REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION

Washington, D.C.

January 21, 1976

The American economic system is not working well.

Today we are just emerging from the worst recession since the Great Depression -- a unique recession in which inflation soared to record post-war levels.

In 1975 we experienced an unemployment crisis with an average "official" rate of 8.5 percent. At the same time, we saw prices increase at a 10 percent rate.

On December 14th, Dr. Arthur Burns made the same point. He said, "If an employment rate of eight or nine percent is insufficient to bring inflation to a halt, then our economic system is no longer working as we once supposed."

I completely agree.

It is time for a detailed re-examination of our economic assumptions and it is vitally important that our nation's bankers fully participate. In this re-evaluation, we all must put aside our ideological biases and approach this task in a pragmatic way.

This morning I would like to raise several items that should be considered during this process.

But first, I would like to discuss, for a moment, the cost of the 1974-75 recession and what the prospects are for the economy this year.

The recession of the last two years has taken an incredible toll on the American people. Our inability to keep the economy operating on an even keel, near full employment, has cost over \$300 billion in goods not produced and incomes not earned in the past two years.

It has meant that about 20 million American workers were out of work at some time during each of those years.

It has meant that 8,000 to 10,000 businesses have been forced to close their doors.

And, the Joint Economic Committee estimates a \$1.5 trillion loss in Gross National Product by 1981 due to this recession. This is a colossal waste of resources and one we cannot allow to continue.

I always have been an optimist. I have great faith in the basic strength of our economy. We have been blessed with the resources and the talent to achieve full employment with reasonable price stability.

But there is a difference between an optimist and an ostrich. I really would be sticking my head in the sand if I didn't acknowledge the disturbing signs of emerging weakness in the economy in 1976.

Forecasting economic conditions always is difficult -- there always are developments that one cannot predict, <u>particularly</u> in an election year.

I believe we will see some improvement in economic conditions in 1976, compared to the abysmal depths of the 1974-1975 recession. However, the signals are mixed and the recovery is extremely fragile.

In the Fall part of 1975 we experienced fairly strong recovery from the disastrous 1974-75 recession, with GNP spurting ahead, unemployment down slightly, housing starts up, and real personal income advancing.

The trouble is that the most recent statistical indicators seem to tell us that the momentum of recovery may be slowing somewhat, particularly when we consider that unemployment is higher today than at the deepest point in any prior post-war recession. We now see that industrial production is rising only slowly, business investment plans are very modest, consumers remain very cautious, and housing starts have dropped again.

Adding up this evidence, plus the fact that the President has proposed a highly restrictive budget for fiscal year 1977, one can see little prospect for a strong expansion of our economy. What I fear, and what many economists, businessmen, and others with whom I have talked fear, is that our economy will, at best, achieve only a modest pace of recovery in 1976.

I expect slow growth this year with GNP increasing at a 5 percent to 6 percent rate. This will be too slow to cut unemployment significantly, increase incomes, and return our economy to full production and stable prices.

I think unemployment will be over 7.5 and closer to 8 percent by next June. I also believe we still will have 20 percent or more of our plant and equipment idle. As a result, low productivity will continue to be a serious problem, and inflation will be with us in 1976 as a major concern as it remains in the 6 to 7 percent range.

In sum, without basic changes in national economic policy, our economy will be characterized by the tragic waste of our nation's human and industrial resources. 1976 will be better than 1975, but still relatively stagnant with incredible waste.

Dr. Burns and I disagree on many things. But, as I indicated earlier, there are a number of matters on which we see eye to eye.

Last Fall, in a major speech in Atlanta, Dr. Burns suggested, as I have on many occasions, that the government should be an employer of last resort in times like these. Surely we have our differences in the way to do this, but in principle we are together.

I believe you should carefully consider this proposition. I urge you to study my proposal to provide a decent job for every American able and willing to work. It simply is too wasteful to continue to pay out tens of billions of dollars in unemployment compensation, welfare, and food stamps to ablebodied people.

It is wasteful because there is much that needs doing in America -- from improving our rail beds and rebuilding our cities, to rehabilitating housing and expanding our national parks system. We need to have all our people working. It is good for them and for America. The work ethic will die only if we let it.

Another subject that deserves your attention, and one that receives a great deal of criticism on ideological grounds, is the Humphrey-Javits Balanced Growth and Economic Planning Act. I ask you to study this proposal in detail, and to give me the benefit of your views. This legislation would establish a new procedure for anticipating economic problems before they become crises. It also would help us to see the impact of government policy in one area on developments in other areas -- the impact of grain sales on our rail system, for example.

