

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
BIENNIAL CONFERENCE OF DISTRICT 33
STEELWORKERS

Duluth, Minnesota

September 18, 1975

For many months the President and his economic advisers have been proclaiming the good news of economic recovery -- that prosperity is just around the corner.

However, each day eight to ten million unemployed Americans must ask "Why me?" and "How much longer?"

Every day millions of shoppers find that the paycheck buys fewer groceries, less clothing and fewer gallons of gasoline.

We all know that the housing industry remains a disaster area, that automobile sales still lag far behind normal levels, and that retail sales are nowhere near what we had hoped for.

Apparently, things look different from a chalet in Vail, Colorado, a cozy retreat in the Maryland mountains, and from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

But, what they see is not what we've got. The economic view they are getting is clouded by their rose-colored glasses.

The so-called recovery is a wish, a hope and a prayer -- not a hard fact. And the longer we permit ourselves to be deceived by the mirage of economic recovery, the longer we will put off the tough job-creating actions that government must take if a strong and durable recovery is to occur.

Today, eight million Americans are officially unemployed. They have been out of work an average of nearly four months. Nearly 20 percent of these people -- that is 1.5 million workers -- have been unemployed for more than six months.

Today, over one-third of this nation's industrial capacity is idle -- machines and equipment simply are not being used.

Today 24 million Americans are living in poverty, we are back to the late 60's level.

And today, the buying power of the take home pay of the average worker -- due to shorter hours and higher prices -- is back where it was in the mid 60's. You've been running on a treadmill and getting nowhere.

If this is the Republican idea of an economic recovery, it is no wonder that they had so much trouble seeing recession when it was staring them right in the face.

Apparently Republicans watch the stockmarket, business profits, and business inventories, and when they begin to improve, a recovery is proclaimed.

Instead they should look more closely at what is happening to people -- to your incomes, to your jobs, to your housing. It is only when these begin to improve that the real recovery is underway.

While the slide toward depression appears to have stopped, we are a long way from the people's recovery.

The Nixon-Ford economic team has been -- unmistakably -- a disaster for our national economy and particularly for our nation's workers. They've managed to turn our economy upside down.

-- The inventors of "WIN" buttons have given our country its highest level of inflation in three decades.

-- The vocal proponents of the work ethic have given us more unemployment than at any time in the history of the United States, except during the Great Depression.

-- The great advocates of law and order have to be dragged screaming and hollering into an investigation of a major grain inspection scandal.

-- The outspoken critics of government action stand at the ready to bail out the big corporations and the banking conglomerates that flounder under the weight of their own mismanagement.

We need a new team and we must have one in 1976 if the economy is to be turned right side up. It was never intended in our Constitution that the nation be run by the Congress. The 37 Ford vetoes are clear evidence that it cannot be.

We need a leadership team in the White House that understands what's wrong with our economy, has confidence in the American people and compassion for their problems. We need someone who will work aggressively to straighten out the economic mess.

We don't need leaders whose philosophy produces a tragic and icy indifference to the sufferings of our citizens.

There is much that we can do to create jobs and income now and to speed economic recovery in our nation. We cannot abide the Administration's plan to let nature take its course. Such official apathy would mean years of lost opportunity, lost income, lost pride and lost hope in our nation for millions of Americans. Such a policy is unnecessary, undesirable, and unthinkable.

There are many things that we can do to make a difference.

First, we can and we must take better care of the innocent victims of recession, by extending unemployment compensation and increasing its level. Today, the average unemployment check is \$65 a week -- a national disgrace.

We also must have an emergency program to provide health insurance for those who lost their coverage when they lost their jobs.

And of course, we can, we must and we will continue to oppose the President's plan to cut social security, retirement benefits and food stamps for the needy. Congress has rejected these cruel proposals.

Second, we must get the economy moving ahead once again, and there are many ways to do this.

-- We need to continue the tax reductions that were enacted by the Congress last year. In fact, if the anemia in our economy continues, we may well have to increase the size of that tax reduction.

-- We need an accelerated program for emergency public works employment. Congress has passed such legislation and it soon will be sent to the President. With unemployment in the construction industry at a 20 per cent level nationwide, there can be no question that such a program is urgently needed right now.

-- We need to create a greatly expanded program of public service jobs. In fact, such legislation should be permanently on the books for use in times of economic trouble.

-- Congress must enact a mortgage subsidy program -- a National Housing Bank -- to reduce mortgage interest levels to a maximum of 6 per cent. We must continue to work to bring home ownership back into the grasp of the majority of American families.

These vital job-creating measures are needed in America right now.

But the tax cuts and the programs I have discussed are useless if the Federal Reserve Board continues to strangle economic growth with a tight credit policy and high interest rates.

It's time that the Federal Reserve Board was shaken up a little. It's time that it was told that it must work for all the people in America. It's time that someone in the Federal Reserve spoke up for labor, for the consumer, for the farmer, and for the small business person within the inner sanctum of the Federal Reserve.

The programs I've proposed, coupled with a responsive credit policy, a responsible long term energy policy, and a comprehensive national food policy, can move our nation toward a strong recovery and a vibrant economy for years to come.

