REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

LOS ANGELES COUNTY LABOR FEDERATION BREAKFAST

Los Angeles, California

October 26, 1971

The American people are going to answer one basic question when they go to the polls next November: Can this nation endure four more years of the Nixon Administration?

Can this nation endure four more years of an Administration that does little about high taxes, ballooning welfare rolls, cities in crisis, rural areas in decay, and small businesses failing?

Can this nation endure four more years of an Administration that has to be told by Congress, again and again, that it has an obligation:

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-- to feed hungry children; -- to build, not veto, more hospitals, and to expand, not stop, basic medical research;

-- to protect the civil rights of all Americans;

-- to provide, not reject, adequate appropriations to meet the critical needs of people for housing, a good education for their children, greatly expanded job opportunities, and more doctors;

-- to combat poverty and unemployment, rather than try to hide their statistics;

- and to get serious about halting the traffic in narcotics and helping law enforcement agencies combat crime.

I say the American people are going to answer that four years is enough.

The American people will reject an Administration that for two and a half years refused to act against inflation, but didn't miss a chance to blame it all on the working man: an Administration that turned completely around with a new economic plan to freeze wages and prices, but sent the bill to American labor.

The American people will say "no" to an Administration that ignored skyrocketing unemployment and only under intense public pressure and with an election just around the corner, finally agreed that the creation of jobs just might be as important as protecting the profits of big business and banks.

Now we're approaching Phase Two of the new economic "game plan," and the Administration ought to recognize that this time it had better be right. But does it?

I'd be more confident that this administration knows what it is doing if we had a new quarterback calling the signals.

For months, right up until August 15th, while we were steadily losing ground in jobs and income, Mr. Nixon kept on sending out press releases that everything was all right and brighter days were just around the corner.

But press releases and television extravaganzas are no substitute for action.

And that is what deeply disturbs me now. We need an intensive follow-through effort to stabilize and stimulate the American economy. And I am certain that every Democratic Congressman will give his full cooperation and personal investment of time and labor in this effort.

But it is precisely that sense of cooperation and all-out commitment that seems to be missing in the administration.

Nor can we be confident that on the basis of its past record, this Administration can really control the twin evils afflicting our economy -- rising inflation and high unemployment.

You do not suddenly end this situation just by appointing wage and price stabilization boards, especially if a primary consideration is the hope that thereby the burden of political responsibility can be shifted away from the White House.

You do not gain the confidence and full cooperation of the elected representatives of the American public if you do not

request their advice and consent to these board appointments. I have called for a thorough examination by Congress of the entire Presidential program for stabilizing the economy.

If this program is to succeed -- if we are going to stop inflation and reduce unemployment -- then the confidence of the people and the involvement of their elected representatives is of prime importance.

While I believe there is some hope for the control of inflation, I see no real promise for decreasing unemployment in the President's plan.

The Nixon administration does not understand that the Number One domestic priority is Jobs -- Jobs -- Jobs. I ask you: Where is the concern for the working man? Where

is the concern for the small businessman?

What this nation needs is a people-based economy. We need an Administration that has a concern for people.

Have we heard any statement from the White House that wage benefits -- negotiated to catch up with the cost of living but lost during the wage-price freeze -- should be as important as maintaining business profits during Phase II?

Oh, we've heard plenty about a so-called "job-development" tax credit tacked on to an accelerated asset depreciation allowance. Now, in plain language, that means that business gets a tax relief package of over \$9 billion.

But what about John Q. Citizen? Oh, he'll be offered a much smaller tax deduction break on a one-time-only basis, but he'll have to wait a while.

Well, I say that relief for the American taxpayer should be retroactive to last July. And it should be combined with the postponement of the social security tax increase.

Justice and economic good sense demand an even-handed approach in tax policy changes to get the economy moving again.

Are the tax breaks for American corporations creating more jobs? Over 5 million Americans are out of work and millions more will be coming into the labor force.

Again and again, we must make clear to this Administration one simple economic truth: That jobs and income are of

paramount importance in getting this nation on its feet. If the American consumer does not feel secure and confident in the future, if he does not have spendable income, then we are going to continue to have industrial output falling far short of capacity while business tax breaks put America's corporations on "welfare" and enable a few people to live very comfortably on profit windfalls.

Meanwhile, we are hearing nothing about the actual high rates of interest. These costs are simply being passed on to the consumer, who is simultaneously being hit directly with the high costs of a house mortgage or a loan to pay the essential expenses of living.

Nor is any mention made of administered pricing practices, where prices bear no essential relation to costs and were given the green light to go up by this Administration in 1969, with the adoption of a hands-off policy at the White House.

