

## NIXON AND LABOR

Synopsis of remarks, AFL-CIO Convention, Atlantic City, New Jersey, October 6, 1969.

SUBJECT: Nixon and Labor

### FACTS:

- 1) Gasoline - since January, 1969, the price of gasoline has increased at the annual rate of 9.4%. If trend continues, gasoline prices will rise more in 1969 than they did in the 8 years between 1960 - 1968.
- 2) Republican Record of Economic Mismanagement in 1950's:
  - 3 recessions in 7 years
  - Nearly 3 fold increase in unemployment
  - Economic growth rate little more than ½ of our long term historical average
- 3) Democratic 8 year (1960-1968) Record:
  - Business profits doubled
  - Real spendable family income up 32%
  - Unemployment cut by more than half
  - Better price performance than any other industrial nation
  - Democratic House of Representatives granted individuals a tax relief of \$7.3 billion a year. Democrats raised business taxes by \$4.9 billion a year.
- 4) Republicans, at same time, proposed middle income tax payers be deprived of \$3 billion a year tax relief voted by House. Also proposed reducing corporate tax increase by \$1.5 billion.
- 5) Nixon education budget for fiscal year 1970 was \$370 million lower than request submitted by Johnson-Humphrey administration.

### QUOTES:

ON REPUBLICAN "FRIENDS": "They have remembered all too well their friends in the banks and lending institutions. They have remembered their friends in the corporate board rooms. They have remembered their Republican friends in the South, especially that leader of Southern Republicanism, Strom Thurmond. And they have remembered again and again those persons in all parts of the country who have opposed the Democratic party and the AFL-CIO in every social and economic reform of the past generation."

ON CLEMENT HAYNESWORTH: "I hope that President Nixon will still withdraw the nomination. But if he doesn't, I say the appointment of Judge Clement Haynesworth must be blocked by the U.S. Senate."

ON NIXON AND THE "FORGOTTEN" AMERICAN HOME BUYER: "Anyone who has recently tried to buy a house knows what it means to be forgotten by the Nixon-Agnew administration. Assuming you are lucky enough to find someone willing to lend the money - and rich enough to have the required down payment - the 15% increase since January (1969) in the cost of maintaining a home mortgage means that the 3 bedroom home you could afford last year has now become a two bedroom home."

ON NIXON AND THE "FORGOTTEN" HOUSEWIFE: "Any housewife shopping at the supermarket knows what it means to be a forgotten American. The consumer price index for meat, fish and poultry has gone up almost as much in the past 7 months (of 1969) as it did in the previous 10 years."

ON NIXON AND INDUSTRY PRICE RISES: "When steel prices were raised, the White House was silent -- when automobile prices were raised, and the White House was silent -- when other industries raised their prices, and the White House was silent, the message for everyone else was clear: the federal government intends to stand on the sidelines in the midst of the worst inflationary spiral since the Republican 1950's."

ON NIXON AND UNEMPLOYMENT: "Compare that (the Democratic) record with the economic policies of an administration led by a man who said in 1960, 'Unless unemployment goes over 4.5 million, it cannot become a significant issue in the minds of a great many people. There must, after all, be some unemployment.'"

ON REPUBLICANS IN 1950'S: "Let us remember that the failure of the Republican administration of the 1950's to face up to the needs of America intensified the problems of the 1960's. Now it appears that the Nixon administration is determined to repeat the same tragic mistake."

ON HOW NIXON ADMINISTRATION APPEARS TO HUMPHREY: "I see an administration which has a different policy every other week on the issue of school desegregation. I see an administration which turns anti-trust policy-making over to the Commerce Department, the Federal agency supposed to advocate the interests of businessmen. I see an administration which vacillated for months on the crucial issue of opening arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union .... I see an administration which has failed to exercise any discernable leadership or initiative in such critical areas as environmental pollution, consumer protection, better medical care for Americans, or the worsening crisis in our urban areas. I see an administration which has announced its priorities: the ABM, the SST, and Mars."

PROPOSALS:

- 1) Generally, a reordering of national priorities.
- 2) Guaranteeing, for example, every American a decent home by 1976.

REMARKS

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

AFL-CIO CONVENTION

ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY

OCTOBER 6, 1969

*See record*

You are generous indeed to invite a visiting --  
one might even say itinerant -- professor to address the  
Eighth Convention of the AFL-CIO.

Professors, you know, are supposed to be absent-minded.  
But, to paraphrase one of our national leaders, I want to make  
one thing crystal clear: this professor remembers very well  
how the officers and members of the AFL-CIO scored A plus  
in that final exam in American government held last fall.

