

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

NATIONAL POST OFFICE MAIL HANDLERS, WATCHMEN, MESSENGERS  
AND GROUP LEADERS DIVISION OF THE LABORERS' INTERNATIONAL

UNION OF NORTH AMERICA, AFL-CIO

Anaheim, California

August 18, 1976

It is a real pleasure to be here with my friends from the Mail Handlers Union -- especially since your meeting brought me out to sunny California.

We have much to discuss today. To paraphrase Charles Dickens, these are, indeed, the best of times and the worst of times.

Just look at the last eight years of Republican rule.

If there's one thing they have taught us -- it's enough!

-- Enough of those who wear "WIN" buttons and bring us the highest level of inflation in three decades.

-- Enough of those self-proclaimed champions of the work ethic who have given us the highest unemployment rate since the Great Depression.

-- Enough of these advocates of balanced budgets who have given us the largest Federal budget deficits in our history.

-- Enough of these true believers in free enterprise who are happy to bail out giant corporations, but try to deny school lunches to needy children.

-- Enough of these big "law and order" people who have presided over alarming increases in crime.

Yes, the American people have had enough:

-- Enough inflation and enough high interest rates;

-- Enough special interest;

-- And enough negative leadership.

The only creativity we have seen from the Nixon-Ford White House has been its ability to say "No" in 96 different ways.

No to school lunch; no to the cities; no to education; no to day care, to Federal health programs, no to Hatch Act reform, and no to jobs!

The American people are fed up with negative, timid leadership.

I came here to tell you that we can turn this country around, my friends. We can make these the best of times, the best of beginnings.

Because in November of this year, the American people are going to celebrate our Bicentennial by putting our national leadership back on the right road.

In 1776, the American people proclaimed their independence and threw out the British Tories.

In 1976, the American people once again will affirm our independence and vote out the "Republican Tories."

That's the Bicentennial gift the American people will give themselves. It's a gift of integrity, of vision and of creative and compassionate leadership.

I always have been proud of my close association with the American labor movement. American workers have helped to shape the structure of our economy, and you have enriched our society and our culture.

Throughout our nation's history you have been the cutting edge for social and economic justice.

You have been the vanguard of leadership in the fight for decent wages and working conditions for all working people.

You have helped to make the United States the most technologically advanced nation in the world.

But even more importantly, you have provided the leadership for a new day of social and economic justice for all Americans.

You have lent the strength of your convictions to the struggle for civil rights, for compassionate and fair treatment of older Americans, for decent education, housing and child care.

Yes, you have struggled with us, and we have won many battles. Indeed, we can be very proud of these accomplishments.

But we also know that the job is not done. Because the American worker will continue to bear an unfair share of the criticism as long as we have an unstable economy, and as long as those in power refuse to acknowledge their responsibilities to the little people in this country.

Government workers have borne a special burden through these long eight years.

The attacks on so-called "big government" often have poorly camouflaged anti-worker sentiment.

Some people hear the words "big government" and they think: "big wage settlements."

They don't think about waste and inefficiency in the higher levels -- the press releases don't tell them that.

It's the little fellow who suffers -- the fellow who breaks his back for a decent wage and who cares about how this government is run.

I know that postal employees are right in there, fighting for decent treatment and better public understanding of what you are up against.

The Postal Service has been criticized a great deal lately, and no doubt some of that criticism is deserved.

But postal employees do not deserve the blame for the mess the Postal Service is in.

Efficiency begins at the top!

An attitude of public service begins at the top!

Accountability and fiscal responsibility begin at the top!

You know it, and I know it.

Now, I'm ready to take a look at the Postal Service to see what needs to be done to keep it solvent and keep it moving. But I am not ready to see the jobs and the well-being of working men and women become the target of bureaucratic speculation.

We are going to have to realize, once and for all, that the Postal Service is a service -- that it is necessary to the well-being of this country. And that's going to cost some money. It's a fact of life.

Together we can make it work.

And together we can ensure that jobs will be protected.

Together we can guarantee the security of retirement income and health benefits.

My friends, together we can restore government workers -- indeed, all workers -- to their place in American life.

We can give all our people a vision of a just and prosperous future. But we will have to strive to achieve it.