Mr. Nixon has said he only wants standby authority to control interest rates -- he doesn't want to use it. And now he wants a blank check for the renewal of Presidential authority on wage and price controls.

I say this whole area should be the subject of thoroughgoing public hearings by Congressional committees. I say that Congress should spell out firm guidelines before it extends Presidential authority, particularly with respect to price controls.

I am not talking about "gamesmanship" in the rarified atmosphere of complicated economics and international monetary policy. I am talking about developing a comprehensive, downto-earth economic recovery program for America that is fundamentally concerned with the lives and future of individual people. I am talking about assuring that the voice of the man in the street in the cities and towns of this nation is actually heard in Washington.

That is why I firmly believe that next November the American people will elect a new administration that has <u>compassion</u>. This nation needs direction, purpose, vision -- a government that understands the needs and hopes and aspirations of the people.

A new administration must plan and act today to meet America's needs of tomorrow.

We need an administration that will act to shape our future. But we have a hard job ahead of us. If we are to win, we

need to be unified. We cannot have splinter politics or the politics of rule or ruin. Splinter politics elects Republicans, and Republicans elect unemployment, tight money, high interest rates, and increasing inflation.

And we must talk straight to the American people. Only if we do so can we restore the trust, the confidence, that people should feel for their government.

should feel for their government. The priorities of a new administration must be the priorities of the people -- for too long we have watched human resources being ignored.

Finally, we must have the programs to back up our words with action and a totally committed leadership, to do what we must to bring the good life to all Americans.

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LOS ANGELES COUNTY LABOR FEDERATION BREAKFAST

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CAN THIS NATION ENDURE FOUR MORE YEARS OF AN ADMINISTRATION THAT DOES LITTLE ABOUT HIGH TAXES, BALLOONING WELFARE ROLLS, CITIES IN CRISIS, RURAL AREAS IN DECAY, AND SMALL BUSINESSES FAILING?

CAN THIS NATION ENDURE FOUR MORE YEARS OF AN ADMINISTRATION THAT HAS TO BE TOLD BY CONGRESS, AGAIN AND AGAIN, THAT IT HAS AN OBLIGATION:

-- TO FEED HUNGRY CHILDREN;

-- TO BUILD, NOT VETO, MORE HOSPITALS, AND TO EXPAND, NOT

STOP, BASIC MEDICAL RESEARCH;



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-- TO PROTECT THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF ALL AMERICANS;

-- TO PROVIDE, NOT REJECT, ADEQUATE APPROPRIATIONS TO

MEET THE CRITICAL NEEDS OF PEOPLE FOR HOUSING, A GOOD EDUCATION

FOR THEIR CHILDREN, GREATLY EXPANDED JOB OPPORTUNITIES, AND MORE DOCTORS;

-- TO COMBAT POVERTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT, RATHER THAN TRY TO HIDE THEIR STATISTICS;

-- AND TO GET SERIOUS ABOUT HALTING THE TRAFFIC IN NARCOTICS AND HELPING LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES COMBAT CRIME.

I SAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE GOING TO ANSWER THAT FOUR YEARS IS ENOUGH.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL REJECT AN ADMINISTRATION THAT FOR TWO AND A HALF YEARS REFUSED TO ACT AGAINST INFLATION, BUT DIDN'T MISS A CHANCE TO BLAME IT ALL ON THE WORKING MAN: AN ADMINISTRATION THAT TURNED COMPLETELY AROUND WITH A NEW ECONOMIC PLAN TO FREEZE WAGES AND PRICES, BUT SENT THE BILL TO AMERICAN LABOR,

-3-

The American people will say "No" to an Administration that IGNORED SKYROCKETING UNEMPLOYMENT AND ONLY UNDER INTENSE PUBLIC PRESSURE AND WITH AN ELECTION JUST AROUND THE CORNER, FINALLY AGREED THAT THE CREATION OF JOBS JUST MIGHT BE AS IMPORTANT AS PROTECTING THE PROFITS OF BIG BUSINESS AND BANKS.

Now we're approaching Phase Two of the new economic "game plan," and the Administration ought to recognize that this time it had better be right.





BUT DOES IT?

I'D BE MORE CONFIDENT THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION KNOWS WHAT

IT IS DOING IF WE HAD A NEW QUARTERBACK CALLING THE SIGNALS.

FOR MONTHS, RIGHT UP UNTIL AUGUST 15TH, WHILE WE WERE

STEADILY LOSING GROUND IN JOBS AND INCOME, MR. NIXON KEPT ON

SENDING OUT PRESS RELEASES THAT EVERYTHING WAS ALL RIGHT AND

BRIGHTER DAYS WERE JUST AROUND THE CORNER.