Your President, George Meany, never wavered and never  
flattered in the most difficult days of the campaign. And  
COPE organized across this country the most effective political  
action program in the history of American campaigns.

MEANY  
COPE

⌞ If the other students taking that exam had done as well,  
I wouldn't have changed professions ... and I wouldn't have  
lost all that job seniority.

⌞ Now I intend to exercise fully the rights and prerogatives  
of my professorial status. ~~As I told my students in Minnesota~~  
~~last week, I'm a tough grader.~~ And I think it's about time  
someone started grading how this government is being run by  
the Nixon-Agnew administration.

⌞ When it comes to taking care of their friends, Mr. Nixon  
and company rate a solid A. *But you're not one of them*

They have remembered all too well their friends in the  
banks and lending institutions.

⌞ They have remembered their friends in the corporate  
board rooms.

⌞ They have remembered their Republican friends in the  
South, especially that leader of Southern Republicanism,  
Senator Strom Thurmond.

And they have remembered again and again those persons in all parts of the country who have opposed the Democratic Party and the AFL-CIO in every social and economic reform of the past generation.

Inflation, interest rates, civil rights, education, conservation, consumer protection, anti-trust: you name it and the Nixon-Agnew administration has remembered its friends... and forgotten the rest of us.

(X) In the campaign last fall, we heard much about the "forgotten American." Now, one year later, we are finding out exactly who Mr. Nixon meant by his term, "the forgotten American."

Working men and women found out that they were forgotten when he nominated Judge Clement F. Haynesworth, Jr. to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

Americans committed to racial justice in this country found out that they were forgotten when this nomination went to the U. S. Senate.

~~are many~~ How many led  
to fight?

Two weeks ago I publicly opposed this nomination, and I urged that President Nixon withdraw this appointment. Leading Republican Senators have now joined with leading Democrats in expressing publicly their opposition or serious reservations to Judge Haynesworth's confirmation.

The canons of judicial ethics are quite clear: "A judge's official conduct should be free from impropriety and from the appearance of impropriety .... In every particular his conduct should be above reproach...."

Judge Haynesworth simply fails to meet these standards. And any person deficient in these crucial aspects of judicial behavior must not be elevated to a lifetime appointment on the Supreme Court of the United States.

This becomes even more the case when the nominee, through his decisions, has demonstrated such an insensitivity -- ~~one might even say hostility~~ -- to the concerns of laboring men and women and to the legitimate aspirations of black Americans.



At this critical moment in American history, we cannot jeopardize the historic gains of the past decade through this ill-advised nomination to the Court.

I hope that President Nixon will still withdraw the nomination. But if he doesn't, I say the appointment of Judge Clement Haynesworth must be blocked by the U. S. Senate.

During the past eight months, other persons in this country have found out what Mr. Nixon really meant when he talked about the "forgotten American."

Anyone who has recently tried to buy a house knows what it means to be forgotten by the Nixon-Agnew administration.

Assuming you are lucky enough to find someone willing to lend the money -- and rich enough to have the required down payment -- the 15 per cent increase since January in the cost of maintaining a home mortgage means that the three-bedroom home you could afford last year has now become a two-bedroom home.

Losing an election is bad enough  
but to lose a bed room is much worse!



ALTERNATIVE FOURTH PARAGRAPH

*True* THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION'S HIGH INTEREST,  
TOUCH CREDIT, EXPENSIVE MORTGAGE POLICIES DO  
VIOLENCE TO THIS NATION. *They* THEY ARE INJUROUS TO PEOPLE,  
AND POLICIES THAT REPRESENT AN OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED  
RAID ON THE YOUNG FAMILIES OF AMERICA, WHO NEED  
NEW HOUSES AND NEW HOUSEHOLD GOODS -- THAT PLACE A  
LONG TERM BURDEN ON MIDDLE ~~CLASS~~ *CLASS* AMERICANS FOR  
EVERYTHING THAT IS PURCHASED ON CREDIT - - AND  
THAT MEANS MOST THINGS - - THOSE POLICIES ARE CRUEL  
AND MEAN, ~~TO THE ELDERLY WHO LIVE ON FIXED INCOMES.~~

*They are especially cruel and mean  
to those millions of Americans  
who lived on pensions, social  
security, and fixed incomes.  
These are the Americans who were  
promised so much by the  
Republican Campaign propaganda  
~~and who were~~  
They were deceived then and  
double crossed now!*

Any housewife shopping at the supermarket knows what it means to be a forgotten American. The consumer price index for meat, fish, and poultry has gone up almost as much in the past seven months as it did in the previous ten years.

