

November 5-7, 1966 Minnesota Campaign Trip: texts; statements.

The texts and statements contained in this folder were removed from a single miscellaneous contents folder for the Minnesota Campaign Trip. Most of the subsequent folders representing specific appearances that HHH made during the Minnesota trip did not contain any texts for speaking events. The enclosed texts probably supplied the themes for Humphrey's various speaking appearances, but, it was not possible to associate any text with a specific appearance.

Rosemary Palmer

May 2, 1984

## The American Economy At Year's End

This remarkable economy of ours will very shortly have completed its fifth year of virtually uninterrupted expansion -- a record unparalleled in peacetime or wartime. For the upper four-fifths of our population, at least, living is increasingly more comfortable than it was in 1960.

The total output of goods and services in the United States has risen from just over \$500 billion, in the year before the boom began, to an annual rate of nearly \$750 billion, as of the third quarter of 1966 -- a 50% increase. Even allowing for the increase in prices during this period, total output is up by one-third from the 1960 level, measured in "real" or purchasing power dollars.

Investment in new plant and equipment, the key to growth in the private sector of the economy, has come close to doubling since 1960 -- \$35.7 billion as against a projected annual rate of \$63.6 billion for the last three months of this year. In the commercial sector (which includes the communications industry), expenditures for plant expansion have followed the same pattern -- \$11.6 billion in 1960, to a present annual rate of \$19.7 billion.

Corporations have been in the front row in skimming off their share of the cream; profits after taxes have risen almost twice as fast as total national output -- from \$26.7 billion in 1960 to \$48.7 billion as of mid-1966 -- a boost of 82.4% in cash available for dividends and retained earnings.

In the area of wage and salary payments -- the share of prosperity which goes to those who work for someone else -- progress is, however, seriously behind the rise in the economy as a whole. Wages and salaries stood at \$270.8 billion in 1960, and averaged only \$388.0 billion thus far in 1966 -- for an increase of 43.3%, roughly half the rate of increase in net profits of corporations.

For these among other reasons, we are still short of a viable solution to the basic problem of a free economy -- namely, the provision of jobs for all those ready and willing to work, while maintaining -- at the same time -- relative price stability. Measured unemployment stood at 3.8% of the labor force in September -- while the Consumer Price Index was 3.5% above the comparable figure for a year ago.

We find ourselves, in the closing months of 1966, at a point where some of the economic indicators are beginning to level off or to "soften", suggesting some sideways motion in the economy. On the other hand, defense expenditures for the Vietnam conflict are moving ahead more rapidly than had been projected at Federal budget time last spring -- thus providing a "cushion" for the economy which has blunted the effects of slowdowns in some sectors, which otherwise might have shown through.

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Projecting policy needs for 1967 in the economic area thus becomes an exercise in weighing a complex number of "ifs". In the view of CWA, there is no fundamental flaw in our economic structure which makes a downswing (or even a leveling off) either necessary or inevitable. The largest single factor as yet unmeasurable is the amount of additional defense appropriation which will be needed -- almost as soon as the 90th Congress convenes -- to support our efforts in Vietnam for the balance of this fiscal year (through June 30th).

The impact of this decision -- once reached -- will affect both the level and the direction of contingent decisions which have to be made in the governmental sector -- and will bear, directly and psychologically, on the thrust which the private sector of the economy takes in 1967.

Attempting to assess the dimensions of this factor, and taking note of the imbalances in the distribution of our present affluence noted above, the Executive Board of CWA urges that an affirmative economic policy for the United States for 1967 include the following on its agenda:

1) Inflationary pressures

Assuming an additional defense appropriation for Vietnam of at least \$10 billion in January -- and there is every indication that it may well go higher -- we shall need a judiciously drawn tax increase, (a) to siphon off overheated dollars in certain areas of the economy, and (b) to assure that expenditures vital to continued growth in the domestic economy are not curtailed in the name of priorities for Vietnam.

Quite obviously, the size of the tax increase which may be required is a function both of the level of the supplemental appropriation which the President requests and of the state of the economy at year's end. We submit, however, that any tax increase -- if, as, and when -- must be geared to those sectors of the economy which have flourished most widely during the present boom.

