

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

DEMOCRATIC RALLY

Toledo, Ohio

September 19, 1971

"Crisis" is becoming a way of life in America today. American people are numb from crises. When we find a new crisis these days, we simply add it to a growing list that already includes:

- the unemployment crisis
- the inflation crisis
- the dollar crisis
- the housing crisis
- the welfare crisis
- the education crisis
- the farm and rural crisis
- the health care crisis
- the environmental crisis
- the crime crisis
- the state revenue crisis

Now, no one man can be blamed for these crises. But an entire Administration with its vast resources and power, and an Administration that has held office for two years and eight months must be held accountable for its neglect -- for its broken promises -- for its emphasis on rhetoric at the expense of action.

Tonight I must add two additional crises to the long list: a crisis of leadership and a crisis of confidence. And the President must be held accountable for both.

The American people are beginning to understand that the growing problems of the Nation cannot be met by a President and an Administration practicing the politics of crisis in a vacuum of real leadership.

Government by crisis is bad government.

The solutions to the great, unmet needs of the American people cannot be found in hastily drafted plans and in policies which discriminate against one or more segments of our society.

We will never get this country out of its difficulties with millions of Americans losing confidence in their government's ability to meet its responsibilities.

Why the loss of confidence?

Why the never-ending crises?

Because the President continues to talk the politics of hope, but does little to turn promises into action.

Only eight days ago President Nixon told the Congress he was committed to eight important goals. Let's examine the depth of his commitment.

Goal Number 1: The President said, "We need a healthy and productive economy."

That was the rhetoric. Let's look at the reality. Only after 31 months of an economic game plan that resulted in major unemployment, debilitating inflation, a weakened dollar, high interest rates, sagging consumer spending and insufficient industrial production did the President act. His action came far too late. And he offered a plan which is unfair to the working man and the consumer while giving far too many economic advantages to the corporate sector.

Goal Number 2: "To help those who cannot help themselves."

That was the rhetoric. Let's look at the reality.

President Nixon asked Congress on August 15 to postpone for one year desperately needed welfare reform. As the welfare crisis grows, as states, counties and cities are bankrupted by rising welfare costs, and as the poor continue to be neglected, those who cannot help themselves are not being helped by the Nixon Administration.

Goal Number 3: "To feed the hungry."

That was the rhetoric. Let's look at the reality.

The Nixon Administration has just emasculated the school lunch program by changing the regulations which govern per pupil expenditure. Two million more children could have been reached by this program if the regulations hadn't been tampered with by the President and his Department of Agriculture.

And I want to tell my good friends from Illinois that because of these changes in the school lunch program, this state will suffer a \$16 million loss in its lunch program -- that's the highest loss of any state in the Nation.

For the children of Illinois, millions of hot lunches will be turned into cold promises.

Goal Number 4: "To provide better health care for the sick."

That was the rhetoric. Let's look at the reality.

President Nixon vetoed a \$2.79 billion, three-year hospital construction bill in June of last year. Fortunately, the Congress overrode the veto, and the Hill-Burton program for construction and modernization of hospitals and health facilities -- in existence since 1947 -- became law. President Nixon called this program "fiscally irresponsible."

The President also vetoed the Family Medical Practices Act which would have given \$225 million to hospitals and medical schools to relieve the serious shortage of doctors. His veto still stands.

Goal Number 5: "To provide better education for children."

On March 3, 1970, the President said "this Administration is prepared to commit itself to substantial increases in Federal aid to education -- to place this among the highest priorities in our budget."

That was the rhetoric. Let's look at the reality.

On August 11, 1970, President Nixon vetoed the entire \$4 billion Office of Education Appropriation for fiscal 1971 because it exceeded his budget request by \$500 million. The Congress was able to override the veto, and such valuable programs as elementary and secondary education grants, education for the handicapped, the Teacher Corps, adult and vocational education programs were allowed to continue.

Goal Number 6: "To provide more fully for the aged."

That was the rhetoric. Let's look at the reality.

President Nixon has cut federal Medicare aid to "extended care facilities" or nursing homes from \$340 million when he took office to \$180 million in 1970.

The President's "get tough" rhetoric to eliminate sub-standard nursing homes has resulted in five HEW Medicaid employees being assigned to this effort when 150 are needed in Washington alone and 2,000 more in the field to secure the up-grading of nursing homes.

Goal Number 7: "To restore and renew our natural environment"

That was the rhetoric. Let's look at the reality.