Recent developments in Northeast Minnesota are very encouraging to me. The American Hoist and Derrick project, the North Star Steel Facility, and now a new foundry -- the future is bright.

But, our economic health also required that we make good use of the natural resources with which we have been blessed. Our mineral treasure -- iron ore, copper and nickel -- can and must be responsibly developed to create both jobs and income. We can do this and also preserve our valuable environment. We can't afford to be dependent on foreign supplies for these essential industrial raw materials ... we have seen in energy exactly what over dependence means.

Recession is a tragic waste of our nations human, capital, and natural resources.

The Nixon-Ford recession has cost 15 million American workers their jobs at some time during the last two years.

It has cost us \$300 billion in lost income.

And it will cost our economy \$1.5 trillion in lost goods, production and income by the end of the 70's.

-- Recession is a waste of labor, of skills, of education, and management talent.

-- Recession is a waste of factories and equipment.

-- It is a waste of government revenues not gained.

-- It is a waste of income not earned and goods not produced.

-- It is a waste of the talent and enthusiasm of young men and women who find it impossible to get a job.

-- And it is a waste of savings used to carry us through the hard times and burned up by the fires of inflation.

With all of the richness with which America is blessed, this waste is the shame of our nation. It is an ever greater shame when one realizes that there is so much that remains to be done in this country.

What America needs is progressive Democratic leadership -- in the tradition of Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, John Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson -- to put an end to waste, to stop this official apathy, and to mount the kind of confident and aggressive march that will show all Americans what a true people's recovery really is.

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REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

BIENNIAL CONFERENCE OF DISTRICT 33

STEELWORKERS

DULUTH, MINNESOTA

SEPTEMBER 18, 1975

FOR MANY MONTHS THE PRESIDENT AND HIS ECONOMIC ADVISERS
HAVE BEEN PROCLAIMING THE GOOD NEWS OF ECONOMIC RECOVERY -- THAT
PROSPERITY IS JUST AROUND THE CORNER.

HOWEVER, EACH DAY EIGHT TO TEN MILLION UNEMPLOYED AMERICANS
MUST ASK "WHY ME?" AND "HOW MUCH LONGER?"

EVERY DAY MILLIONS OF SHOPPERS FIND THAT THE PAYCHECK BUYS
FEWER GROCERIES, LESS CLOTHING AND FEWER GALLONS OF GASOLINE.

WE ALL KNOW THAT THE HOUSING INDUSTRY REMAINS A DISASTER
AREA, THAT AUTOMOBILE SALES STILL LAG FAR BEHIND NORMAL LEVELS,
AND THAT RETAIL SALES ARE NOWHERE NEAR WHAT WE HAD HOPED FOR.

APPARENTLY, THINGS LOOK DIFFERENT FROM A CHALET IN VAIL,
COLORADO, A COZY RETREAT IN THE MARYLAND MOUNTAINS, AND FROM
1600 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.

BUT, WHAT THEY SEE IS NOT WHAT WE'VE GOT. THE ECONOMIC
VIEW THEY ARE GETTING IS CLOUDED BY THEIR ROSE-COLORED GLASSES.

~~THE SO-CALLED RECOVERY IS A WISH, A HOPE AND A PRAYER --~~
~~NOT A HARD FACT, AND THE LONGER WE PERMIT OURSELVES TO BE~~
DECEIVED BY THE MIRAGE OF ^(a strong and sustained) ECONOMIC RECOVERY, THE LONGER WE
WILL PUT OFF THE TOUGH JOB-CREATING ACTIONS THAT GOVERNMENT
MUST TAKE IF A STRONG AND DURABLE RECOVERY IS ^{really} TO OCCUR.

TODAY, EIGHT MILLION AMERICANS ARE 'OFFICIALLY' UNEMPLOYED.
THEY HAVE BEEN OUT OF WORK AN AVERAGE OF NEARLY FOUR MONTHS.

NEARLY 20 PERCENT OF THESE PEOPLE -- THAT IS 1.5 MILLION
WORKERS -- HAVE BEEN UNEMPLOYED FOR MORE THAN SIX MONTHS.

TODAY, ^{over 30%} ~~OVER ONE-THIRD~~ OF THIS NATION'S INDUSTRIAL
CAPACITY IS IDLE; ~~MACHINES AND EQUIPMENT SIMPLY ARE NOT~~

~~BEING USED.~~
Today, wholesale prices have been jumping at a "double-digit rate"

Today, unemployment is again moving upward -- now 8.6%.

TODAY 24 MILLION AMERICANS ARE LIVING IN POVERTY, WE
ARE BACK TO THE LATE 60'S LEVEL.

AND TODAY, THE BUYING POWER OF THE TAKE HOME PAY OF
THE AVERAGE WORKER -- DUE TO SHORTER HOURS AND HIGHER PRICES --
IS BACK WHERE IT WAS IN THE MID 60'S. ~~YOU'VE BEEN RUNNING~~
~~ON A TREADMILL AND GETTING NOWHERE.~~

IF THIS IS THE REPUBLICAN IDEA OF AN ECONOMIC RECOVERY,
IT IS NO WONDER THAT THEY HAD SO MUCH TROUBLE SEEING RECESSION
WHEN IT WAS STARING THEM RIGHT IN THE FACE.