The Founding Fathers did not guarantee success. They spoke only of opportunity. The Declaration of Independence did not guarantee rights. It described them, and it is up to every generation to do its part to bring about the realization of the promises we hold so dear.

The future will require the best that is in us. And we can give it no less.

Americans always have believed that a democratic government must be an active force to better human life.

The American promise compels us to make these the best of times.

And what will this mean?

It will mean the establishment of a national urban policy. We must realize that neglect of our great cities is a new and insidious brand of discrimination which takes its toll on minorities, the elderly, the handicapped -- those who live in the cities.

We need a new partnership, involving all levels of government and the private sector. This new partnership must have as its goal the revitalization of urban centers through a National Domestic Development Bank, anti-recession grants to state and local governments, the upgrading of housing and public facilities, targetted Federal procurement and employment policies, and institutional reform that can make State and local governments a part of the Federal Budget and planning processes.

We must insist on a rational, workable health care system for our people.

Last year Americans spent \$118.5 billion for health care, an average for each American of more than one month's pay. This is more than the average citizen of any other industrialized nation on earth pays for health care.

Despite this, we rank fifteenth among industrialized nations in infant mortality; seventh in life expectancy among females, and nineteenth among males.

We must enact a national health insurance program. And we must make adequate nutrition and nutrition education available to every man, woman and child in America.

We have a whole agenda of unfinished business -- human priorities which have gone unmet in eight years of economic mismanagement and political shortsightedness.

Our people are calling out for leadership:

- to improve the educational system in this country;
- to upgrade and expand public transportation;
- to curb pollution and protect our environment against current and future depletion of our natural resources;
- to fight crime in the streets, in the corporate offices, and, indeed, in public offices around the nation;
- to reform the welfare system so that those who need help can get it, and those who don't can't take advantage of it;
- regulatory reform -- meaningful reform that reflects the needs of consumers and others who rely on government to protect their interests against the encroachment of those who would reap private gain at public expense. We need a renewed spirit of cooperation among government, consumers and the private sector to bring about true reform in regulatory policies.

Finally, and I believe most importantly, we must concentrate the full weight of government on returning this country to full employment.

This is central to our efforts to better human life in America.

More than 40 years since the Great Depression brought this country to its knees, we still have not found a way to ensure our prosperity or provide every American with a productive place in this society.

Over seven million persons are officially unemployed.

Another four million either have become so discouraged that they have dropped out of the labor force completely, or can find only part-time jobs.

The costs of unemployment are beyond calculation.

With persistent high joblessness, millions of American families have seen their aspirations of a generation vanish.

Their once confident expectations for the future have been replaced by fear -- fear of losing a job; fear of unmet mortgage payments; fear of sky-rocketing medical bills; fear of crime and violence; and fear of a destitute old age. For millions, fear has replaced hope. Doubt has replaced confidence. And despair has replaced optimism.

Let's look at the costs of joblessness in hard, economic terms -- terms even our Republican friends should understand.

Two Republican recessions cost about \$500 billion in lost production between 1970 and 1975. By the end of the decade, it will have cost us some \$1.5 trillion.

-- Their "stagflation" has produced some \$176 billion in Federal deficits since fiscal year 1970.

-- State and local governments lost \$27 billion in revenues in 1975 alone.

-- Welfare costs rose some 20 percent in 1975.

For every one percent of unemployment, you lose \$14 billion in revenues. But for each one percent reduction in the unemployment rate, we could reduce Federal welfare costs by \$1.5 to \$2 billion and save between \$2.5 and \$3 billion in unemployment compensation benefits.

There are no two ways about it: full employment is sound economic policy. And we need new leadership to recognize this fundamental truth. We need leadership that recognizes the right of every willing and able American adult to full participation in the economic life of this Nation.

Until we assure this freedom and this right to all Americans, we cannot call ourselves truly free.

That is why Congressman Augustus Hawkins and I have introduced the Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1976. This bill puts the President, the Federal Reserve and the Congress on notice: Bring adult unemployment down to three percent in four years!

This is not merely another public service jobs bill. It would establish a cooperative process for making economic policy.

The Humphrey-Hawkins bill is based on the premise that economic mismanagement is no excuse for juggling with the lives of our people.

