I came here, and if I occasionally keep praising an administration program or so, it's only because Dan Brewster was for them and this is a party to honor Dan. And so it's all your fault Dan. So if somebody says afterward that yes, I was a Republican and that I came and all that Humphrey did was to keep talking about the administration program, it's your fault, you voted for them. But I do want you to know that I find this Senator, that's really on the same wave length, without static. He's on the same wave length as President Johnson and Vice President Humphrey, and I'm talking about that wave of social progress in the United States, and I'm talking about a wave length that every member of the AFL-CIO is on, too, because most of the programs that this administration seeks to forward, you've had a hand in fashioning. We have been together, and the only way that I know you can make progress is to stay together. Remember what Ben Franklin said - that wise dear old man - You either hang together or you

hang separately. Union members ought to know that, and every once in a while I find somebody going around pretending he's a mighty good administration supporter, he's a great friend of the labor movement. And he then says but, and takes off for ten minutes to say how wrong the President is, he takes another twenty-five minutes to say how wrong the Vice President is because he is generally more wrong, he takes a little time to point out how wrong the democratic congress is, and then takes off a little bit to tell how wrong the labor movement is. Well now if you want to preach your own funeral sermon just keep that up. I'll give you a simple little lesson. Don't put poison in the pitcher out of which you are going to drink. APPLAUSE. Better you should stand guard because there'll be somebody else to come along that wants to put a little pellet in that pitcher, and that, that's what we call the political competition.

I think we've had a great wave of progress in this country. I told a few of your wonderful reporters here today, and we've had a fine day together. I said you know, I think it's about time that people start speaking up for this country. I don't think you prove yourself to be a great intellectual or a solid substantial citizen by priding yourself on how many things you can find wrong with the United States of America. I don't think that proves a thing except that you just apparently didn't have a good night and woke up feeling bad. This country isn't where it is, it didn't become the richest country on the face of the earth, the most democratic country on the face of the earth, the most powerful country on the face of the earth, the country in which more people have had opportunity than any country on the face of the earth. It didn't become all these things because all we ever did was something that was wrong, or all we ever did was make mistakes, and it didn't become that way because the labor movement was filled with crooks, or because big business was filled with thieves, or because politics was filled with fools. That isn't the way it happened. I'll tell you how America got where it is. Because our

working people worked, because we built a great free trade movement, because our business people ventured, because they invested, because they knew how to manage things, because they were willing to pioneer, and because our political leaders had some contact and communication with the people and did what the people thought ought to be done. That's the story of success in the United States of America, and you ought to talk about it. APPLAUSE

And I might add a word about our young people. They're always taking a big kicking around these days. When you don't know what else to complain about, you complain about the youngsters. They're the best crowd we've ever had. Make no mistake about it. APPLAUSE. They're brighter, they're healthier, they are more alert, they're socially conscious. Oh! there are some that get way-out you know, and there are some of you who did too, and I think I did too. I don't want to make a full confession here tonight. LAUGHTER. But, and I know there are some that get in trouble, and those who have never been in trouble I'll meet you in the telephone booth and we'll have plenty of room for anybody else. LAUGHTER And there are obviously some who go far too far, and some that really illustrate bad manners, lack of respect, lack of love of country. Some, very very few, but regrettably they are the ones you hear about. Why my friends I have travelled all over this country. I've been in 49 states and will be in the 50th this year. I've travelled in better than 500 American communities since I've been Vice President. I've been on four continents and 26 countries. I've been on the move, I've seen this country. I've been to every place in this country almost of consequence to see what is going on. I've been to our great universities and, of course, there will be a few that are parading and demonstrating, and that's their right. Don't get too excited about that. And then there will be a few that are doing things that are worse. But I want to tell you that there are thousands that are working and are studying and last year there was a quarter of a million of them that gave freely of their time to work in the slums and

the ghettos to help the needy, free of charge, and it's this younger generation today that's manning our factories, many of them. And they're the ones on front line of battle in Vietnam and whatever you may think of this generation...APPLAUSE, APPLAUSE, APPLAUSE.

So when you read tomorrow, as you will, about some just remember that there will be some misguided, some misled, some that came in because they thought they wanted to be where the action is, and then there will be some that ought to be ashamed of themselves. There is no way that you can justify in this country, disrespect for the flag of the United States, disrespect for the Constitution of the United States, disrespect for the law of the United States, tearing up your draft card, burning it. You cannot justify that kind of action in the United States. APPLAUSE. But don't include them all because a handful do it. Be understanding, don't be too quick to judge, remember that one that you may see that parades against something that you think is right may be the very man who only two or three months from now is doing exactly what you think is right. So I have a sense of tolerance about it for most of them. For some of them, I'll see you privately. APPLAUSE. And I'm not just speaking of youngsters either, young men or young women. I think we know of others.

Well, I want to talk to you about progress and that's what I've been talking about. This country has always been moving forward. Not always galloping but steady progressing. The greatest progress that has been made is in the field of human rights and that, of course, is what democracy is all about. Democracy is not about things, it's about people. And we've made fantastic progress in the law, fantastic progress in our communities, and now we're waiting to have practice catch up with theory, practice catch up with legality, and we're making progress in practice. I've seen here in Baltimore City today, leaders of your great industrial establishments and banks and utilities, with labor leaders, with young people from the ghettos and slums, as they call it, from the poor

from the minority groups working together. Working together to build this City, working together as participants, participants. I want everyone here to try to remember what I tried to tell a group this afternoon. A great English philosopher once said that if a man has nothing to do for his country, he will not love it. You have to have something to do for your country. You have to have a piece of the action. You have to be a part of it. You have to be involved. If you're excluded, if you're told to get to the back of the bus, if you're look upon as a second class citizen, don't expect that they'll love, don't expect that there will be respect. But include people in, and when you include them in they'll be there, they'll care, they'll do their job, and do it well. I've seen it all across this country, and I see it here in Baltimore City. That's the ray of hope that I've found here. APPLAUSE

Now let me just say a little about what we've tried to do in the Congress. And I'm not going to talk about much what we have done because who's interested in that. What we really need to talk about is what we need to do. Just to recite the yesterdays is refreshing sometimes. Sometimes it's helpful but most important today all it does is tell you where you are so that you can get another start on where you need to go. I do think, however, that this recent period will be remembered for one very important piece of legislation which the members here in this hall tonight in Congress had a hand in making it possible. That's the protection that's come to our elderly citizens under Medicare. APPLAUSE. A great piece of legislation. APPLAUSE. Five million Americans last year received the finest hospital and medical care that this nation had to offer and they received it as a right, not as a charity, under Social Security. APPLAUSE

Take the field now of education. I'm in a city that needs much help in terms of its education, every city does. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act that's been passed under the Johnson administration was a major breakthrough in

education and Federal Aid. I'll tell you what used to happen to Federal Aid in education when I came to Congress. The first bill I ever voted on in 1949 was Federal Aid Education. We'd pass it in the Senate, they'd kill it in the House. Two years later they'd pass it in the House, we'd kill it in the Senate. It was sort of like a ping pong game and you were always netting the ball on every other serve. And what did they kill it on? One time it would be on race, the next time it would be because of religion. And finally we got a President that said, look, why'don't we talk about the children, that's what education's for. It's not for churches and schools, it's for children. And the President of the United States Lyndon Johnson sent to the Congress of the United States a proposal that has provided tremendous aid to education. In fact, it has provided just this past year, aid to 17,000 school districts, and nearly 10,000,000 disadvantaged youngsters, boys and girls in public, private and parochial schools have been the beneficiaries of aid to education. Remember what old Thomas Jefferson used to say, that remarkable American. He said, you can't be both free and ignorant. You had to make a choice. Now we made the choice to be free and because we made that choice to be free, we've invested in education.