CWA's position, therefore -- along with the rest of organized labor and other liberal elements in the community -- is one of firm insistence that the corporate sector be tapped in proportion to the unprecedented levels to which profits have soared in recent years; that any tax increase on personal incomes must exclude families with less than \$6800 income; and that at least the present levels of progressivity be maintained in our personal income tax structure. To fail to meet these minimum standards is to ask the most of those who have the least.

We stand ready, in a word, to support whatever is economically necessary to meet our commitments abroad -- provided the sacrifice is equitably assessed, and provided the broad prospects of the Great Society are not made the price for fulfilling those commitments.

2) Wage and Price Movements

We recognize the necessity for maintaining relative price stability if the economy is to gain the levels, both of growth and of distribution of the fruits of that growth, of which it is capable. In this context, the President's Council of Economic Advisers proposed, in 1962, "guideposts" for non-inflationary wage and price behavior.

The principles by which such guideposts might influence price and wage decisions in the private sector of the economy were carefully drawn, in the first instance; productivity was to be the basis, as a guide rather than a rule, for advances in wages and for adjustments in prices -- with flexibility, as between industries, as the keynote for their application to specific situations.

We need do no more than cite the dismal record of this past year to indicate how far afield the "guideposts" have been taken in an attempt to convert them to a pat and unyielding formula. The President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy has recommended, in its report to the President of August 18, that the Council of Economic Advisers evaluate, on something like a quarterly basis, the "extent to which the economy as a whole is achieving the goals reflected in the guideposts".

We submit that this is a laudable step forward, and we fully support it. But we further submit that the process of guidepost formulation itself requires

evaluation -- and, indeed, that consultation and dialogue between the Council of Economic Advisers and interested parties, including both labor and management, is a cardinal necessity at this first juncture -- if guideposts are to achieve the voluntary acceptance, in the economy as a whole, for which they were initially intended.

3) Collective Bargaining

We re-affirm our fundamental faith in the collective bargaining process as a prime factor, in the private sector of the economy, in assuring paycheck protection for working men and women. We have due regard for the strains under which the economy may be operating in 1967, as we have indicated above -- but it is a hard economic fact that real earnings for wage earners as a whole, measured in terms of purchasing power, have barely increased over the last year.

We in CWA have been more fortunate than most in the progress which we achieved in 1966 across the bargaining table. But we are the first to recognize that CWA members move ahead only as their fellow workers, organized and unorganized alike, are able to share in this country's affluence.

The only sure route to sustained growth is to expand the consumer base which supports and creates the market for that growth -- and collective bargaining, freely exercised, is a vital factor in protecting that foundation against the erosions of inflation.

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## STATEMENT ON VIET-NAM

Viet-Nam remains the most publicized and personalized tragedy of worldwide scope since World War II. Many people are forgetting and disregarding the brutal facts of history, as they call for surrender to the communists in both a fighting and ideological war which is out in the open in Viet-Nam, but which goes on around the world continually, and only takes the form of open or insurgent warfare when the communist apparatus find such to their timely advantage and, from their viewpoint, practical to secure their objective. Greece, Korea and Viet-Nam are only three instances in which peace in the world has been disturbed and threatened by the international communist apparatus.

Greece, South Korea and as of now, South Viet-Nam, with the help of allies, have managed to resist communist aggression and take over by force. Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania and Red China, as well as North Korea and North Viet-Nam were not so fortunate, and now no hope exists for freedom in those unfortunate lands. Among all those, only two fleeting attempts at freedom occurred - in Poland when for two days in June 1956 a desperate attempt at freedom was crushed by the communists, and later in that same fateful year in Hungary, when a liberation movement failed under the guns of 5,000 Russian tanks.

Everyone should study and restudy the brutal methods used by the communists - under the leadership, guidance, and with the military help of Russia - to take over country after country following World War II.

Time after time, statesman-like proposals have been advanced by the United States and countries of the free world to bring about an end

to fighting in Viet-Nam, including bombing of the North.