APPARENTLY REPUBLICANS WATCH ~~THE STOCKMARKET~~ BUSINESS
PROFITS, AND BUSINESS INVENTORIES, AND WHEN THEY BEGIN TO
IMPROVE, A RECOVERY IS PROCLAIMED.

INSTEAD THEY SHOULD LOOK MORE CLOSELY AT WHAT IS
HAPPENING TO PEOPLE -- TO YOUR INCOMES, TO YOUR JOBS, TO YOUR
HOUSING. IT IS ONLY WHEN THESE BEGIN TO IMPROVE THAT ~~THE~~^A
REAL RECOVERY IS UNDERWAY.

WHILE THE SLIDE TOWARD DEPRESSION APPEARS TO HAVE
STOPPED, WE ARE A LONG WAY FROM ~~THE~~^A PEOPLE'S RECOVERY.

THE NIXON-FORD ECONOMIC TEAM HAS BEEN -- UNMISTAKABLY --
A DISASTER FOR OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY AND PARTICULARLY FOR
OUR NATION'S WORKERS. THEY'VE MANAGED TO TURN OUR ECONOMY
UPSIDE DOWN.

-- THE INVENTORS OF "WIN" BUTTONS HAVE GIVEN OUR
COUNTRY ITS HIGHEST LEVEL OF INFLATION IN THREE DECADES.

-- THE VOCAL PROPONENTS OF THE WORK ETHIC HAVE GIVEN US MORE UNEMPLOYMENT THAN AT ANY TIME IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, EXCEPT DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION.

-- THE GREAT ADVOCATES OF LAW AND ORDER HAVE TO BE DRAGGED SCREAMING AND HOLLERING INTO AN INVESTIGATION OF A MAJOR GRAIN INSPECTION SCANDAL.

-- THE OUTSPOKEN CRITICS OF GOVERNMENT ACTION STAND AT THE READY TO BAIL OUT THE BIG CORPORATIONS AND THE BANKING CONGLOMERATES THAT FLOUNDER UNDER THE WEIGHT OF THEIR OWN MISMANAGEMENT.

WE NEED A NEW TEAM AND WE MUST HAVE ONE IN 1976 IF THE ECONOMY IS TO BE TURNED RIGHT SIDE UP. ~~IT WAS NEVER INTENDED IN OUR CONSTITUTION THAT THE NATION BE RUN BY THE CONGRESS. THE ³⁹ FORD VETOES ARE CLEAR EVIDENCE THAT IT CANNOT BE.~~

WE NEED A LEADERSHIP TEAM IN THE WHITE HOUSE THAT
UNDERSTANDS WHAT'S WRONG WITH OUR ECONOMY, HAS CONFIDENCE
IN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND COMPASSION FOR THEIR PROBLEMS.

WE NEED SOMEONE WHO WILL WORK AGGRESSIVELY TO STRAIGHTEN
OUT THE ECONOMIC MESS.

WE DON'T NEED LEADERS WHOSE PHILOSOPHY PRODUCES A
TRAGIC AND ICY INDIFFERENCE TO THE SUFFERINGS OF OUR CITIZENS.

THERE IS MUCH THAT WE CAN DO TO CREATE JOBS AND INCOME
NOW AND TO SPEED ECONOMIC RECOVERY IN OUR NATION. WE CANNOT
ABIDE THE ADMINISTRATION'S PLAN TO LET NATURE TAKE ITS COURSE.
SUCH OFFICIAL APATHY WOULD MEAN YEARS OF LOST OPPORTUNITY,
LOST INCOME, LOST PRIDE AND LOST HOPE IN OUR NATION FOR
MILLIONS OF AMERICANS. SUCH A POLICY IS UNNECESSARY,
UNDESIRABLE, AND UNTHINKABLE.

*There must be
who have lost their jobs
in the recession*

THERE ARE MANY THINGS THAT WE CAN DO TO MAKE A
DIFFERENCE.

FIRST, WE CAN AND WE MUST TAKE BETTER CARE OF THE
INNOCENT VICTIMS OF RECESSION, BY EXTENDING UNEMPLOYMENT
COMPENSATION AND INCREASING ITS LEVEL. TODAY, THE AVERAGE
UNEMPLOYMENT CHECK IS \$65 A WEEK -- A NATIONAL DISGRACE.

WE ALSO MUST HAVE AN EMERGENCY PROGRAM TO PROVIDE
HEALTH INSURANCE FOR THOSE WHO LOST THEIR COVERAGE WHEN
THEY LOST THEIR JOBS.

AND OF COURSE, WE CAN, WE MUST AND WE WILL CONTINUE
TO OPPOSE THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN TO CUT SOCIAL SECURITY,
RETIREMENT BENEFITS AND FOOD STAMPS FOR THE NEEDY. CONGRESS
HAS REJECTED THESE CRUEL PROPOSALS.

