

000729

Philip Nast

March 29
Superior
Wisc

Speech Excerpts -- TAX POLICY
(Superior)

I am going to talk to you tonight
about money -- your money and mine.

∠ I am going to talk about the money
we pay out in taxes and in high
Republican interest rates.

I am going to talk about the money
we could earn and don't, because our
economy creeps along at a two percent
GOP crawl, rather than a five percent
Democratic gallop.

∠ You know, they say nothing in life
is certain except death and taxes.

Well, taxes aren't all that certain
-- if you know the angles and are in
position to take advantage of them.

000730

My good friend, Senator Clark,
compares our tax system to ^{five} ~~five~~ men
having a dutch treat dinner. One of
them sees the check on the way, and
ducks out to make an urgent phone call.

So the others have to shell out an
extra 25 percent each.

In our present system, Senator
Clark says, the man in the phone
booth is the man who draws his income
from dividends or oil wells, or who
can charge off much of his personal
expenditures as "business expense."

The four who pick up the tab are
the people who work for wages or salaries.

Our tax system is riddled with
this kind of free loading -- of gracious
living at other people's expense.

Of course, there is straightforward tax evasion -- as blatant and crude as a timely dash for the phone booth. It is estimated that "meat -ax" cuts in the enforcement staff of the internal revenue service have cost the government up to \$2 billion a year in evaded taxes.

over
\$5 Billion
in Dividends
+ Interest

But the real money escapes through loopholes big enough to drive a ~~cadillac~~ ^{truck} through. There are special tax advantages to Corporation shareholders, and there is the abuse of business accounts.

There is the oil depletion allowance, which depletes our Treasury and fills Texas with millionaires.

Everytime someone find such a loophole
to evade his just share of the tax load,
it is just that much more for the rest of
us to pay.

If we close these loopholes, we can
bring billions more into the Federal Treasury--
and ease the burden upon the little fellow
last able to pay.

People are "fed up" with tax favoritism.

Tax and fiscal policies can and should be
an effective victory issue ~~for the~~ for the
Democratic Party in November, if we have a
candidate willing to carry on the fight --
and one with a personal record to back it
up.

000733

For that reason, the attitudes of
rival contenders for the Democratic
Party's nomination is a legitimate issue
in the Wisconsin Primary campaign.

Before we start attacking Republican
policies, it is only fair and prudent
to give careful scrutiny to the records
of our candidates to make sure our own
house is in order.

That is why I have encouraged
voters to look at the record of each
contender during my campaign. Last week
I urged voters to compare our farm records,
to see which would be the most effective
in challenging Nixon. This week I want to

*farm
Records*

emphasize tax and fiscal policies for the same purpose.

It doesn't mean my colleague and I always differ; far from it. We see eye to eye on many basic issues. But we have taken differing positions on others, and it is up to the voters to decide which they felt was right -- and which they felt was the best position on which our party could campaign to victory in November.

Taxation is one of the areas in which our voting record differs. We have taken different approaches during attempts in Congress to equalize tax burdens that are a matter of public record; if either of us is to become our party's standard bearer in November, we would have to campaign on

000735

our record -- or be inconsistent.

When many of us felt the Republicans were stacking the deck in favor of upper income brackets during enactment of the 1954 Internal Revenue Code, my good friend Senator Paul Douglas moved to send the bill back to the Finance Committee with instructions to re-write it so as to give less tax relief to upper income groups, and correspondingly greater tax relief for those in lower and middle income brackets.

The voting record is there for all to see.

I voted with Senator Douglas.

Senator Kennedy voted against him.

Again, in 1958, some of us sought to raise personal exemptions from \$600 to \$800 for each dependent to lower taxes of the average taxpayer, and make up the difference by cutting the oil depletion allowance from 27.5% to 15%

My vote was cast for raising the individual exemption, and for cutting the oil depletion allowance. Senator Kennedy's vote was cast against both moves.

In all fairness, I want to say that my colleague later voted for less of an increase in personal exemption, and less of a cut in the oil depletion allowance. Perhaps our difference was a matter of degree, but the voting record stands -- and the

record of each will be used for us
or against us in November, depending
on the individual interpretation of what
was right and what was wrong.