BUT PRESS RELEASES AND TELEVISION EXTRAVAGANZAS ARE NO SUBSTITUTE FOR ACTION.

AND THAT IS WHAT DEEPLY DISTURBS ME NOW.

WE NEED AN INTENSIVE FOLLOW-THROUGH EFFORT TO STABILIZE

AND STIMULATE THE AMERICAN ECONOMY. AND I AM CERTAIN THAT EVERY

DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSMAN WILL GIVE HIS FULL COOPERATION AND PERSONAL INVESTMENT OF TIME AND LABOR IN THIS EFFORT. -5-

BUT IT IS PRECISELY THAT SENSE OF COOPERATION AND ALL-OUT COMMITMENT THAT SEEMS TO BE MISSING IN THE ADMINISTRATION. NOR CAN WE BE CONFIDENT THAT ON THE BASIS OF ITS PAST RECORD, THIS ADMINISTRATION CAN REALLY CONTROL THE TWIN EVILS AFFLICTING OUR ECONOMY -- RISING INFLATION AND HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT. You do not suddenly end this situation just by appointing WAGE AND PRICE STABILIZATION BOARDS, ESPECIALLY IF A PRIMARY CONSIDERATION IS THE HOPE THAT THEREBY THE BURDEN OF POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY CAN BE SHIFTED AWAY FROM THE WHITE HOUSE. You do not gain the confidence and full cooperation of the ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC IF YOU DO NOT REQUEST THEIR ADVICE AND CONSENT TO THESE BOARD APPOINTMENTS.

I HAVE CALLED FOR A THOROUGH EXAMINATION BY CONGRESS OF THE ENTIRE PRESIDENTIAL PROGRAM FOR STABILIZING THE ECONOMY. IF THIS PROGRAM IS TO SUCCEED -- IF WE ARE GOING TO STOP INFLATION AND REDUCE UNEMPLOYMENT -- THEN THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE AND THE INVOLVEMENT OF THEIR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES IS OF PRIME IMPORTANCE.

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INFLATION, I SEE NO REAL PROMISE FOR DECREASING UNEMPLOYMENT IN

THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN.

THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION DOES NOT UNDERSTAND THAT THE NUMBER

ONE DOMESTIC PRIORITY IS JOBS -- JOBS -- JOBS.

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-7-I ASK YOU: WHERE IS THE CONCERN FOR THE WORKING MAN? WHERE IS THE CONCERN FOR THE SMALL BUSINESSMAN? WHAT THIS NATION NEEDS IS A PEOPLE-BASED ECONOMY WE NEED AN ADMINISTRATION THAT HAS A CONCERN FOR PEOPLE. HAVE WE HEARD ANY STATEMENT FROM THE WHITE HOUSE THAT WAGE BENEFITS -- NEGOTIATED TO CATCH UP WITH THE COST OF LIVING BUT LOST DURING THE WAGE-PRICE FREEZE -- SHOULD BE AS IMPORTANT AS MAINTAINING BUSINESS PROFITS DURING PHASE II? OH, WE'VE HEARD PLENTY ABOUT A SO-CALLED "JOB-DEVELOPMENT" EDIT TACKED ON TO AN ACCELERATED ASSET DEPRECIATION ALLOWANCE, NOW, IN PLAIN LANGUAGE, THAT MEANS THAT BUSINESS GETS A TAX RELIEF PACKAGE OF OVER \$9 BILLION.

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BUT WHAT ABOUT JOHN Q, CITIZEN? OH, HE'LL BE OFFERED A MUCH SMALLER TAX DEDUCTION BREAK ON A ONE-TIME-ONLY BASIS, BUT HE'LL HAVE TO WAIT A WHILE.

Well, I SAY THAT RELIEF FOR THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER SHOULD BE RETROACTIVE TO LAST JULY. AND IT SHOULD BE COMBINED WITH THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY TAX INCREASE. JUSTICE AND ECONOMIC GOOD SENSE DEMAND AN EVEN-HANDED APPROACH IN TAX POLICY CHANGES TO GET THE ECONOMY MOVING AGAIN. ARE THE TAX BREAKS FOR AMERICAN CORPORATIONS CREATING MORE JOBS? OVER 5 MILLION AMERICANS ARE OUT OF WORK AND MILLIONS MORE WILL BE COMING INTO THE LABOR FORCE.