We can make it work. But it will require perseverance, my friends, and it will require the cooperation and support of every American who believes that a paycheck is better than a welfare check.

I have a poster in my office which reads: "Today is the first day of the rest of your life." I like that sentiment, because it reminds me that every day is a new beginning.

We can make these the best of times. We can keep the promises and fulfill the hopes of the founding fathers. But we cannot do these things if we are timid and afraid.

Franklin Roosevelt summed it up when he said: "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith."

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Nat. Director  
Lannie Johnson

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ANAHEIM, CALIFORNIA

AUGUST 18, 1976

IT IS A REAL PLEASURE TO BE HERE WITH MY FRIENDS FROM  
THE MAIL HANDLERS UNION -- ESPECIALLY SINCE YOUR MEETING  
BROUGHT ME OUT TO SUNNY CALIFORNIA.

h WE HAVE MUCH TO DISCUSS TODAY. TO PARAPHRASE CHARLES  
DICKENS, THESE ARE, INDEED, THE BEST OF TIMES AND THE WORST OF  
TIMES.

JUST LOOK AT THE LAST EIGHT YEARS OF REPUBLICAN RULE.

L IF THERE'S ONE THING THEY HAVE TAUGHT US -- IT'S ENOUGH!

L -- ENOUGH OF THOSE WHO WEAR "WIN" BUTTONS AND BRING US  
THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF INFLATION IN THREE DECADES.

L -- ENOUGH OF THOSE SELF-PROCLAIMED CHAMPIONS OF THE WORK  
ETHIC WHO HAVE GIVEN US THE HIGHEST UNEMPLOYMENT RATE SINCE  
THE GREAT DEPRESSION.

L -- ENOUGH OF THESE ADVOCATES OF BALANCED BUDGETS WHO HAVE GIVEN  
US THE LARGEST FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICITS IN OUR HISTORY.

L -- ENOUGH OF THESE TRUE BELIEVERS IN FREE ENTERPRISE WHO  
ARE HAPPY TO BAIL OUT GIANT CORPORATIONS, BUT TRY TO DENY  
SCHOOL LUNCHES TO NEEDY CHILDREN.

-- ENOUGH OF THESE BIG "LAW AND ORDER" PEOPLE WHO HAVE  
PRESIDED OVER ALARMING INCREASES IN CRIME.

YES, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE HAD ENOUGH:

*are fed up*  
*fed up with*

-- ENOUGH INFLATION AND ENOUGH HIGH INTEREST RATES;

*fed up with*

-- ENOUGH SPECIAL INTEREST;

*fed up*  
-- AND ENOUGH NEGATIVE LEADERSHIP.

*and fed up with the Vetoes*  
THE ONLY CREATIVITY WE HAVE SEEN FROM THE NIXON - FORD WHITE

HOUSE HAS BEEN ITS ABILITY TO SAY "NO" IN 96 DIFFERENT WAYS.



NO TO SCHOOL LUNCH; NO TO THE CITIES; NO TO EDUCATION;

NO TO DAY CARE, TO FEDERAL HEALTH PROGRAMS, NO TO HATCH ACT

REFORM, AND NO TO JOBS;

*no to children, no to the elderly,  
no to farmers, no to the Handicapped, no to*  
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE FED UP WITH NEGATIVE, Hatch Act Reform

and no to  
TIMID LEADERSHIP.

*Will, we can change them.*

I CAME HERE TO TELL YOU THAT WE CAN TURN THIS

COUNTRY AROUND, MY FRIENDS, WE CAN MAKE THESE THE

BEST OF TIMES, THE BEST OF BEGINNINGS,

BECAUSE IN NOVEMBER OF THIS YEAR, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE  
ARE GOING TO CELEBRATE OUR BICENTENNIAL BY PUTTING OUR NATIONAL  
LEADERSHIP BACK ON THE RIGHT ROAD.

IN 1776, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE PROCLAIMED THEIR INDEPENDENCE  
AND THREW OUT THE BRITISH TORIES.

IN 1976, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ONCE AGAIN WILL AFFIRM  
OUR INDEPENDENCE AND VOTE OUT THE "REPUBLICAN TORIES."