For fiscal 1972, President Nixon has asked for only \$129 million for air pollution control -- less than one-third of the amount authorized by Congress. He asked for only \$19.2 million for recycling industrial products and waste materials under the Resources Recovery Act of 1970, a small fraction of the \$152 million authorized by Congress.

The President has frozen almost \$700 million for fiscal 1971 environmental protection programs. Fifty-six million dollars have been impounded for rural waste and water disposal grants, \$200 million for basic water and sewer grants, and \$11 million for the Environmental Protection Agency.

Goal Number 8: "To provide more and better jobs and more and greater opportunities for all of our people."

That was the rhetoric. Let's look at the reality.

When President Nixon took office, unemployment was 3.3 percent. It now stands at 6.1 percent.

On December 16, 1970, with 5 million Americans unemployed, the President vetoed the Federal Manpower Training and Public Service Employment Act. This bill would have provided \$2 billion for manpower training, \$2.5 billion for a public service employment program and \$3 billion to prepare employees for better jobs and for special Federal programs. In addition, this important legislation authorized \$2 billion over three years for a Federally supported employment program. The veto was not overridden.

The Nixon administration remains almost silent in the face of unprecedented unemployment among skilled workers and engineers in the aerospace field. Where are the programs to channel the skills and talents of these men into the crucial battle to save our cities and clean our air?

And today while the President tells the Nation about a program that will bring a "new prosperity", there are tragically inadequate programs in his new game plan to create the millions of new jobs needed to reduce widespread unemployment.

The President's Attorney General once said "Watch what we do, not what we say."

Well, the American people have watched and waited in vain. Promises, yes; performance, no.

Nearly three years have been lost in the battle to give all Americans adequate health care, decent housing, good jobs, environmental protection, quality education, and liveable cities.

My friends, every American is entitled to basic rights, to minimum standards which bring him social justice and human dignity. Every American must have:

- the right to peace
- the right to employment
- the right to health
- the right to education
- the right to a clean environment
- the right to justice
- the right to public compassion
- the right to a decent home
- the right to a safe neighborhood
- the right to equal opportunity
- the right to recreation
- the right to privacy

As Americans, as Democrats, let us pledge ourselves to secure these fundamental rights for every American. Our democracy will never be perfected without them.

This Nation cannot afford leadership that holds out the promise of lofty goals, but does little to achieve them. We cannot afford a leadership that is unwilling to transform the hopes and dreams of a people into reality.

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

DEMOCRATIC RALLY

TOLEDO, OHIO

SEPTEMBER 19, 1971

Gout by "Crisis"

Gout by "Shock"

② Crisis of confidence Crisis of Leadership

Nixon - Economic Package

Wage - Price - Freeze -  
but after what!

- Soaring inflation -
- Rising Unemploy -
- increase welfare -
- State + Local Govt Revenue Crisis
- Trade Deficit
- Dollar Crisis

But all is Well! - then Freeze

After what? No Plan!  
But again -

1982

Nixon says "1971 a good yr 1972 a great yr"

Goals "We need a Healthy +  
(1) Productive Economy -

(2) "To help those who cannot help themselves"  
welfare

(3) To Feed the Hungry

(4) To Provide better health care for Sick - Veterans -  
Hospital - Family Medical Practice Act

(5) "To Provide Better Education for Children"

(6) To Provide more fully for the Aged -  
cuts nursing home care -  
Medicare. Social Sec

(7) "To Restore + Renew Natural Environment"

(8) To Provide more + better jobs + more + better opportunities for all our people.

"CRISIS" IS BECOMING A WAY OF LIFE IN AMERICA TODAY.

AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE NUMB FROM CRISES. WHEN WE FIND A NEW CRISIS

THESE DAYS, WE SIMPLY ADD IT TO A GROWING LIST THAT ALREADY

INCLUDES:

-- THE UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS

-- THE INFLATION CRISIS

-- THE DOLLAR CRISIS

-- THE HOUSING CRISIS

-- THE WELFARE CRISIS

-- THE EDUCATION CRISIS

-- THE HEALTH CARE CRISIS



-- THE ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS

-- THE CRIME CRISIS

-- THE STATE REVENUE CRISIS

Now, NO ONE MAN CAN BE BLAMED FOR THESE CRISES. BUT  
AN ENTIRE ADMINISTRATION WITH ITS VAST RESOURCES AND POWER, AND  
AN ADMINISTRATION THAT HAS HELD OFFICE FOR TWO YEARS AND EIGHT  
MONTHS MUST BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR ITS NEGLIGENCE -- FOR ITS  
BROKEN PROMISES -- FOR ITS EMPHASIS ON RHETORIC AT THE EXPENSE  
OF ACTION.