Such a process would provide a great deal of new information which would be used by the private sector in its planning and by government in its policy making. It would require that Congress and the President, with business, labor and state and local government fully participating, debate and establish economic goals and priorities for America.

The Forecasting and goal setting process would strengthen our private sector institutions and our free market system. And it would reduce the inconsistent and unpredictable interference of government in the private sector.

This new process could be the basis for a more constructive partnership between the public and private sectors in the years ahead. Such a partnership would do a better job of meeting the needs of our society.

It also is important that we consider new ways to broaden the ownership of capital in America. Today, the vast majority of our people feel they are outside the "system" looking in.

More effort is needed to broaden ownership of our great productive enterprise.

Recently, under my chairmanship, the Joint Economic Committee held hearings on one approach -- Employee Stock Ownership Plans. We soon will issue a major study on this subject.

I am not claiming that this is the "one best way" to broaden ownership; there probably are several good alternatives. My challenge to you is to use your knowledge and experience in finance to promote broadened ownership in our nation. It is urgent that this be done.

It has become very popular these days to criticize government as too big and too wasteful. Many people say we should have less government.

But I think voters -- and tax payers -- aren't concerned so much with the quantity as they are with the quality of Government.

They want better Government, not necessarily less Government.

One area where qualitative reforms are possible in Government is in the older Federal Regulatory agencies. We must bring some sort of flexibility and rationality to Federal Regulatory practices.

The agencies regulating transportation and communications, for example, could give those industries greater latitude, on an experimental basis, in setting their own prices. They could, again on an experimental basis, reduce some barriers against entry into these regulated industries.

Nobody needs to tell me that we have not fully solved the many social problems that have troubled our nation for years. Of course there have been some mistakes -- a representative government composed of fallible human beings is going to make some mistakes.

What we need today is a new pragmatism -- one based on the successes and failures of government in the past. But I reject the notion that we should abandon our efforts to improve our society for all the people. I shall always be proud of the efforts with which I have been associated to make America a better society for our citizens. The big news today is the President's budget and his \$395 billion spending ceiling. This proposal will mean that many people and industries, already staggering due to the recession, will suffer even more as manpower, community development, health and education programs -- to name just a few -- are cut.

I want to reduce federal spending in areas of waste just as much as President Ford. If programs aren't working, we should get rid of them. But, I don't favor arbitrary budget cuts based on some "magic number." Too many innocent people get hurt.

The best way to cut back on federal spending and increase revenues is to restore the health of our economy.

Strong recovery in 1976 and 1977 could reduce greatly the need to spend billions of dollars that we must now pay out infood stamps, unemployment compensation, and the like to the victims of recession. Strong recovery also would bring in larger revenues and reduce the deficit.

Finally, let me point out that the new Congressional Budget process is the most important development in rationalizing Federal spending that has occurred since I came to the Senate. It is crucial that nothing be done to undermine this important process. It is of the utmost importance in keeping a tight reign on Federal spending.

As I said before, I am an optimist. I have great faith and confidence in America. We have been so uniquely blessed with human and natural resources that we have every reason to have bright hopes for the future.

But this also is why I am frustrated when I see America wallowing in economic mediocrity. The people of our country have a right to more, and it's time that their leaders, in business, labor and government, did a better job of providing it.

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THE GREAT DEPRESSION -- A UNIQUE RECESSION IN WHICH INFLATION

SOARED TO RECORD POST-WAR LEVELS. (Unique)

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ON DECEMBER 14TH, DR. ARTHUR BURNS MADE THE SAME POINT.

HE SAID, "IF AN EMPLOYMENT RATE OF EIGHT OR NINE PERCENT IS

INSUFFICIENT TO BRING INFLATION TO A HALT, THEN OUR ECONOMIC

SYSTEM IS NO LONGER WORKING AS WE ONCE SUPPOSED."

I COMPLETELY AGREE.

IT IS TIME FOR A DETAILED RE-EXAMINATION OF OUR ECONOMIC ASSUMPTIONS AND IT IS VITALLY IMPORTANT THAT OUR NATION'S BANKERS FULLY PARTICIPATE, IN THIS RE-EVALUATION, WE ALL MUST PUT ASIDE OUR IDEOLOGICAL BIASES AND APPROACH THIS TASK IN A PRAGMATIC WAY.

-2-

 χ THIS MORNING I WOULD LIKE TO RAISE SEVERAL ITEMS THAT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED DURING THIS PROCESS. χ But first, I would like to discuss, for a moment, the cost of the 1974-75 recession and what the prospects are for

THE ECONOMY THIS YEAR.

