

001712

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AFL-CIO CONVENTION

BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

APRIL 10, 1972

001713

TONIGHT, I WANT TO ASK YOU A QUESTION: "WHAT DOES  
THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT MEAN TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE?"

I'VE HEARD ALL KINDS OF ANSWERS FROM ALL KINDS OF  
CITIZENS TO THIS QUESTION.

SOME PEOPLE ANSWER BY SAYING THAT THE LABOR MOVEMENT  
IS OBSTRUCTIONIST, THAT IT CAUSES INFLATION, AND THAT UNIONS  
HAVE NOT MADE A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICAN LIFE.

SOME SAY THAT THE LABOR MOVEMENT HAS BECOME HARD,  
MUSCLE BOUND, AND TIRED.

I SAY THEY ARE WRONG--TRAGICALLY WRONG.

AND, I SAY THAT YOU CAN ANSWER THE QUESTION: "WHAT  
DOES THE LABOR MOVEMENT MEAN TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BY  
ANSWERING: "WHAT HAS LABOR DONE FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE?"

HERE'S A PARTIAL LIST:

WE WOULD NEVER HAVE HAD MEDICARE, THE MINIMUM WAGE,  
WORK SAFETY, OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH, FOOD STAMPS, EQUAL  
EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES--WITHOUT THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

WE WOULD NEVER HAVE HAD A CIVIL RIGHTS ACT, OR A  
SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM WITHOUT LABOR'S HELP.

TO THE DOUBTERS, TO THOSE WHO SCORN THE LABOR MOVEMENT,  
I WANT TO SAY LOUD AND CLEAR: "LABOR HAS ACTED IN THE BEST  
INTEREST OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, IN THE BEST INTEREST OF  
THE AMERICAN WORKING FAMILY.

LABOR HAS A DEEP SENSE OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY, A  
SENSE OF SOCIAL FAIRNESS, A SENSE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC  
JUSTICE.

THAT'S WHAT THE LABOR MOVEMENT IS ALL ABOUT. DOING THINGS FOR PEOPLE, RAISING THE LIVING STANDARDS OF ALL AMERICANS.

THIS IS HONORABLE. AND, I GLADLY APPLAUD IT.

IN 1972, LABOR FACES ITS MOST CRITICAL BATTLE, ITS TOUGHEST TEST--THE NECESSITY TO DEFEAT RICHARD NIXON.

NO ONE HAS FELT THE FAILURES OF RICHARD NIXON'S ADMINISTRATION MORE THAN THE WORKING FAMILIES OF AMERICA.

THEY ARE THE VICTIMS OF HIGH PRICES, OF HIGH TAXES, OF BROKEN PROMISES, OF MISGUIDED PROGRAMS, AND TRAGIC HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT.

BUT, THEY AND ALL AMERICANS ARE THE VICTIMS OF A DELIBERATELY MISMANAGED ECONOMY IN ANOTHER SENSE TOO. DURING THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION, OUR NATION HAS LOST OVER \$150 BILLION IN PRODUCTION, IN GOODS, IN MANHOURS BECAUSE OUR ECONOMY HAS BEEN PERMITTED TO RUN AT HALF STEAM.

OUR FACTORIES ARE OFTEN IDLE, MEN WORK ONE WEEK AND ARE LAID OFF THE NEXT. OUR ASSEMBLY LINES AREN'T PRODUCING UP TO CAPACITY.

SMALL BUSINESSES ARE GOING UNDER, RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY IS BEING CUT BACK, NEW FACTORIES AREN'T BEING BUILT IN THE UNITED STATES AND THERE ARE TOO MANY JOBS GOING ABROAD.

THAT'S WHAT LOST PRODUCTION MEANS, AND IT COSTS EACH OF US DEARLY.

THAT IS \$150 BILLION DOWN THE DRAIN--WASTED, PURE  
AND SIMPLY WASTED, BECAUSE OUR ECONOMY WAS NOT MOVING,  
PRODUCING AND GROWING.

THINK OF THE THINGS OUR NATION COULD HAVE DONE WITH  
THAT LOST AND WASTED MONEY.