If this administration is remembered for nothing else, my dear friends, it ought to be remembered as the education administration that made the breakthrough so that young men and women that had been disadvantaged and denied were given at least the fighting chance to make something out of their lives because they had an education. APPLAUSE. I'm so filled with this. This has been my whole public life. Two million little ones today in Project Head Start. You never heard of Head Start until these last few years. You know I have had people say to me, well you know it isn't really very much that you have done. I said, well where were you? I've served in Congress a long time, we never got any head start. We didn't get many of these things until we had first, President John Kennedy, and then President Johnson. That's when things started to moving around here. APPLAUSE

Last year we had thousands of really capable students but needy, kids who were potential school dropouts: 38,000 of them in Project Upper Bound that are being prepared for college education, six and one-half million young men and women in higher education, one million and a quarter of them there on Federal loans and scholarships. Why my dear friends, this is what you mean by investing in the future of your country. Sixty thousand boys, young men that had no skills, now 60,000 of them have graduated from the Job Corps. And what do you think has happened to them. They've gone into private life. Sixty thousand of them into jobs, 10,000 of them back to high school, 10,000 into the Armed Services, those that ever had a job before they came into the Job Corps got an average pay of about \$.70 an hour. They now go out on an average pay of \$1.90 an hour. And I hear people say but it costs so much to run those Job Corps Camps. Ladies and gentlemen, I'll tell you what costs: unemployment, welfare, that's what costs. APPLAUSE. And don't worry about how much we spend to train them up. Don't worry about the cost of investment in training. It will all come back. You ever hear of withholding? LAUGHTER. Once you get them on the payroll we have a way we clip, clip, clip, clip. APPLAUSE. You can't get any withholding on welfare, you know. Why I told a group here today about what happened in Detroit. They had took 1,250 unemployed, never had a job in their life, all of them welfare cases. It cost \$850,000 a year that they'd been spending on welfare on those people. These were young people, between the ages of 16-20. They got them jobs and trained them up and it cost 800, Wait! it cost \$850,000 to train up I should say those 1,250 boys and girls. Eight hundred fifty thousand dollars, and they were complaining many places. There were all kinds of stories written about it, the fantastic cost of Federal, State and Local government to train these 1,250 young men and women. In the first year after they were on a job, they paid in taxes \$890,000. APPLAUSE. It doesn't take long. I'd like to tell you a story about a little lady down in New Orleans. Loyola University, as a matter of fact, had a training program down there. This is a true story.

And this woman had had nothing but trouble in her life. Believe me. She'd been on relief all of her life and had family problems, three children, no man in the house, really everything bad. And finally they were able to motivate this woman enough to bring her into a class, into a secretarial class. She took her training. There was a young priest there that took a great interest in this secretarial class and this job training program and he spent a great deal of time with to encourage them, to motivate them. He wasn't teaching, he was just inspiring. And this woman finally graduated, got her training and she went and she was given a job in a Medical Publishing House. She's still working down there, as a matter of fact. And when she received this job, after the first check, I think about two weeks, they paid her every two weeks, she came back with her first check and she came to this young priest and said, Father, I've never in my life ever seen my name on a check that wasn't a relief or welfare check. This is one I've earned. I really feel I'm out to something at long last. This is a great day for me, I'm so happy and proud. And then a couple of weeks went by and she came back again and she said, Oh! Father, look, look at this check. What is it? They have a little stub on the side and there are some numbers up there and it says withholding, what's that? And he said, Oh! young lady that's taxes. Oh! she said, I'll tell you, you'll never know how much this means to me. I've never paid any taxes, I really feel like a first-class citizen. I'm now not only earning my way, I'm paying taxes. I feel so good. A month later, she came back and she said, Father I want to tell you something. They're just taxing me to death. APPLAUSE. Ladies and gentlemen, that's what we call rehabilitation. LAUGHTER. So these programs are working.

Let's say a word or two about our cities. That's where most people are going to live. Seventy per cent of the American people live on one per cent of the land. One hundred million more Americans are going to come to this blessed country of ours between now and the year 2000. Where are you going to put them? What kind

of an America are they going to have? Well, we've been trying to think about that and we have legislative programs like model cities, comprehensive package designed to put Federal support behind the initiatives of local mayors, Tommy, and when you become mayor of this City there will be a model of this city program for you to help make Baltimore even better than it is. APPLAUSE. It's designed to, it's designed to help local government and local business and local labor to improve their communities. That's why we have a rent supplement program, a rent supplement program so that people who are of low income can have a home in which to live that's fit to live in.

There are three things that this country better dedicate itself to promptly: jobs, housing and education. Those are the three things that the people of this land that have little today need, and none of them need to be gifts. All of it can be earned. All of it can be paid for if we work together as partners in a common enterprise. That's the whole theme of it. Pulling together, working together, building together, Federal State and local government, private initiative, private industry, labor, the voluntary groups, the churches, instead of fighting each other, joining together to life this community. Ladies and gentlemen, some of the areas that I've seen in this City today, in a few years from now will be magnificent areas. They'll be rebuilt, your neighborhoods are going to be reconstructed and rebuilt. And more importantly, the people living within them are going to be reborn, rebuilt, rehabilitated, because after all you cannot rebuild a city unless the people themselves feel that they are a part of it, and they feel a sense of pride, and they feel that they, too, in a sense are reborn and rebuilt. Now that has to be done individually and by your own people. Well, this is the story of the past and really just a peek at the future. And I'm not one that wants to just pause and look back. The pausers are always losing out. There is, if you want to pause, why have a cola. I have to be careful which kind I say. APPLAUSE. The real thing that we need to consider in

this country is to push on, push on, and that's the critical decision that we are called upon to make now and I'll just ask a few questions. We've done great things, for example, in fair labor standards and minimum wages: \$1.40 now, it was \$1.20 when it started, and then we thought it was a breakthrough. It will be \$1.60 next year, that's just enough to support a family at the poverty level. Do we want to leave that as our goal? I don't think so. Our goal in America is to see to it that every American worker and every American family, factory, and every shop, on every farm, has a decent living wage and we can fulfill that goal in this, the richest country on the face of the earth. APPLAUSE. But we'll do it by building, we'll do it by investing, we'll do it by training, we'll do it through collective bargaining, we'll do it through legislation. Now what about our health?

I've mentioned to you about Medicare. Great! It helped a lot of people. It's available for about 19,000,000 or 20,000,000 Americans but there is still one-third of the people in this land who still have no regular access to medical care of any kind. Too few doctors in our rural areas, in our slums. I noted the other day when I was studying up for this little message, that most of the medical students today come from families of incomes of \$10,000 and over. Only three per cent of the medical students today come from our Negro ethnic group. Most of the medical students today have never lived in the slums, never been in rural areas of poverty, and when they go there they don't find much that gives them any attraction, or anything to help them with their profession. This is why today, your government and your community must work together with our doctors, our nurses and our druggists and our dentists, and others to see to it that the facilities are there and that the income levels are there so that good medical care and hospital care, and outpatient care can be brought to the people of this land. We can do this. You men in the labor movement, look what you've done under your Health and Welfare programs. Look what it has meant to you, and look what

it has meant to the whole nation. What about the fact that poor people in some American slums have four times as much heart disease, six times as much arthritis, six times as much mental and nervous illnesses as the rest of the population. Ladies and gentlemen, that's the real poverty. The poverty of the purse you can correct quickly, even with the welfare check. But the poverty of the body and of the mind and of the spirit, the poverty of disease and the poverty of despair, of hopelessness, that's the one that really tests this country. That's the one we have to work on. APPLAUSE. And I don't think the American people are going to stand idly by and let conditions like that live because we can do better, and we know that we can do better. To mention that these things exist doesn't mean that we do not have much because most of have plenty. There is 6/7 of the American population that lives well, 1/7 of the American population lives poorly. Awhile ago, it was 5/6 of the American population that lived well and 1/6 lived poorly. We are beginning to cut into the poverty areas, and into the poverty groups. We are making steady progress. The trouble with your Vice President is that he's a restless man. He wants to see us move on. He doesn't want to say stop and take a breather. I've watched some of these fellows stop and take a breather. They turn around and retreat. And I want to tell you something else. Never stop in a hot race because if you do, you've lost it, the guy's gone right on by you, and we can't afford to stop. Oh! we have people today that just want to stop the world and get off. I'm sorry to tell you there'll only be a few who'll make it. They're the fellow that are going to make that moon trip. The rest of you are destined for this earth. APPLAUSE