Each such effort has been sneered aside by Peiping, Hanoi and Moscow in spoiled, childlike, absurd tirades which ignore any element of basic justice, freedom and democracy and which spew forth a stream of propaganda perverting words completely out of their true meaning.

Above all, we desire peace, peace for and in all the world. Peace, but not peace at any price.

Peace can be brought to Viet-Nam and we are greatly reassured by the Declarations of Honolulu and Manila.

The New York Times said on October 26, 1966: "There will be no quarrel in the Western World with the aims and aspirations of the communique issued after the Manila Conference. They are admirable. But the answer to the burning question of whether they are likely to contribute greatly to peace in Viet-Nam and Southeast Asia would have to be 'No.'"

This "No" flows in blood across the pages of history solely because Hanoi, supported and urged on by the USSR and Red China is not convinced that they cannot win by force, aggression and war that which they fear they cannot achieve by a free democratic process.

The ugly specter of Red China boiling in self rage - using misinformed and misguided youthful "red guards" and flaunting "guided missiles and nuclear weapons" as encouragement to Hanoi to continue a war that the communists never should have started, - grows ever more horrible. And, as if hand in hand, while the USSR and Red China snipe at each other, the Soviet Bloc nations pledge one billion dollars to

keep Hanoi at war.

The beleaguered people of South Viet-Nam cannot now, at this late hour in their suffering, be abandoned to the brutal onslaught of the communist juggernaut.

We condemn Peiping, Moscow and Hanoi for their refusal to stop the war in Viet-Nam. We applaud the forthright statements of the allies for freedom and democracy in their Declarations of Manila.

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## STATEMENT ON 1966 ELECTIONS

During the prior months and in these final days before the 1966 elections, throughout America many thousands of CWA members are once again playing a good citizenship role through participation in political activity in their respective communities.

In many areas and cities, large numbers of CWA members have spent long hours manning banks of telephones in an organized effort to register voters. They will be repeating that effort on November 7 and 8 in an attempt to get-out-the-vote.

Many members and Local officers have made a dedicated effort on behalf of candidates. Numerous others, at a sacrifice of time and effort, have engaged in the necessary leg-work on behalf of door-to-door registration. Earlier in the year CWA members, through the Union's organized effort, voluntarily contributed the dollars that made this subsequent political activity possible.

These many people have made this effort for one reason and one alone - progress and the future welfare of their nation. CWA members know that without legislative progress of benefit to all Americans, every individual is penalized and the nation stagnates. Their contribution of good citizenship proves once more that CWA is a community-minded union interested in the welfare of every citizen.

The CWA Executive Board commends this effort.

In the time remaining before November 8, Election Day, the CWA Executive Board urges all CWA Locals, through cooperation with AFL-CIO State and County councils, to do those things necessary with money and

manpower to insure that every registered voter exercises his right to vote. More important and in the context that every single vote counts, CWA urges every eligible CWA member to vote on Election Day and through that vote, implement our nation's democratic traditions and ideals in the interest of perpetuating good government for all Americans.

We urge our members to ignore the candidates who are captured by the Extreme Right or the Extreme Left and to deplore, with us, the white backlash, the black power and other evidences of bigotry.

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## STATEMENT ON MATCHING MEN AND JOBS

Casual observers of the American economy have concluded that the rapid extension of automation may lead us to the inexorable end of having millions of workers on a permanent government dole -- a dole adapted by the age of affluence into a guarantee of income without work. While we appreciate this concern about "surplus" people in our society, we firmly believe they greatly under-estimate the possibilities of a concerted effort by the private and public sectors to minimize the adverse effects of the new technology.

We conceive of technology not as a vessel into which people are poured and molded, but as a vehicle adapted to the need of man, and to the furtherance of human ends. We stress the concern for people, for the human beings whom technology should serve, not enslave. A failure to preserve this concern for our fellow man will inevitably lead us to the harsh and sterile dominance of technology and to that group of men who may gain its control.

