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PROMISES -- PROMISES

REPUBLICAN THEME SONG

REMARKS OF HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

TRIENNIAL INSTALLATION CELEBRATION OF
JOINT BOARD OF CLOAK, SUIT, SKIRT AND
REEFER MAKERS UNIONS

INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION

AFL-CIO

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

MARCH 27, 1971

(Bebe)
✓ Lou Hubberg
✓ Henoch Mendelsohn
David Dubinsky

✓ Evelyn Dubrow
✓ Mrs Tyler

TODAY I AM GOING TO TALK ABOUT THE ECONOMY --
REPUBLICAN PROMISES -- JOBS -- TRADE -- AND MIX IN
A LITTLE ABOUT REPUBLICANS HERE AND THERE.

∟ BUT BEFORE DISCUSSING THESE MATTERS, I WOULD
LIKE TO SAY TO THE LEADERSHIP AND MEMBERSHIP
ALIKE -- THANK YOU -- THANK YOU FOR YOUR SUPPORT,
YOUR EFFORTS AND YOUR AFFECTION.

~~∟ AS YOU KNOW, I CARRIED NEW YORK QUITE HANDILY
IN 1968. WHILE I WANT TO SAY THANK YOU TO NEW
YORK, I ALSO WANT TO GIVE A VERY SPECIAL THANKS
TO THE ILGWU FOR THE WARM, DEDICATED AND EFFECTIVE
SUPPORT YOU GAVE MY CANDIDACY.~~

∟ THERE IS A CLOSE PERSONAL FEELING BETWEEN
YOUR UNION AND MYSELF THAT RUNS BACK MANY YEARS.

BUT I KNOW YOUR DECISION TO BACK A CANDIDATE GOES BEYOND PERSONAL FRIENDSHIP. YOU WANT TO KNOW HIS IDEAS AND IDEALS. AND BECAUSE YOU PLACE THESE VALUES ABOVE ALL ELSE, I AM HONORED TO HAVE HAD YOUR SUPPORT. THAT IS ANOTHER REASON I AM PARTICULARLY PLEASED TO BE WITH YOU THIS AFTERNOON.

WE AMERICANS HAVE COME TO REALIZE WE DO NOT HAVE UNLIMITED RESOURCES. WE LOOK OVER ^{our} ~~THE~~ LAND AND SEE MANY, MANY UNMET NEEDS. WE MUST BALANCE THESE NEEDS WITH OUR ABILITY TO MEET THEM. WE MUST SET PRIORITIES. WE MUST DEDICATE OUR RESOURCES AND MANPOWER TO THE BEST POSSIBLE BUY. WE MUST LOOK AT BOTH ALTERNATIVE GOALS AND MEANS.

WE MUST WEIGH WHAT COURSE OF ACTION WILL GIVE US
THE GREATEST GOOD, EFFICIENTLY, ECONOMICALLY AND
AT THE RIGHT TIME.

I THINK THE CONGRESS, BOTH HOUSE AND SENATE,
HAVE SHOWN THE DAWNING OF A NEW DAY IN AMERICA'S
GROWTH AND AMERICA'S FUTURE. IN DECIDING THERE
WAS TO BE NO FURTHER FEDERAL FUNDING FOR THE SST,
CONGRESS HAS SET THE STAGE FOR A NEW SET OF
PRIORITIES.

OUR NATIONAL GOALS ^{Can} ~~ARE~~ NO LONGER TO BE
MEASURED AND SELECTED ON THE BASIS OF NATIONAL
PRIDE IN MERELY INTERNATIONAL TECHNOLOGICAL
COMPETITION PROJECTS THAT BECOME UNREASONABLY
EXPENSIVE, AND CONTRARY TO OUR NEWLY-WON SENSE
OF SOCIAL COMMITMENT.

OUR SENSE OF NATIONAL PRIDE MUST BE MEASURED BY
 THE QUALITY OF OUR NATIONAL LIFE -- NOT MERELY
 ITS QUANTITY.

*This is what was involved
in the SST decision*

I UNDERSTAND AND REGRET THAT BECAUSE OF
 THE ^{on the SST ^} VOTE, THERE WILL BE SOME ADDITIONAL JOBS
 LOST RIGHT NOW. HOWEVER, I BELIEVE THAT THIS

PUBLIC MONEY COULD BE BETTER SPENT AND THE
TALENTS OF THESE WORKERS BETTER DIRECTED TO OTHER
MORE PRESSING HUMAN NEEDS IN AMERICA TODAY. /f

AM A COSPONSOR OF SEVERAL REEMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS
~~INTRODUCED IN THE SENATE IN THE~~ *designed to be of help to* ~~NAME~~ OF THOSE
 WORKERS WHO WILL BE DISPLACED BY CANCELLATION
OF THE SST.