What I have said to you is that if this country should decide to pause and stop or retreat, it will, of course, decide to go backwards. And what does that mean in specific terms? To watch more children grow up in poverty, more trouble in your streets, to watch explosive slums become more tense and more crowded, to

watch more American children preparing for the Twenty-First Century in inadequate classrooms, and we'd just as well start talking about the Twenty-First Century, it's just around the corner. I've been taking Geritol now in the hopes that I can make it. LAUGHTER. But it's only 32 years away, 32 years away and every time, when you go home tonight look at those kiddies of yours and you'll say well you're going to see century Twenty-One. And between now and that time 100,000,000 more citizens, as I have said, are going to be here. What kind of a place are they going to find? What kind of a world is it going to be? That's why we have some responsibilities today. We can't afford to stand idly by and watch more workers left behind in this prosperous society. What a tragedy. And the worse part of it is that it doesn't need to happen because now we have the tools and the means to stop it. There was a time that you could excuse poverty because we didn't know what to do about it. There was a time that you could say, Well, we can't do much about the poor because we didn't have enough to do with. But not now. We do know what to do about at least some of it, we do have tools. I'm not talking about doing better in welfare, even though that may be necessary. I don't think you prove yourself weak by being compassionate. To the contrary, I think you prove yourselves strong. I don't think that charity is a character weakness either. But what I'm really talking about is something grander, and something more consistent with this promise of America. I'm talking about full and equal opportunity. Woodrow Wilson had a way of putting it and he was a great president. He said: If any part of our people want to be wards, if they want to be taken care of, if they want to be children patronized by the government, I am sorry because it will sap the manhood of America. But I don't believe they do, said Wilson. I believe they want to stand on the firm foundations of law and right and to take care of themselves. Now that's what I believe. I think that that's what they want to do if they are given a chance to do it. And there

is an old favorite quotation of mine that my friend Dr. Burman tonight said you're not going to do that again are you, and I said yes, I am because there are some eternal truths. My minister said to me one day in a sermon a truth that I repeat every time that I get a chance and get over two people who will stay long enough to listen, and I've got you trapped, I've got four men back there at the door. LAUGHTER He said the way you treat people, is the way you treat God. Now if you feel that what you're doing needs a spiritual motivation, and I think it does, just remember that. That's pretty good religion and it sort of challenges you every day. But Thomas Wilkes said something about what Woodrow Wilson was talking about and what I've been trying to talk about tonight, and he came from the period of American history that was my youthful period, those depression days, and he wrote with such clarity because he felt it, because it was what was happening, and because he spoke for people who wanted a better day, and it's so simple. He said, to every man regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity, to every man the right to live and to work and to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him, this is the promise of America. Really, that's what it's really all about. That's what America is all about. APPLAUSE. The promise of America - little people becoming big people and great people, doing the impossible, setting standards of excellence, leading the way, never being content with being second best, that's the promise of America. Abraham Lincoln is the great great philosopher of America. Oh! that man of simplicity and yet such profundity. You know, he really knew how to say it. In those troublesome days, those cruel days. And by the way, he wasn't winning many popularity contests either and his poll wasn't very good, but he was doing what he thought was right. He said, you know we'll either meanly lose or nobly save this the last best hope on earth. He said that in his second inaugural and ladies and gentlemen this is just as true in 1967 as it was in 1865. We're going to meanly lose or we are going to nobly save this the last best hope on earth. That's what this country stands for all around the world, the last best hope.

So this nation, I say, can no longer settle for stop-gap welfare state's programs, as the critics used to call it, we can now afford the opportunity state. Every man his shining golden opportunity. That's what I was saying to those kids this afternoon when we were out there in some of the areas of the city, when we were out with Operation Champ, when I had all those little fellows and younger girls around me. I looked at them and I said, everyone of you, your shining golden opportunity. That's what we are trying to do and we need your help. We can now afford to do these things. No matter where a man is born, no matter who your parents are, no matter what color the child may be, he must have a full opportunity to do a rewarding job, and when he grows to manhood or womanhood, to support a family in dignity and to be able to take advantage of all of the material and recreational and cultural resources of this land. Now, that's the way Americans should think. Think big, think in terms of the grandeur of this country. Now there was a time when this would be nothing but a noble sentiment and a lofty ideal but now I say it is within our grasp. We are so big, we are so powerful, we are so mighty, so much science and technology, so much skill, so many resources, so much wealth. It's within our power and so as we approach this, the end of the Twentieth Century, the second century of our national existence, I think we ought to realize tonight that the power is here to fulfill this noble ideal and objective. No longer is this just a hope. It can be a reality, and the reality we have talked about again, and again, and again is the reality of our country fulfilling it's duties at home and abroad and believe me friends and neighbors, I would be derelict in my duty if I did not emphasize both. You cannot have a free America in a slump of totalitarianism. You cannot be free and independent here when others go down, down, down before the powerful blows of the aggressor. You cannot be free and independent as an island unto yourself in this world of the space age and the nuclear age. So when we stand far away to fight in strange, and peculiar and distant lands, we're not fighting only for them, we're fighting for ourselves. APPLAUSE. Yes, when men, when men die on battlefields in Vietnam

they're dying for Baltimore, too. Make no mistake about it. APPLAUSE. I have to remind myself and others, and my friends time after time of what this world would be like if we had not stood.

Claude told me tonight 27,000,000 veterans in America - 5,000,000 of them have been wounded, 85,000,000 of them seriously wounded, amputees, blind. Eighty-five thousand of them I mean, amputees, blind, maimed. These men have fought on foreign battlefields. They fought in Europe, they fought in the Pacific, they fought in Korea, but they fought for us right here. They didn't let the war get this far. They took themselves to the war to prevent the war from coming to us, and it happens again.

Ladies and gentlemen, just think what kind of a world this would have been if Harry Truman hadn't been the kind of man that he was with spunk. APPLAUSE. Just think the kind of a world it would have been if he hadn't told old Joe Stalin to get out of Iran, Persia and get out in a hurry and keep your promise; and he did in 1945. He said if you don't get out I'll send the troops and the Air Force and push you out, in so many words. He wasn't the best educated president but I want to tell you something. He had an over-abundance of courage. APPLAUSE. Think of the kind of a world it would have been if he hadn't stood firm in Turkey and Greece. Maybe you've forgotten, and there were critics then, too. Plenty of them. Think of the kind of a world it would have been in Harry Truman hadn't said, Berlin will not die and the Berlin Airlift, the kind of a world it would have been if Korea had gone down the drain and the dagger of Korea communist controlled pointed at Japan. With Japan under the hammer and sickle, so to speak. Think of the kind of a world it would have been, and by the way I saw a public opinion poll just the other day sent to me in the mail. I never knew it even existed - the George Gallup Poll 1-20-1951. And what did it say? Sixty-six per cent of the American people in that poll said we ought to pull out of Korea, 66%. Four months earlier when things were going good, 80% said we ought to be

there. Ladies and gentlemen, if you run the foreign policy of this country and the defense policy of this country on the basis of public opinion polls, the British would still have us because George Washington...APPLAUSE...I don't want to be anti-British and I'm not, but let me tell you when Francis Scott Key was writing the Star Spangled Banner out here in Ft. McHenry, James Madison wasn't very popular. No, no, no, no. In fact, the New England states were preparing for secession, and Baltimore has another first. A whole contingent of fine men from the great colleges and universities in the New England states in 1812 were on their way and stopped in Baltimore, and they had articles of impeachment that they were going to take to the Congress to impeach that immoral, warlike, war monster called James Madison, the fourth president of the United States, for that immoral war known as the War of 1812 against Britain. And they got here and heard about Andrew Jackson whipping the pants off the British in New Orleans and they said, you know, let's go over and congratulate James Madison instead. LAUGHTER And they did, it's a historical fact. Read your history. Wars have not been popular but think of the kind of an America it would have been if there hadn't been a Ft. McHenry and if there hadn't been a James Madison and if there hadn't been, as I was saying of more current history, a Harry Truman.

Think of the kind of hemisphere this would have been my dear friends if John Fitzgerald Kennedy hadn't said to Krushchev, get your missiles out of here Mr. Krushchev and go home, and he took us to the very brink of nuclear war. I was in the White House when that happened with him, and we were within hours, not days, ladies and gentlemen, hours of a confrontation with the Soviet Union. We were set, the planes had been moved, the fleet had come in, the troops had come across the Pacific into the Atlantic. We were prepared for the holocaust. Less than one day's time, but he stood firm and Mr. Krushchev politely picked up his missiles and went home. What kind of a world do you think it would have been if he hadn't stood firm. So this is the story of this land. The land of the

free and the home of the brave, people who have understood that aggression cannot be tolerated, that the rule of the jungle, the law of the jungle has no place for free men. So today we take another stand - unpopular, distasteful, painful, sorrowful, dirty. But ladies and gentlemen I want to tell you something. If you stick with it, if you persevere, if you don't let them down, if you don't give the enemy reason to believe that we're going to crack up at home, if you don't convince the enemy at home that he can win, there is no power on the face of this earth that can stand up against us, and you know it. We'll win that war and we'll win that victory. APPLAUSE, APPLAUSE