THINK OF OUR MASSIVE NEEDS, THINK OF OUR RURAL AREAS  
AND THE FLOOD OF PEOPLE TO THE CITIES. THINK OF OUR CITIES,  
UNABLE TO HOUSE AND FEED THE MILLIONS FROM THE COUNTRYSIDE.

THINK OF THE CHILDREN WITHOUT GOOD SCHOOLS, OR THE  
HUNGRY WITHOUT ENOUGH FOOD.

LET ME TELL YOU WHAT THAT \$150 BILLION IN LOST  
ECONOMIC PRODUCTIVITY MEANS.

TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, IT MEANS OVER \$40 BILLION  
IN LOST REVENUES. TO THE STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IT  
MEANS OVER \$10 BILLION IN LOST TAXES. AND, AS A RESULT,  
WHEN OUR LOCAL GOVERNMENTS DO NOT HAVE A GROWING, PRODUCING  
TAX BASE, THEY HAVE TO RELY HEAVIER AND HEAVIER ON THE  
REGRESSIVE TAXES LIKE THE PROPERTY TAX, SALES TAX, AND WAGE  
TAX.

LOST PRODUCTION MEANS LOST REVENUES, AND LOST REVENUES  
MEANS THAT THOSE WHO ARE NOW PAYING MUST PAY MORE.

IF WE HAD THE MONEY THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION HAS  
POURED DOWN THE DRAIN, WE COULD DOUBLE OUR EXISTING HIGHWAY  
SYSTEM OR INCREASE TEN FOLD THE MONEY NOW SPENT ON MASS  
TRANSIT.

WE COULD PUT 11.7 MILLION STUDENTS THROUGH COLLEGE--  
WITH LOANS, SCHOLARSHIPS, AND GRANTS FOR YOUR CHILDREN.

WE COULD TRAIN 22.6 MILLION MEN AND WOMEN, WE COULD  
FIND JOBS FOR THEM, AND HAVE THEM MAKING A CONTRIBUTION TO  
SOCIETY.

WE COULD HIRE 1.2 MILLION POLICEMEN TO MAKE OUR  
NEIGHBORHOODS SAFE.

WE COULD BUILD 3 MILLION \$20,000 HOMES--FOR CITIZENS  
OF ALL INCOMES AND RACES.

WE COULD INCREASE SPENDING FOR EDUCATION--PRESCHOOL,  
ELEMENTARY, AND SECONDARY--TEN FOLD, FROM \$3.6 BILLION TO  
BETTER THAN \$40 BILLION A YEAR--GIVING US THE QUALITY  
EDUCATION WE NEED, AND AT THE SAME TIME REDUCING PROPERTY TAXES.

001720

WE COULD MAKE THREE AND FOUR FOLD INCREASES IN  
YEARLY SPENDING FOR MEDICARE, HOUSING, URBAN RENEWAL, WATER  
POLLUTION CONTROL, AND SEWAGE PLANTS.

BUT, WE WILL NEVER BE ABLE TO DO IT--BECAUSE THE  
NIXON ADMINISTRATION HAS WASTED, LITERALLY WASTED, THIS MONEY.

AND, WHAT HAS THIS LOST PRODUCTION MEANT TO YOU--TO THE  
AVERAGE WORKING FAMILY.

IT MEANS THINGS ARE TIGHTER. YOU'RE NOT MAKING AS MUCH  
AS LAST YEAR--BUT YOUR TAXES HAVE GONE UP. YOU DON'T HAVE  
THE OVERTIME YOU ONCE COUNTED ON TO MAKE ENDS MEAT.

IN FACT, YOU MAY BE OUT OF A JOB OR YOUR WIFE MAY LOSE  
HER'S FIRST.

IT MEANS THAT YOU COULDN'T PURCHASE A SECOND CAR--  
BECAUSE PAYMENTS ON YOUR FIRST ONE MAKE THE BUDGET TIGHT.

IT MEANS THAT HOMES WON'T BE PURCHASED OR REPAIRS MADE  
ON THE HOME YOU OWN.

IT MEANS BEING FORCED TO SEEK CREDIT AT HIGH RATES  
JUST TO PAY BILLS.

IT MEANS POSTPONING THAT DREAM VACATION YOU AND YOUR  
FAMILY PLANNED.