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AGAIN AND AGAIN, WE MUST MAKE CLEAR TO THIS ADMINISTRATION ONE SIMPLE ECONOMIC TRUTH: THAT JOBS AND INCOME ARE OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE IN GETTING THIS NATION ON ITS FEET. IF THE AMERICAN CONSUMER DOES NOT FEEL SECURE AND CONFIDENT IN THE FUTURE, IF HE DOES NOT HAVE SPENDABLE INCOME, THEN WE ARE GOING TO CONTINUE TO HAVE INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT FALLING FAR SHORT OF CAPACITY WHILE BUSINESS TAX BREAKS PUT AMERICA'S CORPORATIONS ON "WELFARE" AND ENABLE A FEW PEOPLE TO LIVE VERY COMFORTABLY ON PROFIT WINDFALLS. MEANWHILE, WE ARE HEARING NOTHING ABOUT THE ACTUAL HIGH RATES OF INTEREST. THESE COSTS ARE SIMPLY BEING PASSED ON TO THE CONSUMER, WHO IS SIMULTANEOUSLY BEING HIT DIRECTLY WITH THE HIGH COSTS OF A HOUSE MORTGAGE OR A LOAN TO PAY THE ESSENTIAL EXPENSES

OF LIVING.

NOR IS ANY MENTION MADE OF ADMINISTERED PRICING PRACTICES WHERE PRICES BEAR NO ESSENTIAL RELATION TO COSTS AND WERE GIVEN THE GREEN LIGHT TO GO UP BY THIS ADMINISTRATION IN 1969, WITH THE ADOPTION OF A HANDS-OFF POLICY AT THE WHITE HOUSE MR. NIXON HAS SAID HE ONLY WANTS STANDBY AUTHORITY TO CONTROL INTEREST RATES -- HE DOESN'T WANT TO USE IT. AND NOW HE WANTS A BLANK CHECK FOR THE RENEWAL OF PRESIDENTIAL AUTHORITY ON WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS.

I SAY THIS WHOLE AREA SHOULD BE THE SUBJECT OF THOROUGH-GOING PUBLIC HEARINGS BY CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES. I SAY THAT CONGRESS SHOULD SPELL OUT FIRM GUIDELINES BEFORE IT EXTENDS PRESIDENTIAL AUTHORITY, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO PRICE

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I AM NOT TALKING ABOUT "GAMESMANSHIP" IN THE RARIFIED ATMOSPHERE OF COMPLICATED ECONOMICS AND INTERNATIONAL MONETARY POLICY. I AM TALKING ABOUT DEVELOPING A COMPREHENSIVE, DOWN-TO-EARTH ECONOMIC RECOVERY PROGRAM FOR AMERICA THAT IS FUNDAMENTALLY CONCERNED WITH THE LIVES AND FUTURE OF INDIVIDUAL PEOPLE. I AM TALKING ABOUT ASSURING THAT THE VOICE OF THE MAN IN THE STREET IN THE CITIES AND TOWNS OF THIS NATION IS ACTUALLY HEARD IN WASHINGTON.

THAT IS WHY I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT NEXT NOVEMBER THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL ELECT A NEW ADMINISTRATION THAT HAS <u>COMPASSION</u>, THIS NATION NEEDS DIRECTION, PURPOSE, VISION -- A GOVERNMENT THAT UNDERSTANDS THE NEEDS AND HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE,

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A NEW ADMINISTRATION MUST PLAN AND ACT TODAY TO MEET AMERICA'S NEEDS OF TOMORROW.

WE NEED AN ADMINISTRATION THAT WILL ACT TO SHAPE OUR FUTURE.

BUT WE HAVE A HARD JOB AHEAD OF US. IF WE ARE TO WIN, WE

NEED TO BE UNIFIED. WE CANNOT HAVE SPLINTER POLITICS OR THE POLITICS

OF RULE OR RUIN. SPLINTER POLITICS ELECTS REPUBLICANS, AND

REPUBLICANS ELECT UNEMPLOYMENT, TIGHT MONEY, HIGH INTEREST RATES,

AND INCREASING INFLATION.

AND WE MUST TALK STRAIGHT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, ONLY IF WE DO SO CAN WE RESTORE THE TRUST, THE CONFIDENCE, THAT PEOPLE SHOULD FEEL FOR THEIR GOVERNMENT.

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THE PRIORITIES OF A NEW ADMINISTRATION MUST BE THE PRIORITIES OF THE PEOPLE -- FOR TOO LONG WE HAVE WATCHED HUMAN RESOURCES BEING IGNORED.

FINALLY, WE MUST HAVE THE PROGRAMS TO BACK UP OUR WORDS WITH ACTION AND A TOTALLY COMMITTED LEADERSHIP, TO DO WHAT WE MUST TO BRING THE GOOD LIFE TO ALL AMERICANS.

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