✓ I am convinced my own voting record
has been consistently in the interests of
lower and middle-income Americans, in fairer
apportionment of our tax burdens.

✓ In all honesty, I can say that I have
not been a part-time soldier in the battle
for tax equity and justice.

And if we are to win the big election
-- the one in November -- we must offer
the voters a clear, straightforward
alternatiave to the GOP's garbled old
policies. We must offer a candidate whose
record is not paper thin, who has fought

000738

against the big money interests of the
Republican Eisenhower-Nixon crowd all
of the time, instead of some of the time.

We cannot go into this autumn's
campaign with summer soldiers.

We can win in November for workers
and retired citizens, for children and their
teachers, for the producers and consumers,
for family farmers and small businessmen --
if we offer a 100 percent liberal program,
and a 100 percent liberal candidate.

That is why I am in this race -- and
why your support on April 5 can put us on
~~the~~ the high road to victory in November.

March 28, 1960

Good
for
Peace!

^{Hynd}
Mr. Lamm
"Squeaks"

And Jim!

WE SHOULD BE PROUD OF OUR RECORDS

Excerpts from remarks of Senator
Hubert H. Humphrey, before Madison
Gridiron Club, Madison, Wisconsin,
Wednesday evening, March 30, 1960.

I am really here tonight
as a sort of last-minute substitute.
My brother, Ralph, was scheduled to

speak but he is too busy minding

the store, so you will just have to
make do with me.!!

~~You know~~ Some day someone is
going to write a novel about the cam-
paign waged here in Wisconsin on behalf

of my distinguished opponent, and I

am sure it is going to be called --
"A family affair." And some day after

this is all over, I intend to try to
find the place where the Kennedy family

Yellow
Democ

Cross over
Republicans!

Regular Republicans

close as
he may come
to the Presidency!

Close as I ever
got to the
Milwaukee
Sentinel!

Ted - Let's go
up - on these
Republicans!

Novel

"Family
Affair"

000740

tree grows, because even in the
forests of Minnesota, I have never
seen a tree with so many branches.

It is a good thing that all
the Kennedys and their husbands and
wives and assorted relatives cannot
vote in this primary, because I am
sure they would outnumber all the
Democrats in the whole state.

Some have accused me of
waging a sort of "lone wolf" campaign
here in Wisconsin, but, as I say, my
brother Ralph is too busy minding the
store and my sister is too busy mind-
ing the children - although she did
manage to get into the state briefly.

Aside from that, nary a sister
or a brother or an in-law --not even
an outlaw - has come into the state to

I feel
like an
Independent
Merchant
Competing
against
a Chain
Store.

In La Crosse
+ Jack's mother
In Eau Claire
Bob
In Kenosha
Ted
In Wausau
Bob

the only
one I
can't find
is Jack!

~~Good all~~
~~that~~
Sam Hubell's
prognostications
be even
more
disastrous
to me!

Bad! Come
here to vote
to report the
latest results
from precincts
my respect for
Hubell is
exceeded only by
my determination
to win!!

000741

campaign for me. But I am lucky. My
principal co-campaigner makes up for
all the relatives in the world - my
wife, Muriel. —

She's the Star of the Humphrey Team!

mm *L* I have to confess that I did

take advantage of my good friend, Jack
Kennedy, in one respect.... *Last weekend* I did bring

Biological warfare!

my kids into Wisconsin for me. Jack's
daughter, Caroline, is still just a bit
young for this game of politics, being

only two years old. But ~~don't worry~~

I'm worried

that by the time of the West Virginia primary

she ~~will~~ *may* be in there pitching too. As

a matter of fact, it is a good thing Jack
didn't bring Caroline to Wisconsin. I'd
have picked her up and kissed her - just
a matter of reflex action.

*and if you think
Jack's wife
is beautiful -
you should
see Caroline*

I must say, there are times when I envy the campaign of my adversary. It seems to have plenty of glamor - and it certainly has plenty of Jack.

Well, to pull out a well-worn political cliché, I yield to no man in my admiration for glamor. I am as starry-eyed as the next guy.