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THESE MEASURES WOULD REDIRECT SST FUNDS AND THE
PRODUCTIVE TALENTS OF THE ENGINEERS, TECHNICIANS
AND OTHER WORKERS INTO DEVELOPMENT OF MASS
TRANSIT SYSTEMS, THE MODERNIZATION OF AIRPORT
FACILITIES, AIR TRAFFIC SAFETY, AND OTHER
PROGRAMS TO HELP SOLVE OUR UNMET HUMAN NEEDS.

THE CONGRESS HAS DECLARED ITS WILLINGNESS TO
COOPERATE WITH THE ADMINISTRATION, WITH
MANAGEMENT AND LABOR IN SOLVING THIS IMMEDIATE
EMPLOYMENT PROBLEM. -- AND THE CONGRESS HAS
DEMONSTRATED ITS WILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE PUBLIC
SERVICE EMPLOYMENT TO THOSE WHO CANNOT FIND
EMPLOYMENT IN THE PRIVATE ECONOMY.

Govt + People
7/12 Duty of Govt

WE HAVE TALKED ABOUT A SPECIFIC SITUATION
IN WHICH THERE WILL BE THE POSSIBLE LOSS OF
APPROXIMATELY 13,000 JOBS. I ADMIT THIS IS
A LARGE FIGURE. I KNOW THE PERSONAL HARDSHIPS
THAT THIS WILL VISIT UPON THESE FAMILIES.
THESE ARE PEOPLE AND NOT STATISTICS.

⑦

THIS IS A MANUFACTURED RECESSION. THE
REPUBLICANS' ~~RECIPE~~ PRESCRIPTION FOR THE

ECONOMIC ILLS OF AMERICA ~~IS~~ LARGE DOSES OF
UNEMPLOYMENT TO LOWER THE FEVER OF INFLATION.

BUT LIKE MANY QUACK REMEDIES, IT DOESN'T WORK!

UNEMPLOYMENT CONTINUES AND THE FEVER OF
INFLATION PERSISTS.

Thank You

How

Right to work!

L IN THE MEANTIME, THE NATION SUFFERS AN AGONIZING
RECESSION WITH MILLIONS OF OUR PEOPLE BEING
 DENIED A BASIC RIGHT OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP --
THE RIGHT TO PRODUCTIVE GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT. (YES,
THE RIGHT TO WORK TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE NATION'S
 WELL-BEING, TO PROVIDE FOR THEMSELVES AND THEIR
 FAMILIES TO ASSIST IN ECONOMIC GROWTH AND
 NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT. *I repeat my charge-*

L AMERICA IS THE VICTIM OF A REPUBLICAN
MANUFACTURED RECESSION. (~~IT WAS A GAME PLAN~~
~~IN WHICH THE COACH AND HIS STAFF HAVE PLANNED~~
~~A LOSER, A LOSER FOR THE PLAYERS AND FOR THE~~
~~SPECTATORS.~~

THERE ARE OVER 5,000,000 AMERICANS UNEMPLOYED
 ACROSS THIS NATION. FOR THEM AMERICA IS NO LONGER
 THE LAND OF PROSPERITY, ^{opportunities.} IMAGINE IT -- 15,000,000

MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN FACING WEEKS AND MONTHS
OF ECONOMIC AND EMOTIONAL TRAUMA, AND WHY?

~~BECAUSE THE REPUBLICANS ARE STILL POSSESSED OF~~
~~A CONGENITAL ECONOMIC MYOPIA. THEIR VIEW OF PUTTING~~
~~PEOPLE OUT OF WORK TO CONTROL AN INFLATION, FOR~~
~~WHICH THEY ARE PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE, IS~~
~~ECONOMICALLY AND MORALLY INDEFENSIBLE. YOU AND~~
~~I SEE VERY CLEARLY WHAT NIXON'S ECONOMIC~~
~~POLICIES ARE DOING TO THE COUNTRY AND TO THE~~
~~PEOPLE THAT HAVE CREATED THE GREAT AMERICAN~~
~~ECONOMY.~~

BUT REPUBLICANS HAVE TO LOOK AT REALITY THROUGH
 FANCY OPERA GLASSES. THEY SEE ONLY WHAT THIS
 NARROW FOCUS PERMITS -- A TYPICAL REPUBLICAN
 OPERA-BOX ATTITUDE TOWARD THE WORKING MAN, HIS
 FAMILY AND THEIR WELL-BEING.

