

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

MICHIGAN STATE AFL-CIO

SECOND BIENNIAL CENTURY CLUB DINNER

Southfield, Michigan

November 21, 1975

I'm glad to be back with you good friends here in Michigan, and my good friends in labor. I'm from Minnesota, and I'm not supposed to like Michigan until after the football season.

But I've always felt at home here, because I know that you and I share a common feeling. I know you understand, both in your daily lives and deep in you hearts, that work -- just plain, good, well-paid work -- is what this country is all about.

Work affects how we live with our families.

Work determines the quality of our lives and the depth of our self-respect.

Work shapes the future of our children.

And work is the single most pressing issue of our time.

But I am here today to tell you that there are people in high places in this government who do not understand that simple but profound fact.

Work means getting paid to put out a product. Everybody in this room knows that. But there are people in the White House who are getting paid well -- and they aren't turning out a product.

This Administration has a job to do. And the job description is written into the United States Constitution. It says that the President shall work with the Congress and "recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall deem necessary and expedient."

But let's take a look at the kind of work that's been turned out at the White House in the last 15 months.

We got 37 vetoes and a "WIN" button! Thirty-seven ways to say "no," and some kind of tin joke for Republican lapels. Now that just isn't in the job description.

If you were an employer looking over this fellow's work, you wouldn't hesitate for a minute. You'd shake your head and say, "No way! We're going to have to let this man go and get ourselves some skilled union labor in here."

You know that I'm for labor -- I always have been and I always will be. But I say we need a few layoffs around the White House.

And that's what I want to talk to you about today -- getting the leadership we need to put America back to work. And believe me, that problem isn't going to go away by itself.

Now, you read the papers and you've seen the figures. Industrial production is up, corporate profits are improving, inventories are being liquidated, and all the rest of it. Based on this, the Administration comes along and tells us that the recession is over, that "prosperity" is just over the horizon.

Well, let me tell you -- there may be some improvement underway, but the horizon for a strong and durable "peoples recovery" is awfully far away.

The truth is that this period of economic stagnation is far from over. The hole is deeper than they think.

By next June, projections show that we still will have 20 percent or more of our plant and equipment idle -- one fifth of America's productive capacity just lying there waiting to work.

We still will have almost eight percent unemployment. And we will have hundreds of thousands of high school, college and trade school graduates streaming out of the classrooms and into a pitiful job market with virtually no opportunity for decent employment.

No, this period of tragic economic stagnation is nowhere near over.

The terrible loss of manpower and productivity, the incredible forfeit of \$300 billion in lost incomes over the last two years, the outright and inexcusable waste of American skill and know-how, and the frightening increase in crime -- these are not over, and they cannot be over, until we realize that it all comes down to work.

Not welfare, not planned unemployment to reduce inflation, not the check at the unemployment line -- no, nothing but productive work at a meaningful wage is going to get this country moving again.

If the fellow next to you is earning an income, no matter how small, he can buy a little of your product. And when he does, you make a little more, and so you can buy some of his product, and so on down the line. That's the way you keep an economy healthy -- you know it and I know it.

You don't do it by telling a man that he's out of work in order to keep inflation down, or by giving him a little check to keep him quiet for a while. That kind of thinking is not only callous, not only wasteful -- but it can be very dangerous as well.

Because a person who is kept out of work not only loses his skills -- he loses the habit of work, and with it his hope. And believe me, when that happens, crime figures rise.

Moreover, it is possible, if present policies continue, that an enormous number of our young people actually will grow to maturity without every having held a job, permanently scarred by bitterness and despair.

What a colossal failure that would be.

What a terrible betrayal of everything this country stands for.

What a travesty of democracy and economic justice.

And make no mistake -- that awful waste of human lives will be on the conscience of those leaders who gave them no hope.

But the American people are not going to tolerate a tragedy like that. You and I are not going to let this great nation, which took two hundred years to build, fall to pieces because of our leaders' neglect.

We are going to find new leaders who will give the people hope.

We are going to find leaders who understand the simple truth that Americans want to work, who understand that a welfare check or an unemployment line is no substitute for a salary, no substitute for the pride and self-respect that come from a job well-done.

We have the means at hand, and we can get started now.

We can get this Administration to accept the will of Congress and extend last year's tax cut. Not only will this create more jobs in the private sector -- where most of our citizens ought to be employed -- but it also will keep your taxes from going up on January 1st.

America's working families cannot afford a tax hike in 1976. Short hours, lay-offs, and inflation have battered your budgets enough -- you don't need to have the Federal Government help with the beating.

We can remind the Federal Reserve Board that they are public servants whose job is to promote the well-being of all the American people and not just a handful of big bankers. We can tell them that this country is crying for credit, for new investment and expansion, and that interest rates have to go down and stay down if prosperity is going to go up and stay up.

And we can act now to rescue our depressed housing industry.

The truth is that the Russians and Rumanians pay less interest on their loans from this country than you or I pay to buy a house. This is the kind of distorted priority this Administration accepts.

So they have to be told that a person who works hard all his life has a right to buy his own home at a reasonable interest rate -- and we can do that through the Federal Housing Bank I have proposed. If we can provide big business with 6 percent money for the Rumanians, we can do the same for our own peoples' housing.

We can enact a meaningful public service jobs program and an emergency public works program. Not a bureaucratic monster, not a 20 year make-work package, but a genuinely productive program to take care of some of our most important -- and visible -- problems.

You don't need to be an ecologist or an engineer to see that we need to rebuild our cities, vast areas of them. In Washington, D.C. alone, we have enough work to do -- real, solid, lasting work -- to employ thousands of those now on unemployment compensation. And the cities and towns of Michigan also have many urgent needs.

We need to get those public service jobs rolling. We need to get our young people off the streets and on the job building and beautifying America -- there is so much to be done. And we need to do it before it's too late, before they drop out of the system in disgust.

Finally, we need to think ahead to the future of employment in this country. In the long run, we are going to have to find a way to guarantee a productive job to every American who is willing and able to work -- nothing less is worthy of our efforts, and nothing less will make this country great again.

These are good ideas, sound ideas, ideas that can go a long way toward putting America back to work. But they are just that -- ideas -- until we get the leadership we need to get the job done.

We are at a crossroads of crisis -- not just in our economy, but in our national spirit. The people are growing impatient. They are demanding to be heard, and they will not be denied. They have put up with a Nixon-Ford Administration which for seven long years has told them: "We know what you need -- now sit down and don't bother us." And they will put up with it no longer.

They are asking why we the people -- the worker, the farmer, the builder and the small businessman -- have to reach a condition of dire emergency before the Administration will listen.

They are asking how men who put their hands on a Bible and swore to work for the public good can turn their backs on the people whom they have sworn to serve.

They are asking why the man who holds the highest office in this land doesn't look out across the nation, at the length and breadth of its problems, at its cities in disrepair and its factories idle, at its jobless workers and its desperate young people and say "There is an enormous job to be done here, one of the biggest jobs we've every faced. Let's get to work!"