Accordingly, we propose and support the establishment of an altogether new concept in employing the displaced -- a nonprofit public service employment corporation with joint public and private ownership. This corporation would provide a computerized nationwide service for matching men and jobs. This concept envisions local centers feeding regional centers jobs and personnel availability information relevant at that level, and these regional centers in turn feeding into a nationwide job and manpower bank.

This corporation would be responsible for bridging the information gap between the displaced worker and the job availability. Labor markets are traditionally considered to be local, but in many cases the market is regional, or even national, for markets expand with mobility. Adequate job information is the first essential in a stable labor market; opportunity for alternative employment is real only when the displaced worker knows of its existence. The technological knowledge is available for the development of the equipment and the costs are within reason. The technical feasibility of such a system has been established in studies sponsored by the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress.

To do less would be to deny our purpose and preclude our future.

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MINNESOTA TEXT  
VERSION I

A few days ago Daylight Saving Time ended, and we turned our clocks back one hour.

But that is not enough to suit our Republican friends. On Tuesday, they want to set the clock back six years.

In 1960 we promised to get America moving again. And we did.

The past six years have been the best our country's ever known.

Our country is stronger and better and freer than it has ever been before. And we mean to keep it moving forward.

We mean to keep moving forward in America. We mean to keep moving forward in Minnesota.

Way back in 1915, Woodrow Wilson said: "The trouble with the Republican party is that it hasn't had a new idea for thirty years."

And then he added: "I'm not speaking as a politician. I am speaking as an historian."

Well, just add another 51 years to that total. They still haven't had any new ideas ... and they're against anybody else's.

Take the record of the 89th Congress -- the most progressive and active Congress in our history. Where did the Republicans stand?

We passed Medicare -- for our fathers and mothers, for 19 million Americans.

More than 9 out of 10 Republican Congressmen voted to recommit and kill that bill.

We passed a Voting Rights Bill to make the polling place color blind.

Some 85 per cent of House Republicans voted to recommit and kill it.

We passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act after 20 hard years of struggle to bring our children the best education in the world, bar none.

Some 68 per cent of the Republicans in the House voted to recommit and kill that bill.

We fought to continue the war on poverty -- to help all our people become full and productive citizens.

Ninety per cent of the Republican Congress voted to recommit and kill that bill.

We raised the minimum wage to what is still an inadequate 64 dollars a week -- and 69 per cent of the House Republicans voted to kill that bill.

We passed a housing bill. Ninety-seven per cent of House Republicans voted to kill it.

We passed a new Food for Peace bill to create new markets for American agriculture and to wipe out worldwide hunger. Eighty-five per cent of House Republicans voted to kill that bill.

We tried to repeal section 14b of Taft-Hartly to help the working man. Eighty-six per cent of them voted to kill that bill.

And among those voting no ... no ... no were the Republican Congressmen from Minnesota.

They voted not only against these bills. They voted, too, to kill the foreign aid bill ... to kill the Demonstration Cities bill ... to kill the bill for a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. They all voted against repeal of reactionary right-to-work laws -- even though Minnesota has no such law.

I tell you, both as a politician and a historian, that the <sup>Republican</sup> party not only hasn't had any new ideas --

It is immune to them ... it is allergic to them ... it is set dead against them.

They stand by their principles:

No, no;

Go slow;

Not now;

Never, never.

Today these same nay-sayers are trying to turn back the clock in Minnesota. But we aren't going to let them.

We are taking our stand for Governor Karl Rolvaag and the men and women on the Democratic ticket.

Karl Rolvaag will keep us down that road we've begun -- the road of government with a heart, of government with compassion, of government with integrity.

Karl Rolvaag has fought all his life for the cause of better education for our children, for equal rights for all our citizens.

for care and self-respect for our elderly and infirm.

Karl Rolvaag says "yes" to the people.

Karl Rolvaag is the man who today needs your help.

Karl Rolvaag is the honest man ... the decent man ... the good man, who with that help, will keep Minnesota moving.

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## MINNESOTA TEXT

### VERSION II

When we go to the polls on Tuesday we will be choosing between two Americas: the American of long ago and the America of tomorrow.