SECOND, WE MUST GET THE ECONOMY MOVING AHEAD ONCE AGAIN, AND THERE ARE MANY WAYS TO DO THIS.

-- WE NEED TO CONTINUE THE TAX REDUCTIONS THAT WERE ENACTED BY THE CONGRESS LAST YEAR. IN FACT, IF THE ANEMIA IN OUR ECONOMY CONTINUES, WE MAY WELL HAVE TO INCREASE THE SIZE OF THAT TAX REDUCTION.

-- WE NEED AN ACCELERATED PROGRAM FOR EMERGENCY PUBLIC WORKS EMPLOYMENT. CONGRESS HAS PASSED SUCH LEGISLATION AND IT SOON WILL BE SENT TO THE PRESIDENT. WITH UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY AT A 20 PER CENT LEVEL NATIONWIDE, THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION THAT SUCH A PROGRAM IS URGENTLY NEEDED RIGHT NOW.

-- WE NEED TO CREATE A GREATLY EXPANDED PROGRAM OF PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS. IN FACT, SUCH LEGISLATION SHOULD BE PERMANENTLY ON THE BOOKS FOR USE IN TIMES OF ECONOMIC TROUBLE.

-- CONGRESS MUST ENACT A MORTGAGE SUBSIDY PROGRAM -- A NATIONAL HOUSING BANK -- TO REDUCE MORTGAGE INTEREST LEVELS TO A MAXIMUM OF 5 PER CENT. WE MUST CONTINUE TO WORK TO BRING HOME OWNERSHIP BACK INTO THE GRASP OF THE MAJORITY OF AMERICAN FAMILIES.

THESE VITAL JOB-CREATING MEASURES ARE NEEDED IN AMERICA RIGHT NOW.

BUT THE TAX CUTS AND THE PROGRAMS I HAVE DISCUSSED ARE USELESS IF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD CONTINUES TO STRANGLE ECONOMIC GROWTH WITH A TIGHT CREDIT POLICY AND HIGH INTEREST RATES.

IT'S TIME THAT THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD WAS SHAKEN
UP A LITTLE. IT'S TIME THAT IT WAS TOLD THAT IT MUST WORK
FOR ALL THE PEOPLE IN AMERICA. IT'S TIME THAT SOMEONE IN
THE FEDERAL RESERVE SPOKE UP FOR LABOR, FOR THE CONSUMER,
FOR THE FARMER, AND FOR THE SMALL BUSINESS PERSON WITHIN
THE INNER SANCTUM OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE.

THE PROGRAMS I'VE PROPOSED, COUPLED WITH A RESPONSIVE
CREDIT POLITY, A RESPONSIBLE LONG TERM ENERGY POLICY, AND
A COMPREHENSIVE NATIONAL FOOD POLICY, CAN MOVE OUR NATION
TOWARD A STRONG RECOVERY AND A VIBRANT ECONOMY FOR YEARS
TO COME.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN NORTHEAST MINNESOTA ARE VERY
ENCOURAGING TO ME. THE AMERICAN HOIST AND DERRICK PROJECT,

THE NORTH STAR STEEL FACILITY, AND NOW A NEW FOUNDRY -- THE
FUTURE IS BRIGHT.

BUT, OUR ECONOMIC HEALTH ALSO REQUIRED THAT WE MAKE
GOOD USE OF THE NATURAL RESOURCES WITH WHICH WE HAVE BEEN
BLESSED. OUR MINERAL TREASURE -- IRON ORE, COPPER AND
NICKEL -- CAN AND MUST BE RESPONSIBLY DEVELOPED TO CREATE
BOTH JOBS AND INCOME. WE CAN DO THIS AND ALSO PRESERVE
OUR VALUABLE ENVIRONMENT. WE CAN'T AFFORD TO BE DEPENDENT
ON FOREIGN SUPPLIES FOR THESE ESSENTIAL INDUSTRIAL RAW
MATERIALS ... WE HAVE SEEN IN ENERGY EXACTLY WHAT OVER
DEPENDENCE MEANS.

RECESSION IS A TRAGIC WASTE OF OUR NATIONS HUMAN,
CAPITAL, AND NATURAL RESOURCES.

THE NIXON-FORD RECESSION HAS COST 15 MILLION AMERICAN
WORKERS THEIR JOBS AT SOME TIME DURING THE LAST TWO YEARS.

IT HAS COST US \$300 BILLION IN LOST INCOME.

AND IT WILL COST OUR ECONOMY \$1.5 TRILLION IN LOST
GOODS, PRODUCTION AND INCOME BY THE END OF THE 70's.

-- RECESSION IS A WASTE OF LABOR, OF SKILLS, OF
EDUCATION, AND MANAGEMENT TALENT.

-- RECESSION IS A WASTE OF FACTORIES AND EQUIPMENT.

-- IT IS A WASTE OF GOVERNMENT REVENUES NOT GAINED.

-- IT IS A WASTE OF INCOME NOT EARNED AND GOODS NOT
PRODUCED.