We have had men like that before. Men who were great leaders because they were good listeners, because they knew that we needed a new sense of hope and a new sense of purpose. Men who knew that the government is the servant of the people rather than their master. You and I know their names. Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, Johnson.

And the Democratic party still embodies that spirit. Believe me, it is more important than ever, in this hour of crisis, that we put the party of the people back to work for the people. It is more important than ever, for the fate of our society and our standard of living, that we put a Democrat in the White House next year.

You and I know what we have to do. We see that the job is there to be done. Now let's get out there and get to work.

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SPEECH BY SENATOR HUMPHREY  
ON NOVEMBER 21, 1975  
TO  
MICHIGAN STATE AFL-CIO  
SECOND BIENNIAL CENTURY CLUB DINNER

Bill. I want to thank you very much. For awhile I though you were getting so bipartisan that you were going to present Jerry Ford. You notice that when he made that announcement that I did sit down but I am very honored to be presented to this great audience by you, Bill Marshall, a wonderful, personal friend over a long period of time representing truly a great labor movement here in the state of Michigan. But I do have to take exception to what Walter Campbell had to say here. Walter, you got up here and put my friend Dave Rowe in second position. Now isn't it possible to have people have equal rights. (Laughter) And equal billing in here tonight. I am very pleased that David Rowe and Audrey, two very dear and personal friends of Hubert and Muriel Humphrey, are here tonight. I couldn't be happier in the knowledge of the fact that they have journeyed this distance to share this time with us because they're not only leaders in our state, Dave is not only the president of our AFL-CIO, but to put it bluntly, he's very prejudice towards me because we're pals. And that's the way I like it. That sure makes me feel good.

I'm going to tell Dick Novack down here not to cheer until I give you the sign, Dick.

these Bohemians get a little out of hand

You just stay there in the state, county, municipal employees.

They do get a little, they get a little rambunctious. No, I'll give you the word and when I go like that you go. (Laughter)



Walter, you like Dave Rowe and Bill and others, out-married yourself. You have a nice girl with no name in South Dakota and (unintelligible)

We should say a word of greetings. We're honored tonight to have the Chief Justice of your State Supreme Court here. My very good and long-time personal friend. It's good to call him Judge and Justice but I always think of him as "Governor" Williams. I always think of him as my friend "Soapy" Williams.

It is almost like a family reunion. I've been in Michigan so many times that some of you must say "Does he have to come once more?" but I haven't been here for sometime and when Bill called me and asked me if I could make this meeting, I said that I would be happy to do so. Mrs. Humphrey is not sure that I am showing the kind of judgment that a man ought to have even to serve as a United States Senator much less anything else and wonders why I didn't stay home this evening and I want you to tell her that it was only because of your insistence, Bill, that you threatened me and you can keep going with that. I want you to back me up on this. I need your help.

Tom Turner . I'm glad that. Did you speak before I did? (Yes, I did) Well, I tell you they got the best message of the night. I know that. He's an old friend and Tom and I shared the platform together. I was met at the door by Sheriff Lucas and I wasn't quite sure what that meant. I did appreciate it very,

very much. He's friendly. I come here to see my good friend the Mayor of Detroit, Mayor Coleman Young. And Coleman you have been to Washington to testify before our committees and I want everybody to know here that he has made a tremendous impression. He really has carried the message of his city and of our cities to the people of the Congress of the United States and if more people would listen to what Coleman has to say and his associates who are mayors of these great cities, I don't think that we'd be in the fix that we find ourselves in today in some many of our metropolitan areas.

Frank Kelley. When Frank, and Governor Williams and I were standing up here I said "Here we go again. It's just like old times." It's just wonderful to be in such good company and to come here at some tables and see Dick Austin, your Secretary of State. And these are friends. I mention them, which I generally don't do, because it is a great mistake for a man in public life to start naming people because you always leave somebody out. But I do this because they mean so much to me. And I look down here and I see all of our friends here from the congressional delegation and I want to tell you that you couldn't have a better one. These are your friends. These people labor for you. Some of them have walked the extra mile for me and I know they'll forgive me if don't start picking and selecting, but you know how much it has meant to me over the years. And I'm an old fashioned fellow. I stick with those who stuck with me. That's why I'm here with you tonight.

I note the legislature is well represented here. I spoke to your majority leader. I just want to say my son served (s?) in the state legislature and I keep writing him notes every one in a while reminding him, and I'm sure our friends in the labor movement will be pleased to know that I reminded him that when the chips are down, after some of these sunshine patriot friends have left him, that he'll stay with the labor movement, that he'll have friends that will stay with him and he's a young man and like many other young men and women, we learn our lessons the hard way. We're all alike. None of us went through this business without having to get touched up as we went along the way. And one of the reasons that I feel that as a free spirit, and I said I really feel a free spirit, and that is why I am not and don't want to be a candidate. I want to tell it like I see it. I want to say it like I feel it. And I want people to listen if they will, and if they don't, I'm going to say it anyhow. Well, Margaret, did I say that right? Believe me, we rehearsed this whole thing on the plane all the way. I tried to get Al Barker to raise the pay right out in San Francisco. I looked right George Meany and I said "This poor fellow Al Barker is underpaid." I tell you, to negotiate with Meany I know how the bosses feel. You just don't make much progress on his terms. But I'm here to tell you that we need your help and COPE. And we're going to need it more this year than ever before. There was recently a ruling by the Federal Elections Commission that can spell some trouble. Now, I don't want to make any accusations and I don't know what people will do in these political campaigns, but I know that COPE does



one thing which we've been reminded of from the day of Samuel Gompers. Reward your friends and punish your enemies. Or put it frankly, back the people that help you and COPE while it is not a political organization in terms of a political party because it hasn't backed all democrats. It's pretty good. It's batting average is all right. It's as good as Michigan's University average is at least in football and that's about all you're going to get out of me, folks. After all, why should I be for either one of those teams. They walloped Minnesota, both of them. And in this country I can only hardly say a word about the Vikings, knowing what's coming up with the Detroit Lions. I wish you well. We'll have the hospital unit ready for you. But, honestly, Friends, in all seriousness now. Let's not take anything for granted. This can be a great year politically for America because I believe that there are people that are going to seek your support. That know that America's at the crossroads of whether we are really going to move ahead as this Nation ought to or whether we're going to sort of just stand and ultimately retreat. Stand there just treading water and sinking. I truly believe that 1976, in this coming year of 1976, is as important for the future freedom and opportunity of America as 1776. We've got a lot of old Tories around right now and some of them are going to be out there seeking your support and seeking to support the American people. There are people today who have in all modern political terms very much the attitude of George III who would not listen to the grievances