TONIGHT I MUST ADD TWO ADDITIONAL CRISES TO THE LONG  
LIST: A CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP AND A CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE. AND THE  
PRESIDENT MUST BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR BOTH.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE BEGINNING TO UNDERSTAND THAT  
THE GROWING PROBLEMS OF THE NATION CANNOT BE MET BY A PRESIDENT  
AND AN ADMINISTRATION PRACTICING THE POLITICS OF CRISIS IN A  
VACUUM OF REAL LEADERSHIP.

GOVERNMENT BY CRISIS IS BAD GOVERNMENT.

THE SOLUTIONS TO THE GREAT, UNMET NEEDS OF THE AMERICAN  
PEOPLE CANNOT BE FOUND IN HASTILY DRAFTED PLANS AND IN POLICIES  
WHICH DISCRIMINATE AGAINST ONE OR MORE SEGMENTS OF OUR SOCIETY.

WE WILL NEVER GET THIS COUNTRY OUT OF ITS DIFFICULTIES  
WITH MILLIONS OF AMERICANS LOSING CONFIDENCE IN THEIR GOVERNMENT'S  
ABILITY TO MEET ITS RESPONSIBILITIES.



WHY THE LOSS OF CONFIDENCE?

WHY THE NEVER-ENDING CRISES?

BECAUSE THE PRESIDENT CONTINUES TO TALK THE POLITICS OF  
HOPE, BUT DOES LITTLE TO TURN PROMISES INTO ACTION.

ONLY EIGHT DAYS AGO PRESIDENT NIXON TOLD THE CONGRESS HE  
WAS COMMITTED TO EIGHT IMPORTANT GOALS. LET'S EXAMINE THE DEPTH  
OF HIS COMMITMENT.

L GOAL NUMBER 1: THE PRESIDENT SAID, "WE NEED A HEALTHY  
AND PRODUCTIVE ECONOMY."

THAT WAS THE RHETORIC. LET'S LOOK AT THE REALITY.

ONLY AFTER 31 MONTHS OF AN ECONOMIC GAME PLAN THAT RESULTED IN MAJOR UNEMPLOYMENT, DEBILITATING INFLATION, A WEAKENED DOLLAR, HIGH INTEREST RATES, SAGGING CONSUMER SPENDING AND INSUFFICIENT INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION DID THE PRESIDENT ACT. HIS ACTION CAME FAR TOO LATE, AND HE OFFERED A PLAN WHICH IS UNFAIR TO THE WORKING MAN AND THE CONSUMER WHILE GIVING FAR TOO MANY ECONOMIC ADVANTAGES TO THE CORPORATE SECTOR.

GOAL NUMBER 2: "TO HELP THOSE WHO CANNOT HELP THEMSELVES."

THAT WAS THE RHETORIC. LET'S LOOK AT THE REALITY.

PRESIDENT NIXON ASKED CONGRESS ON AUGUST 15 TO POSTPONE FOR ONE YEAR DESPERATELY NEEDED WELFARE REFORM. AS THE WELFARE CRISIS GROWS, AS STATES, COUNTIES AND CITIES ARE BANKRUPTED BY RISING WELFARE COSTS, AND AS THE POOR CONTINUE TO BE NEGLECTED, THOSE WHO CANNOT HELP THEMSELVES ARE NOT BEING HELPED BY THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION.

GOAL NUMBER 3: "TO FEED THE HUNGRY."

THAT WAS THE RHETORIC. LET'S LOOK AT THE REALITY.

THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION HAS JUST EMASCULATED THE SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM BY CHANGING THE REGULATIONS WHICH GOVERN PER PUPIL EXPENDITURE. TWO MILLION MORE CHILDREN COULD HAVE BEEN REACHED BY THIS PROGRAM IF THE REGULATIONS HADN'T BEEN TAMPERED WITH BY THE PRESIDENT AND HIS DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

AND I WANT TO TELL MY GOOD FRIENDS FROM ILLINOIS THAT  
BECAUSE OF THESE CHANGES IN THE SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM, THIS STATE  
WILL SUFFER A \$16 MILLION LOSS IN ITS LUNCH PROGRAM -- THAT'S  
THE HIGHEST LOSS OF ANY STATE IN THE NATION.

