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REMARKS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION,
ALAN S. BOYD BEFORE THE BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS
LOCAL 3, AT THE NEW YORK HILTON, NEW YORK CITY, ON SUNDAY,
OCTOBER 20, 1968, 9:30 A.M.

Mr. Van Arsdale, ladies and gentlemen. . .

I particularly appreciate this invitation to appear
before you, for I have a few things to get off my chest.

I am not going to talk to you as the Secretary of
Transportation today. . . except in one respect. The
biggest transportation effort we must perform in this
country is to get the thoughtful, concerned people of
America to the polls November 5 to elect Hubert Humphrey
President.

What I want to talk to you about today is the measure
of the two men you have as choices before you in this
election - Hubert Humphrey and Richard Nixon. And I want
to talk of the importance of applying that measure to what
I believe to be the most important election in the last 40
years.

Many people will, I know, tell you - and themselves - that there isn't any real difference between the men.

"Neither of them" they will say, "turns me on." So, say they, why vote?

I happen to believe that that's a dangerous, irresponsible reaction. The stakes of the present and the future, for both young and old, are far too important for anyone to cop out, drop out, or opt out.

Understand this: There are differences - great differences - between these men. And these differences are what this election is all about.

Unfortunately, the differences this year have been blurred, distorted and forgotten largely because of two major crises. I don't intend to minimize them. They are:

The war in Vietnam, and

The strife in our major cities.

I do not intend to analyze here what has happened in Vietnam. Each of you, I am sure, has come to his own conclusion as to what should be done in that conflict.

Nor do I stand here to tell you who the real scapegoats are in our present urban confrontation - or that Hubert H. Humphrey has a cold and ready solution to this problem in the future.

What I am here to say is this:

Two weeks from Tuesday, we will know whether America can take a mature look beyond these disturbing affairs to the future, and will entrust that future to the man best equipped to help fulfill this nation's best of hopes and aspirations - Hubert H. Humphrey.

You did much to help elect John F. Kennedy in 1960. And I cannot for a moment believe that the people who helped the late President Kennedy defeat Richard Nixon are going to let that same man have the Presidency this year by default.

Time is running short. But we can still prevent its happening if we work hard at it for the next two weeks.

I know the polls show that Dick Nixon is ahead. But, polls don't win elections; Harry Truman proved that. And now Vice President Humphrey is beginning to move up in the polls. I am convinced he can win.

I would point out to you that the Detroit Tigers were down in the World Series by three games to one - but went on to win the Series.

This election campaign is not over. It won't be over until November 5.

As Secretary of Transportation, it is my job to worry about not only where people are going, but how they are going to get there.

I believe that, in this election campaign, this ought to be the worry of all of us, and that we ought to be looking more closely at the records of the two men in front of us instead of listening to the slogans.

Let's take a look at the two issues I mentioned earlier: Vietnam and the urban crisis.

On Vietnam, does anyone really believe that Richard Nixon is more of a man of peace than Hubert H. Humphrey?

On the urban crisis, does anyone really believe that Richard Nixon best represents that combination of knowledge, experience and compassion necessary for the real solutions to this most pressing problem?

Just as importantly, what of the other great questions facing our nation in the future? What will be the quality of life for our citizens in the 1970's? Who is best equipped to lead us into that decade?

There is no certain way to divine a man's future. But the one solid, objective fact we have as a measure is a man's past. And if the past is prologue - and Richard Nixon is elected on November 5 -- watch out.

Mr. Nixon's campaign slogan is "Nixon is the one."

You bet he is.

Nixon is the one who, as Vice President in 1960, cast the tie-breaking vote against federal aid to education. It took the Kennedy-Johnson-Humphrey Administration four years - the length of a college education - to get that program back on the track and passed. And just last week, the 60th measure providing federal aid to education - laws designed to make sure that millions of our children for the first time have a decent chance for a decent education in elementary and secondary schools and colleges - was signed by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

Nixon is the one who cast vote after vote in the Senate to hamstring improvements in Social Security and delay - until the Johnson-Humphrey Administration prevailed - the greatest advance in history for providing a decent and dignified life for our older Americans through Medicare.