IT MEANS MOONLIGHTING ON AN EXTRA JOB, OR HAVING YOUR  
WIFE WORK, OR MAKING YOUR CHILDREN WORK. AND BANKRUPTCY  
IS ONLY A PAYDAY AND A HALF AWAY IF YOU'RE LAID OFF.

IT MEANS BEING ON AN ECONOMIC TREADMILL THAT CLOSES THE DOOR SHUT ON ADVANCEMENT, ON OPPORTUNITY, ON THE FEELING THAT MAYBE SOMETIME YOU WILL GET AHEAD.

THAT'S WHAT \$150 BILLION IN LOST PRODUCTION MEANS-- AND THAT IS THE TRAGEDY OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION:

WHILE CORPORATIONS GET FAT ON TAX LOOPHOLES AND SPECIAL DEALS, THE WORKING MAN IS FORCED TO PAY WITH HIS JOB FOR THE DISASTROUS ECONOMIC POLICIES OF THIS REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION.

WHILE THE BANKS AND THE LARGE CONGLOMERATES MAKE RECORD SALES AND HIGH PROFITS, THE WORKING FAMILIES, THE LITTLE GUY, IS TOLD BY THE NIXON REPUBLICANS THAT HE IS AT FAULT, THAT INFLATION IS HIS FAULT, THAT HIS WAGES ARE TOO HIGH, AND THAT

HE HAS TO HAVE FROZEN WAGES SO THAT INFLATION CAN BE STOPPED.  
THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION ASKS YOU TO FIGHT INFLATION BECAUSE  
THEY HAVE GIVEN UP THE BATTLE.

I SAY THAT ISN'T FAIR. I SAY IT ISN'T JUST.

I SAY THAT NO ONE HAS THE RIGHT TO PROSPER AT THE  
EXPENSE OF THE AMERICAN WORKER.

THAT'S WHAT THE LABOR MOVEMENT IS SAYING. AND, THAT  
IS WHY THEY ARE REPRESENTING ALL WORKING AMERICANS.

THAT IS WHY I AM PROUD TO STAND WITH THE AMERICAN  
LABOR MOVEMENT.

AND, THAT IS WHY I SEEK YOUR HELP TO BE PRESIDENT  
OF THE UNITED STATES.

Tonight, I want to ask you a question? What does the American Labor movement mean to the American people?

I've heard all kinds of answers from all kinds of citizens to this question.

Some ~~say~~ people answer by saying that the Labor movement is obstructionist, that it ~~is~~ causes of inflation, and that unions ~~are~~ not a positive force ~~in~~ to American Life.

Some say that the labor movement has become hard, muscle bound, and tired.

I say they are wrong--tragically wrong.

And, I say that you can answer the question " what does the Labor movement mean to the American ~~say~~ people by answerin g the question: What has labor done for the American people?

~~You can list them out~~ Here's a partial list

We would never have had medicare, <sup>the</sup> minum wage, work safety, occupational health, food stamps, equal employment opportunities, without the labor movement.

We would never have had a civil rights act, or a <sup>program</sup> school lunch, ~~without labor's help~~.

To the doubters, to those who scorn the labor movement I want to say loud and clear: Labor has acted in the best interest of the American people, <sup>in the best interest</sup> ~~of the average~~ American working ~~man~~ family.

Labor has a <sup>deep</sup> sense of social responsibility, a sense

of the American

7

*and economic*

a sense of social fairness, a sense of social justice.

That's what the labor movement is all about. Doing things for people, ~~for its members~~, raising the living standards of all Americans.

This is honorable. And, I gladly applaud it.

In 1972, Labor faces its most ~~difficult~~ *political* battle, its toughest test--the necessity to defeat Richard Nixon.

No one has felt the ~~pain~~ *failures* of Richard Nixon's Administration more than the working families of America.

They are the victims of high prices, of high taxes, of broken promises, of misguided programs, and the ~~threat of~~ *tragic* high unemployment.

*deliberately*  
*of a mismanaged economy*

But, they and all Americans are the victims in another sense too. ~~During~~ *During* the Nixon Administration, our nation has lost over \$150 billion in ~~lost~~ production, in ~~lost~~ goods, in ~~lost~~ manhours *because our economy has been permitted to run at half steam.*

*That is \$150 billion down the drain--wasted,*  
pure and simply wasted, because our ~~economy~~ *economy* was not moving, *producing and growing.*

*lost and wasted* Think of the things our nation could have done with that money? *wasting* Think of our needs, think of our rural areas and the flood of people to the cities. Think of our cities, unable to house and feed the millions from the countryside.