OH! how I wish I had the time to go through these things, but I don't. I just can tell you this, there has never been a popular war president, and there never will be because there are always so many people who know how to be president better than the one that's there. And there's always so many people who know how to be general better than the one that's there. My qualifications are that I led Boy Scout Troop #6. APPLAUSE. And there's a whole big Congress full of new Secretaries of State and I've been in Congress and practiced a little bit myself so I'm somewhat charitable. I just want to remind you that the great Abraham Lincoln was very unpopular and his generals were more unpopular, and even when they got Grant they thought he drank too much. But bless old Lincoln's heart. He said pass the barrel around, that's the kind we need for the few generals we've got left. APPLAUSE. And Franklin Delano Roosevelt wasn't very popular either when he made his great quarantine speech in Chicago. When he said we must quarantine the aggressor and the country rose up against him. Thousands of people because what they call "America Firsters" and we almost didn't renew the draft a few months before Pearl Harbor; the vote was 203 to 204. You can't be popular as a war president, but ladies and gentlemen if a president seeks to be popular then he can't be right. And what a president needs to seek to be is right. He's not always right but he seeks to be right. As President Johnson has said, it is not difficult for a president to be right but what is

difficult, is to know what is right. And I happen to believe ladies and gentlemen, that if General Eisenhower, President Eisenhower, and President Kennedy and President Johnson think that the commitment we've made in Southeast Asia is right, I think that their combined collective judgment, plus all the men that have advised and counselled with them might be better than somebody that has just painted himself a sign and appointed himself the conscience of America. APPLAUSE, APPLAUSE. So let's stick with it, let's stay with it. Let's remember what we pledge ourselves to everyday of our lives. At least we should. Our prayer, our pledge. The flag is here tonight and generally at schools you know our little ones, they get up and they pledge allegiance to the flag of the United Republic for which it stands. It's beautiful, but the adults ought to do it too. And then the message comes. That's just the opening. That's the whereas, you know gentlemen, in the resolution. And then comes the charge, One Nation, not two, one, under God, not under the AFL or under Harvard or under Washington, or under Minneapolis, but under God, indivisible, not north and south, not black and white, but indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. Because there isn't any liberty for anybody unless there is justice for all. That's the message of this country: One Nation, indivisible, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. APPLAUSE. Live it and practice it. Thank you very much. APPLAUSE. Thank you very much. Thank you. APPLAUSE

INTRODUCTION OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

By

SENATOR DANIEL B. BREWSTER, MARYLAND

October 20, 1967

Lord Baltimore Hotel, Baltimore, Maryland

MARYLAND and D. C. AFL-CIO DINNER

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Introduction of Senator Daniel B. Brewster by Charles A. Della, General Chairman:

I feel highly honored this evening to have the privilege of introducing our honored guest, who will make a few comments of his own and then introduce the guest speaker. So, it gives me great pleasure to introduce to you, Senator Brewster, who I hope will be our next elected Senator. (Applause)

SENATOR BREWSTER:

Mr. Vice President, my friend, Charlie Della, Oliver Singleton, Tommie and Margie, --and in a few weeks I'll be able to say

Mr. Mayor (applause); my two old friends in the Congress, Eddie Garmatz and Sam Friedel (applause), and friends of organized labor: On behalf of my wife and myself, let me tell you how grateful we are for all the trouble so many of you went to to make this magnificent evening possible. We both thank you. You have made us very, very happy!

My association with labor has been really a pleasant one for the seventeen years I've held office in this state of Maryland, and after tonight, I believe this happy association will carry on for several years to come. (Applause)

My task this evening is, indeed, a very, very pleasant one, to introduce our guest speaker. Hubert Humphrey was the youngest Mayor of a major city of America just after the war was over. I first served with him in the Congress of the United States when he was the Assistant Majority Leader for the present President of the United States. Hubert Humphrey is a tireless, dedicated, able man; Hubert Humphrey

is always a friend. I know of no man in public life that has given more of himself to his country, to his friends, than our guest speaker this evening. (Applause)

Ladies and gentlemen, labor has had no better friend. Hubert Humphrey is a friend of labor, of the Democratic Party, of all Americans, but more than that, he is a friend of the United States.

Ladies and gentlemen, our Vice President! (Applause)

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY:

Thank you, thank you, thank you! Thank you very much!

Thank you, Thank you, thank you! Ha, ha! My friends in the Musicians' Union are over-enthusiastic, but we love you!

Thank you very much Senator Brewster, my very good friend, Danny. Wonderful to be presented by you and to be with you and Ann, to share this evening with your friends. And Oliver Singleton, I want to commend you on putting a program on, and getting it on and getting it under way, and giving the Vice President of the United States all the time

he wants to speak as long as he wants. Thank you very, very much!

(Applause; laughter)

Father O'Dwyer and Reverend Williams, I always feel a little safer when I have a good member of the clergy praying for me on both ends of the program; it just helps. (Laughter) And how good tonight to see Charlie Della here, and to have him bring us greetings of the great AFL-CIO of the state of Maryland and the District of Columbia, and then to have my alderman, Jay Turner here, from the District of Columbia. Jay, I want you to know my street needs to be repaired! (Laughter)

And, I notice too, tonight, that a very special friend is with us at the head table here. He could sit at any table and he would bring honor to it, and I am just so proud of him because I've worked with him when he was the National Commander of the DAV, when he's done such wonderful work for our veterans and our country, and Claude Callegary is my kind of American, and Kitty is my kind of girl! (Laughter; applause)

And how good it is to see my stalwart friends down here, representing so ably and so well tonight this great Maryland Congressional delegation, and I just want Eddie Garmatz to know, and Sam Friedel, how pleased we are to see you and I want you to thank all the other boys that couldn't get here. They were with us for noon lunch, guess we wore them out during the day. But these two can stay with it. Eddie wants to be sure that I still stand firm for the American Merchant Marine, he doesn't want any doubt about it! (Laughter) And Sam wants to be sure that all those appropriations still come flowing to Baltimore, he wants to be sure of that! (Laughter) And I want you to know, Ed., that Johnny Grogan's here tonight, to make sure that you behave. I just saw him here. Where's John? Johnny, come on, stand up there... where are you? One of the great International Presidents of our labor movement, (applause) and I'm just so pleased that he could come over.

I was very happy to share this day with not only my friend, Dan Brewster, of whom I'm going to have a little to say tonight, but also

with Tommy D'Alesandro. And I want to tell you why. First of all, if I'd have met Margie a little earlier I'd have been a whole lot even more happier because I've know all day long, I kept telling Tommy all day long, I said, you're going to win, there's just no doubt about it, you're going to win and he says, "Well, I don't want to think that way" but he is going to win! (Cheers, applause) And when I saw his lovely wife, Margie tonight I knew it was a cinch. You can't lose; you just can't lose! (Laughter; cheers)

My friend, Jerry Keating, is around here someplace tonight, too; where's he? Jerry? (Cheers) Always dangerous to start mentioning names because you leave somebody out, but I want you to know, those that I've left out, it just because my memory is beginning to fail me, you see.

It's just so good to be here! I've had a great day, just such a great day here in Baltimore City. I've been here many times. I haven't been here much these last couple of years, but I've had a wonderful

wonderful, happy day here amongst your people.

I was so honored tonight by the introduction given to me by Senator Dan Brewster. By God, I just like to hear the nice things that Danny says about you. Ha makes you feel good, and when you're Vice President you like to have a fellow brag on you a little bit. (Laughter) You know, Adlai Stevenson used to say that flattery is a good thing if you don't inhale it. (Chuckles) But I was sitting up here just breathing deeply all the time that he was talking. (Laughter) From here on out, I appoint Dan Brewster as my Special Introducer. (Laughter, applause) Ordinarily, Danny has a great respect for the truth but there are times that he'll let go, and he did tonight. (Laughter)

This is a wonderful city. You know it, but I wonder how well you know it! (Applause) That's right, you ought to be mighty proud of this great city. (Applause) I often find that those who become somewhat accustomed, very much accustomed to a fine community, a good home,

a great city, a fine family, they are the last to appreciate it. But you really have it. This city has vitality, it has spirit. When I came here today and stopped off at the shipyard and met some of our boys down there, and Johnny Grogan was there along with others, I just knew that there was something going on here that was good and constructive, and full of the spirit of life. And all day long I've been in many sections of your great city. I've been with the poorest of the poor and the richest of the rich; I've been with business and with labor; I've been with the minority groups and the majority groups, and every place I've been, I found one thing, an unconquerable spirit of confidence. This town's on the move, and you take good care of it, will you? (Applause)

You know, I envy the President sometimes in this sense; I guess I should say, I really feel sorry for him, because I get all the good things, I get the chance to be out amongst the people. I have the opportunity to come to dinners like this, to share a wonderful, pleasant evening, and the President of the United States has the heavy responsibilities of

that awesome office. He often tells me, he says, you know, Hubert, I feel like a man that's caged behind a big, black fence, and you know, around the White House that's about the way it is. And there, he's required to stay at the job day after day, hour after hour, week after week. But, as I said to him, Well, Mr. President, you wanted to be President, and I only wanted to be Vice-President, you know, so... (Laughter; applause) I don't want Dan, or Sam or Eddie to tell him I said that here, that's absolutely off the record, boys! (Laughter)

Now, I want to talk to you about a matter of mutual concern. Something that troubles me a great deal, and something I think we ought to do something about. As a supporter of the Minnesota Twins, I feel a sense of companionship in grief and sadness with this local baseball brotherhood of the Baltimore Orioles. (Chuckles) That's what I said. Everything went good until we went to Boston. (Laughter) I could've told them, I met a fellow from Boston in 1960. (Laughter; applause)