But I'm old-fashioned enough to believe there ought to be a lot more in a political campaign than glamor - and I know my friend Jack Kennedy agrees with me.

I have always been brought up to believe that ^{one} political campaign - especially a campaign for the highest office in this country - ^{offers} is an unique opportunity to talk issues - and to

000743

examine the records of the candidates.

I have always been brought up to believe that, when a man offers himself for public office - especially the presidency - he invites the public, and his opponents as well, to examine his public record closely. I had always assumed that a candidate for a public office was proud, not ashamed, to run on his record.

For awhile, there, I almost began to think that times had changed.

For, when I began to talk about the issues and the records of the various candidates ~~for President~~, you might have thought I had stopped helping old ladies to cross streets ^{or just being kind to the} or something terrible like that.

But ~~to think~~ ^{now} all that has passed.

~~I think~~ everyone in Wisconsin now agrees

- ① Ban all tests on the
- (2) Don't Research Moratorium

①
②
Nuclear Test
Suspension
McMillan &
AKG

that a campaign is a time to talk
about issues, and to talk facts. I
think everyone knows that I am interested
in issues and facts, and not personalities.

~~I think~~ everyone knows that I admire my
colleague, Jack Kennedy; but they also
know - and they are entitled to know -
that we have sometimes differed on some
issues.

After all, Jack and I, or at
any rate Jack's relatives and I - are
asking the Democrats of Wisconsin to
choose between us for the most im-
portant office in America. What more
vital or relevant subject could there
be to discuss than our respective
records in public office.

~~I am not ashamed of my~~

~~record.~~ I am proud of it. I invite everyone of you to examine it closely. Whether or not you agree with every part of it, I know you will find it consistent, and I believe you will find, behind that record, a man who has always tried, with every ounce of energy at his command, to fight the battles of the plain people of this country. - For it is they who most need - yet most lack - a voice in their government.

#

(X) A PROGRAM FOR PEACE

Prof Vardis
Pol Se. class

Pol Se
7.A

Amer Govt

Address by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
before University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee,
Thursday morning, March 31, 1960.

✓ We are meeting at a critical
and yet a hopeful period in history.

✓ It is critical because both the
United States and the Soviet Union possess
the power to blast each other - and the
rest of mankind - off the face of this
planet.

✓ It is hopeful because both sides,
appalled at the devastating power they com-
mand, have been groping for some way to
escape mutual annihilation.

At this moment, an agreement on
the suspension of nuclear tests seems within

Nuclear
Tests

Janice
Kitzman

our reach, if not yet within our grasp.

This would be a truly historic breakthrough for peace, particularly if we can follow it up with further and more far-reaching agreements on disarmament.

I have, as you know, devoted much time and energy to this effort, as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament. I have worked hard for the achievement of effective enforced inspected disarmament. But I have never let my absorption in it lead me to believe that it is the be-all and the end-all of lasting peace.

When I was your age and working in our family drugstore, I learned that there are no panaceas for the illnesses of the human body.

000748

Neither are there panaceas -
one-shot remedies - which guarantee peace.

Disarmament is, indeed, one
vitally important part of a total program
for peace, a program which I think of as
having at least five important aspects.

The most important of all, out-
ranking even disarmament, is to know what
we want and where we are going. Too often
our government has been like Christopher
Columbus - when it sets out it doesn't know
where it's going, and when it comes back
it doesn't know where it's been.

Next, we must have central
direction -- and an end to internal power
struggles within our Administration that
jeopardize our over-all objectives.

Plan!

Time after time, we have
 seen major branches of government -
 the State Department, the Pentagon,
 the Atomic Energy Commission - quarrel-
 ing like feudal potentates. Lincoln
 warned us that a house divided against
 itself cannot stand. Still less can
 a government divided against itself
 give leadership to the free world.

It is for this reason that I
 have introduced a bill calling for the
 establishment of a national peace agency,
 so that we can formulate plans and put
 unity and purpose and continuity into
 our foreign policy. I want to take
planning out of the doghouse and put
it into the White House.

Third, we need to establish a much closer rapport with peoples throughout the world - not only in the political area, but in business and labor, *Agric*, in education, science and technology.