~~THE COUNTRY MUST START MOVING AGAIN. WE
 MUST PUT PEOPLE TO WORK AND GENERATE THE PRIVATE
 INCOME AND PUBLIC REVENUES THAT CAN HELP
 BUILD A BETTER AMERICA.~~

~~therefore~~ OUR SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT AND IMMEDIATE
 DOMESTIC PRIORITY IS TO RESTORE OUR ECONOMY
 TO ITS FULL POTENTIAL. ~~WE MUST RESTORE A STABLE
 GROWTH RATE WITHOUT INJURIOUS INFLATION. WE
 MUST END THIS RECESSION, THIS UNEMPLOYMENT, THIS
 INFLATION~~

AMERICA'S ECONOMY IS NOW A CRIPPLED GIANT,

↓ ITS LETHARGY AND LIMP PREVENT US FROM UNDERTAKING
THOSE PROGRAMS SO DESPERATELY NEEDED TO MEET

AMERICA'S SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC GOALS IN THE '70S.

AND WITHIN THIS GENERAL ECONOMIC IMPERATIVE
THE FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS IS TO GET THE NATION

✓ BACK TO WORK. I SPEAK NOT ^{only} OF THE OPPORTUNITY

FOR GAINFUL AND APPROPRIATE EMPLOYMENT. d

SPEAK TODAY OF THE RIGHT TO A DECENT JOB. / *the*

THESE DAYS OF A MANAGED ECONOMY, EVERY MAN

AND WOMAN WHO DESIRES TO WORK SHOULD BE GUARANTEED

A JOB. THE NATIONAL ECONOMY MUST BE STRUCTURED

IN SUCH A WAY THAT PRIVATE BUSINESS REMAINS

HEALTHY AND GROWING.

L IT SHOULD PROVIDE JOBS FOR THE INCREASING NUMBERS
 WORKING OR SEEKING A JOB.

L HOWEVER, IF THE PRIVATE SECTOR DOES NOT
PROVIDE THESE JOBS; IF THERE IS AN ECONOMIC
 LULL OR RECESSION OR DEPRESSION -- THEN THE
 GOVERNMENT MUST STEP IN AND PROVIDE USEFUL

EMPLOYMENT L EVERY AMERICAN HAS THE RIGHT TO
A JOB -- A RIGHT TO BE PRODUCTIVE AND SELF-
FULFILLING --> ~~A RIGHT TO GIVE TO AMERICA MORE~~
~~THAN HE OR SHE RECEIVES~~ L ECONOMIC GROWTH AS
WELL AS PERSONAL SATISFACTION IN A JOB WELL
DONE ARE BASED ON THAT PRINCIPLE ~~GIVING~~
~~MORE THAN ONE RECEIVES.~~

I FEEL THAT A RETURN TO FULL EMPLOYMENT IN AMERICA IS PARTICULARLY NEED^{ed} AT THIS VERY MOMENT BECAUSE WE ARE LIVING IN A WORLD OF ECONOMIC MAKE-BELIEVE. THIS IS TRUE ON TWO ACCOUNTS. FIRST, IT IS MAKE BELIEVE BECAUSE WE ARE TOLD THAT THE ECONOMY'S SERIOUS ILLS ARE BEING TREATED WITH "GAME PLANS." WE'RE SICK -- SOME OF US ARE DYING ECONOMICALLY -- AND THE WHITE HOUSE DOCTOR PRESCRIBES FUN AND "GAMES." SECOND ON THE LIST OF MAKE-BELIEVE IS THE STORY TOLD US BY THE WHITE HOUSE, WHILE THEY ARE MANUFACTURING THIS "INFLATION CURE," THAT THINGS ARE BETTER AND BETTER AS THEY REALLY BECOME WORSE AND WORSE. WHEN I READ THE ADMINISTRATION'S ECONOMIC REPORTS I WONDER.

I REALLY WONDER IF SOMEONE DIDN'T SLIP "ALICE IN WONDERLAND" OR THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS" TO THE PRINTER. OR MAYBE THEY NOW HAVE LEWIS CARROLL ON THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS. I WOULDN'T BE SURPRISED.

YES, IN TRYING TO COOL THE FIRES OF INFLATION, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS DOUBLED THE RATE OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN THIS COUNTRY. I SAY THAT THEY HAVE DONE THIS AND DONE IT DELIBERATELY. THIS RECESSION IS NOT PART OF ANY IMPERSONAL BUSINESS CYCLE BROUGHT ABOUT BY AN UNLUCKY TURN OF THE ECONOMIC WHEEL. THIS RECESSION WAS PLANNED. IT WAS INHERENT IN THE REPUBLICAN PLAN TO BATTLE INFLATION.