So, let me commiserate with the Oriole fans and the Twins' fans; we'll sort of have a wake and we'll put Father O'Dwyer in charge of it down here. (Chuckles) But now, having joined the club, and this remorse for our baseball clubs, I want you to know that as a fan of both the Redskins and the Vikings, that this sympathy goes no further! If you do have a place-kicker, however, we could use one over in the Redskins; and I wish you well with the Green Bay Packers this week, I think that's what you're taking on, we softened them up last week for you. (Chuckles)

Orioles and the Colts and crab-cakes. They're a lot to be proud of. I know this is a part of the legend of this wonderful community but I think Maryland has much more to be proud of than just those fine things. You and I know that much of this country's fine history is written right here. Today, when I was on a television show I was reciting a little of our history of our country because some people seem to forget it. I wonder, I'm sure everybody here in this audience knows that Annapolis was once the Capital of the United States, but don't feel too proud, the

Capital changed eleven times from 1776 to 1790. But at least Annapolis made it, Minneapolis didn't! (Chuckles)

Francis Scott Key wrote the National Anthem as he watched the bombardment of Fort McHenry. I wished he 'd have put it down one octave but he did the best he could under the... (Laughter) And Baltimore has been the new home, has literally been the haven and the refuge for thousands and thousands and thousands of people who have yearned to be free, who have come to the Port of Baltimore, come here to be American citizens. And I've seen these people across your city today and they're really the wealth, the power and the strength of this community. In fact, of course, that's the truth of this America, the different ethnic groups, the different races, creeds, religions, people of different origins that have come here and, like a mighty stream, preserving their identity and yet in a real sense becoming as one, the oneness of American citizens and the identity of their own family, their own race, their own religion and their own origin. That's the way you make a great country,

a mosaic. (Applause)

So, I've had quite a time, and I've had a good time with Dan Brewster, too. I want to tell you Maryland can be proud for many contributions, and I want you to know, Dan, this is not in the spirit of Adlai about flattery; this is in the spirit of real truth, like Jefferson, that Maryland can be proud of another contribution to America, Senator Dan Brewster, of the State of Maryland. (Applause)

I've known this gentleman since, well, in the mid-1950's when he came to, first when he came to Washington as a member of the House of Representatives after he'd served, I read about him and knew about him but not as well personally as I would've when he first served, how many was it...eight...eight years I believe in the State Assembly here, of Maryland. You've given...you've given to our Congress and our country a very fine United States Senator, and one that you can be justly proud of, and I want to make sure you re-elect him. (Applause) I didn't clear these remarks with Dan, I didn't clear them with anybody. You have

two fine Senators, to be quite candid about it, and I want to be, I want to say that you've honored us by both of them, Senator Brewster, the Senior Senator, and Senator Tydings, and this fine Congressional delegation.

(Applause)

Dan has been a real public servant. And, I'll tell you what the first good quality of a public servant is...does he care for the people, that's what really counts! Not how loquacious or articulate he may be, even though he is that; and not how good-looking he may be, even though he is that. What really counts in a government that's supposed to be of the people, by the people and for the people, what really counts is, does he care for the people? And Dan Brewster does, that's why I like him!

(Applause) And let me say to my friends of AFL-CIO Labor, he has never failed you, and yet he has not had a narrow, prejudiced attitude about this economy. He has recognized what your own State president has said, that if you're going to get things done in this country, you have to have cooperation. You can't go around and indulge yourself in the demagoguery of

pitting management against labor, capital against labor, rural against city... you just can't do that any more. There was a time in America when that kind of politics got by but that day is all over. If there's one thing we need to know, it's that we need everybody in this country pulling their share of the weight, and everybody in this country to have a chance to be a part of this country. And we do not need to indulge ourselves in demagoguery and pettiness. And I can tell you that this man that we have tonight as the honored guest of this banquet, whatever may be his shortcomings, and we all have some, and whatever may be his assets, and we all hope we have some, is that above all he is an American that cares for Americans; a patriot that loves his country, and one that doesn't forget the people that helped him get where he is now, in the United States Senate!

(Applause)

Now, I could tell Jay Turner what he already knows down there.

Do you know that Dan has been in the forefront of the battle for the District of Columbia, and for Home Rule and better government, and you don't get

get much thanks for that, I'll tell you that, that doesn't make you popular with the local constituents. That's a part of the job of a Congressman and a Senator. After all, the Nation's Capital ought to be the best that this nation has to offer. It ought to be the model, and Dan Brewster wants to see it that way. He is a member of the Civil Service Committee of the United States Senate. And I want to tell you that if you wanted some testimony of what he means on that committee, just ask Jerry Keating of the Letter Carriers and you'll know what I mean. (Cheers) I served on that committee -- I know what it means to our Federal workers. And he's been there to speak up for thousands and thousands of these Federal workers to make their employment better, their standards better, their salaries better, their fringe benefits better, and that makes them better.

But, the best thing about this Senator, besides the fact that he cares, is that he cares and knows how to get things done. And, it doesn't do much good in Congress if you don't know how to get things done, isn't that right gentlemen? You just got to know how to get things done. And

that means that you've got to know how to work with people; you've got to be willing to be there, to understand the other fellow's problem, to understand the processes of the legislative body and to get things done, and you don't learn that in a hurry. Dan Brewster has had a very great apprenticeship in the Congress of the United States, in the House, and he is now one of our distinguished members of the Senate, and he is, as you know, an assistant to the Majority Whip of the United States Senate. Now, I was the Majority Whip and I know what it means to whip 'em around. I know what it means to get something done, and believe me, how you pray for a good assistant! And Dan is fulfilling that responsibility. He didn't ask me to make this speech for him and I didn't tell him I was going to. He's never seen a copy of it. Frankly, I haven't got it all written out any way, I didn't know I was going to say it all. (Chuckles) But I do know this, that I have a responsibility to the President of the United States and to this Administration, to my party and to our country, and I do want to pay tribute to those who try to help us get the things done that ought to be done, and

we've been able to rely on him, we've been able to rely on Dan Brewster for everything that needs to be done in this country, from human rights for those that have been denied them; voting rights for those that have been denied them; economic rights for those that have been denied them; and all of the many things that need to be done for our country, rural and urban. And when you get a good legislator, and you got some good ones in this hall tonight...I salute them. I salute Eddie Garmatz and Sam Friedel, and I salute this delegation. You got some good ones here.

And I know the difference between a good one and a bad one.

I didn't spend 20 years in Washington not learning anything. (Chuckles)
I spent a lot of time working, 16 years in the United States Senate, and there's nothing better than a man who knows his way around, and knows how to get things done, and cares about the people that he's working for. Now, you have that here tonight, friends, take good care of it, will you? Take good care of him? (Applause)

I know this is a non-partisan gathering, but I'm not non-partisan

all the time. I made no pledges as to what I was going to say or do when I came here, and if I occasionally keep praising an Administration program or so, it's only because Dan Brewster was for 'em. And this is a party to honor Dan, and it's all your fault, Dan. If somebody says afterwards, Here I was, a Republican, and I came here and all that Humphrey did was to keep talking about the Administration programs, it's your fault, you voted for them. (Laughter)

But I do want you to know that I find this Senator, that's really on the same wave length, without static; he's on the same wave length as President Johnson and Vice President Humphrey. And I'm talking about that wave of social progress in the United States, and I'm talking about a wave length that every member of the AFL-CIO is on, too, because most of the programs that this Administration seeks to forward, you've had a hand in fashioning. We've been together, and the only way that I know that we can make progress is to stay together. Remember what Ben Franklin,

that wise, dear old man, said: You either hang together or you hang separately. Union members ought to know that, and every once in awhile I find somebody going around, pretending he's a mighty great Administration supporter, he's a great friend of the labor movement, and then he says, "But" and takes off for ten minutes to say how wrong the President is, takes another twenty-five minutes to say how wrong the Vice-President is 'cause he's generally more wrong; takes a little time to point out how wrong the Democratic Congress is, and then takes off a little bit to tell how wrong the Labor movement is. Well, now, if you want to preach your own funeral sermon, just keep that up. I'll give you a simple lesson, don't put poison in the pitcher out of which you're going to take a drink.

(Applause) Better you should stand guard because there'll be somebody come along that wants to put a little pellet in that pitcher. And that's what we call the political competition.

I think that we've had a great wave of progress in this country.