-- IT IS A WASTE OF THE TALENT AND ENTHUSIASM OF
YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN WHO FIND IT IMPOSSIBLE TO GET A JOB.

-- AND IT IS A WASTE OF SAVINGS USED TO CARRY US
THROUGH THE HARD TIMES AND BURNED UP BY THE FIRES OF
INFLATION.

WITH ALL OF THE RICHNESS WITH WHICH AMERICA IS
He has all
BLESSED, THIS WASTE IS THE SHAME OF OUR NATION. IT IS
AN EVER GREATER SHAME WHEN ONE REALIZES THAT THERE IS SO
MUCH THAT REMAINS TO BE DONE IN THIS COUNTRY.

WHAT AMERICA NEEDS IS PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATIC
movement
LEADERSHIP -- IN THE TRADITION OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, HARRY
TRUMAN, JOHN KENNEDY, AND LYNDON JOHNSON -- TO PUT AN END TO
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OF CONFIDENT AND AGGRESSIVE MARCH THAT WILL SHOW ALL AMERICANS
WHAT A TRUE PEOPLE'S RECOVERY REALLY IS.

City

United Transportation Convention

Miami, Fla.

Sept 23, 1975

For many months the President and his economic advisers have been proclaiming the good news of economic recovery -- that prosperity is just around the corner.

However, each day eight to ten million unemployed Americans must ask "Why me?" and "How much longer?"

Every day millions of shoppers find that the paycheck buys fewer groceries, less clothing and fewer gallons of gasoline.

We all know that the housing industry remains a disaster area, *that auto* you who haul the nation's autos to market know all too well sales still lag far behind normal levels, and that retail sales are nowhere near what we had hoped for.

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But, what they see is not what we've got. The economic view they are getting is clouded by their rose-colored glasses.

The longer we permit ourselves to be deceived by the mirage of a strong and sustained economic recovery, the longer we will put off the tough job creating actions that government must take if a potent and lasting recovery is to occur.

Today, eight million Americans are officially unemployed. They have been out of work an average of nearly four months. Nearly 20 percent of these people -- that is 1.5 million workers -- have been unemployed for more than six months.

The latest data show that 24,000 railroad workers were out of their jobs in June -- 11,400 of these were members of the UTW.

Today, over one-third of this nation's industrial capacity is idle -- machines and equipment simply are not being used.

Today 24 million Americans are living in poverty, we are back to the late 60's level.

And today, the buying power of the take home pay of the average worker -- due to shorter hours and higher prices -- is back where it was in the mid 60's. You've been running on a treadmill and getting nowhere.

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-- The great advocates of law and order have to be dragged screaming and hollering into an investigation of major scandals.

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abide the Administration's plan to let nature take its course. Such official apathy would mean years of lost opportunity, lost income, lost pride and lost hope in our nation for millions of Americans. Such a policy is unnecessary, undesirable, and unthinkable.

There are many things that we can do to make a difference.

First, we can and we must take better care of the innocent victims of recession, by extending unemployment compensation and increasing its level. Today, the average unemployment check is \$65 a week -- a national disgrace. I was delighted to lend my full support to the UTU's successful effort this summer to double your unemployment insurance and sick benefits to \$25 a day. This was an overdue change and a good indication of what a strong union can deliver to its members.

We also must have an emergency program to provide health insurance for those who lost their coverage when they lost their jobs.

And of course, we can, we must and we will continue to oppose the President's plan to cut social security, retirement benefits and food stamps for the needy. Congress has rejected these cruel proposals.

Second, we must get the economy moving ahead once again, and there are many ways to do this.

-- We need to continue the tax reductions that were enacted by the Congress last year. In fact, as the anemia in our economy has continued, it has become every more apparent that we will have to increase the size of that tax reduction.

-- We need an accelerated program for emergency public works employment. Congress has passed such legislation and it soon will be sent to the President. With unemployment in the construction industry at a 20 per cent level nationwide, there can be no question that such a program is urgently needed right now.

I have been fighting for six months to put unemployed labor to work reconstructing the railbeds of our nation. In

fact, we have passed legislation in the Senate for a major program that would improve the condition of railbeds^{and} provide jobs, ~~for many of the unemployed, increase the safety and efficiency of our rail system, and at the same time, save energy.~~ We will keep pushing on this until we get some action.

-- We need to create a greatly expanded program of public service jobs. In fact, such legislation should be permanently on the books for use in times of economic trouble.

-- We need to reform our nation's rail transportation system to improve its efficiency, increase job safety, conserve scarce energy resources, and make it the vital element in our nation's transportation system that it should be. In the meantime, Congress should enact my legislation that would prevent the willy-nilly destruction of our nation's rail system through massive rail line abandonments.

-- Congress must enact a mortgage subsidy program -- a National Housing Bank -- to reduce mortgage interest levels to a maximum of 6 per cent. We must continue to work to bring home ownership back into the grasp of the majority of American families.

These vital job-creating measures are needed in America right now.

But the tax cuts and the programs I have discussed are useless if the Federal Reserve Board continues to strangle economic growth with a tight credit policy and high interest rates.