AND TODAY I AM GOING TO GIVE THE REPUBLICANS
SOME SOUND POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ADVICE. I
AM GOING TO BORROW SOME BIBLICAL IMAGERY AND
COME DOWN FROM THE DEMOCRATIC MOUNTAINS INTO
THE REPUBLICAN SINAI AND GIVE THEM A NEW
COMMANDMENT: "THOU SHALT NOT SACRIFICE
THE JOB OF ANY AMERICAN TO STABILIZE THE ECONOMY."

↳ THERE ARE OTHER WAYS IN WHICH TO CONTROL
THE RATE OF INFLATION. THERE IS NO NEED TO
SLAVISHLY FOLLOW OUT-DATED ECONOMIC THEORIES
THAT REQUIRE THE RITUAL SACRIFICE OF JOBS AS A
TRADE-OFF TO CONTROLLING INFLATION.

WE MUST SOON SEE THE DAY WHEN THE ECONOMIC
AND PERSONAL COSTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT ARE BORNE BY
THE NATION.

THIS IS PARTICULARLY NECESSARY WHEN THE LOSS OF A JOB IS THE RESULT OF SOME OFFICIAL OR EXPERT SAFE IN HIS \$35,000 JOB, DECLARING THAT 6% UNEMPLOYMENT IS ACCEPTABLE IF IT BRINGS INFLATION UNDER CONTROL. IT IS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THE 5,000,000 OUT OF WORK. IT IS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THE JOBLESS FATHER OF FOUR WHO IS NOT CONSOLED WHEN THE ADMINISTRATION TELLS HIM HE IS CONTRIBUTING TO THEIR EFFORTS TO STABILIZE THE ECONOMY.

TODAY, MORE THAN TWO YEARS AFTER THIS REPUBLICAN STRATEGY, WE HAVE A COST OF LIVING THAT IS HIGHER THAN EVER AND, AT THE SAME TIME, A RISING RATE OF UNEMPLOYMENT THAT THREATENS TO WORSEN THE ECONOMIC PICTURE.

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~~WE HAVE RECESSION AND INFLATION. THE AMERICAN
ECONOMY IS SUFFERING FROM MALNUTRITION AND GOUT
AT THE SAME TIME.~~

People

↳ YOU AND I KNOW THE PERSONAL TRAGEDIES THAT
UNEMPLOYMENT STATISTICS REPRESENT. THERE ARE

PEOPLE BEHIND THOSE NUMBERS. ↳ IN JANUARY OF
1970, UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE APPAREL TRADES STOOD

AT SEVEN PER CENT -- IN ITSELF A TOTALLY
UNACCEPTABLE FIGURE. ↳ BUT ONE YEAR LATER,

*and under
Employ*

UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE APPAREL TRADES STANDS AT
14% -- DOUBLE THE RATE OF A YEAR AGO. ↳ THESE

FIGURES ARE FRIGHTFUL AND THEY ARE TOTALLY
UNACCEPTABLE.

↳ WHAT IS TRUE OF THIS INDUSTRY AND ITS WORKERS
IS TRUE OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMY AS A WHOLE.

BY THE END OF 1971 THE NIXON POLICY OF "NO POLICY"
 WILL COST THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY MORE
 THAN \$60 BILLION DOLLARS IN REAL INCOME ^{lost}

AMERICAN BUSINESS WILL HAVE LOST \$22 BILLION
IN PROFITS, AS A RESULT OF THIS SAME RECESSION.
 ALL TOLD, AMERICA WILL LOSE \$120 BILLION.

and UNCLE SAM WILL LOSE \$31 BILLION BECAUSE
 THE INCOME OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS BASED
 ON THE INCOME OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHEN
 WORKERS AND BUSINESSMEN AND FARMERS LOSE INCOME,
 SO DOES THE FEDERAL TREASURY.

ALL THIS SOUNDS PRETTY SIMPLE, DOESN'T IT?
 YET, SOMEHOW IT COMES AS A SURPRISE TO THE
 REPUBLICAN ECONOMIC STRATEGISTS.

and on top of all this, is the
cut-backs in services to our
people - ¹⁸ areas of Educ, Health,
THEY PROMISED TO GIVE THIS COUNTRY A BALANCED
+ Urban measures - Funds
BUDGET. THEY COUNTED ON REDUCED EXPENDITURES
unspent - they tried to COOL the
TO GET US INTO BALANCE. BUT THEY FAILED TO
economy and "Cooled" our money
REALIZE THAT IF THEY COOL THE ECONOMY THEY
WOULD ALSO COOL our national income.

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THE RESULT IS THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS
MANUFACTURED another Problem! DESPITE EFFORTS
TO CUT BACK OR LIMIT VITAL SERVICES TO THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE TO BALANCE THE BUDGET, THE
NIXON ADMINISTRATION IS ENDING UP WITH A HUGE
UNBALANCED BUDGET AS WELL. federal revenues
Dropped.