I told a few of your wonderful reporters here today, and we've had a fine day together... I said, you know, I think it's about time that people started speaking up for this country. I don't think you prove yourself to be a great intellectual, or a solid substantial citizen by priding yourself on how many things you can find wrong with the United States of America. I don't think that proves a thing, except that you just apparently have a good night and woke up feeling bad. This country isn't where it is, it didn't become the richest country on the face of the earth, the most Democratic country on the face of the earth, the most powerful country on the face of the earth, a country in which more people have had opportunity than any country on the face of the earth; it didn't become all of these things because all we ever did was something that was wrong or all we ever did was make mistakes. And it didn't become that way because the Labor movement was filled with crooks, or because business was filled with thieves, or because politics was filled with fools, that isn't the way it happened. I'll tell you how America got where it is... because our working

people worked; because we built a great free trade union movement; because our business people ventured; because they invested; because they knew how to manage things; because they were willing to pioneer, and because our political leaders had some contact and communication with the people and did what the people thought ought to be done... that's the story of the success of the United States of America, and you ought to talk about it! (Applause)

And I might add a word about our young people, they always take a big kicking about these days when you don't know what else to complain about you complain about the youngsters. They're the best crowd we've ever had, make no mistake about it. (Thin applause) They're brighter, they're healthier, they're more alert, they're socially conscious. Oh, there are some that get way out, you know, as some of you did too, and I think I did too, ... I don't want to make a full confession here tonight... (applause, laughter) But, I know there are some that get in trouble and those that have never been in trouble, I'll meet you in a telephone booth

and we'll have plenty of room for anybody else. And there are, obviously, some that go far too far, and some that really illustrate bad manners, lack of respect, lack of love of country. Some...very, very few, but regrettably, they are the ones you hear about. Why, my friends, I travel all over this country; I've been in 49 states and will be in the 50th this year. I've traveled in better than 500 communities since I've been Vice President, I've been in 4 continents and 26 countries, I've been on the move. I've seen this country...I've been every place in this country of almost of any consequence, to see what's going on. I've been to our great universities, and of course, there'll be a few that are parading and demonstrating, and that's their right, don't get too excited about that, and then there'll be a few that are doing things that are worse. But I want to tell you that there are thousands that are working and studying, and last year there was a quarter of a million of them that gave freely of their time to work in the slums and the ghettos to help the needy, free of charge. It is this younger generation today that's manning our factories, many of

them, and they are the ones on the front lines of battle in Vietnam
(cheers, applause)... so when you read tomorrow, as you will, about
some, just remember that there'll be some that are misguided, misled,
some that just came because they thought they wanted to be where the
action was, and then there'll be some that ought to be ashamed of themselves.
There is no way that you can justify, in this country, disrespect for the
flag of the United States, disrespect for the Constitution of the United
States, disrespect for the law of the United States, tearing up your draft
card, burning it, you cannot justify that kind of action in the United States.
(Applause) But don't include 'em all because a handful do it. Be under-
standing, don't be too quick to judge. Remember that one that you may see
that parades against something that you think is right, may be the very man
you see two or three months from now doing exactly what you think is right.
So, I have a sense of tolerance about it for most of them; for some of them,
I'll see you privately. And I'm not just speaking of youngsters either, young
men or young women. I think we know others.

Well, I want to talk to you about progress, and that's what I've been talking about. This country has always been moving forward, not always galloping, but steady progress. The greatest progress that's been made is in the field of human rights. And that, of course, is what Democracy is all about. Democracy is not about things, it's about people. We've made fantastic progress, in the law, fantastic progress in our communities, and now we're waiting to have practice catch up with theory. Practice catch up with legality, and we are making progress in practice. I've seen here in Baltimore City today, leaders of your great industrial establishment, and banks and utilities, with labor leaders, with young people from the ghettos and the slums as they call it, from the poor, from the minority groups working together, working together to build this city, working together as participants...participants. I want every person here to remember what I tried to tell a group this afternoon. A great English philosopher once said that, if a man has nothing to do for his country, he will not love it. You have to have something to do for your

country; you have to have a piece of the action; you have to be a part of it; you have to be involved. If you're excluded, if you're told to get to the back of the bus, if you're looked upon as a second-class citizen, don't expect that they'll love you, don't expect that there'll be respect. But include people in, and when you include them in, they'll be there, they'll care, they'll do their job and do it well. I've seen it all across this country, and I see it here in Baltimore City, that's the ray of hope that I found here. (Applause)

Now, let me say just a little bit about what we try to do in the Congress, and I'm not going to talk much about what we have done because who's interested in that, because what we're really interested in is what we need to do. Just to recite the yesterdays is refreshing sometimes; sometimes it's helpful, but most importantly, all it does is to tell you where you are so that you can get another start, and where you need to go.

I do think, however, that this recent period will be remembered for one very important piece of legislation, which the members here in

this hall tonight from Congress, had a hand in making possible. That's the protection that's come to our elderly citizens under Medicare.

(Applause) A great piece of legislation. Five million Americans, last year, received the finest hospital and medical care that this nation had to offer, and they received it as a right not as a charity under Social Security. (Applause)

Take the field, now, of education. I'm in a city that needs much help in terms of its education; every city does. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act that's been passed under the Johnson Administration was a major breakthrough in education and Federal aid. I want to tell you what used to happen to Federal aid to education, when I came to Congress. The first bill I ever voted on in 1949 was Federal Aid to Education. We'd pass it in the Senate, they'd kill it in the House. Two years later, they'd pass it in the House, we'd kill it in the Senate. It was sort of like a ping-pong game, and you were sort of netting the ball on every other serve. What'd they kill it on? One time it'd be on race; the next

time it would be because of religion, and finally, we got a President that said, Look, why don't we talk about the children, that's what education is for, it's not for churches and schools, it's for children. And the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, sent to the Congress of the United States a proposal that has provided a tremendous aid to education. In fact, it has provided just this past year, aid to seventeen thousand school districts; and nearly ten million disadvantaged youngsters, boys and girls, in private and parochial and public schools, have been the beneficiaries of aid to education. Remember what old Thomas Jefferson used to say, that remarkable American... he said, "You can't be both free and ignorant, you have to make a choice." Now, we made a choice to be free, and because we made that choice to be free we invested in education. If this Administration is remembered for nothing else, my dear friends, it ought to be remembered as the Education Administration that made the break-through so that young men and women that had been disadvantaged and denied were given at least a fighting chance to

make something out of their lives, because they had an education.

(Applause)

I'm so filled with this, this has been my whole public life.

Two million little ones today in Project Head Start. You never heard of Project Head Start until these last two years. You know, I've had people say to me, Well, it isn't really much that you've done, and I said, Well, where were you? I served in Congress a long time. We never got any Head Start. We didn't get many of these things until we had first, President John Kennedy, and then President Lyndon Johnson. That's when things started to move around here. (Applause) Last year we had thousands of really capable students, but needy, kids that were potential school drop-outs, thirty-eight thousand of them, in Project Upward Bound, that are being prepared for college educations. Six and one-half million young men and women in higher education; a million and a quarter of them there on Federal loans and scholarships. Why, my dear friends, this is what you mean by investing in the future of your country! Sixty thousand

boys, young men that had no skills; now, sixty thousand of them have graduated from the Job Corps, and what do you think has happened to them? They've gone into private life. Sixty thousand of them into jobs; ten thousand of them back to high school; ten thousand into the Armed Services. Those that ever had a job before they came into the Job Corps got an average pay of about 70 cents an hour. They now go out on an average pay of \$1.90 cents an hour.

And I hear people say, But it costs so much to run those Job Corps camps! Ladies and gentlemen, I want to tell you what costs... unemployment, welfare, that's what costs. (Applause)

And don't worry how much it costs to train 'em; don't worry about the cost of investment and training, it'll all come back. Did you ever hear of withholding? (Laughter) Once that you get them on the payroll we have a way, we clip, clip, clip, clip, clip... (Laughter)

You can't get any withholding on welfare, you know. Why, I told a group here today about what happened in Detroit; they took 1,250 unemployed,

never had a job in their lives, all of them welfare cases; it cost \$850,000 a year that they've been spending on welfare on those people, these were young people, between the ages of 16 to 20. They got them jobs, trained them up and it cost .. no wait, I should say, it cost \$850,000 to train up those 1,250 boys and girls...\$850,000, and they were complaining in many places. There were all kinds of stories written about it, the fantastic cost of the Federal, State and local government to train these 1,200 young men and women. In the first year, after they were on the job, they paid in taxes \$890,000. (Applause) It doesn't take long. I'd have to tell you a story about a little old lady down in New Orleans. Loyola University, as a matter of fact, had a training program down there, this is a true story. And this woman had had nothing but trouble in her life, believe me. She'd been on relief all her life, family problems, three children, no man in the house, really everything bad. And finally, they were able to motivate this woman enough to bring her into a class, into a Secretarial class. She took her training. There was a young priest there

that took a great interest in this secretarial class, and in this job training program, and he spent a great deal of time with them. He encouraged them, the motivation; he wasn't teaching he was just inspiring. And this woman finally graduated from training and she went and was given a job in a medical publishing house. She's still working down there, as a matter of fact. And when she received this job, after the first check, I think about two weeks, I guess they paid her every two weeks, she came back with her first check and she came to this young priest, and she said, "Father, I've never in my life seen my own name on a check before if it wasn't a relief or welfare check. This is one I've earned. I really feel that I amount to something at long last. This is a great day for me. I'm so happy and proud." And then, a couple of weeks went by and she came back again, and she said, "Oh, Father," she said, "look, look at this check. What is it that they have, they have a little stub on the side and there's some numbers up there, it says 'withholding'. What is that?" And he said to the lady, "Oh" he says, "that's taxes." She said, "Oh, you'll never know how much this means to me; I've never paid taxes. I

really feel like a first class citizen. I'm not only earning my way, I'm paying taxes," she said. "I feel so good."