of the people. And remember this, that the Declaration of Independence was essentially a petition to the king of England, a petition of grievances, and the American people all over this land are petitioning the President of the United States, governors, and mayors, and the Congress of the United States, and legislators, with a petition of the list of grievances that they have and I hope and pray that some of us will have the spirit of '76 that Dave Rowe spoke of here and remember that what we fought for in 1776 was simply the right to life, the right to liberty to chose our course, and the right to pursue happiness and you can't do that, ladies and gentlemen, when you're out of a job, when you're on the welfare rolls, when you're afraid you're going to lose your job, when you sons and daughters can't afford to buy a house for their little families. Those things, and while they are material, they also represent some of the hopes and dreams of America in terms of a job, in terms of home, in terms of an education, in terms of health. We're fighting today for our Declaration of Independence. Independence from the fear of unemployment, independence from the cruel erosion of inflation, independence, if you please, for billions of people from the ugliness of poverty, independence from racism and discrimination. People are still fighting. And what we've got to do is choose up sides. Some people are the Tories of 1976. Some people are the Jeffersons and the John Adams and the different ones and John Hancocks and the others. Those 56 that signed that Declaration of Independence. And I ask this group in here to be the conscience of American politics. You don't need any special favors. You've never really

asked for them. You've asked for one thing only. The right to bargain. The right to be able to bargain collectively. The right to organize. The right to represent workers. And that's a legitimate right. After all, the Constitution talks about a more perfect union.

corporation, did it? Well, true, I know that's said in somewhat in jest, but it's also said in truth, because the labor movement in this country over the years, and we forget it, some of us forget it, and some of our young people forget it. This movement fought for the right to public education way back when. Oh, they say well there he goes again with that old history. Listen! Those who do not learn their history will have to learn, will relive it, will have to live it, so to speak. If you forget the lessons of history, you will have to relive the whole experience. This labor movement has fought for things that mean something to the families of America and I speak of the families of America. Let's talk about ourselves as people, as families, as homes, as individuals, households. We fought for workmen's compensation. There wouldn't be any if it hadn't been for the labor movement. There wouldn't be any social security if it hadn't been for the labor movement. There wouldn't have been a thousand and one things. There wouldn't be public education, as I said. There wouldn't be great research programs in health if it were not for the support of the labor movement. I won't say you did it all alone, but you were the cutting edge. You dared to try. You were the first to speak out. And I want you to be the first again. Now they're going to tell us alot, "Welllll, it's all that old stuff. I've been reading that junk in the papers lately."

I read in the paper that what this country needs is a new face. Well, I've seen alot of new faces and all that was behind it was teeth and some of those were false. The country doesn't need a new face. It needs a new spirit. It needs a new insight. It needs some new ideas, and it needs to keep the good ones we had in the past and make them work. And there is no better idea than has been expressed in the great documents of our history. The documents of our God given rights. And those God given rights do not permit the abuses of power on the part of government. People who think they're the masters rather than the servants. Those God given rights of life, and liberty, and the pursuit of happiness cannot be abused by the FBI, or IRS, or the CIA without violating everything that this country stands for. We have a message in our Constitution that is as progressive and forward looking in 1975 and 76 as it was in 1789. "We the people." That's what it's all about. Not just some people. We the people. And that includes us all. That includes those that are fortunate and those that are unfortunate. That includes those that are educated and those that are not. It includes white, black, brown, red, whatever it may be. It includes management and labor. It includes all of us--just "We the people". And the whole purpose of government is justice. That's the very first phrase after we talk about holding together our society as a more perfect union of peoples and states. What's the purpose of it all. Justice. Is it just when some people are denied even a chance to live? I don't think so. Is it just when some people are told that way to break the back of inflation is for you to lose your job. I

don't think so. Is it just that some people can live in luxury and yet the law and the money interest rates are stacked up so that you can't afford even to have a decent little home? I don't think so. So you see that word justice means exactly what it says -- fair play -- not special privilege just fair play. And the next thing we were assured was that domestic tranquility, and that doesn't mean apathy or indifference. It means harmony. It means that we should learn to live together, black and white, rich and poor, urban and rural, and the real test of our domestic tranquility is in our cities. Anyone that seeks to govern this nation must understand the social ferment that's in our cities. Coleman, that is no doubt the most important thing that any man that seeks to be leader of this country must know because our cities today represent the great complexity of American life. They represent the true challenges of American life. It's all there condensed. It's all there in its explosive power. And yet, it's all there in its beauty. The cities which have problems today also have the great cathedrals, the great hospitals, the great office buildings, the great parks, the museums, the orchestras. They have the best and the worst. And it is imperative that those who seek to lead us whatever position understand urban life and understand that if America's cities decay, rot from within, America will rot. And I'm hear to tell you what people told you time in and time out. Yes, we always need to be alert to the dangers from without because even the Constitution says in its Preamble



"to provide for the common defense". Right after it assured us domestic tranquility and we need to be strong and we need to know that we live in a world of reality. I believe in detente, but without illusions. I don't believe that we live in a world in which people are sweet and lovely today in which power hungry dictators are going to just be nice like they're somehow or other your favorite little kitten. Not at all. They are hungry tigers with long claws and teeth and we have to be prepared and strong, but, the real threat to the security of America today is within. And it's the corrosiveness. It is the erosion that's taking place with the heart and the core of many of our great cities. Crime rate. The disenchantment. The frustration. The ugliness of slums. The deterioration of streets. The breakdown of public services. And what is this Administration's answer to all of this. More of it. And the Administration, if you please, that comes before my committee and I've been there all afternoon seeking \$5 billion in supporting assistance for the Middle East for some of the countries that have been our, that have caused us nothing but trouble. That have compelled us pour out our Treasury. And yet dear friends that same Administration that comes there before this committee and proposes loans and grants, grants free of charge, loans at 2 percent interest with thirty to forty years to pay, will say to 8 million fellow Americans in New York that you'd better wait and shape up. We're not ready yet to help you. And the answer is to lay off people. Lay them off. The workers have got it too good. Cut down their pensions. Lay them off. At the very time that they say, that we know that unemployment is our

number one problem, and the Administration pursues the course of the largest city in this land, compelling them to layoff 75 thousand people and then they come charging in with a little old program of 16,000 un . We're really mad. And I want to tell you as I said from the platform that we come and ask for help and I'd like a way like Charlie Gates is down here. I look at my partner down here. We serve on the Joint Committees on Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations. We believe in foreign assistance. We know that we must help others. But, ladies and gentleman, do you think anybody in the world is really going to believe that we're helping them because we really want to help if we reject our own. It isn't New York City that's been badly governed. Every country that we are helping today is badly governed, without exception. I could take you down the list of those countries and there isn't hardly one of them that's got a freely elected government. Most of them, their leaders shot their way in power or connived their way in. Everyone of them are poorly governed, but we don't say to them "Now, you shape up before you get some help". No, we say "We got to help you so you will shape up". Well, all I can say is that what's good for them is good for my fellow Americans in the state of New York and the city of New York, the city of Detroit, or any place else.