IN A SENSE, THE REPUBLICANS HAVE BROKEN THREE
CAMPAIGN PROMISES:

ONE, THEY PROMISED TO HALT INFLATION! THEY
HAVE NOT.

TWO, THEY PROMISED TO HALT INFLATION
WITHOUT CREATING UNEMPLOYMENT. THEY HAVE
FAILED IN THAT.

THREE, THEY PROMISED TO BALANCE THE BUDGET.
THEY HAVE FAILED IN THAT. ^{now} SO TO CLEANSE THEIR
POLITICAL SOULS -- THEY ^a CONFESS THEIR SIN --
ASK FOR ABSOLUTION AND RECITE A NEW CREED --
A FULL-EMPLOYMENT BUDGET !

*Mischief
of
Recession*

THE MISCHIEF OF RECESSION WORKS ITS HARM
IN MANY WAYS -- LOSS OF JOBS, LOSS OF PROFITS,
LOSS OF INCOME, LOSS OF FEDERAL REVENUES,
UNBALANCED BUDGETS, AND THEN AT STATE AND LOCAL
LEVELS A CRUSHING BLOW TO ALREADY OVERBURDENED
STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS BY THE LOSS OF
DESPERATELY NEEDED REVENUE.

BY THE END OF THIS YEAR, STATES AND CITIES
AND COUNTIES WILL LOSE OVER SIX BILLION DOLLARS
OF REVENUES BECAUSE OF THIS RECESSION. (*Another Revenue Slavery*)

AND AT ALL LEVELS -- CITY, STATE AND NATION
THERE IS A CLAMOR FOR MORE INCOME THROUGH NEW
AND ADDED TAXES IMPOSED ON A PEOPLE WHOSE
EARNINGS ARE IN DANGER AND WHOSE COST OF LIVING
IS RISING.

IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT TOP PRIORITY
MUST ~~BE~~ ^{be} ~~TOWARD~~ FULL EMPLOYMENT, ~~IN THIS COUNTRY.~~

IT IS AN ECONOMIC MUST. MAY I ADD, IT IS
ALSO THE LAW.

WE HAVE A LAW CALLED THE ~~FULL~~ EMPLOYMENT
ACT *of 1946*

THIS LAW MAKES IT THE DUTY OF THE PRESIDENT
~~OF THE UNITED STATES TO~~ ^{and} ~~OPERATE~~ WITH HIS ADVISERS
^{and carry out}
~~AND~~ TO PROPOSE ECONOMIC POLICIES TO MAINTAIN
¹ FULL EMPLOYMENT, ^{maximum employment, maximum} ~~IN THIS COUNTRY~~ Production.

↳ THERE IS NOTHING IN THAT LAW THAT AUTHORIZES
 THE PRESIDENT TO CREATE UNEMPLOYMENT, OR --
 TO USE THE OFFICIAL PHRASE -- TO "COOL THE
ECONOMY." ↳ INDEED, THE PRESIDENT IS MANDATED
 TO DO JUST THE OPPOSITE: TO SEEK OUT EVERY
POSSIBLE WAY TO FIND JOBS FOR THE JOBLESS, TO
STIMULATE BOTH THE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SECTOR
FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT..

I say the Republican Administration
 is violating the law - and the
 Judge + jury of the American
 electorate will ~~hold~~ give a
 verdict of Guilty in Nov 1972

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THE FINAL JUDGE AS TO WHETHER THE
 ADMINISTRATION IS ABIDING BY THE LETTER AND
 SPIRIT OF THE FULL EMPLOYMENT ACT OR WHETHER
 THE ADMINISTRATION IS REALLY MEETING THE
 LEGITIMATE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE WILL BE THE
 ELECTORATE. THE PEOPLE WILL HAVE THEIR CHANCE
 TO SAY "YEA" OR "NAY" IN NOVEMBER OF NEXT YEAR.

IT WILL BE AN ELECTORATE BETTER INFORMED BY
 THE EVENTS OF THE LAST TWO YEARS. SOME WILL
 BE OLD-TIMERS WHO WENT THROUGH THE LAST GREAT
 DEPRESSION: THEY REMEMBER AND THEY WILL RECALL.
 SOME WILL BE FIRST TIME VOTERS, ESPECIALLY
 SINCE THOSE 18 YEARS OLD AND OVER WILL HAVE THE
 RIGHT TO VOTE: THEY DO NOT REMEMBER HOOVER'S
 1930'S BUT THEY ARE LEARNING ABOUT NIXON'S 1970'S.

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WE ARE COUNTING ON BOTH GENERATIONS TO GO TO THE POLLS AND CORRECT THE ERROR OF 1968.