A month later she came back and said, "Father, I want to tell you something. They're just taxing me to death." (Laughter)

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that's what we call rehabilitation! (Laughter) So, these programs are really working.

Let's say a word or two about our cities, that's where most of our people are going to live. Seventy per cent of the American people live on one per cent of the land. A hundred million more Americans are going to come to this blessed country of ours between now and the year 2000; where're you going to put them? What kind of an America are they going to have? Well, we've been trying to think about that and we have legislative programs like Model Cities, comprehensive packaged, to put Federal support behind the initiatives of local mayors, Tommy. And, when you become Mayor of this city, there'll be a Model Cities program for you to help make Baltimore even better than it is. (Applause) It's

designed to help local government, and local business, and local labor to improve their communities. That's why we have the Rent Supplement program. A Rent Supplement program, so that people who are of low income can have a home in which to live, that's fit to live in.

There are three things that this country better dedicate itself to promptly: jobs, housing and education. Those are the three things that the people of this land who have little today need, and none of them need to be gifts, all of them can be earned. All of it can be paid for if we work together as partners in a common enterprise. That's the whole theme of it, working together, pulling together, building together; Federal, State and local government, private initiative, private industry, labor, the voluntary groups, the churches; instead of fighting each other, join together, lift this community. Ladies and gentlemen, some of the areas in this city that I've seen today in a few years from now will be magnificent areas. They'll be rebuilt. Your neighborhoods are going to be reconstructed and rebuilt, and more importantly, the people living

within them are going to be reborn, rebuilt, rehabilitated because after all, you cannot rebuild a city unless the people themselves feel that they are a part of it. And they feel a sense of pride. They feel that they, too, in a sense, are reborn and rebuilt. Now, that has to be done individually, and by your own people.

Well, this is the story of the past and really just a peek at the future. I am not one that wants to pause and look back. Pausers are always losing out. There is, ... you want a pause, why have a cola. I have to be careful which kind I say. The real thing that we need to consider in this country is to push on, push on, and that's the critical decision that we're called on to make now. And I just ask a few questions: We've done great things, for example, in Fair Labor standards and minimum wages... \$1.40 an hour now, it was twenty cents when it started and then we thought it was a break-through. It will be \$1.60 next year. That's just enough to support a family at the poverty level. Do we want to leave that as our goal? I don't think so. Our goal in America is to see to it

that every American worker in every American factory and every shop and every farm has a decent living wage; and we can fulfill that goal in this, the richest country on the face of the earth. (Applause) But we'll do it by building; we'll do it by investing; we'll do it by training; we'll do it by collective bargaining; we'll do it through legislation.

Now, what about our health? I've mentioned to you about Medicare...great, it helped a lot of people. It's available for about 19 or 20 million Americans, but there's still one-third of the people in this land who still have no regular access to medical care of any kind. Too few doctors in our rural areas, in our slums. I noted the other day, when I was studying up for this little message, that most of the medical students today come from families of incomes of \$10,000 and over; only three per cent of our medical students today come from our Negro ethnic group. Most of the medical students today have never lived in the slums; never been in rural areas of poverty, and when they go there, they don't find much that gives them any attraction, or anything to help them with

their profession. This is why today your government and your community must work together with our doctors and our nurses and our druggists and our dentists and others, to see to it that the facilities are there and that the income levels are there, so that good medical care and hospital care, and out-patient care can be brought to the people of this land.

We can do this. You men in the Labor Movement, look what you've done. Under your health and welfare programs... look what it has meant to you, and look what it has meant to the whole nation. What about the fact that poor people in some American slums have four times as much heart disease; six times as much arthritis; six times as much mental and nervous illness as the rest of the population! Ladies and gentlemen, that is the real poverty! The poverty of the purse you can correct quickly, even with a welfare check, but the poverty of the body and the mind, and the spirit, the poverty of disease, the poverty of despair, of hopelessness, that's the one that really tests this country. That's the one we have to work on! (Applause)

And I don't think the American people are going to stand idly by and let conditions like that live, because we can do better and we know we can do better. To mention that these things exist doesn't mean that we do not have much, because most of us have plenty. There is 6/7's of the American population lives well; 1/7 of the American population lives poorly. A while ago, it was 5/6's of the American population that lived well and 1/6 lived poorly. We're beginning to cut into the poverty areas and the poverty groups. We're making steady progress. The trouble with your Vice President is, he's a restless man, he wants to see us move on; he doesn't want to say, Stop and take a breather! I've watched some of these fellows stop and take a breather...they turn around and retreat! And I want to tell you something else... never stop in a hot race, because if you do, you've lost it, the guy's going right on by you. We can't afford to stop. Oh, we've got people today that just want to stop the world, they want to get off. I'm sorry to tell you, there's only going to be a few of them that make it, the fellows that make that moon trip. The rest of you

are destined for this earth.

What I've said to you is that if this country should decide to pause and stop, or retreat, it will of course decide to go backwards. And what does that mean in specific terms? To watch more children grow up in poverty; more trouble on our streets, to watch explosive slums become more tense and more crowded. To watch more American children prepare for the 21st Century in inadequate classrooms...and we may just as well start talking about the 21st Century, it's just around the corner. I've been taking Geritol in the hopes that I make it. (Thin laughter) But it's only 33...32.. just 32 years away, and everytime, tonight when you go home look at those kiddies of yours and and you're going to say, Well, you're going to see Century Twenty-One, and between now and that time one hundred million more citizens, as I said, are going to be here. What kind of a place are they going to find? What kind of a world is it going to be? That's why we have some responsibilities today. We can't afford to stand idly by and watch more workers left behind in

this prosperous society. What a tragedy! And the worst part of it is, that it doesn't need to happen, because now we have the tools and the means to stop it. There was a time that you could excuse poverty because we didn't know what to do about it. There was a time when you could say, well, we can't do much about the poor because we didn't have enough to do with, but not now. We do know what to do about at least some of it. We do have tools. I'm not talking about doing better in welfare, even though that may be necessary. I don't think you prove yourself weak by being compassionate; to the contrary, I think you prove yourself strong. I don't think that charity is a character weakness either but what I'm really talking about is something grander and something more consistent with this promise of America. I'm talking about full and equal opportunity. Woodrow Wilson had a way of putting it, and he was a great President... he said:

"If any part of our people want to be wards, if they want to be taken care of, if they want to be children patronized by the government, I am sorry, because it will sap the manhood of America. But I don't believe they do", he said. "I believe they want to stand on the

"firm foundations of law and right and take care of themselves."

Now, that's what I believe; I think that's what they want to do if they're given a chance to do it. And there's an old, favorite quotation of mine that my friend, Dr. Berman, tonight said you're not going to do that again, are you? And I said, Yes, I am, because there are some eternal truths. My minister said to me one day in a sermon, a truth that I repeat everytime that I get a chance to get over two people that stay long enough to listen...and I got you trapped, I got four men back there at the door. (Laughter) He said, the way you treat people is the way you treat God. Now, if you feel that what you're doing needs a spiritual motivation, and I think it does, just remember that. That's pretty good religion and it sort of challenges you too, every day. But Thomas Wolfe said something about what Woodrow Wilson was talking about and what I've been trying to talk about tonight. He came from the period of American History that was my youthful period, those depression days. And he wrote with such clarity because he felt it, because it was what was happening,

and because he spoke for people who wanted a better day. And it's so simple. He said to every man, regardless of his birth, is shining golden opportunity; to every man, the right to live, to work and be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him...this is the promise of America. Maybe that's what it's all about, that's what America is all about. (Applause)

The promise of America... little people becoming big people and great people, doing the impossible, setting standards of excellence. Leading the way. Never being content with being second-best. That's the promise of America.