We will be choosing between the America of the eight Republican years before 1961 -- an America stuck at dead center -- and the America of these past six Democratic years -- and America on the move.

We will be choosing between an America that is on the way to fulfilling its own high promise -- and an America that was falling sadly short of it.

We will be choosing between government of the many by the privileged few and for the privileged few -- and government of the people, by the people, for all the people.

We will be choosing, in fact, between the Republican and Democratic philosophies of government.

We know what eight years of Republican government meant for America -- eight wasted years ... years of the locust ate.

We saw a talented and innovative people, a dynamic economy, stymied and stifled by government that thought nothing new and did nothing new.

Meanwhile, the nation's problems grew like rank weeds in a neglected field. Our core cities continued to decay, our open spaces to dwindle, our water to get less fit to drink and our air less fit to breathe.

The depressed areas of our country went on stagnating toward despair. At the bottom of the economic pyramid -- where the trickle-down economics of the Republicans never seemed to penetrate -- frustration and bitterness continued to fester.

What kind of shape would we be in, at home and abroad, if we had gone on drifting downhill for six more years?

At home, every problem we face would have been six years more aggravated, every frustration six years closer to explosion.

Abroad, even our ability to maintain and defend freedom might have been questioned.

We may be truly thankful that America awoke in time.

The tragedy is that, all the while, we had a giant's strength -- a strength that our people were willing and eager to use in the service of our country and of mankind.

If we have accomplished great things in these past six years -- and I believe we have -- it is because we have set free the great creative energies of the American people.

It is because we have set goals high enough and generous enough to challenge their vaulting idealism.

We have fulfilled the pledge we made to the American people in 1960: To get this country moving again.

In today's America, progress and innovation are the status quo.

Our is not an America without problems. But they are problems that are no longer being swept under the rug. We are meeting them. And they shall be overcome.

In these years we have more than tripled our federal investments in education.

We have more than doubled our federal investments in medical care.

We have declared national war on poverty.

We have set right an unjust immigration policy.

We have determined to make our cities safe and liveable.

We have brought unprecedented economic growth and prosperity to our people.

And we have, without equivocation, made it our national business that every American -- every American, no matter what his religion, his last name, or the color of his skin -- shall have an open and equal place in our society.

We have, at home and in the world, faced up to responsibility.

We have not practiced isolation in the world.

We have not practiced discrimination in America.

We have taken our stand with the people -- with the Negro teenager reaching forward to break free of the ghetto ... with the working mother struggling to keep her family together... with the enduring farmer trying to earn a decent return for his investment of back-breaking work ... with the forgotten and by-

passed people and towns hidden in the mildewing hollows of Appalachia ... with the still-innocent child looking out from his slum window toward the stars ... with Americans, wherever they are, living in the midst of affluence, yet being ground down beneath oppressions and injustices that have no place in America.

We have taken our stand with old people living out their lives in empty, lonely rooms ... with the talented, creative child needing only the spark of stimulus to give him brilliance ... with human beings living in filthy tenements which lie in the shadow of glittering skyscrapers ... with honest citizens dwelling each day with the threat of crime and violence.

We are determined to tear down the walls that separate our growing, prosperous America from the "other America" -- the America of one-sixth of our citizens who are citizens only in name.

And we shall do it. Make no mistake about it.

We shall do it.

And when we're done we shall have an America that matches its creed with deed ... an America where every single child can look ahead to a productive life of opportunity and open doors.

This is the commitment President John Kennedy made to our people. This is the commitment President Lyndon Johnson is carrying out. This is the commitment we carry forth.

Now, in Minnesota, we face the old choice again: The choice between men who say "yes" and those who say "no" ... the choice between those who believe in the future and those who long for a dead past.

I say we cannot afford to make the wrong choice.

I say we owe our support to the good ... the decent ... the honest man who is our Governor.

I say we owe our support to the man who says  
what he means and means what he says ... the man we can  
count on ... the man with a heart who is our Governor.

We owe our support to the present Governor, and  
the next Governor, of Minnesota -- my friend Karl Rolvaag.

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