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With all of the richness with which America is blessed, this waste is the shame of our nation. It is an ever greater shame when one realizes that there is so much that remains to be done in this country.

What America needs is progressive Democratic leadership -- in the tradition of Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, John Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson -- to put an end to waste, to stop this official apathy, and to mount the kind of confident and aggressive march that will show all Americans what a true people's recovery really is.

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REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE BOARDS OF EDUCATION
ANNUAL CONVENTION
New Orleans, Louisiana
October 10, 1975

I'm delighted to be here today to address the annual convention of the National Association of State Boards of Education.

As you all know, my interest in education is a long-standing one. I can think of no more important task that has been handed us than to give the young people of this country every possible opportunity for self-development in achieving lives of meaning and purpose. If we can accomplish this goal, then I am confident that the future of our nation is safeguarded.

Thirty years ago, if we were meeting and were concerned with providing quality education for our youngsters, we would not have asked the question, "Who Controls Education?" The response to that question would have been obvious -- our local communities and our parents were responsible for establishing the goals and structure of our educational system.

But, today we live in a world which is drastically different from that which existed thirty or even twenty years ago. It is a faster paced world, in which change proceeds at an astounding rate.

It is a world in which thousands of Americans move every two-to-four years, in pursuit of better employment or in response to their employers' demands.

It is a world in which sophisticated technical skills are required for an ever increasing number of jobs.

And it is a world in which responsibility for establishing the goals and purposes of education and a structure for achieving them has become more diffuse.

When we ask, "Who Controls Education," our real question, in today's society, focuses on the relative roles of the lay community, the professional education community, and the state and federal government. It is not an easy question to answer, for in a very real sense, as you have seen during this convention, all of them control education to some degree.

This nation grew up with a deep feeling, a strong belief, about local responsibility for the education of our children. That belief and that feeling are still strong, and still viable.

The homes of America's families are, of course, the bedrock of this commitment to quality education. Sir James Matthew Barrie, the distinguished Scottish dramatist and novelist -- perhaps best known to generations of children through his creation of Peter Pan -- forcefully described the crucial role of the home in education when he said:

Mighty are the Universities of Scotland, and they will prevail. But even in your highest exultations never forget that they are not four, but five. The greatest of them is the poor, proud homes you come out of, which said so long ago: "There shall be education in this land."

There is no doubt in my mind that, despite all the changes which have taken place, quality education still occurs only when the local community is interested and actively involved in the education of its young.

It is not enough for professional educators -- teachers, principals, and superintendents -- or state and federal officials to establish educational goals or programs to meet the specific training needs of our young. Local lay involvement in education is crucial to its success.

But today education is not simply a local responsibility. The future of our Nation quite literally depends on the job we do in providing a quality education for all our youngsters.

Many of the problems which face our educational system transcend local interests. We are a mobile society; our youngsters may attend two, three, or even more schools in different parts of our Nation during their school years.

To ensure the well-being of our society, we have a national responsibility to see that these children -- no matter where they live -- acquire some basic skills -- in reading, in writing, and in reasoning mathematically.

Furthermore, our national heritage and dedication to equality of opportunity for all makes us as a nation especially conscious of our responsibility to provide equal educational opportunities for all our youngsters;

-- Whether they live in the ghettos or affluent suburbs of major cities;

-- Whether they are intellectually gifted or retarded;

-- Or whether they are healthy or afflicted with a physical handicap.

What we need today is a national education policy -- a policy which establishes education as a high national priority in the protection and development of our human resources, and which works to assure quality education for all.

That policy should promote multiple approaches to providing education opportunities that give the fullest recognition to the needs, problems, and abilities and interests of each child and young person.

That policy should encourage innovation in educational processes and administration.

That policy should be directed toward the recognition that our local communities no longer can carry the major share of the economic burden of educating our young, and that quality education for all requires a substantial national financial commitment.

That policy must, however, also recognize the responsibilities and solid capabilities of local communities. It should enable them, through the provision of adequate and dependable Federal assistance, to work out their own answers to the unique problems they confront, subject to the assurance that an equal opportunity will be provided for all children to obtain an education of high quality.

I wish to thank the National Association for the support which it has provided for legislation which I have introduced in the Congress to provide the institutional means to set and implement this policy. I am speaking of the bill to establish a Department of Education.

We are, as most of you know, the only major nation in the world that lacks a Cabinet-level post in education. We are the only major nation in the world in which there is no single department charged with the overall coordination and direction of our educational efforts.

As a result, our efforts to establish national education priorities and better administer our education programs are severely hampered.

We need a new Department of Education:

- To exercise leadership in coordinating Federal activities affecting education;

- To establish clear priorities and firm policies, in cooperation with our States and communities, for the orderly growth and development of the Nation's educational facilities and resources;

- To stimulate innovation and comprehensive planning to achieve the most effective impact of Federal assistance and State and local resources devoted to education;

- And to carry through the commitment of our people to excellence in education as a solid investment in America's future and a guaranteed right of all our children and youth.

Under my bill, the Secretary of Education would be the Nation's chief policy planner for education and its advocate at the highest levels of government. The establishment of a Department of Education would be the first step toward a more responsible and more responsive execution of education policy. This Department would constantly prod the Executive Branch and the Congress to take a more systematic view of the strengths and weaknesses of our current education programs.