Abraham Lincoln is the great, the great philosopher of America. Ah, the man of simplicity and yet such profundity. You know, he...he really knew how to say it. In those troublesome days, those cruel days, and by the way, he wasn't winning many popularity contests either and his poll wasn't very good, but he was doing what he thought was right. He said,

"You know, we'll either meanly lose, or nobly save this, the last best hope on earth."

He said that in his second inaugural, and ladies and gentlemen, it's just as true in 1967 as it was in 1865. We're going to meanly lose or we're going to nobly save this, the last best hope on earth; that's what this country stands for all around the world. The last best hope. So, this nation, I say, can no longer settle for stop-gap welfare states... programs, as the critics used to call it. We can now afford the opportunity state; every man his shining golden opportunity. That's what I was saying to those kids this afternoon, when we were out there in some of the areas of this city; when we were out with Operation Champ; when I had all these little fellows and girls around me. I looked at them and I said, "Every one of you, your shining golden opportunity." That's what we're trying to do, and we need your help. We can now afford to do these things, no matter where a man is born, no matter who your parents are, no matter what color the child may be, he must have a full opportunity to

do a rewarding job and when he grows to manhood or womanhood, to support a family in dignity. And to be able to take advantage of all of the material and recreational and cultural resources of this land. Now, that's the way Americans should think: think big! Think in terms of the grandeur of this country. Now there was a time when this would be nothing but a noble sentiment and a lofty ideal, but now I would say it's within our grasp. We're so big; we're so powerful; we're so mighty, so much science and technology, so much skill, so many resources, so much wealth, it's within our power. So as we approach this, the end of the 20th Century, the second century of our national existence, I think we ought to realize tonight that the power is here to fulfill this noble ideal and objective. No longer is this just a hope, it can be a reality, and the reality we've talked about again and again and again. It's the reality of our country's fulfilling its duties at home and abroad, and believe me, friends and neighbors, I would not be derelict in my duty if I would not emphasize both. You cannot have a free America in a swamp of totalit-

arianism. You cannot be free and independent here when others go down, down, down before the powerful blows of the aggressor. You cannot be free and independent as an island onto yourself in this world, in the space age and the nuclear age. So when we stand far away to fight in strange and distant and peculiar lands, we're not fighting only for them, we're fighting for ourselves. (Applause) Yes! When men die in battlefields in Vietnam they're dying for Baltimore, too, make no mistake about it!

I have to remind myself and others, my friends, time after time, of what this world would be like if we had not stood. Claude told me tonight 27 million veterans in America, 5 million of them have been wounded, 85 million of them seriously wounded, amputees, blind, . . . 85 thousand of them I mean. Amputees, blinded, maimed. These men have fought in foreign battlefields, they fought in Europe, they fought in the Pacific, they fought in Korea, but they fought for us. Right here. They didn't let the war get this far. They took themselves to the war to prevent the war from coming to us. And it happens again. Ladies and gentlemen, just think of the kind of world it'd have been if Harry Truman hadn't of been

the kind of man that he was, with spunk! (Applause) Just think the kind of world it'd have been if he hadn't told old Joe Stalin to get out of Iran, Persia and get out in a hurry and keep your promise, and he did! In 1945. He said, if you don't get out I'll send the troops and the Air Force and push you out, in so many words. He wasn't the best educated President but I want to tell you something: he had an over-abundance of courage! (Applause) Think of the kind of a world it would've been if he hadn't of stood firm in Turkey and Greece, you've maybe forgotten. There were critics then, too, plenty of 'em. Think of the kind of a world it would've been if Harry Truman hadn't of said, Berlin will not die! And the Berlin airlift! The kind of a world it would've been if Korea had gone down the drain and the dagger of Korea Communist control pointed at Japan! With Japan under the hammer and sickle, so to speak. Think of the kind of a world it would've been... and by the way, I saw a public opinion poll just the other day, sent to me in the mail, I never even knew it existed, the George Gallup Poll, January 20, 1951, and what did it say?

Sixty-six per cent of the American people in that poll said we ought to pull out of Korea, sixty-six per cent. Four months' earlier, when things were going good, eighty per cent said we ought to be there. Ladies and gentlemen, if you run the foreign policy of this country and the defense policy of this country on the basis of public opinion polls, the British would still have us, cause George Washington... (Applause, cheers)

I don't want to be anti-British but... ha ha, and I'm not, but let me tell you when Francis Scott Key was writing the Star Spangled Banner out here at Fort McHenry, James Madison wasn't very popular. No, no.

No, no, in fact the New England states were preparing for secession.

And Baltimore has another first! A whole contingent of fine men from the great colleges and the universities of the New England states in 1812 were on their way and stopped in Baltimore, and they had articles of impeachment that they were going to take to the Congress to impeach that immoral, war-like, war-monster called James Madison, the fourth

President of the United States. For that immoral war known as the War

of 1812 against Britain and they got here and they heard about Andrew Jackson whipping the pants off the British in New Orleans and they said, You know, let's go over and congratulate James Madison instead, and they did! It's an historical fact, read your history. Wars have not been popular but think of the kind of America it would have been if there hadn't been a Fort McHenry, and if there hadn't of been a James Madison, and if there had not have been, as I was saying in more current history, a Harry Truman! Think of the kind of a hemisphere this would've been my dear friends, if John FitzGerald Kennedy hadn't said to Krushchev: Get your missiles out of here, Mr. Krushchev, and go home, and he took us to the very brink of nuclear war. I was in the White House when that happened with him, and we were within hours, not days, ladies and gentlemen, but hours of a confrontation with the Soviet Union. We were set, the planes had been moved, the fleet had come in, the troops had come across the Pacific into the Atlantic, we were prepared for the holocaust, less than one day's time, but he stood firm. And Mr. Krushchev packed up

missiles and went home. What kind of a world do you think it would've been if we hadn't of stood firm? So this is the story of this land; the land of the free and the home of the brave. People that have understood that aggression cannot be tolerated; that the rule of the jungle, the law of the jungle has no place for free men. So today we take another stand: unpopular, distasteful, painful, sorrowful, dirty...but ladies and gentlemen, I want to tell you something. If you stick with it, if you persevere, if you don't let 'em down, if you don't give the enemy reason to believe that we're going to crack up at home, if you don't convince the enemy at home that he can win, there is no power on the face of this earth that can stand up against us, and you know it! We'll win that war and we'll win that victory!

(Applause)

Oh, how I wish I had the time to go through these things with you, but I just can tell you this there's never been a popular war present, and there never will be because there are always so many that know how to be President better than the one that's there and there's always so many that

know how to be general, better than the ones that are there. My qualifications are that I led Boy Scout Troop #6. (Laughter) And there's a whole big Congress full of new Secretaries of State and I've been in Congress and practiced it a little bit myself, so I'm somewhat charitable. I just want to remind you that the great Abraham Lincoln was very unpopular, and his generals were more unpopular, and even when they got Grant, they thought he drank too much. Well, bless old Lincoln's heart, he said, Pass the barrel around, that's the kind we need for the few generals we got left. (Laughter) And Franklin Delano Roosevelt wasn't very popular either when he made his great quarantine speech in Chicago, when he said we must quarantine the aggressor. And the country rose up against him, thousands of people became what they called "America firsters" and we almost didn't renew the draft. A few months before Pearl Harbor, the vote was 203 to 204. We can't be popular as a war president. But, ladies and gentlemen, if a President seeks to be popular then he can't be right. And what a President needs to seek to be is right. He's not always right but he seeks to be right! As President Johnson has said, It's not difficult

for a President to be right, but what is difficult is to know what's right!

And I happen to believe, ladies and gentlemen, that General Eisenhower,...

President Eisenhower, and President Kennedy and President Lyndon

Johnson...if they think the commitment we made in Southeast Asia is right,

I think that their combined, collective judgment, plus all the men that have

advised and counseled with them might be better than somebody who has

just painted himself a sign and appointed himself a conscience of America!

(Applause) So let's stick with it. Let's stay with it. Let's remember what

we pledge ourselves to every day of our lives, at least we should. Our

prayer, our pledge. The flag is here tonight, and generally at schools,

you know, our little ones, they get up and they pledge allegiance to the

flag of the United States and to the Republic for which it stands. Beautiful,

but the adults ought to do it too. And then the message comes, that's just

the opening, that's the "whereas" you know, gentlemen, in the resolution.

And then comes the charge: one nation, not two...one... under God,...

not under the AFL, or under Harvard or under Washington, or under

Minneapolis, but under God...indivisible...not North and South, not
black or white but indivisible...with liberty and justice for all! Because
there isn't any liberty for anybody unless there is justice for all. That's
the message of this country...one nation, indivisible, under God, indivisible,
with liberty and justice for all. Live it and practice it!

Thank you very much! (Applause)

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