Nixon is the one who now talks of the need for low-rent public housing, who voted against the 1949 act providing for slum clearance and redevelopment, including more than a million low-rent public housing units, who voted in 1951 to cut authorization for low-rent housing units, and who, in 1958 as Vice President, cast the tie-breaking vote that resulted in increasing interest rates on GI home loans.

Nixon is the one who helped draft and pass the Taft-Hartley Law over President Truman's veto.

Nixon is the one who entered the Senate of the United States declaring: "I was elected to smash the labor bosses."

Nixon is the one who cast the tie-breaking vote, as Vice President, which prevented defeat of the infamous 1959 labor law provisions which have subjected honest unions to harassment and litigation.

And Nixon is the one who cast vote after vote in the Senate against tax reform efforts which would have reduced the tax breaks now accorded the very rich and given more equal and fair tax treatment to the working man and the middle income taxpayer.

That's some record.

And if it doesn't worry you that Nixon is the one, just remember that Spiro T. Angew is the other one.

I see by the newspapers and television that Mr. Nixon is in this campaign. But I don't really know whether he's in it as a candidate or a television performer.

I guess he's a candidate. I seem to remember that the Republican National Convention nominated him - after turning down the more progressive and forward looking wing of the Party.

But beyond appearing as somewhat of a television matinee idol, Mr. Nixon seems to be pretty much a will of the wisp, spending most of his time making sure he won't have to debate Hubert Humphrey.

I can't blame him for that, I guess, after what happened to him in the 1960 debates. Besides, in a debate he might have to discuss the issues - to say what he really thinks.

As far as the real issues of this campaign are concerned, Mr. Nixon doesn't deal with them at all, except in generalities that he hopes will mean all things to all people.

It seems to me that a campaign is for the purpose of hearing the candidates talk about what the people are talking about. But Mr. Nixon, in a sort of dewey-eyed fashion, seems to consider himself above all this, travelling around the country with cotton in his ears and platitudes in his mouth - probably put there by Strom Thurmond.

Back at the turn of the century, there was a Republican candidate who ran a front-porch campaign.

Mr. Nixon seems to be trying to run a back-door campaign, figuring he'll sneak into the White House with no one ever really remembering what he really is or knowing what he really stands for.

I don't mean to ignore the fact that there's another candidate in this race. I don't consider him a joke.

He's the easy answer candidate - George Corley Wallace. But look at him for a moment. He has no program, beyond the bayonet and the police state. He has no ideology beyond racism. His appeal is to fear - and it's wrong.

... says he is the friend of the working man. 5

He says he's the friend of the working man. Some friend.

Any working man who thinks that George Wallace is a friend of his is in for the shock of his life should this man become elected.

If you think he's a friend of the working man, take a look at the level of craft wages in the city of Birmingham, and see if you'd like to work at those wages. If you think George Wallace is a friend of the working man, take a look at Alabama's tax structure. It's loaded against the working man. If you think George Wallace is a friend of the working man, take a look at Alabama's sales tax on food. It's the highest in the nation.

And if you want to compare Richard Nixon and George Wallace, I just don't see a dime's worth of difference between the two, except that Wallace is more honest about where he stands. More honest, but just as wrong.

Tragic as it is to contemplate, there are more similarities between the two. Mr. Nixon chose a Vice Presidential candidate who immediately stuck his foot in his mouth. Mr. Wallace chose a vice presidential candidate who immediately stuck a nuclear bomb in his.

Just consider the vice presidential candidates for a moment, if you will. I believe in this day and age, horrible as it is to contemplate, we must take the qualifications and stature of these men with utmost seriousness.

And I ask you, if the Republican Party is supposed to have such a wealth of political talent as many have claimed, how is it that Mr. Nixon came up with Spiro T. Agnew?

And if the Democratic Party is supposed to be in the shattered condition many would have you believe, how is it that Hubert H. Humphrey can come up with such a great and talented American as Edmund Muskie?

That, I think, tells you something not only about the character of the two parties, but of the character of the candidates at the top of the ticket.