Now, I'm not one that just goes around and feels that there is an unlimited pot of gold. I don't believe that. I've worked too hard to believe that. I believe that what people want is to go to work. And this Administration, believe it or not,

is seven years of Mr. Nixon and now Mr. Ford. They believe that we can get by by having a large number of people that never go to work. Not that they don't want to. But because that there is no effort made to see that they get there. And you leave people out of work long enough and they won't want to go to work. You let American youth grow up where they've never ever had a chance for constructive work, where they've never known the discipline of work, where they've never known the rewards of work, and they won't work. Is there any wonder that there is disenchantment, as they say, particularly among young people. I'll tell you why because they don't. People today feel that no one's listening. Or if they're listening, they are paying no attention. And I think that's true. I said to the AFL-CIO when I was in San Francisco that I happened to believe, and I suppose it's because I'm a participant but I also am an observer of the political scene and I've been on it a long time, that I really believe that if we Democrats, I've got to speak now to my party--I know this isn't a Democractic rally even though I'd like to make it one if I could, but I know it isn't--but if we Democrats use any sense at all, we could win in 1976. I really believe that we can, not because we have all the answers, not because we've got some magic formula, and not because we've always done the right thing, but I think that there is enough people that we believe that we really care, that we listen, that we're willing to try. And I grew up, yes, under the tutelage of a Franklin Roosevelt and under

the guidance of a Harry Truman and under the inspiration of a John Kennedy and under the discipline of a Lyndon Johnson.

I'd be the last person to tell you that we, that everything that we did was right, but I'll tell you this, we tried. We weren't afraid to try. We dared. And that is exactly the way this country was built. The story of the American Revolution and the 200 years of our history is three things: pioneering, be willing to try, daring adventure, like Roosevelt said "We'll try. If it doesn't succeed, we'll try again, but above all, we'll try". Didn't pass out "Win" buttons. We dared to try. We tried a lot of things. Some of them didn't work. Some of them did. And when the people of American cried out this man listened and he talked to them too. He didn't run around to a fund raiser every night. He sat there in the White House in the Oval Room where a president ought to be. He talked to the nation. He restored our confidence. He let my mother and father know that somebody was listening. He let the young people know that somebody was listening. No, I don't say that those programs we had then should be revived or that they're all perfect, but I'll tell you something, it was a whole lot better to have a half a million, yes a million, young Americans in the Civilian Conservation Corps than to have a million in jail.

The biggest public construction program in America today is filling jails and prisons. Doesn't that tell you something?

Doesn't it tell you that when people are in distress that they do crazy things? And yet we have people who say well, that's what we've got to go through, this is the market working its will. The free market working its will. Well, I've noticed that the free market's been working its will all right, prices have been going up, when there has been no labor contracts that have caused those prices to go up, no excess demand to cause those prices to go up. They are adjusted prices, administered prices. And I don't even blame some of those that took them because they too are uncertain, they don't know what the law's going to offer. And if they can't sell too many, if they can't sell a number of things, what few they sell they've got to get more out of it. Low production and low demand are inflationary. But going back to my theme, we dare to try in this country. That's what the first thing, the relevance of the earliest days of this republic pioneering, adventure, daring to try. What's the second thing? Optimism. Why, good Lord, those fellows that fought that revolution against the British and the hirelings and those special hired soldiers that they had in those days. They had to have courage. They had to have optimism. All the odds were against them. The most powerful nation in the world was against them. But they were optimistic. How did we conquer this continent, by going around in ashes and sackcloth and wringing our hands and saying we don't dare get beyond the Appalachians? Not at all. We had people who dared to venture. In the days of Thomas Jefferson the Lewis and Clark expedition went clear out into the great midwest of America.



Later on, the people in the covered wagons across the plains and the deserts and the mountains. We said we could do it. That's the way we won two wars. That's the way we split the atom. Einstein said it could be done, theoretically. Roosevelt said, "Do it." And we did it. That's the way we put a man on the moon. The Russians were almost a decade ahead of us in space exploration. John Kennedy said, "This is enough of that. We're gonna do it." And he said in the decade of the 60's, we will launch a man from earth and put him on the moon and bring him back safely. And we did it. And by the way my fellow Americans, I was in Moscow on the day that Neil Armstrong put his foot down on the moon. I was with Kosygin in the Kremlin. And that nation didn't dare broadcast to its people what we'd done. And do you know that right from the Kremlin I called the American Embassy and they relayed the message from Mr. Kosygin and Hubert Humphrey to the man on the moon and the person in the space capsule to congratulate them. I saw his face. I saw the members of their Central Committee. And they said to themselves, "My, God, these Americans, these crazy mixed-up Americans, they made up their mind that they could do it and they did it." That did more for world peace than other negotiations that we've had. Make no mistake about it. That did it. They knew then that what we made up our mind to do we could do. We were optimistic. We did what people thought was impossible. That's the difference. That's the margin of difference. Anybody can do what's possible. It's what impossible according to some that's done that separates the great from the mediocre.

The last thing about our whole history is that we accommodate ourselves. The Constitution itself was a compromise.

The labor movement negotiates a contract. The give and take of it. Today we've got people in politics that are way over there and some way over there and they'll kill everybody else in between. Totalization of politics. We can't let that happen. Those that are in between have got to have enough sense to carry out the political process.

Now we've been told of late that all of these programs that we've been knowing, some of us in this room, are no good. I want to repeat to you that I recognize they need improvement and some of them may have outlived their usefulness, like anything else. But I also want to remind you that without them this country would be in a depression. Without them, Coleman Young, your streets would be on fire. Without them, there'd be revolution in this country. Because it is social security and it is food stamps and it is unemployment compensation and it is jobs and it is the community action programs and the other things today that hold us together even so little, but yet enough. They may have been the great stabilizers. Our job is recognize that these are but temporary measures that we have to build on. But I'm not going to be conned into casting aside all that I've worked for 30 years of my life in order to please a columnist. And every day I read that you know we've got to make sure that we don't have people around that are all hung up on the new deal and the fair deal and the new frontier and the great society. The next thing they're going to say and if they had any guts they'd say it, that we're not going to have any people around that believe in the Declaration of Independence and those Constitution cause

those are older than the new deal. No, my friends, what they're really trying to do is this; they would like to say to Coleman Young, "Mayor of Detroit, you take care of the problems."