How about gasoline? Since January the price of gasoline has increased at the annual rate of 9.4 per cent. If this trend continues, gasoline prices will rise more this year than they did in the eight years between 1960 and 1968.

This is the administration's record on the one domestic issue -- controlling inflation -- which Mr. Nixon said would get priority attention when he assumed the Presidency.

What we have witnessed in the past eight months is a virtual abdication of the President's responsibility -- yes, even his duty -- to take the lead in fighting inflation, in both prices

*and wages. The administration has been telling the nation that unless you raise wages at a certain rate, inflation will get out of control. But when interest rates go up, which is the property of the banks & money lenders, it's good as dead.*

*When the Government was silent --*

When steel prices were raised, and the White House was silent -- when automobile prices were raised, and the White House was silent -- when other industries raised their prices, and the White House was silent, the message for everyone else was clear: the Federal Government intends to stand on the sidelines in the midst of the worst inflationary spiral since the Republican 1950's.

Let's not forget that when these same industries tried to raise prices in the Kennedy-Johnson years, the President went into action to protect the public interest.

Have you forgotten President Kennedy's battle with the steel companies? Or President Johnson's battles with the automobile, petroleum, aluminum, copper and steel industries?

And I'll bet you remember that these Presidents also demanded from labor greater restraint in wage increases.

JFK  
1953

Backbone - Jawbone

- 8 -

↳ The President can, and he should, plead, request,  
argue, persuade, and cajole. He does have jaw-bone power,  
especially if he adds a little backbone to the jaw-bone.

Jaw Bone

↳ Frankly, I'm beginning to wonder whether the Nixon-Agnew administration has any effective plan to fight inflation.

And I'm beginning to worry that a drastic increase in unemployment will, in the end, become the Nixon administration's only prescription. Because that's the old tried and tested Republican medicine ... guaranteed to produce a cure worse than the disease.

Remember the Republican record of economic mismanagement in the 1950's:

- ↳ -- Three recessions in seven years;
- ↳ -- A nearly three-fold increase in unemployment;
- ↳ -- A growth rate little more than half of our long-term historical average; and

-- A sad, soggy last for the United States ...  
at the very bottom of the growth rate roster  
among industrial countries.

Compare that, if you will, to the eight-year Democratic  
record at the end of last year:

*Business profits doubled in 8 yrs*

-- Real spendable family income up by 32 per cent;

-- Unemployment cut by more than one-half;

-- Price performance for those eight years better

than that of any other industrial nation in the

world.

*Kennedy vs. Carter: Kennedy 3 1/2 % 39  
Carter 4.7 %  
Johnson 7 %*

Compare that record with the economic policies of an

administration led by a man who said in 1960: "Unless  
unemployment goes over 4.5 million, it cannot become  
a significant issue in the minds of a great many people."

There must, after all, be some unemployment."

*10% million  
12 million  
of poverty*

*Not  
Statement*

↳ The Nixon-Agnew administration may not worry much about rising unemployment, but you can bet the Republicans remember the corporations when it comes to taxes.

↳ The Democratic House of Representatives, in the most significant tax reform bill in decades, granted tax relief to individuals of \$7.3 billion a year. ↳ The Democrats in the House raised business taxes by \$4.9 billion a year.

*more later*  
↳ After avoiding the entire tax issue for six months, the Nixon Administration was finally forced into taking a position.

↳ The Republicans proposed that middle-income tax-payers be deprived of \$3 billion a year of tax relief voted by the House.

↳ At the same time, the Republicans proposed reducing the corporate tax increase by \$1.5 billion. ↳ They remembered the corporations, and they forgot the middle-income tax-payers.

*Chadwick*  
↳ The roster of "forgotten Americans" in this administration also includes every school child in this country.  
*Handwritten signature*

Mr. Nixon submitted an education budget for fiscal year 1970 which was \$370 million lower than the request submitted by the Johnson-Humphrey administration.

But the Democratic Congress refused to accept these drastic Republican cuts. The House of Representatives voted to add more than \$1 billion to the administration's education budget.

And what was President Nixon's response? First, he attacked the Congress for voting these badly-needed education funds. And then he threatened not to spend the money, even if it was approved.

I ask only this question: How do you square these actions with the promises of Candidate Richard Nixon who, on October 20, 1968, pledged his "administration to be second to none in its concern for education."