↳ BUT WE DON'T INTEND TO WAIT UNTIL THE NEXT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION TO MOUNT THE DRIVE FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT IN AMERICA. ↳ WE INTEND TO DO WHAT WE CAN RIGHT HERE AND NOW. ↳ IF THE PRESIDENT VETOES OUR LEGISLATION, WE WILL TRY TO OVERRIDE HIS VETO. ↳ IF HE SIGNS OUR LEGISLATION, WELL AND GOOD. IF WE MAKE THE GOOD FIGHT AND LOSE, LET THE AMERICAN PEOPLE KNOW WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR WHAT, BUT WE DO NOT INTEND TO STAND BY AND WATCH OUR ECONOMY COOLED DOWN TO MAKE THIS AN ECONOMIC ICE AGE FREEZING THE HOMES AND HOPES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

We will act now - and we intend to warm things up - economically + politically.

WE WILL ACT NOW. ^{and} WE INTEND TO WARM THINGS UP --
 ECONOMICALLY AND POLITICALLY.

Trade ON TRADE, THE PRESIDENT CONTINUES TO PLAY
 BOTH SIDES AGAINST THE MIDDLE. FOR ~~1, 2, NOW~~ ^{almost}
 3 YEARS HE HAS DANGLED THE POSSIBILITY OF RELIEF
 BEFORE AMERICAN BUSINESS AND WORKERS THREATENED
 BY INCREASING IMPORTS. NOTHING HAS BEEN DONE
 EITHER THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS OR LEGISLATION, AND
~~THIS IS JUST WHAT THE PRESIDENT WANTS. I FIND~~
~~IT TOTALLY INEXCUSABLE -- KEEPING THESE AMERICANS~~
~~ON THE STRING.~~ JUST RECENTLY, THE PRESIDENT
 COMPLETELY ALIENATED THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
 WAYS & MEANS COMMITTEE -- A MOVE DESIGNED TO
 PRECLUDE ANY SUCCESSFUL TEXTILE NEGOTIATION OR
LEGISLATION DURING THIS CONGRESS.

↳ THIS IS, I'M SURE, A PRELUDE TO TRYING TO PLACE THE POLITICAL BLAME FOR HIS FAILURES IN TRADE POLICY SOMEWHERE ELSE.

↳ MR. MILLS HAS BEEN ~~CASTIGATED~~ ^{chastized}. BUT, HE WAS ABLE TO DO SOMETHING THAT THE ADMINISTRATION FAILED UTTERLY EVEN TO APPROACH. ↳ HE NEGOTIATED WITH THE JAPANESE. ↳ IF THE STATE DEPARTMENT OR THE WHITE HOUSE CAN'T CUT THE MUSTARD WITH THE JAPANESE, THEY MIGHT BE WELL ADVISED TO ASK MR. MILLS FOR HIS HELP. ↳ FROM LONG EXPERIENCE, I KNOW HE IS EXTREMELY COMPETENT IN WORKING OUT REASONABLE SETTLEMENTS TO VERY CONTROVERSIAL PROBLEMS.

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Textile Products ↘ SOME SECTORS OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRIES +

↗ HAVE BEEN HIT SEVERELY BY IMPORTS. ↘ ~~YOU~~

↘ FOR SOME TIME I HAVE BEEN CONCERNED WITH

THIS INCREASING FLOOD OF IMPORTS. ↘ I OUTLINED

MY APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM IN A 1968 SPEECH

IN CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA.

↘ BUT THE REAL CAMPAIGN TO MAKE AMERICA MORE
AWARE OF THIS PROBLEM HAS BEEN WAGED BY THE

ILGWU. ↘ YOU HAVE BROUGHT THIS EMERGENCY TO THE

ATTENTION OF THE PUBLIC AND THE PRESS. ↘ I SALUTE

YOU FOR THIS EFFORT. ↘ OUR TRADING PARTNERS,

PARTICULARLY JAPAN, HAVE TAKEN NOTICE OF YOUR

EFFORTS AND HAVE BEEN TRYING TO FIND WAYS IN

WHICH TO REACH SOME ACCOMMODATION WITH YOU AND

THE AFFECTED INDUSTRIES.