FOR THE CHILDREN OF ILLINOIS, MILLIONS OF HOT  
LUNCHES WILL BE TURNED INTO COLD PROMISES.

GOAL NUMBER 4: "TO PROVIDE BETTER HEALTH CARE FOR  
THE SICK."

THAT WAS THE RHETORIC. LET'S LOOK AT THE REALITY.

PRESIDENT NIXON VETOED A \$2.79 BILLION, THREE-YEAR  
HOSPITAL CONSTRUCTION BILL IN JUNE OF LAST YEAR. FORTUNATELY,  
THE CONGRESS OVERRODE THE VETO, AND THE HILL-BURTON PROGRAM FOR  
CONSTRUCTION AND MODERNIZATION OF HOSPITALS AND HEALTH FACILITIES  
-- IN EXISTENCE SINCE 1947 -- BECAME LAW.

PRESIDENT NIXON CALLED THIS PROGRAM "FISCALLY IRRESPONSIBLE."

THE PRESIDENT ALSO VETOED THE FAMILY MEDICAL PRACTICES ACT WHICH WOULD HAVE GIVEN \$225 MILLION TO HOSPITALS AND MEDICAL SCHOOLS TO RELIEVE THE SERIOUS SHORTAGE OF DOCTORS. HIS VETO STILL STANDS.

GOAL NUMBER 5: "TO PROVIDE BETTER EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN."

ON MARCH 3, 1970, THE PRESIDENT SAID "THIS ADMINISTRATION IS PREPARED TO COMMIT ITSELF TO SUBSTANTIAL INCREASES IN FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION -- TO PLACE THIS AMONG THE HIGHEST PRIORITIES IN OUR BUDGET."

THAT WAS THE RHETORIC. LET'S LOOK AT THE REALITY.

ON AUGUST 11, 1970, PRESIDENT NIXON VETOED THE ENTIRE \$4 BILLION OFFICE OF EDUCATION APPROPRIATION FOR FISCAL 1971 BECAUSE IT EXCEEDED HIS BUDGET REQUEST BY \$500 MILLION. THE CONGRESS WAS ABLE TO OVERRIDE THE VETO, AND SUCH VALUABLE PROGRAMS AS ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION GRANTS, EDUCATION FOR THE HANDICAPPED, THE TEACHER CORPS, ADULT AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS WERE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE.

GOAL NUMBER 6: "TO PROVIDE MORE FULLY FOR THE AGED."

THAT WAS THE RHETORIC. LET'S LOOK AT THE REALITY.

PRESIDENT NIXON HAS CUT FEDERAL MEDICARE AID TO "EXTENDED CARE FACILITIES" OR NURSING HOMES FROM \$340 MILLION WHEN HE TOOK OFFICE TO \$180 MILLION IN 1970.

THE PRESIDENT'S "GET TOUGH" RHETORIC TO ELIMINATE  
SUB-STANDA  
SUB-STANDARD NURSING HOMES HAS RESULTED IN FIVE HEW MEDICAID  
EMPLOYEES BEING ASSIGNED TO THIS EFFORT WHEN 150 ARE NEEDED  
IN WASHINGTON ALONE AND 2,000 MORE IN THE FIELD TO SECURE THE  
UP-GRADING OF NURSING HOMES.

GOAL NUMBER 7: "TO RESTORE AND RENEW OUR NATURAL ENVIRONMENT"

THAT WAS THE RHETORIC. LET'S LOOK AT THE REALITY.

FOR FISCAL 1972, PRESIDENT NIXON HAS ASKED FOR ONLY  
\$129 MILLION FOR AIR POLLUTION CONTROL -- LESS THAN ONE-THIRD  
OF THE AMOUNT AUTHORIZED BY CONGRESS. HE ASKED FOR ONLY \$19.2  
MILLION FOR RECYCLING INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS AND WASTE MATERIALS  
UNDER THE RESOURCES RECOVERY ACT OF 1970, A SMALL FRACTION OF  
THE \$152 MILLION AUTHORIZED BY CONGRESS.



THE PRESIDENT HAS FROZEN ALMOST \$700 MILLION FOR FISCAL 1971 ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION PROGRAMS. FIFTY-SIX MILLION DOLLARS HAVE BEEN IMPOUNDED FOR RURAL WASTE AND WATER DISPOSAL GRANTS, \$200 MILLION FOR BASIC WATER AND SEWER GRANTS, AND \$11 MILLION FOR THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY.