EARNED IN THE PAST TWO YEARS,

The recession of the last two years has taken an incredible toll on the American people Our inability to keep the economy operating on an even keel, near full employment, has cost over \$300 billion in goods not produced and incomes not LIT HAS MEANT THAT ABOUT 20 MILLION AMERICAN WORKERS WERE OUT OF WORK AT SOME TIME DURING EACH OF THOSE YEARS.

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AND, THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE ESTIMATES A \$1.5 TRILLION LOSS IN GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT BY 1981 DUE TO THIS RECESSION. THIS IS A COLOSSAL WASTE OF RESOURCES AND ONE WE CANNOT ALLOW TO CONTINUE. TO CONTINUE.

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REASONABLE PRICE STABILITY.

BUT THERE IS A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN AN OPTIMIST AND AN OSTRICH. I REALLY WOULD BE STICKING MY HEAD IN THE SAND IF I DIDN'T ACKNOWLEDGE THE DISTURBING SIGNS OF EMERGING WEAKNESS IN THE ECONOMY IN 1976. FORCASTING ECONOMIC CONDITIONS ALWAYS IS DIFFICULT -- THERE ALWAYS ARE DEVELOPMENTS THAT ONE CANNOT PREDICT, PARTICULARLY IN AN ELECTION YEAR LI BELIVE WE WILL SEE SOME IMPROVEMENT IN ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN 1976, COMPARED TO THE ABYSMAL DEPTHS OF THE 1974-1975 RECESSION . However, THE SIGNALS ARE MIXED AND THE RECOVERY IS EXTREMELY FRAGILE. IN THE FALL MARY OF 1975 WE EXPERIENCED FAIRLY STRONG RECOVERY FROM THE DISASTROUS 1974-75 RECESSION, WITH GNP SPURTING AHEAD, UNEMPLOYMENT DOWN SLIGHTLY, HOUSING STARTS UP,

AND REAL PERSONAL INCOME ADVANCING.

L THE TROUBLE IS THAT THE MOST RECENT STATISTICAL INDICATORS SEEM TO TELL US THAT THE MOMENTUM OF RECOVERY MAY BE SLOWING SOMEWHAT, PARTICULARLY WHEN WE CONSIDER THAT UNEMPLOYMENT IS HIGHER TODAY THAN AT THE DEEPEST POINT IN ANY PRIOR POST-WAR RECESSION & WE NOW SEE THAT INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION IS RISING ONLY SLOWLY, BUSINESS INVESTMENT PLANS ARE VERY MODEST, CONSUMERS REMAIN VERY CAUTIOUS, AND HOUSING STARTS HAVE DROPPED AGAIN. ADDING UP THIS EVIDENCE, PLUS THE FACT THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS PROPOSED A HIGHLY RESTRICTIVE BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 1977, ONE CAN SEE LITTLE PROSPECT FOR A STRONG EXPANSION OF OUR ECONOMY What I FEAR, AND WHAT MANY ECONOMISTS, BUSINESSMEN, AND OTHERS WITH WHOM I HAVE TALKED FEAR, IS THAT OUR ECONOMY WILL, AT BEST, ACHIEVE ONLY A MODEST PACE OF RECOVERY IN 1976.

I EXPECT SLOW GROWTH THIS YEAR WITH GNP INCREASING AT A 5 PERCENT TO 6 PERCENT RATE . THIS WILL BE TOO SLOW TO CUT UNEMPLOYMENT SIGNIFICANTLY, INCREASE INCOMES, AND RETURN OUR ECONOMY TO FULL PRODUCTION AND STABLE PRICES. Z I THINK UNEMPLOYMENT WILL BE OVER 7.5 AND CLOSER TO 8 PERCENT BY NEXT JUNE / I ALSO BELIEVE WE STILL WILL HAVE 20 PERCENT OR MORE OF OUR PLANT AND EQUIPMENT IDLE AS A RESULT, LOW PRODUCTIVITY WILL CONTINUE TO BE A SERIOUS PROBLEM, AND INFLATION WILL BE WITH US IN 1976 AS A MAJOR CONCERN AS IT REMAINS IN THE 6 TO 7 PERCENT RANGE. (Intray up, Food uncertain -IN SUM, WITHOUT BASIC CHANGES IN NATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY, OUR ECONOMY WILL BE CHARACTERIZED BY THE TRAGIC WASTE OF OUR NATION'S HUMAN AND INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES . 4 1976 WILL BE BETTER THAN 1975, BUT STILL RELATIVELY STAGNANT WITH INCREDIBLE WASTE.