This kind of flip-flop on education is symptomatic of an administration and a Presidency that lacks any basic notion of where this country should be heading in the 1970's.



AFL-CIO-SPEECH INSERTS, page 11 a

~~CUT BACK~~ para.

WHEN YOU CUT BACK ON EDUCATION, ON LIBRARIES,  
ON HEALTH RESEARCH, ON HOUSING, ON PROGRAMS FOR OUR  
CITIES, ON RESOURCES TO CLEAN UP POLLUTION, ON FUNDS  
TO WAGE THE WAR ON POVERTY, YOU CUT BACK ON AMERICA!

*And America as being shot through.*  
*And remember* THE MISTAKES OF THIS ADMINISTRATION WILL BE PAID  
FOR AGAIN AND AGAIN IN THE YEARS TO COME.

IN A TIGHT CREDIT, SCARCE MONEY ECONOMY THE  
RICH GET RICHER AND THE REST OF US PAY THE BILL AND  
SUFFER THE CONSEQUENCES. AND NEVER FORGET THAT  
WAGES ALWAYS TRAIL PRICES, AND NEVER FORGET THAT A  
HIGH INTEREST THIRTY TO FORTY YEAR MORTGAGE IS A  
HIGH TAX ON A LIFE TIME.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S MONEY MANAGERS ARE TELLING THE  
NATION THAT WHEN YOU RAISE WAGES IT RESULTS IN INFLATION,  
BUT WHEN YOU RAISE INTEREST RATES WHICH SWELL THE  
PROFITS OF THE BANKS AND THE MONEY-LENDERS, ITS GOOD,  
SOUND, SOLID ECONOMICS.

✓ I know ~~because~~ that the problems of governing America are indeed difficult. And I know that solutions are not easily found.

✓ But I also know that the American people have the right to expect leadership, vision, and courage from their top elected officials. ✓ For only these qualities will see us safely through these years of trial and crisis.

I say that precisely these qualities have been conspicuously absent in the record of the Nixon-Agnew administration.

✓ Let us remember that the failure of the Republican administration of the 1950's to face up to the needs of America ~~of the 1950's~~ of the 1960's. 1950's

✓ Now it appears that the Nixon administration is determined to repeat the same tragic mistake.

✓ see an administration which has, at last count, at least two policies on the question of the oil depletion allowance. AMM

*I see an administration which has  
at least 2 policies on almost every issue  
- I see an administration with 2 policies on Civil Rights  
- I see an administration with 2 policies on Taxation*

I see an administration which has a different policy  
every other week, if not more often, on the issue of school  
desegregation.

↳ I see an administration which turns anti-trust  
policy-making over to the Commerce Department, the Federal  
agency supposed to advocate the interests of businessmen.

↳ I see an administration which vacillated for months  
on the crucial issue of opening arms control negotiations with  
the Soviet Union.

↳ I see an administration where civil servants rise up  
in open revolt -- where 65 lawyers in the Justice Department  
speak out against further delays in enforcing the Constitution  
in Mississippi ↳ And I see an administration which then  
demand the resignation of the lawyer who spoke out against  
these policies.

↳ I see an administration which has failed to exercise any discernable leadership or initiative in such critical areas as environmental pollution, consumer protection, better medical care for Americans, or the worsening crisis in our urban areas.

*Priority* ↳ I see an administration which has announced its priorities: the ABM, the SST, and Mars.

↳ Look to the stars, yes. But I also say that we need to explore the frontiers of knowledge, health, human opportunity, and equal justice right here on earth.

↳ Rather than guarantee a landing on Mars by the 1980's, I say we should guarantee every American a decent home by 1976.

↳ I say we should get our priorities straightened out in this country.

~~Priority - Earth~~  
~~SST -~~

~~Airports, Public Transportation~~

ABM - ~~missile~~ ~~test~~

g L Our goal must be an America free of hunger --  
an America that cares for its sick, its disabled, its elderly --  
an America not only prosperous and growing but happy and  
compassionate -- an America with cities that are liveable  
and beautiful -- an America of clean water and fresh air --  
an America at peace with itself and with the world.

L Leadership, vision and courage: these are the qualities  
demanded by the 1970's. L And these qualities lead an  
administration to ask not, "What do my friends want?"  
but rather, "What does the country need?"

L And therein lies the difference between the Republican  
Nixon-Agnew administration and the Democratic administration  
that will capture the Presidency in 1972.

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