THAT'S THE BICENTENNIAL GIFT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL  
GIVE THEMSELVES. IT'S A GIFT OF INTEGRITY, OF VISION AND OF  
CREATIVE AND COMPASSIONATE LEADERSHIP.

I ALWAYS HAVE BEEN PROUD OF MY CLOSE ASSOCIATION  
WITH THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT. AMERICAN WORKERS HAVE  
HELPED TO SHAPE THE STRUCTURE OF OUR ECONOMY, AND YOU  
HAVE ENRICHED OUR SOCIETY AND OUR CULTURE.

THROUGHOUT OUR NATION'S HISTORY, YOU HAVE BEEN THE CUTTING  
EDGE FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE.

YOU HAVE BEEN THE VANGUARD OF LEADERSHIP IN THE FIGHT  
FOR DECENT WAGES AND WORKING CONDITIONS FOR ALL WORKING PEOPLE.

L YOU HAVE HELPED TO MAKE THE UNITED STATES THE MOST  
TECHNOLOGICALLY ADVANCED NATION IN THE WORLD.

L BUT EVEN MORE IMPORTANTLY, YOU HAVE PROVIDED THE LEADERSHIP  
FOR A NEW DAY OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE FOR ALL  
AMERICANS.

YOU HAVE LENT THE STRENGTH OF YOUR CONVICTIONS TO THE  
STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS, FOR COMPASSIONATE AND FAIR TREATMENT  
OF OLDER AMERICANS, FOR DECENT EDUCATION, HOUSING AND CHILD  
CARE.

YES, YOU HAVE STRUGGLED WITH US, AND WE HAVE WON MANY  
BATTLES. INDEED, WE CAN BE VERY PROUD OF THESE ACCOMPLISHMENTS.

L BUT WE ALSO KNOW THAT THE JOB IS NOT DONE. ~~BECAUSE~~

THE AMERICAN WORKER WILL CONTINUE TO BEAR AN UNFAIR SHARE OF  
THE CRITICISM AS LONG AS WE HAVE AN UNSTABLE ECONOMY, AND AS  
LONG AS THOSE IN POWER REFUSE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES  
TO THE LITTLE PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY.

GOVERNMENT WORKERS HAVE BORNE A SPECIAL BURDEN THROUGH  
THESE LONG EIGHT YEARS.

THE ATTACKS ON SO-CALLED "BIG GOVERNMENT" OFTEN HAVE POORLY  
CAMOUFLAGED ANTI-WORKER SENTIMENT.

SOME PEOPLE HEAR THE WORDS "BIG GOVERNMENT" AND THEY THINK:  
"BIG WAGE SETTLEMENTS,"

THEY DON'T THINK ABOUT WASTE AND INEFFICIENCY IN THE  
HIGHER LEVELS -- THE PRESS RELEASES DON'T TELL THEM THAT.

~~IT'S THE LITTLE FELLOW WHO SUFFERS -- THE FELLOW WHO  
BREAKS HIS BACK FOR A DECENT WAGE AND WHO CARES ABOUT HOW  
THIS GOVERNMENT IS RUN.~~

I KNOW THAT POSTAL EMPLOYEES ARE RIGHT IN THERE, FIGHTING  
FOR DECENT TREATMENT AND BETTER PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF  
WHAT YOU ARE UP AGAINST.

L THE POSTAL SERVICE HAS BEEN CRITICIZED A GREAT DEAL  
LATELY, AND NO DOUBT SOME OF THAT CRITICISM IS DESERVED.

L BUT POSTAL EMPLOYEES DO NOT DESERVE THE BLAME FOR  
THE MESS THE POSTAL SERVICE IS IN.

L EFFICIENCY BEGINS AT THE TOP!

L AN ATTITUDE OF PUBLIC SERVICE BEGINS AT THE TOP!

L ACCOUNTABILITY AND FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY BEGIN AT THE TOP!

L YOU KNOW IT, AND I KNOW IT.

Now, I'M READY TO TAKE A LOOK AT THE POSTAL SERVICE TO  
SEE WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE TO KEEP IT SOLVENT AND KEEP IT MOVING.