DR. BURNS AND I DISAGREE ON MANY THINGS. BUT, AS I INDICATED EARLIER, THERE ARE A NUMBER OF MATTERS ON WHICH WE SEE EYE TO EYE. LAST FALL, IN A MAJOR SPEECH IN ATLANTA, DR. BURNS SUGGESTED, AS I HAVE ON MANY OCCASIONS, THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE AN EMPLOYER OF LAST RESORT IN TIMES LIKE THESE. SURELY WE HAVE OUR DIFFERENCES IN THE WAY TO DO THIS, BUT IN PRINCIPLE WE ARE TOGETHER. L I BELIEVE YOU SHOULD CAREFULLY CONSIDER THIS PROPOSITION . I URGE YOU TO STUDY MY PROPOSAL TO PROVIDE A DECENT JOB FOR

EVERY AMERICAN ABLE AND WILLING TO WORK. TIT SIMPLY IS TOO

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION, WELFARE, AND FOOD STAMPS TO ABLE

BODIED PEOPLE.

IT IS WASTEFUL BECAUSE THERE IS MUCH THAT NEEDS DOING IN AMERICA -- FROM IMPROVING OUR RAIL BEDS AND REBUILDING OUR CITIES, TO REHABILITATING HOUSING AND EXPANDING OUR NATIONAL We need to have all our people working. It PARKS SYSTEM. IS GOOD FOR THEM AND FOR AMERICA. THE WORK ETHIC WILL Houing DIE ONLY IF WE LET IT. ANOTHER SUBJECT THAT DESERVES YOUR ATTENTION, AND ONE THAT RECEIVES A GREAT DEAL OF CRITICISM ON IDEOLOGICAL GROUNDS, IS THE HUMPHREY-JAVITS BALANCED GROWTH AND ECONOMIC PLANNING ACT. LI ASK YOU TO STUDY THIS PROPOSAL IN DETAIL, AND TO GIVE ME THE BENEFIT OF YOUR VIEWS. LIHIS LEGISLATION WOULD ESTABLISH A NEW PROCEDURE FOR ANTICIPATING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS BEFORE THEY BECOME CRISES. ALSO WOULD HELP US TO SEE THE IMPACT OF GOVERNMENT POLICY IN ONE AREA ON DEVELOPMENTS IN OTHER AREAS -- THE IMPACT OF GRAIN SALES ON OUR RAIL SYSTEM, FOR EXAMPLE,

Such a process would provide a great deal of New INFORMATION WHICH WOULD BE USED BY THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN ITS PLANNING AND BY GOVERNMENT IN ITS POLICY MAKING. / IT WOULD REQUIRE THAT CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT, WITH BUSINESS, LABOR AND STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT FULLY PARTICIPATING, DEBATE AND ESTABLISH ECONOMIC GOALS AND PRIORITIES FOR AMERICA. THE FORCASTING AND GOAL SETTING PROCESS WOULD STRENGTHEN OUR PRIVATE SECTOR INSTITUTIONS AND OUR FREE MARKET SYSTEM, AND IT WOULD REDUCE THE INCONSISTENT AND UNPREDICTABLE INTERFERENCE OF GOVERNMENT IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR. L THIS NEW PROCESS COULD BE THE BASIS FOR A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE

PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS IN THE YEARS

AHEAD. SUCH A PARTNERSHIP WOULD DO A BETTER JOB OF MEETING THE

NEEDS OF OUR SOCIETY.

-9-

 \sqrt{IT} ALSO IS IMPORTANT THAT WE CONSIDER NEW WAYS TO BROADEN THE OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL IN AMERICA. \sqrt{TODAY} , THE VAST MAJORITY OF OUR PEOPLE FEEL THEY ARE OUTSIDE THE "SYSTEM" LOOKING IN. \sqrt{MORE} EFFORT IS NEEDED TO BROADEN OWNERSHIP OF OUR GREAT PRODUCTIVE ENTERPRISE.

RECENTLY, UNDER MY CHAIRMANSHIP, THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE HELD HEARINGS ON ONE APPROACH -- EMPLOYEE STOCK OWNERSHIP PLANS. We soon will issue a major study on this subject. I am not claiming that this is the "one best way" to broaden ownership; there probably are several good alternatives. My challenge to you is to use your knowledge and experience in finance to promote broadened ownership in our nation. It is urgent that this be dong.