THEIR RECENT OFFER , WHILE VAGUE AND IMPRECISE, TO
LIMIT OVERALL TEXTILE EXPORTS IS A FIRST RESPONSE
TO YOUR CAMPAIGN

↳ THIS IS, AT BEST ONLY A BEGINNING, ↳ THIS
more by private business
~~BUSINESS, NOT GOVERNMENT MOVE, AT LEAST~~

ACKNOWLEDGES THE EXISTENCE OF A PROBLEM, BUT
THERE MUST BE A LIMITATION NOT ONLY ON THE TOTAL
AMOUNT OF EXPORTS PERMITTED, BUT A DELINEATION
OF TEXTILE AND APPAREL CATEGORIES AND THEIR
INDIVIDUAL LIMITATIONS. ↳ IN ADDITION, THERE ARE
OTHER COUNTRIES BESIDES JAPAN INVOLVED IN WHAT
MUST BE A MULTILATERAL AGREEMENT. ↳ TAIWAN, HONG
KONG AND KOREA MUST BE INCLUDED IN ANY MEANINGFUL
VOLUNTARY AGREEMENT.

AND IT WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT TO FIND ACCOMMODATION WITH THESE COUNTRIES BECAUSE THEY ARE ECONOMICALLY LESS STRONG AND DIVERSIFIED THAN JAPAN. LIMITATIONS FOR THEM WILL BE COMPARATIVELY MORE PAINFUL THAN FOR JAPAN.

↳ LIMITATIONS WILL BE VERY DIFFICULT TO MONITOR AND VERIFY. DURING 1956-60 ON THE COTTON AGREEMENT, SHIPMENTS EXCEEDED QUOTAS DESPITE GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO ADHERE TO THESE LIMITATIONS,

↳ WE CAN AND MUST DO BETTER. ~~AND~~ I URGE THE PRESIDENT TO TAKE STEPS TO SEE THAT IF MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO HAVE ANY CHANCE OF SUCCESS HE MAKE THIS CLEAR TO THE NEGOTIATORS.

ANOTHER BASIC RIGHT OF THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE IS THE RIGHT TO HEALTH, THIS RIGHT
IS BEING DENIED MILLIONS OF OUR CITIZENS
DESPITE THE FACT THAT WE SPEND OVER \$70 BILLION
DOLLARS A YEAR ON MEDICAL CARE. FOR THE SAME
AMOUNT OF MONEY, WE CAN AND SHOULD PROVIDE
TOTAL AND COMPLETE MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL CARE
FOR ALL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. HEALTH IS
A NATIONAL PRIORITY. "HE WHO HAS HEALTH HAS
HOPE AND HE WHO HAS HOPE HAS EVERYTHING," SO
SAYETH THE ANCIENT PROPHET. THEREFORE, WE MUST
CONTINUE TO INSIST ON FIRST THINGS BEING FIRST.
WE NEED TO IMPROVE THE DELIVERY OF HEALTH CARE
TO OUR PEOPLE.

AND I DON'T JUST MEAN TAKING CARE OF THOSE WHO ARE CRITICALLY ILL. ↳ WE MUST BEGIN TO DEVOTE MORE OF OUR RESOURCES TO KEEPING PEOPLE HEALTHY AND OUT OF THE HOSPITAL. ↳ NOT ONLY WILL THIS LESSEN THE SUFFERING ~~AND DEATH INVOLVED~~, BUT IT MAKES MORE SENSE ECONOMICALLY. ↳ THE WEALTHIEST, MOST SCIENTIFICALLY ADVANCED NATION IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD SHOULD ALSO BE THE HEALTHIEST NATION ON EARTH. ↳ OUR SCIENTISTS + doctors FIND ANSWERS THAT SAVE LIVES AROUND THE GLOBE -- NOW IT'S TIME FOR OUR PRACTITIONERS AND ADMINISTRATORS TO DELIVER THE BENEFITS OF THESE BREAKTHROUGHS TO ALL AMERICANS. 68

↳ ANOTHER BASIC RIGHT OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP
IS THE RIGHT TO BE FREE OF POVERTY AND DEPRIVATION,
↳ THIS IS AT THE VERY HEART OF A MEANINGFUL
EXPRESSION OF HUMAN DIGNITY, ↳ THE PRESENT
WELFARE SYSTEM IS AN INSULT TO MILLIONS OF
OUR PEOPLE, ↳ IT IS MORALLY AND ECONOMICALLY
INDEFENSIBLE, ↳ THEREFORE, WE MUST HAVE A TOTAL
REFORM OF THE WELFARE MESS. ↳ CONGRESS WILL, I
AM CONFIDENT, DEVISE A PROGRAM THAT RESTORES
DIGNITY TO THE QUALIFIED RECIPIENT AND PEACE
OF MIND TO THE TAXPAYER, ↳ *Just this past 2 weeks,*
SOCIAL SECURITY HAS
BEEN INCREASED BY 10%. BUT THAT IS NOT ENOUGH.
↳ WE HAVE TO QUIT PATCHING THE BALLOON AS MORE
AND MORE LEAKAGE FROM INFLATION TAKES PLACE.