L BUT I AM NOT READY TO SEE THE JOBS AND THE WELL-BEING OF WORKING

MEN AND WOMEN BECOME THE TARGET OF BUREAUCRATIC SPECULATION.

L WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO REALIZE, ONCE AND FOR ALL,  
THAT THE POSTAL SERVICE IS A SERVICE -- THAT IT IS NECESSARY  
TO THE WELL-BEING OF THIS COUNTRY / AND THAT'S GOING TO COST

SOME MONEY. IT'S A FACT OF LIFE.

L TOGETHER WE CAN MAKE IT WORK.

L AND TOGETHER WE CAN ENSURE THAT JOBS WILL BE PROTECTED.

L TOGETHER WE CAN GUARANTEE THE SECURITY OF RETIREMENT  
INCOME AND HEALTH BENEFITS.



~~MY FRIENDS~~ TOGETHER WE CAN RESTORE GOVERNMENT WORKERS --

INDEED, ALL WORKERS -- TO THEIR PLACE IN AMERICAN LIFE.

L WE CAN GIVE ALL OUR PEOPLE A VISION OF A JUST AND PROSPEROUS  
FUTURE. L BUT WE WILL HAVE TO STRIVE TO ACHIEVE IT,

L THE FOUNDING FATHERS DID NOT GUARANTEE SUCCESS. L THEY  
SPOKE ONLY OF OPPORTUNITY. L THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE  
DID NOT GUARANTEE RIGHTS. L IT DESCRIBED THEM; AND IT IS UP TO  
EVERY GENERATION TO DO ITS PART TO BRING ABOUT THE REALIZATION  
OF THE PROMISES WE HOLD SO DEAR.

L THE FUTURE WILL REQUIRE THE BEST THAT IS IN US, AND WE CAN  
GIVE IT NO LESS.

L AMERICANS ALWAYS HAVE BELIEVED THAT A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT  
MUST BE AN ACTIVE FORCE TO BETTER HUMAN LIFE.

L THE AMERICAN PROMISE COMPELS US TO MAKE THESE THE

BEST OF TIMES.

AND WHAT WILL THIS MEAN? - *Well, for example*

IT WILL MEAN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL URBAN  
POLICY. WE MUST REALIZE THAT NEGLECT OF OUR GREAT CITIES IS  
A NEW AND INSIDIOUS BRAND OF DISCRIMINATION WHICH TAKES ITS  
TOLL ON MINORITIES, THE ELDERLY, THE HANDICAPPED -- THOSE WHO  
LIVE IN THE CITIES.

~~WE NEED A NEW PARTNERSHIP, INVOLVING ALL LEVELS OF  
GOVERNMENT AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR. THIS NEW PARTNERSHIP MUST  
HAVE AS ITS GOAL THE REVITALIZATION OF URBAN CENTERS THROUGH  
A NATIONAL DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT BANK, ANTI-RECESSION GRANTS TO  
STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, THE UPGRADING OF HOUSING AND~~

PUBLIC FACILITIES, TARGETTED FEDERAL PROCUREMENT AND  
EMPLOYMENT POLICIES, AND INSTITUTIONAL REFORM THAT CAN MAKE  
STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS A PART OF THE FEDERAL BUDGET AND  
PLANNING PROCESSES.

## *Health Care*

L WE MUST INSIST ON A RATIONAL, WORKABLE HEALTH CARE  
SYSTEM FOR OUR PEOPLE.

LAST YEAR AMERICANS SPENT \$118.5 BILLION FOR HEALTH CARE,  
AN AVERAGE FOR EACH AMERICAN OF MORE THAN ONE MONTH'S PAY. ~~THIS~~  
~~IS MORE THAN THE AVERAGE CITIZEN OF ANY OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED~~  
~~NATION ON EARTH PAYS FOR HEALTH CARE.~~

L DESPITE THIS, WE RANK FIFTEENTH AMONG INDUSTRIALIZED  
NATIONS IN INFANT MORTALITY, SEVENTH IN LIFE EXPECTANCY AMONG  
FEMALES, AND NINETEENTH AMONG MALES.