There's a big con game going on in this country and it's as old as I can remember. Who's going to pay the taxes? Who's going to pay the bill? And we've got a lot of people today that say that these programs of this so-called Democratic progressive programs all the days of Roosevelt up to Lyndon Johnson - that they're too costly, they don't work and we ought to get rid of them. And that simply means that you'd ease the problems, you don't get rid of the problems you know, you'd lead the old people, the sick people, the juveniles that are trouble, all of the problems are left to state and local government. And that means that they'd got to be paid for by sales taxes, by property taxes, and by confiscatory state income taxes. I don't know about Michigan but I know about Minnesota. We can't tax Exxon in Minnesota. We can't tax ITT in Minnesota. We can't tax the great multinational corporations in Minnesota. We can't tax the conglomerates in Minnesota. But we can tax them in Washington and they know it. And they've got even some Democrats running around talking as if somehow or another what we ought to do is turn back the pages of history and get the federal government out of all of this they say. All right, dear friends, if that's what you want, they you pay for the food stamps by your sales tax because somebody's got to eat. Let them tell the people that they shall pay for the social security out of sales taxes and property taxes. Oh, no, friends, they don't want to be put on the spot but they will be cause I'm going to be around to put them on

the spot. Make no mistake about that. Don't let them fool you because this is what the struggle is all about. All this other stuff is rhetoric. Now I happen to believe that many of these programs could be administered very well at home. I believe that we can do a much better job of administration. It's a question of how do we share the costs. And that's what the big newspaper ads are about. That's what the talk is about. And I want to warn every Democrat that's in this audience and every candidate, let's not get sucked in. Now I've been reading the papers lately that we got full recovery. If you don't believe it why you just listen to Bill Simon. I listened to him this morning, the Secretary of Defense , or you listen to Gerald Ford. He went over to Paris and he announced that we had recovery. Well, I'm sure you're glad to hear it. I wouldn't doubt for a minute that it's better than it was. Good Lord, I hope so. We have had the longest recession since the great depression, the deepest recession since the great depression. We've had double digit inflation and high unemployment and recession all at the same time. You've really got to be something to work that in. It's the first time it's ever happened in our history. It may be there is a better inventory situation. I know that profits are up, thank goodness. I know that there is some better employment but there's still 8% unemployed. We're still operating at 69% of plant capacity - 69% - 31% of the tools of American are idle. What we have is some recovery for some but no people recovered. The American working family today has just the purchasing power<sup>of what</sup> he had in 1965. You have been treading water for

ten years and losing, using up savings. We have lost approximately \$300 billion in the last two years of lost incomes because of unemployment. We will lose a trillion, five hundred billion dollars by 1980 of lost income now in which there can be no nobody can buy anything, nobody can do anything. I just happen to believe, friends, that we can do better. So when I hear about recovery I am reminded of what's going on. Unemployment at 8% yet inflation running at the rate of over 10% yet, in the last four months the wholesale price index has been running at approximately 13% higher than a year ago. The remedy to all this is not more unemployment and it really is not unemployment compensation. The remedy is in jobs. J-O-B-S, jobs. And we've got an administration today that doesn't seem to understand that. Well, I think there's one way to get them to understand. There's only way you can ever feel and understand unemployment. That's to lose your job. And I've got a program for that filed with right now.

finalize this people are going to say well, Humphrey, you've said it all up here about what's wrong, what can we do about it? Well, we can do a lot about it. First thing is, we need to take a look at what are our needs. Now I know you can't do everything at once. People don't expect that. But they want to know that we have a program of action. They want to have some sense of hope. People know that you don't win a war in a day but they want to believe that you have a battle plan. You can be behind in a football game, two touchdowns in the first half, but if you feel you have a program that the coach and the players feel they got a game plan that can win they go on out and try to win. We've got



a crowd around here now that simply says that the only game plan is to just let nature take its course. If you have inflation, bleed the patient. Inflation is like the fever, just go bleed the patient. That's the way George Washington died, you know. Back in the late 1700's and they used to have what they called the bleeders. And if my friends are here from the barbers' union, that's where they got the barber pole. They ought to put a barber pole up in front of the Treasury Department and the White House. These are 18th century doctors for a 21st century problem. We need to do research just like the medical profession does in what to do. And there are things that/ <sup>can be done.</sup> Oh they say it's the deficit. What's a deficit do to you? A deficit is nothing more or less than the arithmetical tabulation of the danger of the type of economy that's responsible . There wouldn't be deficits if we had income. Every 1% of unemployment costs the federal treasury \$18 billion. If we could reduce unemployment 3% from 8% down to 5% you could have this budget practically in balance. And 5% unemployment, that shouldn't be too difficult. Unemployment in 1969 stood at less than 4%. In Western Europe when France got an unemployment rate of 4% the president declared a national emergency, the president of France. The Federal Republic of Germany has an unemployment today of 5.1% and it's a national emergency. The president of the United States has an unemployment rate of over 8% and goes to Paris and proclaims we have recovery.

There's a reason for it. You don't get the feel of people by just going to the plush places. I like the good places,

I'm a very normal person. I like to come to , the pent-houses, but I tell you if you're going to be a public servant you better also walk in the deserts. And in the ghettos and out on the farms and in the villages. You'd better see what's going on in this country. And you don't find that in Vail. And you won't find it, dear friends, in a Republican fund-raiser. You're going to have to go on out and walk with the people, talk with the people, feel the people, sense their agony and their concern. A lot of people, of course, have not agonies, they just have concerns, particularly middle Americans and we need to let them know that we care. And we could do it. We ought to announce as a national policy, not as a little <sup>gimmick</sup> / that this nation is dedicated <sup>year</sup> between now the / 1980 and give us some time, that's a long time, we dedicate ourselves to a program that will bring full employment. That we will guarantee a job to every person that wants a job that's physically and mentally capable of holding a job. We can do it.

Now, dear friends, if we were in a war, and you know this would be done, you think anybody would be standing around saying but you know in order to win the war we've got to have 8% unemployment. We're in a war, a war for survival, believe me we are. You think we can go on piling up public debts like we're doing. We're going to have a public debt at the end of this coming fiscal year of over \$600 billion. The interest on that debt will be \$50 billion. Now, I am concerned about debts too, but the answer to it is not to let things fall apart but put things together. That's the answer

to it. Get the Federal Reserve Board to join the team for a change. Let them understand that they're responsible to Congress. And I'd introduce some legislation to see that the labor movement of Governors gets somebody on the board/ You haven't had anybody on there, you haven't even painted the building, you don't know what it looks like. And it controls your life. The Federal Reserve Board is for the American patient like the blood bank. It determines whether you're going to live or die. And we've turned it over to a handful of people who are competent, who are decent, who are honorable, but who do not understand all that goes on in this republic. There hasn't been a farmer on that Federal Reserve Board since the 1930's. There's never been a labor man on the Federal Reserve Board. There hasn't been a small businessman, at least in 25-30 years. That's why the interest rates are not adjusted to what we need and the credit availability. And if you have interest rates down and credit available you'd be selling automobiles, you'd be building homes, you can't build a home under the present rates and you know it. There'll be no way out of this recession until we get the housing business back and I told you before and I repeat it again because it's not a fantasy. If we can loan money and we're doing it right now over in Rumania, don't misunderstand me, I'm glad we're doing it, the Rumanians take an independent position from the Soviet Union, even though it's a Communist state. The Nixon administration and the Ford administration came to Congress and wanted us to loan billions of dollars to the Soviet Union at 6 and 7%. And not once did they ever say that was inflationary.

Not once did they say that that was subsidy. Not once they said it was good for us. So I go to Congress and say, let's have a housing bank that will see to it that you and your family and your kids can build a home at interest rates not over 7 and preferably at 6% interest. Right there we are.

