REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

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AFL-CIO RALLY

Washington, D.C.

April 26, 1975

Six years of disastrous Republican policies have derailed the nation's economy and thrown its working families into a ditch.

The miscalculations, mistakes, and misplaced priorities of the last two Republican Presidents have put more of our workers on the streets than at any time since the dreary days of the Great Depression. Republican economic mismanagement has given us the highest rate of unemployment in this nation in 34 years.

I wish I could tell you that I have all the answers, a magic formula, a fool-proof way of getting our economy back on the track and all of you back to work.

But I don't, and I won't deceive you. You've been taken for a ride too often in the past, and I won't build up false hopes just to see them dashed by the economic facts of life.

In its zeal to fight inflation, the White House and the Federal Reserve Board have thrown our economy into a deep ditch, and it will be a long, hard climb out.

However, we can do much more to create jobs and income now and speed recovery than the White House is willing to do.

This is no time for the half-hearted, traditional, donothing, trickle-down Republican economic policies. All this will do is subject our people to a serious unemployment recession for the rest of the decade.

The Employment Act of 1946 requires the Federal Government to "promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power." It was clearly recognized in that Act that maximum employment must be the central focus of our nation's economic policy.

This covenant with America's workers has been violated and this law of the land trampled upon.

Our nation must recommit itself to the goal and the promise of full employment, a job for every American who is willing and able to work.

Perhaps we would get bolder action and more compassion from this Administration if some of its top advisers had a little taste of unemployment themselves.

Perhaps then they would know what unemployment is.

-- It's drawing your last unemployment check with no job in sight.

-- It's sitting in the dark to save on the light bill.

-- It's making shoes last another month and driving on bald tires.

-- It's eating a little less so the kids can eat a little more.

-- It's facing eviction because you can't pay the rent or meet the mortgage.

--It's borrowing from your brother-in-law or letting your insurance lapse.

-- It's facing yourself in the mirror and asking "Why?" and "How much longer?"

-- It's wondering how a nation this rich, this enterprising, this great, can let more than 8 million Americans who want to work, and need to work, go without work.

No one who has known the social and personal tragedy of unemployment can agree with those who would fight other problems first.

But today, every proposal to move the economy ahead and create jobs is attacked by the White House as inflationary.

Such a response from this Administration should be no surprise. It is simply a replay of that incantation of Republicans over the years: "No, no, go slow, not now, veto."

We hear no cry of outrage from this Administration over the plight of the millions of Americans who have no job. Their cries of "horror" are reserved for the trouble the money market might experience in handling a large federal deficit.

This is a complete distortion of priorities, an abandonment of the unemployed, and a failure to understand what this nation is all about.

I'm concerned about the budget deficit, too. But there are some other deficits that "horrify" me even more:

-- I'm horrified by the employment deficit -- 8 million men and women out of work -- 1 million American dropouts from the labor force -- 3.5 billion Americans on part-time jobs, because they can't find full time work.

-- I'm horrified by our take-home pay deficit -- buying power of workers' paychecks has dropped all the way back to the 1964 level -- the average workweek has shrunk to 35.9 hours, its lowest level since the Depression.

-- I'm horrified by a real unemployment today of 11.7 percent, and growing.

-- I'm horrified by the \$1.5 trillion we will lose in paychecks, family incomes, production, and opportunity for our citizens in the next five years, because we could not operate our economy at anywhere near full employment.

-- I'm horrified by the housing deficit, the health care deficit, the educational opportunity deficit, and the quality of life deficit.

These are the deficits that plague the people of this country, and these are the deficits that should "horrify" all Americans -- including those in the White House.

We face a huge federal deficit in this country this year and next, not because we tried too hard to provide our citizens

with a better life, not because we put too many of our citizens to work, and not because we over-reached in terms of what our economy could produce.

No, we face large deficits today because this Administration has failed dismally to keep our nation at work. When you are unemployed, you don't pay taxes. When production is down, the tax revenues go down, too. And that is why we will have large deficits.

Unemployment and recession produce deficits, and the only way to balance the budget is to put America back to work. This must be the central goal of all our nation's economic policies today.

I know very well the dangers of too large a deficit and of double-digit inflation. But it is unfair, unjust and unthinkable that 10 million Americans should be asked to bear the entire burden of fighting inflation for our society by losing their jobs.

The depths of the current recession, the seriousness of the present economic crisis, require bold and creative initiatives. We cannot live with the Administration's plan. It accepts an unemployment rate of at least 6 percent for the rest of this decade. This is no time to listen to the quaking voices of the faint of heart.

While no action that we take is likely to restore the economy and jobs as rapidly as we want, every day we delay action costs millions of additional Americans their jobs.