The time is long overdue for taking effective action to meet the urgent needs of so many children who have been denied the opportunity for a good education or who have learning disabilities. And, there is so much more we can and should be doing to expand lifetime learning and new career training opportunities for our people.

But the establishment of a national Department of Education is not enough. We must face reality: Adequate funding, or the lack of it, has a crucial impact on the quality of education. That is why I, and an overwhelming majority of my colleagues in Congress, voted last month to override the President's veto of legislation providing vitally needed appropriations for education in America.

Traditionally, our local communities, with some federal and State assistance for special programs, have funded the education of their children. The major source of revenue for this purpose has been local property taxes.

This has meant that communities which were able to collect substantial property taxes have been able to spend more on education, while poorer communities have been lucky if they were able to meet minimum State per-pupil expenditure guidelines. Only a few States, such as Minnesota, have relieved local jurisdictions of this financial burden.

It is not right that the quality of a child's education should be made dependent on the wealth or poverty of his or her community.

This situation continues today, but it has been exacerbated by the new fiscal realities of the seventies -- inflation and recession. Local property taxes, even in affluent communities, have reached the saturation point.

Last year, almost 45 per cent of the school bond referendums proposed by local jurisdictions across the Nation were rejected by residents fearful of ever increasing tax bills and the continuing impact of inflation and recession on their pocketbooks. At least one state, Virginia, has cut back on its assistance to local communities for education, and in other states and cities budget-balancing soon may overtake education in terms of local priorities.

As a consequence of this belt tightening, needed school construction projects are postponed or shelved, and the special needs of certain of our children go unanswered.

Instead of moving forward, we in fact stand still or even move backward.

We cannot go on this way. Our obsolete system for financing education is literally strangling all our fine efforts to improve the quality of education for all our youngsters.

The problem of funding is a national problem -- not simply a local or State problem. To solve it, we need a national commitment to increasing federal assistance to the States and local communities to meet the burdens of financing quality education. We need a national commitment to increasing federal investment in education to one-third of all public resources.

As a first step in establishing this type of federal commitment to education, I have introduced the National Education Investment Act in the Senate.

This legislation would meet the serious problem of inadequate, obsolescent, and run-down school facilities, by providing loan guarantees to local jurisdictions for modernization and new construction.

It would establish a national education trust fund, from which payments would be made to State and local jurisdiction applicants which agree to substantially reduce or eliminate the taxation of real property for the purpose of financing elementary and secondary education.

This program would encourage progressive tax reform in the States. It also would improve and balance per pupil expenditures among all local school districts, without penalizing high expenditure districts. The trust fund would enable schools to know in advance what funds would be available, and these resources would be free from zealous budget cutters.

The legislation also pinpoints special needs of children which for too long have received a totally inadequate response -- including the needs of pre-school children, and of educationally deprived children in areas of poverty. It provides financial assistance incentives for meeting these special needs.

Finally, the Act presents clearly defined measures and a definite time schedule for addressing all these problems -- not through just providing more federal dollars, but through using federal assistance as leverage to promote counterpart efforts by State and local governments and by the private investment sector.

Most importantly, from the perspective of this convention, this bill takes the basic view that States and localities should be enabled, through the provision of adequate and dependable Federal assistance, to work out their own answers to the unique problems they confront in guaranteeing the right of every child to a quality education.

Who controls education? Well, basically, all of us do in one respect or another. The federal responsibility is to set basic educational policy for our entire nation -- to establish a national commitment to quality education for all -- and to facilitate the achievement of this goal at the State and local level.

But in demanding the best education for our children, we must also demand the best of our society. Values imparted in the classroom often seem hypocrisies in the outside world. By intensively examining what, how, and why we teach our children, we may discover answers to education's ills that also can help heal the sicknesses of our society.

At root, we must rededicate ourselves to the unique worth and the kinship of every man as a fundamental truth in education and as a basic explanation of what America is all about.

The education of a child is the sum total of that child's native ability, the experience in an education system, and the social environment in which that child lives and grows -- the neighborhood, the community, and the nation, and indeed, the world. He is conditioned by it.

The best in education -- facilities, teachers, books -- is diminished by the inadequacy of the surroundings and the inadequacies of the social environment.

You have a greater responsibility than just to advocate better teachers, teaching methods, modernization of school plant and facilities, and the use of the most modern techniques, including modern educational technology.

The true educator must be a spokesman for social justice, a crusader against the evils of poverty and deprivation, and an advocate of communities that are wholesome and safe.

As America celebrates the Bicentennial of its declaration of freedom and independence, it is well to remember the vital role of education in making this declaration a living reality for all generations.

In the aftermath of a tragic Civil War, as a reunited nation sought to find its direction after declaring that it could not continue half slave and half free, an ex-Senator from Massachusetts, Robert Charles Winthrop, in a major address, chose a surprising topic. Speaking at Yorktown, Virginia, in 1881 -- the site of the final British surrender to the Continental Army 100 years earlier -- Mr. Winthrop found the key to progress in freedom to be a firm commitment to education.