I just want you to know what the facts are. I've been in Washington and in public life 30 years. I will have been in Washington and serving in the Congress some 22 years at the end of my term. I may not know all the answers but I know where the people are who louse up the works, I'll tell you that. Now what do we need? We need a revival of our spirit. Oh, they say well, that's just talk. No, it isn't. If you don't want to win, you can't win. If you don't believe, you can't win. If you don't have a sense of confidence it all falls apart. Confidence and trust and faith are the cement that holds this country together. And when people have no faith and no trust they all build up their own little bunker. They all take care of themselves because nobody else is there to help them. And I want our country to have a feeling of responsibility first for ourselves so that then we can fulfill our responsibilities to others. The labor movement has understood the word 'solidarity'. I've been to all the union meetings and I carry a union card. I was a teacher education. I helped organize the American Federation of Teachers. And I'm here to tell you that the secret of the labor movement is competence, unity, solidarity, position, program, and you stand together, you respect each others pickets. And if you don't you're done. And America has got to have that same feeling of solidarity.

And it's got to have leadership that will rally us. The presidency of the United States is not the same as being the head of a bank, important as that may be. The Presidency is an office and the White House as an institution is the focal point of the moral power of this country. It has to be an institution of education and persuasion. It has to announce high goals and ideals and the man that occupies that office has to be like Teddy Roosevelt said. He must be one that occupies a bully pulpit. That makes your blood tingle, that makes you feel you can do anything that needs to be done. And as Woodrow Wilson said you have to also look upon the White House as the nation's classroom and the man who occupies it as the nation's teacher. Put together the inspiration of Teddy Roosevelt and the education of Woodrow Wilson and you get what the presidency ought to have. And I want to tell you Congress of the United States alone can't do this job. Five Hundred and thirty-five members -- it needs leadership in the Congress and from the White House. It needs a sense of direction and today America is like a ship at sea, storm tossed without either a captain or a rudder and we wonder what's wrong. This country is full of vitality and you and I know it. Its bubbling over, its anxious to get going. They know that we've got to do better. Everybody I talk to when I go out they say can't we get a hold of something, Humphrey? Isn't there something that people can outline for us so that we can do. People every where in America are anxious to move. We've got people today that constantly say to us "Whoop, wait a minute". They haven't got the red light on, they've got the caution light on and they've got their foot on the brake and then occasionally put the foot on the gas but they never take



their foot off the brake and they wonder why they don't get some place. I say to you that the time is over for an attitude that says no, no and the time is at hand for a voice and an attitude that says go, go. Thank you.

Walter Campbell (Per) multibank

(X) President Bill Marshall

"Took the Bus"

~~Chief Justice~~ Giles Cavanaugh

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

(X) Gov William J. Nancy

MICHIGAN STATE AFL-CIO

(X) David Roe & Audrey

SECOND BIENNIAL CENTURY CLUB DINNER

✓ Al Barkan - Mr COPE

SOUTHFIELD, MICHIGAN

✓ Tom Turner

NOVEMBER 21, 1975

(X) Wick  
NOVAK

State County  
Municipal  
Workers

Mending  
Congress  
& Legislation

✓ Shirley Lucas  
Maynard Young

Frank Kelly (Atty Gen)  
Wick Austin (lect States)

# not a Candidate

I'M GLAD TO BE BACK WITH YOU GOOD FRIENDS HERE IN MICHIGAN,  
AND MY GOOD FRIENDS IN LABOR. I'M FROM MINNESOTA, AND I'M NOT  
SUPPOSED TO LIKE MICHIGAN UNTIL AFTER THE FOOTBALL SEASON.

L BUT I'VE ALWAYS FELT AT HOME HERE, BECAUSE I KNOW THAT  
YOU AND I SHARE A COMMON FEELING. I KNOW YOU UNDERSTAND, BOTH  
IN YOUR DAILY LIVES AND DEEP IN YOU HEARTS, THAT WORK ~~just~~ *jobs-*  
PLAIN, GOOD, WELL-PAID WORK -- IS WHAT THIS COUNTRY IS ALL ABOUT,

L WORK AFFECTS HOW WE LIVE WITH OUR FAMILIES.

L WORK DETERMINES THE QUALITY OF OUR LIVES AND THE DEPTH OF  
OUR SELF-RESPECT.

L WORK SHAPES THE FUTURE OF OUR CHILDREN.

L AND WORK IS THE SINGLE MOST PRESSING ISSUE OF OUR TIME.

L BUT I AM HERE TODAY TO TELL YOU THAT THERE ARE PEOPLE  
IN HIGH PLACES IN THIS GOVERNMENT WHO DO NOT UNDERSTAND THAT  
SIMPLE BUT PROFOUND FACT.

WORK MEANS GETTING PAID TO PUT OUT A PRODUCT, EVERYBODY  
IN THIS ROOM KNOWS THAT. BUT THERE ARE PEOPLE IN THE WHITE HOUSE  
WHO ARE GETTING PAID WELL -- AND THEY AREN'T TURNING OUT A PRODUCT.

L THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS A JOB TO DO AND THE JOB  
DESCRIPTION IS WRITTEN INTO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION. IT  
SAYS THAT THE PRESIDENT SHALL WORK WITH THE CONGRESS AND  
"RECOMMEND TO THEIR CONSIDERATION SUCH MEASURES AS HE SHALL DEEM  
NECESSARY AND EXPEDIENT."

L BUT LET'S TAKE A LOOK AT THE KIND OF WORK THAT'S BEEN TURNED  
OUT AT THE WHITE HOUSE IN THE LAST 15 MONTHS.

7 years more and  
-3-

WE GOT 39 VETOES AND A "WIN" BUTTON! THIRTY-<sup>seven</sup> SEVEN WAYS

TO SAY "NO," AND SOME KIND OF TIN JOKE FOR REPUBLICAN LAPELS,

NOW THAT JUST ISN'T IN THE JOB DESCRIPTION,

IF YOU WERE AN EMPLOYER LOOKING OVER THIS FELLOW'S WORK,  
YOU WOULDN'T HESITATE FOR A MINUTE. YOU'D SHAKE YOUR HEAD AND SAY,  
"NO WAY! WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO LET THIS MAN GO AND GET OURSELVES  
SOME SKILLED UNION LABOR IN HERE."

{ YOU KNOW THAT I'M FOR LABOR -- I ALWAYS HAVE BEEN AND I  
ALWAYS WILL BE. BUT I SAY WE NEED A FEW LAYOFFS AROUND THE WHITE  
HOUSE.

8000 Bankruptcies  
this yr

AND THAT'S WHAT I WANT TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT TODAY -- GETTING  
THE LEADERSHIP WE NEED TO PUT AMERICA BACK TO WORK. AND BELIEVE ME,  
THAT PROBLEM ISN'T GOING TO GO AWAY BY ITSELF.