Think of the children without good schools. Or the hungry without enough food.

Let me tell you what that \$150 billion in lost economic productivity means.

## Insert A

Our factories are often idle,  
men work one week and are laid  
off the next. Our assembly lines  
aren't producing <sup>up</sup> to capacity.

Small businesses are going under,  
research and technology ~~are~~ <sup>is</sup> being  
cut back, new factories aren't being  
built in the United States and  
there are too many jobs going abroad.

That's what lost production means  
and it costs each of us dearly.

over \$40 billion  
 To the Federal government, it means \$35 billion in  
 in lost revenues. To the state and local governments it means  
 over \$10 billion in lost taxes. And, as a result,  
 when our local governments do not have a growing, producing  
 tax base, they have to rely heavier and heavier on the regressive  
 taxes like the property tax, sales tax, and wage tax.

Lost production means lost revenues, and lost  
 revenues means that those who are now paying must pay more.

If we had the money the Nixon Administration has  
 poured down the drain, we could double our existing high  
 way system or increase ten fold the money now spent on  
 mass transit.

We could put 11.7 million students through college--  
 with loans, scholarships, and grants for your children.

We could train 22.6 million <sup>men and women</sup> ~~unemployables~~ <sup>we could</sup> ~~to~~ find  
 jobs for them, and have them <sup>making a</sup> contribution ~~something~~ to society.

We could hire 1.2 million <sup>men</sup> ~~police~~ <sup>A</sup> to make our neighborhood  
 safe.

We could build 3 million \$20,000 homes--for citizens of  
 all incomes and races.

We could increase spending for education--preschool,  
 elementary, and secondary--ten fold, from \$3.6 billion to  
 better than \$40 billion a year--giving us the quality  
 education we need, and at the same time reducing property  
 taxes.

We could make three and four fold increases in  
 yearly spending for medicare, housing, urban renewal, ,

## Insert B

It means things are tighter.

You're not making as much as last year -- but your taxes have gone up. You don't have the overtime you once counted on to make ends meet.

In fact, you may be out of a job or your wife may lose her's first.

~~water po~~

water pollution control, ~~sewage~~ <sup>sewage</sup> plants, and ~~energy sources~~

But, we will never be able to do it--because the Nixon Administration has wasted, litterally wasted, this ~~\$\$\$~~ money.

And, what has this lost production meant to you--  
to the average working family.

INSERT B

It means that you could<sup>nt</sup> purchasse a second car--because payments on your first one make the budget tight.

It means that homes won't be ~~purchased~~ <sup>purchased</sup> or repairs made on the ~~top~~ <sup>home</sup> you ~~have~~ <sup>own</sup>.

It means being forced to seek credit at high rates just to pay bills.

It means postponing that dream vacation you and your ~~wife~~ <sup>family</sup> planned.

It means moolighting <sup>on</sup> an extra job, or having your wife work, or making your children work, ~~but~~ <sup>with And</sup> bankruptcy is only a pay day and half away <sup>if you</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>laid off</sup>.

It means being on an economic treadmill that closes the door shut on advancement, on opportunity, on the feeling that maybe sometime you will get ahead.

That 'w ~~want~~ <sup>will</sup> \$150 billion in lost production means-- and that is the tragedy of the Nixon Administration:

While corpoations get fat on tax loopholes and speical deals, the working man is forced to pay with his job for the disasterous economic policies of this Republican Administration.

While the banks and the large conglomerates make record sales and high profits, the working families, the little guy, is told by the Nixon Republicans that he is at fault, that inflation is his fault, that his wages are too high, and that he has to have frozen wages so that inflation can be stopped.

I say that isn't fair. I say it isn't just.

I say that no one has the right to prosper while at the expense of the American worker.

That's what the Labor movement is saying. And, that is why they are representing all working Americans.

~~We need a return to a fair society, one that treats men equal, that is just a society in which no one gets a special break, but~~

and, That is why I am proud to stand with the American Labor Movement.

And, that is why I seek your help to be President of the United States.

The Nixon administration asks you to fight inflation because they have given up the battle.



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