These were his words:

Slavery is but half abolished, emancipation is but half completed, while millions of freemen with votes in their hands are left without education. Justice to them, the welfare of the States in which they live, the safety of the whole Republic, the dignity of the elective franchise, -- all alike demand that the still remaining bonds of ignorance shall be unloosed and broken, and the minds as well as the bodies of the emancipated go free.

Let us resolve, in this 200th year of our Nation's founding, that all of our people shall, indeed, "go free" -- that education in America shall become the finest in the world.

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

DINNER FOR CONGRESSMAN JACK BROOKS

Beaumont, Texas

October 15, 1975

In a little less than 13 months the American people will repudiate eight long years of Republican rule.

A Democrat will win in 1976 not because we have all of the solutions to our nation's problems -- not because we never have made mistakes -- and not because we can work miracles.

But a Democrat will win in 1976 because our Party is committed to what the American people expect and deserve from their leaders in government: fairness, compassion and courage to lead.

This Administration stands indicted as being the most unfair since the days of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover.

Why do I say this?

Because the working families of America have been made to bear the heavy burden of the worst recession since the Great Depression:

-- Eight million people have lost their jobs.

-- We have experienced the highest interest rates since the Civil War.

-- Millions of Americans have slipped into poverty as the number of poor has reached the 24 million mark.

-- And the purchasing power of the average working family has been eroded to the 1965 level.

Republican government has meant hardship for the majority and easy times for the lucky few.

This type of government is wrong.

It is unfair.

And it is bad economics.

Instead of working for a meaningful solution to our economic ills, the Ford White House now has proclaimed an economic recovery.

Yes, business profits are up, business inventories are climbing, and some big business prospects look better.

But what about people?

Is unemployment subsiding? Not really.

Has the threat of job loss disappeared? Not at all.

Is the purchasing power of the average American family increasing? Not if your wife and mine are having the same experience when they go into a supermarket.

Can your son or daughter afford a new house? Not very likely.

Are most families able to escape financial hardship when prolonged illness or disease strikes a family member? Not many.

When we can answer these questions with an affirmative YES -- then we can proclaim an honest-to-goodness recovery in America.

While the Democratic Congress has tried to ease the economic hardships which touch so many people, this President has responded time and time again to our efforts with his veto.

The President has said no to the American people 39 times in their hour of need.

This President has said:

- No to a jobs program
- No to the elderly
- No to better education
- No to hungry school children
- No to the sick
- No to more and better homes
- No to our farmers
- No to tax reform

The time has come for the American people to say NO to Jerry Ford on November 2, 1976.

In 14 months our nation has not received an action program from its President for economic recovery and reform.

Instead of action programs we have received a mountain of rhetoric which tries to explain away mismanagement, mistakes and mediocrity.

Yes, President Ford and Treasury Secretary Simon spend a good deal of their time defending what they have done in the name of old time Republican religion.

As they call for balanced budgets the President has the biggest budget deficit since World War II.

The plea for cutting government spending somehow never includes the defense budget.

While free enterprise is glorified, anti-trust regulation falters.

The Republican proponents of the work ethic are willing to let millions of Americans live on unemployment compensation -- but not for long -- instead of productive jobs.

And as the President attacks government regulations as he should, his cabinet officers sit idly by and let the executive branch regulators turn out a blizzard of them every day.

Things are really upside down in this Administration:

- We have high prices for oil and less money for school lunches.
- More loans to the Soviets and no help for our cities.
- Subsidized credit for exports and none for housing here at home.

The only way I can explain the upside-down nature of the Administration is to say that our President spent too many years playing center on his college football team. From that position, everything is upside down.

The Democrats of Texas and Democrats all across the land have two important jobs to do in the next thirteen months.

Our first task is to let the American people know that Republican politics as usual is not acceptable to the people of this nation. We must reject those who believe that by dividing they will conquer; by inaction they will succeed; by saying "no" they show strength; by pandering to the worst that is in us, they can win.

This is the politics of doubt, division and deceit. These are the tactics of small men who seek to pit country against city, rich against poor, black against white, and young against old.

The American people are too smart to accept this type of campaign strategy.

Our second job is to understand that Americans have become disenchanted not with just one party -- they have grown to distrust the entire political system -- Republicans and Democrats alike.

So our party must not simply call for jobs -- but it must show how to put people to work.

We must not simply call for tax reform -- but we must show how loopholes can be closed.

We must not simply call for controlling inflation -- but we must propose specific ways to combat inflation so that your earning power is not eroded.

Our party must not simply profess loyalty to the Constitution -- and the Bill of Rights -- but it must declare itself against the pervasive and deadly rage of government practices which strike at the heart of freedom.

Our Party must commit itself to the principle that the government is the servant, not the master of the American people.

We are the party of action.

We are the party of work.

We are the party of hope.

Let us unite. Together, we can win in 1976.

Together we can bring prosperity back to America.

We need a Democratic President to do this. We need a Democratic Congress with people like Jack Brooks to achieve these goals.

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