WE MUST DO MORE THAN JUST PERMIT BENEFICIARIES TO BARELY KEEP UP WITH INFLATION. WE NEED TO TIE INCREASES TO THE COST OF LIVING AND THEN MOVE FROM THERE TO MAKE ADDITIONAL INCREASES THAT ACTUALLY IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF LIFE UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY.

↳ ANOTHER BASIC RIGHT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IS THE RIGHT TO AN EDUCATION. ↳ EACH AMERICAN SHOULD HAVE MADE AVAILABLE TO HIM ALL OF THE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY OF WHICH HE IS CAPABLE OF USING. ↳ THIS IS WHAT WE MEAN BY HUMAN DIGNITY AND EQUALITY OF TREATMENT. ↳ MAKING QUALITY EDUCATION FREELY AVAILABLE IS THE SUREST WAY OF REMOVING POVERTY, CRIME, WELFARE AND BLIGHTED OPPORTUNITY.

THIS ONE FACTOR -- LACK OF A PROPER EDUCATION --
CAN PREVENT US FROM REACHING OUR FULL POTENTIAL --
OUR DESTINED EXCELLENCE -- AS INDIVIDUALS AND
AS A NATION.

↳ THE ADMINISTRATION MUST STOP CUTTING THE
EDUCATION BUDGET. ↳ ~~IF THEY EVER HAD A COMMITMENT~~
~~TO EDUCATION, I ADVISE THEM TO RESURRECT IT~~
~~AND SOON.~~ ↳ FEDERAL PARTICIPATION IN THE TOTAL
EDUCATIONAL EFFORT IS ONLY 6.9%. IT SHOULD BE
DOUBLED AND TRIPLED. ↳ IT SHOULD REACH 20% IN
THE NEXT SEVERAL YEARS AND INCLUDE ESTABLISHMENT
OF AN EDUCATIONAL TRUST FUND TO INSURE STABLE
FEDERAL FINANCING OF EDUCATION.

↳ THESE ARE SOME OF THE UNMET NEEDS OF AMERICA:
TRANSPORTATION, EDUCATION, HOUSING, POVERTY,
ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION, URBAN-RURAL DEVELOPMENT,
AGRICULTURAL INCOME AND PRODUCTIVITY. THIS IS
THE CATALOGUE OF OUR MATERIAL AND SOCIAL NEEDS.
THEY MUST BE MET AND THEY WILL BE MET. ①

↳ I CANNOT TAKE PARTISAN DELIGHT IN WHAT IS
HAPPENING TO AMERICA. YES, SOME PEOPLE SAY
THAT THIS REPUBLICAN MISMANAGEMENT WILL COST
THEM THE ELECTION, MAYBE SO. ↳ INDEED I HOPE
SO. BUT THIS IS FAR TOO BIG A PRICE TO PAY FOR
MERELY WINNING ELECTIONS. ↳ YES, I AM A PARTISAN
BUT, FAR ABOVE THAT, I AM AN AMERICAN AND, ABOVE
THAT, I AM A HUMAN BEING CONCERNED ABOUT MY
FELLOW HUMAN BEINGS.

AND I ASSURE YOU I'M NOT GOING TO SIT IDLY
BY WHILE THE REPUBLICANS SYSTEMATICALLY, AND
IN THE NAME OF REORGANIZATION AND SPECIAL
REVENUE-SHARING, DISMANTLE THE DEMOCRATIC PROGRAMS
AND STIFLE THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS
THE NATION HAS MADE UNDER DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTS
AND DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSES.

BUT THERE ARE OTHER CONCERNS THAT ARE REALLY
AT THE BASIS OF BOTH OUR PRESENT SUCCESSES AND
OUR CONTINUAL STRIVING FOR EVER HIGHER GOALS.

ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT ARE NOT THE ONLY
PURPOSES OF OUR SOCIETY. THEY ARE BUT A MEANS
TO A BETTER LIFE.

THE CHALLENGE TO THIS NATION IS NOT TO BE
FOUND ONLY IN AN ECONOMIC RECESSION. WE NEED
AN EXPANSIVE ECONOMY WITHOUT INTOLERANCE,
DISCRIMINATION OR BIGOTRY. OUR REAL GREATNESS
IS NOT IN OUR MACHINES OR OUR MATERIAL WEALTH.
IT IS IN OUR SENSE OF COMPASSION, JUSTICE,
OPPORTUNITY FOR HUMAN DIGNITY. THESE ARE
THE INTANGIBLES THAT ADD MEANING TO LIFE. IT
IS THE QUALITY OF LIFE AND THE SPIRIT THAT MOVES
A NATION -- THAT DETERMINES OUR GREATNESS AND
DESTINY. D

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