Capital Tormation + Tax Poles

Ted Reverbe (Reforms) IT HAS BECOME VERY POPULAR THESE DAYS TO CRITICIZE AS TOO BIG AND TOO WASTEFUL, MANY PEOPLE SAY WE SHOULD HAVE LESS GOVERNMENT. BUT I THINK VOTERS -- AND TAX PAYERS -- AREN'T CONCERNED SO MUCH WITH THE QUANTITY AS THEY ARE WITH THE QUALITY OF GOVERNMENT. They want better Government, Not HECONOMY LESS GOVERNMENT, ONE AREA WHERE QUALITATIVE REFORMS ARE POSSIBLE IN GOVERNMENT IS IN THE OLDER FEDERAL REGULATORY AGENCIES. WE MUST BRING SOME SORT OF FLEXIBILITY AND RATIONALITY TO FEDERAL REGULATORY PRACTICES. LTHE AGENCIES REGULATING TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS, FOR EXAMPLE, COULD GIVE THOSE INDUSTRIES GREATER LATITUDE, ON AN EXPERIMENTAL BASIS, IN SETTING THEIR OWN PRICES, THEY COULD, AGAIN ON AN EXPERIMENTAL BASIS, REDUCE SOME BARRIERS AGAINST ENTRY INTO THESE REGULATED INDUSTRIES.

NOBODY NEEDS TO TELL ME THAT WE HAVE NOT FULLY SOLVED THE MANY SOCIAL PROBLEMS THAT HAVE TROUBLED OUR NATION FOR YEARS. OF COURSE THERE HAVE BEEN SOME MISTAKES -- A REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT COMPOSED OF FALLIBLE HUMAN BEINGS IS GOING TO MAKE SOME MISTAKES. WHAT WE NEED TODAY IS A NEW PRAGMATISM -- ONE BASED ON THE SUCCESSES AND FAILURES OF GOVERNMENT IN THE PAST. BUT I REJECT THE NOTION THAT WE SHOULD ABANDON OUR EFFORTS TO IMPROVE OUR SOCIETY FOR ALL THE PEOPLE & I SHALL ALWAYS BE PROUD OF THE EFFORTS WITH WHICH I HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED TO MAKE AMERICA A BETTER SOCIETY FOR OUR (Poutry Prog. Doc See, mederan, Andre Educe Handreapped, Enumerant, Ag Programs Handreapped, Enumerant, Ag Programs CITIZENS THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET AND HIS \$395 BILLION THE BIG NEWS TOI SPENDING CEILING. THIS PROPOSAL WILL MEAN THAT MANY PEOPLE AND INDUSTRIES, ALREADY STAGGERING DUE TO THE RECESSION, WILL SUFFER EVEN MORE AS MANPOWER, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, HEALTH AND EDUCATION PROGRAMS -- TO NAME JUST A FEW -- ARE CUT.

WANT TO REDUCE FEDERAL SPENDING IN AREAS OF WASTE JUST AS MUCH AS PRESIDENT FORD. [IF PROGRAMS AREN'T WORKING, WE SHOULD GET RID OF THEM, BUT, I DON'T FAVOR ARBITRARY BUDGET CUTS BASED ON SOME "MAGIC NUMBER," TOO MANY INNOCENT PEOPLE GET LTHE BEST WAY TO CUT BACK ON FEDERAL SPENDING AND INCREASE HURT. REVENUES IS TO RESTORE THE HEALTH OF OUR ECONOMY. STRONG RECOVERY IN 1976 AND 1977 COULD REDUCE GREATLY THE NEED TO SPEND BILLIONS OF DOLLARS THAT WE MUST NOW PAY OUT IN FOOD STAMPS, UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION, AND THE LIKE TO THE VICTIMS OF RECESSION, STRONG RECOVERY ALSO WOULD BRING IN LARGER REVENUES AND REDUCE THE DEFICIT.

FINALLY, LET ME POINT OUT THAT THE NEW CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET PROCESS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT IN RATIONALIZING FEDERAL SPENDING THAT HAS OCCURRED SINCE I CAME TO THE SENATE IT IS CRUCIAL THAT NOTHING BE DONE TO UNDERMINE THIS IMPORTANT PROCESS. IT IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE IN KEEPING A TIGHT REIGN ON FEDERAL SPENDING. As I SAID BEFORE, I AM AN OPTIMIST. I HAVE GREAT FAITH AND CONFIDENCE IN AMERICA. WE HAVE BEEN SO UNIQUELY BLESSED WITH HUMAN AND NATURAL RESOURCES THAT WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO HAVE

BRIGHT HOPES FOR THE FUTURE.

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