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

First, we must take better care of the unfortunate victims of recession. This means both an extension of unemployment compensation and an increase in its level. Today the average weekly unemployment check is a mere \$65.61 a week -- a national disgrace. We must also provide an emergency program of health insurance for those who have lost coverage because they are now out of work.

Second, we cannot and will not scrimp on Social Security, on retirement benefits, or on food stamps as the President has proposed.

Third, we must get the economy moving again. And to do this:

-- We need a much expanded program of public service jobs capable of providing at least 1 million people with work, immediately.

-- We need an accelerated program of public works.

-- We need a major new housing program to cut interest rates to 6 percent and get hundreds of thousands of construction workers back on the job. There is no way out of a national recession while housing is in a depression.

-- We need to see to it that help is coming, and coming soon, from the federal government, to state and local governments facing a major fiscal crisis. They will be forced to drastically cut back on essential services or substantially increase taxes.

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-- We need to adopt a tough mandatory energy conservation program that will move us toward energy independence without deepening the recession.

-- And we need to enact a Congressional budget resolution that has room in it to finance these crucial programs -- a Congressional budget with compassion.

Fourth, tax cuts and spending programs will be useless if interest rates and credit policy in this country continue to be unresponsive to the needs of the nation. The policies of the Federal Reserve Board have been a major cause of the current recession. These policies must be changed, or the Federal Reserve Board itself must be changed.

Fifth, we must begin to do a much better job of planning for the future of our economy and for the wise use of our evermore limited resources. If we are to provide for a better life for all Americans in the years to come, we must begin to plan for it today.

Americans are learning a very bitter lesson from the economic catastrophe of the 1970's. It is a lesson we must never forget.

During the last year of the Johnson Administration, the unemployment rate was 3.6 percent. Today, it is 8.7 percent.

During the period 1960 to 1968, our economy grew at an average rate of 6 percent each year. Since the Republicans came to the White House, that rate has been cut by two thirds.

During the 60's, your real income grew by about 4 percent a year; in the 1970's it has slowed to half that rate.

In fact, only corporate profits have grown more in the 70's than in the 60's, and this should be no great surprise.

This lesson should be easy to learn. It should be registered on your minds as it has been on your paychecks.

These are troubled times for America. Tough times for its workers and their families.

We have some tremendous problems. But let us not overlook our equally great strengths.

We have the most highly trained and able workers in the world. And we have a democratic society that has been the envy of the world for almost two centuries.

That is why it is so frustrating to witness what is going on in America today -- the lost pride, the lost confidence and the dwindling hope.

We lack energy today, and that is serious. We lack jobs for our people, and that is shameful. But we also lack strong, effective, compassionate and progressive leadership, and that is dangerous. With it, problems can be boldly attacked; without it, we flounder around in dismay.

Congress must grab the torch and provide the progressive leadership that this nation so desperately needs today. We must either restore the policies of prosperity in the great tradition of Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, or we must reconcile ourselves to at least two more years with the nation adrift.

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EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY AFL-CIO RALLY, WASHINGTON, D. C. APRIL 26, 1975

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Republican economic mismanagement has given us the highest rate of unemployment in this nation in 34 years.

We can do much more to create jobs and income now and speed recovery than the White House is willing to do.

Perhaps we would get bolder action and more compassion from this Administration if some of its top advisers had a little taste of unemployment themselves.

It is unfair, unjust and unthinkable that 10 million Americans should be asked to bear the entire burden of fighting inflation for our society by losing their jobs.

We must get the economy moving again, and to do this we need:

--a much expanded program of public service jobs capable of providing at least one million people with work immediately;

--an accelerated program of public works;

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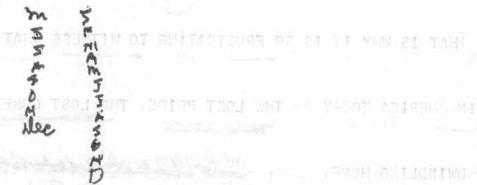
-13--- AND WE NEED TO ENACT A CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET RESOLUTION THAT HAS ROOM IN IT TO FINANCE THESE CRUCIAL PROGRAMS -- A CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET WITH COMPASSION america box PROGRAMS WILL BE USELESS IF TAX CUTS AND SPENDING BE UNRESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS OF THE NATION. THE POLICIES OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD HAVE BEEN A MAJOR CAUSE OF THE CURRENT RECESSION, THESE POLICIES MUST BE CHANGED, OR THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD ITSELF MUST BE CHANGED. WE MUST BEGIN TO DO A MUCH BETTER JOB OF PLANNI THE FUTURE OF OUR ECONOMY AND FOR THE WISE USE OF OUR EVERMORE LIMITED RESOURCES.

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