We need not just words, but programs, not promises but achievements. We need what I like to call the "Works of Peace".

First and foremost, I have called for the imaginative use of "food for peace". I want to take our so-called "surplus" of food and fibre out of storage and put it to use feeding the hungry and clothing the needy throughout the world.

I have also proposed an international education program to educate the illiterate, and to train people in

the skills that are needed in a developing economy. I have called for an international medical research program to do the basic research on the diseases which kill and cripple people - and which strike impartially on both sides of the Iron Curtain -- I have called for a "Great White Fleet" of floating hospitals, to be rushed to areas of disaster or epidemic.

I claim no patent on these "works of peace." I am delighted to hail Paul Hoffman, one of those liberal Republicans who ^{was} ~~were~~ disenfranchised when Governor Rockefeller (did he fall, or was he pushed?) dropped out of the presidential campaign.

He has come forward with a bold but sensible plan to channel more of our aid through international channels.

And I also pay tribute to my good friend, the Polish-American architect Biernacki-Poray for the noble project of an American Children's Hospital in Poland, which he has pushed forward at great personal sacrifice. I was proud to help him in the Senate, as Congressman Zablocki did in the House.

Fourth, we need to make greater use of the United Nations and its related agencies -- instead of by-passing them, as we too often do. I am pleased that the President has finally come out in support of my resolution to repeal the Connally reservation, which clouds American acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. If we do not give leadership toward the establishment of a role of law

Connally
Amend

among nations, who else will?

/ The United Nations is not
 some newfangled miracle of automation
 which can grind out peace without the
 sober and serious effort of its member
 nations, first and foremost the United
 States. But our own efforts are multi-
 plied as we draw upon its prestige and
 resources, not the least of which are
 the fine intelligence and tireless
 dedication of its Secretary General,
 Dag Hammarskjold.

The U N already serves, in
 many crucial areas, as the eyes and
 ears for peace. We should press for
 it to be given a strong right arm, in
 the form of an international police
 force.

U.N.
 Eyes
 Presence
 Ears -
 Monitor
 Intern
 Police

Fifth, we need to take up Mr. Khrushchev's challenge to peaceful competition. I put him on notice more than a year ago that - when we Democrats won the White House, we were going to "run him clear out of Gorki Park." We can't do that with a stop-and-go, creep-and-crawl economy of the past few years. We need to free it from the straitjacket of tight-money, high interest policies, and restore it to the 5 per cent annual growth we attained between 1947 and 1953. Otherwise, we shall be going into the ring with one hand tied behind our back - and by ourselves, at that.

These are my five points for peace: planning, effective disarmament, the works of peace, the use of

000755

the United Nations, Dynamic economic

growth - and they are as interdependent

as the five fingers on a single hand.

 { To be effective, they must
be used with the inner certainty which
comes from a faith in ourselves and in
the future.

 { One hundred thirty-four years
ago, Thomas Jefferson wrote these words
for the commemoration of the fiftieth
anniversary of the Declaration of In-
dependence, and they were almost the
last words to come from that immortal
pen.

 { "All eyes are opened, or
are opening, to the rights of man.

The general spread of science has
already laid open to every view the

Jefferson

palpable truth that the mass of mankind
has not been born with saddles on their
backs, nor a favored few, booted and
spurred ready to ride them....."

What a transformation it would
work in America's position in the world
today if its living leaders had a frac-
tion of the faith and the eloquence of
the dying Jefferson.

He spoke out for change and
progress - the very law of life. He
knew that the one thing in history
which does and which cannot endure is
the status quo.

~~Now, after the dismal night-~~
~~mare of McCarthyism, We Americans~~
heirs to the most dynamic tradition
in the Western world - seem to have
fallen into a deep and all but dreamless

slumber.

Like King Canute, we seem to feel that the tides of history will stop to suit our comfort and our status quo.

If we are unwilling to make history, others will write it for us - and they will be, for you and for your children, adding pages to read.

Yet we have, as we have shown again and again, the capacity for greatness. What we lack is the leadership to arouse us, and to rally our forces for the grave tests ahead.

The greatest challenge in American political life today is to offer such leadership.

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