Recovery

-4-

← NOW, YOU READ THE PAPERS AND YOU'VE SEEN THE FIGURES.

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION IS UP, CORPORATE PROFITS ARE IMPROVING,

INVENTORIES ARE BEING LEQUIDATED, AND ALL THE REST OF IT, / BASED

ON THIS, THE ADMINISTRATION COMES ALONG AND TELLS US THAT THE

RECESSION IS OVER, THAT "PROSPERITY" IS JUST OVER THE HORIZON.,

WELL, LET ME TELL YOU -- THERE MAY BE SOME IMPROVEMENT

UNDERWAY, BUT THE HORIZON FOR A STRONG AND DURABLE "PEOPLES

RECOVERY" IS ~~QUANTITATIVELY~~ <sup>still</sup> FAR AWAY.

Had People Recovery

↳ THE TRUTH IS THAT THIS PERIOD OF ECONOMIC STAGNATION IS

FAR FROM OVER. THE HOLE IS DEEPER THAN THEY THINK.

↳ BY NEXT JUNE, PROJECTIONS SHOW THAT WE STILL WILL HAVE

20 PERCENT OR MORE OF OUR PLANT AND EQUIPMENT IDLE -- ONE FIFTH

OF AMERICA'S PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY JUST LYING THERE WAITING TO WORK.

but  
plant  
idle



*unemployment*

-5-

87

WE STILL WILL HAVE ALMOST EIGHT PERCENT UNEMPLOYMENT. AND  
WE WILL HAVE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF HIGH SCHOOL, COLLEGE AND  
TRADE SCHOOL GRADUATES STREAMING OUT OF THE CLASSROOMS AND INTO  
A PITIFUL JOB MARKET WITH VIRTUALLY NO OPPORTUNITY FOR DECENT  
EMPLOYMENT.

No, THIS PERIOD OF TRAGIC ECONOMIC STAGNATION IS NOWHERE  
NEAR OVER.

*Loss of Income*

THE TERRIBLE LOSS OF MANPOWER AND PRODUCTIVITY, THE  
INCREDIBLE FORFEIT OF \$300 BILLION IN LOST INCOMES OVER THE LAST  
TWO YEARS, THE OUTRIGHT AND INEXCUSABLE WASTE OF AMERICAN SKILL  
AND KNOW-HOW, AND THE FRIGHTENING INCREASE IN CRIME -- THESE ARE  
NOT OVER, AND THEY CANNOT BE OVER, UNTIL WE REALIZE THAT IT ALL  
COMES DOWN TO WORK.

new deal  
Programs  
Don't work!  
System in change

④

Roosevelt - not <sup>6-</sup> unemployment

NOT WELFARE, NOT PLANNED UNEMPLOYMENT TO REDUCE INFLATION,

NOT THE CHECK AT THE UNEMPLOYMENT LINE -- NO, NOTHING BUT

PRODUCTIVE WORK AT A DECENT ~~WAGE~~ WAGE IS GOING TO GET THIS COUNTRY

MOVING AGAIN.

But Income - Jobs

IF THE FELLOW NEXT TO YOU IS EARNING AN INCOME, NO MATTER  
HOW SMALL, HE CAN BUY A LITTLE OF YOUR PRODUCT. AND WHEN HE

DOES, YOU MAKE A LITTLE MORE, AND SO YOU CAN BUY SOME OF HIS

PRODUCT, AND SO ON DOWN THE LINE. THAT'S THE WAY YOU KEEP AN

ECONOMY HEALTHY -- YOU KNOW IT AND I KNOW IT.

YOU DON'T DO IT BY TELLING A MAN THAT HE'S OUT OF WORK

IN ORDER TO KEEP INFLATION DOWN, OR BY GIVING HIM A LITTLE CHECK

TO KEEP HIM QUIET FOR A WHILE. THAT KIND OF THINKING IS NOT ONLY

CALLOUS, NOT ONLY WASTEFUL -- BUT IT CAN BE VERY DANGEROUS AS WELL.

BECAUSE A PERSON WHO IS KEPT OUT OF WORK NOT ONLY LOSES

HIS SKILLS -- HE LOSES THE HABIT OF WORK, AND WITH IT HIS HOPE,

AND BELIEVE ME, WHEN THAT HAPPENS, CRIME FIGURES RISE.

*Young People*  
MOREOVER, IT IS POSSIBLE, IF PRESENT POLICIES CONTINUE, THAT

AN ENORMOUS NUMBER OF OUR YOUNG PEOPLE ACTUALLY WILL GROW TO

MATURITY WITHOUT EVERY HAVING HELD A JOB, PERMANENTLY SCARRED BY

BITTERNESS AND DESPAIR.

L WHAT A COLOSSAL FAILURE THAT WOULD BE.

WHAT A TERRIBLE BETRAYAL OF EVERYTHING THIS COUNTRY STANDS FOR.

WHAT A TRAVESTY OF DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE.

AND MAKE NO MISTAKE -- THAT AWFUL WASTE OF HUMAN LIVES WILL

BE ON THE CONSCIENCE OF THOSE LEADERS WHO GAVE THEM NO HOPE.

BUT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE NOT GOING TO TOLERATE A TRAGEDY  
LIKE THAT. YOU AND I ARE NOT GOING TO LET THIS GREAT NATION, WHICH  
TOOK TWO HUNDRED YEARS TO BUILD, FALL TO PIECES BECAUSE OF OUR  
LEADERS' NEGLECT.

WE ARE GOING TO FIND NEW LEADERS WHO WILL GIVE THE PEOPLE HOPE.

WE ARE GOING TO FIND LEADERS WHO UNDERSTAND THE SIMPLE TRUTH

THAT AMERICANS WANT TO WORK, WHO UNDERSTAND THAT A WELFARE CHECK

OR AN UNEMPLOYMENT LINE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR A SALARY, NO SUBSTITUTE

FOR THE PRIDE AND SELF-RESPECT THAT COME FROM A JOB WELL-DONE.

WE HAVE THE MEANS AT HAND, AND WE CAN GET STARTED NOW.

WE CAN GET THIS ADMINISTRATION TO ACCEPT THE WILL OF CONGRESS

AND EXTEND LAST YEAR'S TAX CUT. NOT ONLY WILL THIS CREATE MORE JOBS

IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR -- WHERE MOST OF OUR CITIZENS OUGHT TO BE

EMPLOYED -- BUT IT ALSO WILL KEEP YOUR TAXES FROM GOING UP ON

JANUARY 1ST.

welfare  
a. comp  
negotiated

Tax cut

AMERICA'S WORKING FAMILIES CANNOT AFFORD A TAX HIKE IN 1976.

SHORT HOURS, LAY-OFFS AND INFLATION HAVE BATTERED YOUR BUDGETS

ENOUGH -- YOU DON'T NEED TO HAVE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HELP WITH

THE BEATING.