GOAL NUMBER 8: "TO PROVIDE MORE AND BETTER JOBS AND MORE AND GREATER OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL OF OUR PEOPLE."

THAT WAS THE RHETORIC. LET'S LOOK AT THE REALITY.

WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON TOOK OFFICE, UNEMPLOYMENT WAS 3.3 PERCENT. IT NOW STANDS AT 6.1 PERCENT.

ON DECEMBER 16, 1970, WITH 5 MILLION AMERICANS  
UNEMPLOYED, THE PRESIDENT VETOED THE FEDERAL MANPOWER TRAINING  
AND PUBLIC SERVICE EMPLOYMENT ACT. THIS BILL WOULD HAVE PROVIDED  
\$2 BILLION FOR MANPOWER TRAINING, \$2.5 BILLION FOR A PUBLIC  
SERVICE EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM AND \$3 BILLION TO PREPARE EMPLOYEES  
FOR BETTER JOBS AND FOR SPECIAL FEDERAL PROGRAMS. IN ADDITION,  
THIS IMPORTANT LEGISLATION AUTHORIZED \$2 BILLION OVER THREE  
YEARS FOR A FEDERALLY SUPPORTED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM. THE VETO  
WAS NOT OVERRIDDEN.

THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION REMAINS ALMOST SILENT IN THE  
FACE OF UNPRECEDENTED UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG SKILLED WORKERS AND  
ENGINEERS IN THE AEROSPACE FIELD. WHERE ARE THE PROGRAMS TO  
CHANNEL THE SKILLS AND TALENTS OF THESE MEN INTO THE CRUCIAL  
BATTLE TO SAVE OUR CITIES AND CLEAN OUR AIR?

AND TODAY WHILE THE PRESIDENT TELLS THE NATION  
ABOUT A PROGRAM THAT WILL BRING A "NEW PROSPERITY", THERE ARE  
TRAGICALLY INADEQUATE PROGRAMS IN HIS NEW GAME PLAN TO CREATE  
THE MILLIONS OF NEW JOBS NEEDED TO REDUCE WIDESPREAD UNEMPLOYMENT.

THE PRESIDENT'S ATTORNEY GENERAL ONCE SAID "WATCH  
WHAT WE DO, NOT WHAT WE SAY."

WELL, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE WATCHED AND WAITED  
IN VAIN. PROMISES, YES; PERFORMANCE, NO.

~~NEARLY THREE YEARS HAVE BEEN LOST IN THE BATTLE TO~~  
~~GIVE ALL AMERICANS ADEQUATE HEALTH CARE, DECENT HOUSING, GOOD~~  
~~JOBS, ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION, QUALITY EDUCATION, AND LIVEABLE~~  
~~CITIES.~~

MY FRIENDS, EVERY AMERICAN IS ENTITLED TO BASIC  
RIGHTS, TO MINIMUM STANDARDS WHICH BRING HIM SOCIAL JUSTICE AND  
HUMAN DIGNITY. EVERY AMERICAN MUST HAVE:

-- THE RIGHT TO PEACE

-- THE RIGHT TO EMPLOYMENT

-- THE RIGHT TO HEALTH

-- THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION

-- THE RIGHT TO A CLEAN ENVIRONMENT

*(med Skellon)*

-- THE RIGHT TO JUSTICE

-- THE RIGHT TO PUBLIC COMPASSION

-- THE RIGHT TO A DECENT HOME

-- THE RIGHT TO A SAFE NEIGHBORHOOD

-- THE RIGHT TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

-- THE RIGHT TO RECREATION

-- *THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY*

AS AMERICANS, AS DEMOCRATS, LET US PLEDGE OURSELVES TO  
SECURE THESE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS FOR EVERY AMERICAN. OUR  
DEMOCRACY WILL NEVER BE PERFECTED WITHOUT THEM.

THIS NATION CANNOT AFFORD LEADERSHIP THAT HOLDS  
OUT THE PROMISE OF LOFTY GOALS, BUT DOES LITTLE TO ACHIEVE THEM.  
WE CANNOT AFFORD A LEADERSHIP THAT IS UNWILLING TO TRANSFORM  
THE HOPES AND DREAMS OF A PEOPLE INTO REALITY.

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