Health

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L WE MUST ENACT A NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE PROGRAM, AND WE  
MUST MAKE ADEQUATE NUTRITION AND NUTRITION ~~EDUCATION~~ AVAILABLE  
TO EVERY MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD IN AMERICA. *yes*

L WE HAVE A WHOLE AGENDA OF UNFINISHED BUSINESS -- HUMAN  
PRIORITIES WHICH HAVE GONE UNMET IN EIGHT YEARS OF ECONOMIC  
MISMANAGEMENT AND POLITICAL SHORTSIGHTEDNESS.

L OUR PEOPLE ARE CALLING OUT FOR LEADERSHIP;

-- TO IMPROVE THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN THIS COUNTRY;

-- TO UPGRADE AND EXPAND PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION;

-- TO CURB POLLUTION AND PROTECT OUR ENVIRONMENT AGAINST  
CURRENT AND FUTURE DEPLETION OF OUR NATURAL RESOURCES;

-- TO FIGHT CRIME IN THE STREETS, IN THE CORPORATE OFFICES,

AND, INDEED, IN PUBLIC OFFICES AROUND THE NATION;

-- TO REFORM THE WELFARE SYSTEM SO THAT THOSE WHO NEED  
HELP CAN GET IT, AND THOSE WHO DON'T ~~CAN'T TAKE ADVANTAGE OF IT~~ *need it, are cutoff!*

-- REGULATORY REFORM -- ~~MEANINGFUL~~ *yes* REFORM THAT REFLECTS  
THE NEEDS OF CONSUMERS AND OTHERS WHO RELY ON GOVERNMENT TO

PROTECT THEIR INTERESTS, ~~AGAINST THE ENCROACHMENT OF THOSE~~ *who*

~~WHO WOULD REAP PRIVATE GAIN AT PUBLIC EXPENSE.~~ *we need a*

~~RENEWED SPIRIT OF COOPERATION AMONG GOVERNMENT, CONSUMERS AND~~ *the*

~~THE PRIVATE SECTOR TO BRING ABOUT TRUE REFORM IN REGULATORY~~ *the*

~~POLICIES.~~ *us*

*Full Employment*

FINALLY, AND I BELIEVE MOST IMPORTANTLY, WE MUST CONCENTRATE

THE FULL WEIGHT OF GOVERNMENT ON RETURNING THIS COUNTRY TO

FULL EMPLOYMENT.

THIS IS CENTRAL TO OUR EFFORTS TO BETTER HUMAN LIFE  
IN AMERICA.

MORE THAN 40 YEARS SINCE THE GREAT DEPRESSION BROUGHT  
THIS COUNTRY TO ITS KNEES, WE STILL HAVE NOT FOUND A WAY TO  
ENSURE OUR PROSPERITY OR PROVIDE EVERY AMERICAN WITH A PRODUCTIVE  
PLACE IN THIS SOCIETY.

OVER SEVEN MILLION PERSONS ARE OFFICIALLY UNEMPLOYED.

ANOTHER FOUR MILLION EITHER HAVE BECOME SO DISCOURAGED  
THAT THEY HAVE DROPPED OUT OF THE LABOR FORCE COMPLETELY, OR  
CAN FIND ONLY PART-TIME JOBS.

THE COSTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT ARE BEYOND CALCULATION.

WITH PERSISTENT HIGH JOBLESSNESS, MILLIONS OF AMERICAN  
FAMILIES HAVE SEEN THEIR ASPIRATIONS OF A GENERATION VANISH.



THEIR ONCE CONFIDENT ~~EXPECTATIONS~~ <sup>Hopes</sup> FOR THE FUTURE HAVE BEEN

REPLACED BY FEAR -- FEAR OF LOSING A JOB, FEAR OF UNMET MORTGAGE

PAYMENTS; FEAR OF SKY-ROCKETING MEDICAL BILLS; FEAR OF CRIME

AND VIOLENCE; AND FEAR OF A DESTITUTE OLD AGE. <sup>L</sup> FOR MILLIONS,

FEAR HAS REPLACED HOPE. <sup>L</sup> DOUBT HAS REPLACED CONFIDENCE. AND

DESPAIR HAS REPLACED OPTIMISM.