Now, let's go back a bit. Mr. Nixon was part and parcel of an Administration which for eight years put off decisions on the basic domestic problems of the Nation.

But during that same period, a young senator named Hubert H. Humphrey had a completely different idea about how things ought to be done. He believed, with the compassionate heart he showed as mayor of Minneapolis, that the future of this country resided in the collective wisdom of the people. Long before those who claim credit for it now, he understood the problems of poverty, the problems of and the need for white and black America living together, the problems of and the need for making sure that a man had a chance to lift himself into a life of decency and dignity -- and to make sure that he would be able to assure his children a life of decency and dignity.

This kind of life, Hubert Humphrey declares and believes, is the civil right of every American. Just as every American has the right to a decent education, the right to a decent job at decent wages, the right to a dignified life not only at his job, but in his community.

Certainly Humbert Humphrey has said it is the civil right of every American to live out his life without fear. But just as important, he has declared that there is the right of civil justice for every human being in this nation -- at the job site, in his neighborhood, before his fellow man, in his place in the American society.

History can treat a man harshly, or kindly, depending on when the measure is taken. Indeed, self-styled historians are ready to write Hubert Humphrey off at this point.

But I don't think the trade union movement is, because they remember. And for that, I join in a hearty "Thank God." He couldn't have a better, or more loyal set of friends, and I'd like to count myself among those loyal friends.

Let's take a look at this remarkable man.

Hubert Humphrey came to this town, riding a wave of the future which few recognized.

The first bill he introduced in the Senate was the legislation we now know as Medicare.

He has the vision to see what should be, and had to be done to the social security program to make it responsive to the times.

He was the first man who recognized, as an educator himself, what had to be done by the Federal government to assist the elementary, secondary and college institutions to equip themselves to take care of the explosion of young people coming into our society.

He was one of the first to recognize the need to extend Federal aid to the distressed areas of this nation -- to give those without hope the first glimmering that they had a chance in this society. That job is by no means done. But there is no one more qualified than Hubert Humphrey to finish it.

Let's take a look at civil rights. Hubert Humphrey staked his political life on the principle of civil rights for all Americans at the 1948 Democratic Convention-- before he was even a U.S. Senator. He led a courageous band of liberals who decided it was time for the Democratic Party to get out of the shadow of states rights and walk in the bright sunshine of human rights, as he put it.

He was there, long before it became a popular issue, because it was his living conviction that it was right.

And every civil rights bill which has passed the Senate of the United States has had Hubert Humphrey's mark on it.

Housing? Hubert Humphrey has had a major hand in every key housing bill since he entered the Senate in 1949. Concepts included in the massive housing bill passed this year by Congress bear the mark of Hubert Humphrey's thinking of years ago.

The Job Corps, the Peace Corps, Manpower Development and Training -- all of these were products of the Humphrey mind long before they became law.

The point I want to make here is that I don't have to, as a Republican President once said of Richard Nixon, think for a week to come up with what Hubert Humphrey has meant to this nation.

And let's not -- either you or I -- fall into that trap of believing that Hubert Humphrey has been a lost soul for the past four years as Vice President of these United States.

You cannot look at the record of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration without seeing the clear stamp of Hubert Humphrey upon it -- in progress, in compassion for the rights and aspirations of people, in concern for the well-being of this nation.

I do not say we have done it all. No one, in our lifetime, ever will. The winds of change are blowing; unfortunately, they have a way of changing direction without warning.

We live in a time of dissent -- disruptive to our institutions.

We cannot afford to ignore, or deal with, any dissent. But we must keep our heads as to which is the honest -- and valuable -- dissent, and which is merely the disruptive.

It is a time of peril; no one would really question that, But it is a time of great and exciting challenge. It is a time in which forces can be harnessed, united, and channeled, to carry this America forward to realities we now only dream of.

We have it in our grasp, if we will only recognize it. We have it in our will, if we will only exercise that will.

And we have before us, waiting for our help and dedication, a man who can tap the greatest that is within us -- if only we will make sure he is our next president -- Hubert H. Humphrey.

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