*Fed Reserve - Join the fight*

WE CAN REMIND THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD THAT THEY ARE PUBLIC

SERVANTS WHOSE JOB IS TO PROMOTE THE WELL-BEING OF ALL THE AMERICAN

PEOPLE AND NOT JUST A HANDFUL OF BIG BANKERS. *L* WE CAN TELL THEM THAT

THIS COUNTRY IS CRYING FOR CREDIT, FOR NEW INVESTMENT AND EXPANSION,

AND THAT INTEREST RATES HAVE TO GO DOWN AND STAY DOWN IF PROSPERITY

IS GOING TO GO UP AND STAY UP.

*Ⓟ Housing*

*L* AND WE CAN ACT NOW TO RESCUE OUR DEPRESSED HOUSING INDUSTRY.

THE TRUTH IS THAT THE RUSSIANS AND RUMANIANS PAY LESS INTEREST  
ON THEIR LOANS FROM THIS COUNTRY THAN YOU OR I PAY TO BUY A HOUSE.

THIS IS THE KIND OF DISTORTED PRIORITY THIS ADMINISTRATION ACCEPTS.



SO THEY HAVE TO BE TOLD THAT A PERSON WHO WORKS HARD ALL HIS  
LIFE HAS A RIGHT TO BUY HIS OWN HOME AT A REASONABLE INTEREST  
RATE -- AND WE CAN DO THAT THROUGH THE FEDERAL HOUSING BANK I HAVE  
PROPOSED. IF WE CAN PROVIDE BIG BUSINESS WITH 0 PERCENT MONEY FOR  
THE RUMANIANS, WE CAN DO THE SAME FOR OUR OWN PEOPLES' HOUSING.

WE CAN ENACT A MEANINGFUL PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS PROGRAM AND AN  
EMERGENCY PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM. NOT A BUREAUCRATIC MONSTER, NOT A  
20 YEAR MAKE-WORK PACKAGE, BUT A GENUINELY PRODUCTIVE PROGRAM TO TAKE  
CARE OF SOME OF OUR MOST IMPORTANT -- AND VISIBLE -- PROBLEMS.

YOU DON'T NEED TO BE AN ECOLOGIST OR AN ENGINEER TO SEE THAT WE  
NEED TO REBUILD OUR CITIES, VAST AREAS OF THEM. IN WASHINGTON, D.C.,  
ALONE, WE HAVE ENOUGH WORK TO DO -- REAL, SOLID, LASTING WORK -- TO  
EMPLOY THOUSANDS OF THOSE NOW ON UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION. AND THE  
CITIES AND TOWNS OF MICHIGAN ALSO HAVE MANY URGENT NEEDS.

WE NEED TO GET THOSE PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS ROLLING, WE NEED TO  
GET OUR YOUNG PEOPLE OFF THE STREETS AND ON THE JOB BUILDING AND  
BEAUTIFYING AMERICA -- THERE IS SO MUCH TO BE DONE. AND WE NEED  
TO DO IT BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE, BEFORE THEY DROP OUT OF THE SYSTEM  
IN DISGUST.

*Right to a Job  
Full Employment*

FINALLY, WE NEED TO THINK AHEAD TO THE FUTURE OF EMPLOYMENT  
IN THIS COUNTRY. IN THE LONG RUN, WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO FIND A

WAY TO GUARANTEE A PRODUCTIVE JOB TO EVERY AMERICAN WHO IS WILLING

AND ABLE TO WORK -- NOTHING LESS IS WORTHY OF OUR EFFORTS, AND NOTHING

LESS WILL MAKE THIS COUNTRY GREAT AGAIN.

THESE ARE GOOD IDEAS, SOUND IDEAS, IDEAS THAT CAN GO A LONG WAY  
TOWARD PUTTING AMERICA BACK TO WORK. BUT THEY ARE JUST THAT -- IDEAS  
UNTIL WE GET THE LEADERSHIP WE NEED TO GET THE JOB DONE.

L WE ARE AT A CROSSROADS OF CRISIS -- NOT JUST IN OUR ECONOMY,  
BUT IN OUR NATIONAL SPIRIT. THE PEOPLE ARE GROWING IMPATIENT. THEY  
ARE DEMANDING TO BE HEARD, AND THEY WILL NOT BE DENIED. THEY HAVE  
PUT UP WITH A NIXON-FORD ADMINISTRATION WHICH FOR SEVEN LONG YEARS  
HAS TOLD THEM: "WE KNOW WHAT YOU NEED -- NOW SIT DOWN AND DON'T  
BOTHER US." AND THEY WILL PUT UP WITH IT NO LONGER.

L THEY ARE ASKING WHY WE THE PEOPLE -- THE WORKER, THE  
FARMER, THE BUILDER AND THE SMALL BUSINESSMAN -- HAVE TO  
REACH A CONDITION OF DIRE EMERGENCY BEFORE THE ADMINISTRATION  
WILL LISTEN.

THEY ARE ASKING HOW MEN WHO PUT THEIR HANDS ON A BIBLE AND  
SWORE TO WORK FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD CAN TURN THEIR BACKS ON THE  
PEOPLE WHOM THEY HAVE SWORN TO SERVE.

THEY ARE ASKING WHY THE MAN WHO HOLDS THE HIGHEST OFFICE IN  
THIS LAND DOESN'T LOOK OUT ACROSS THE NATION, AT THE LENGTH AND  
BREADTH OF ITS PROBLEMS, AT ITS CITIES IN DISREPAIR AND ITS  
FACTORIES IDLE, AT ITS JOBLESS WORKERS AND ITS DESPERATE YOUNG  
PEOPLE AND SAY "THERE IS AN ENORMOUS JOB TO BE DONE HERE, ONE OF  
THE BIGGEST JOBS WE'VE EVER FACED. LET'S GET TO WORK!"

WE HAVE HAD MEN LIKE THAT BEFORE. MEN WHO WERE GREAT LEADERS  
BECAUSE THEY WERE GOOD LISTENERS, BECAUSE THEY KNEW THAT WE NEEDED  
A NEW SENSE OF HOPE AND A NEW SENSE OF PURPOSE. MEN WHO KNEW THAT  
THE GOVERNMENT IS THE SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE RATHER THAN THEIR  
MASTER. YOU AND I KNOW THEIR NAMES. ROOSEVELT, TRUMAN, KENNEDY,  
JOHNSON.

AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY STILL EMBODIES THAT SPIRIT, BELIEVE  
ME, IT IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER, IN THIS HOUR OF CRISIS, THAT WE  
PUT THE PARTY OF THE PEOPLE BACK TO WORK FOR THE PEOPLE. IT IS  
MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER, FOR THE FATE OF OUR SOCIETY AND OUR  
STANDARD OF LIVING, THAT WE PUT A DEMOCRAT IN THE WHITE HOUSE  
NEXT YEAR.

YOU AND I KNOW WHAT WE HAVE TO DO. WE SEE THAT THE JOB  
IS THERE TO BE DONE. NOW LET'S GET OUT THERE AND GET TO WORK.

# # # # #



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