<sup>L</sup> LET'S LOOK AT THE COSTS OF <sup>unemployment</sup> ~~JOBLESSNESS~~ IN HARD, ECONOMIC

TERMS -- TERMS EVEN OUR REPUBLICAN FRIENDS SHOULD UNDERSTAND.

<sup>L</sup> TWO REPUBLICAN RECESSIONS COST ABOUT \$500 BILLION IN LOST

PRODUCTION BETWEEN 1970 AND 1975. <sup>L</sup> BY THE END OF THE DECADE,

<sup>L</sup> IT WILL HAVE COST US SOME \$1.5 TRILLION.

-- THEIR "STAGFLATION" HAS PRODUCED SOME \$176 BILLION IN

FEDERAL DEFICITS SINCE FISCAL YEAR 1970.

L-- STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS LOST \$27 BILLION IN REVENUES IN 1975 ALONE.

L-- WELFARE COSTS ROSE SOME 20 PERCENT IN 1975.

L FOR EVERY ONE PERCENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT, YOU LOSE \$14 BILLION IN REVENUES. *and add about 5 Billion*

*in costs for Welfare, food stamps*  
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, WE COULD REDUCE FEDERAL WELFARE COSTS BY

*+ Unemployment Compensation*  
\$1.5 TO \$2 BILLION AND SAVE BETWEEN \$2.5 AND \$3 BILLION IN

*Yes each 1% of Unemp Costs the*  
UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION BENEFITS.  
*U.S. Treasury about 19 Billion.*

THERE ARE NO TWO WAYS ABOUT IT: FULL EMPLOYMENT IS SOUND

ECONOMIC POLICY. L AND WE NEED NEW LEADERSHIP TO RECOGNIZE THIS

FUNDAMENTAL TRUTH. WE NEED LEADERSHIP THAT RECOGNIZES THE RIGHT

OF EVERY WILLING AND ABLE AMERICAN ADULT TO FULL PARTICIPATION

IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THIS NATION.

UNTIL WE ASSURE THIS FREEDOM AND THIS RIGHT TO ALL AMERICANS

WE CANNOT CALL OURSELVES TRULY FREE,

h THAT IS WHY CONGRESSMAN AUGUSTUS HAWKINS AND I HAVE  
INTRODUCED THE FULL EMPLOYMENT AND BALANCED GROWTH ACT OF  
1976. THIS BILL PUTS THE PRESIDENT, THE FEDERAL RESERVE AND  
THE CONGRESS ON NOTICE: BRING ADULT UNEMPLOYMENT DOWN TO THREE  
PERCENT IN FOUR YEARS!

THIS IS NOT MERELY ANOTHER PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS BILL.  
IT WOULD ESTABLISH A COOPERATIVE PROCESS FOR MAKING ECONOMIC  
POLICY,

THE HUMPHREY-HAWKINS BILL IS BASED ON THE PREMISE THAT  
ECONOMIC MISMANAGEMENT IS NO EXCUSE FOR JUGGLING WITH THE LIVES  
OF OUR PEOPLE.

L WE CAN MAKE IT WORK, L BUT IT WILL REQUIRE PERSEVERANCE,  
~~MY FRIENDS~~, AND IT WILL REQUIRE THE COOPERATION AND SUPPORT OF  
EVERY AMERICAN WHO BELIEVES THAT A PAYCHECK IS BETTER THAN A  
WELFARE CHECK.

L I HAVE A POSTER IN MY OFFICE WHICH READS: TODAY  
IS THE FIRST DAY OF THE REST OF YOUR LIFE. I LIKE THAT  
SENTIMENT, BECAUSE IT REMINDS ME THAT EVERY DAY IS A NEW BEGINNING.

L WE CAN MAKE THESE THE BEST OF TIMES. L WE CAN KEEP THE  
PROMISES AND FULFILL THE HOPES OF THE FOUNDING FATHERS. BUT  
WE CANNOT DO THESE THINGS IF WE ARE TIMID AND AFRAID.

FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT SUMMED IT UP WHEN HE SAID: "THE ONLY  
LIMIT TO OUR REALIZATION OF TOMORROW WILL BE OUR DOUBTS OF  
TODAY. LET US MOVE FORWARD WITH STRONG AND ACTIVE FAITH.



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