

7/26/73

TO: Marsha Silverman, State, County and Municipal Employees
FROM: Betty South, Office of Senator Humphrey

Enclosed is the corrected copy of the Senator's speech to the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees on July 10. If reprinting is planned, would you please indicate that it is done from a transcript of his remarks -- so it is obvious to readers that this speech does not represent a carefully edited text.

Give me a call if there are questions.

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
TO AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY,
AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES, AFL-CIO
WASHINGTON HILTON
JULY 10, 1973

I am going to talk to you about what is happening in this town. And, when it's happening here, it's happening elsewhere. The first thing we have to recognize is that whatever this government does, or does not do -- either one: its acts of omission or commission -- everything has a basic effect upon the lives of every American, every family, every community, and indeed upon the entire world. Now that's the message we have almost forgotten, as we get caught up in what is the scandal of the day, as we get caught up in the sensational news of the day.

I am not here, in any way, to downplay the significance of the tragedy, the unbelievable, incredible scandal of Watergate. It's a national shame.

What I want to say quickly about it is that it does not represent what some people have said it represents: "that's the way politics is."

Politics is not that way. The politics of some may be, but it is not the pattern of American politics. Politics is not breaking and entering. It isn't going into people's offices and breaking into their files. It isn't wiretapping. It isn't conspiracy. It isn't obstruction of justice. It isn't burglary. Those are criminal acts. Politics may include exaggeration. It may include a waste of

campaign funds, ineptness and even ignorance. But it doesn't include what we just mentioned. And for people to try to spread the message in this country that what we're seeing here in this expose is just American politics, is to take a few specific acts of a few specific individuals and try to translate that into an American pattern.

I've been in politics a long time and I've never wire-tapped anybody. And I haven't broken into their offices, and I haven't had any of my associates do so. I haven't burglarized. When I say "I," I'm talking about the elected officials of this country. The vast majority of them just do not engage in such activity.

I don't want my good friends in the labor movement, where politics means so much to you and your families, to let this whole political process be contaminated and literally corrupted in the public mind because of the specific acts of specific individuals at a specific time. We've just got to clear the record. We'll wait for all the evidence to come in. I'm not going to pass judgment here. I'm not going to short-cut what we call the processes of justice. I'm not going to second-guess what the investigating committee is going to discover. I'm not even going to assess blame. I'm simply going to say that it is unkind and unfair, and it is a terrible thing to try to make it appear that what we now witness on the television screen is the political pattern in American life. Because it isn't.

Now we ought to do a little better when we get into public life. We ought to set some standards. We ought to be in a position of leadership. When you're a leader, it doesn't give you a privilege. It gives you a responsibility. And every person who has a leadership role, whether you're a council director, a member of a board, or a president or a vice president of a union or of any other organization, has a special responsibility. That's what leadership means. To have it appear that leadership means that you just have it nice, that you're above the law, or beyond it, or that you can make the law as you see fit for your own purposes, that's not leadership. That's arrogance. And we ought not to confuse it.

Now let me suggest that we get down to the issues that really affect the lives of your members. You have 650,000 or more --/^athousand a week coming in. But you represent more than that. What you do, in terms of the people in government at state, county and municipal levels, is work for the benefit of everyone, whether they're in your membership or not. You, in a very real sense, subsidize -- by your dues, by your work, by your leadership, by your grievance procedures, by the host of things that you do -- you subsidize hundreds of thousands of others who have, as yet, not become a member of this great organization.

Let me say to them -- and I hope you'll remember this as you talk to those yet to be organized -- that every time an organization such as this grows in strength, it provides just that much more security, that much more protection, for those in these positions of responsibility in state and local government. You have the right to go to them to ask them to join with you as an active, participating member. After all, you're working for them. Their being out weakens your position. Their being in strengthens their position. And I think there's a great chance for us to do a marvelous job of organizing around the country.

Now you've done a good deal of work in political education and political action. I'm pleased to note that your director here in that field, Bill Welsh, has been making some comments about the Minnesota State Legislature, about the last session of our legislative assembly in Minnesota. We've been waiting for a hundred years to have a Democratic majority in both houses of the legislature. We've elected a governor. We've elected a Lieutenant Governor. We've elected a Public Service Commissioner. We had a majority several times in the House of Representatives, but never a majority in the State Senate since Minnesota became a state. Never a majority. This time we put it all together.

One of the reasons we put it all together is because we all worked together. I spent a good deal of my time and

resources and energy working to help others in the state of Minnesota and this is not said for the purpose of an ego kick here tonight. It is a fact. I traveled throughout my state campaigning for every one of our legislative candidates, working for the entire ticket as we have for years. I've always figured that political popularity is like money in the bank. It was there to be drawn out, to be used. Now if you're running a close one, and you've got to take care of just your own hide, that's another matter. But if a man has any extra, he ought to share it and he ought to give some of it to help somebody else.

We pulled together - Senator Mondale, Senator Humphrey, the governor of our state and the rest of us got in there and we put together a winning combination. And it produced results. We went to the people with programs and said we would do a certain number of things. Your own representatives from Minnesota will tell you that never has any state, in as short a period of time as we did in this last year, put together as much constructive legislation that was to your benefit and to the benefit of people generally.

That's enough on that level. Now let me talk about Washington. I have been trying to say over the years, without acrimony, that I do not have enemies, I have adversaries. I worry about people that list somebody as the enemy, whether

it's internationally or domestically. We can have competitors and adversaries. Enemies you seek to destroy. Adversaries you seek to defeat. There's a great deal of difference. The mind that conceives of people as enemies indicates something about the personality and something about the character.

The man that occupies the White House today has tremendous power. In the 1968 campaign, as well as in the 1972 campaign, our standard bearers were trying to tell the American people what was in the offing for them. I remember in 1968 I said you're not just electing a president, you're choosing a Supreme Court. You're not only doing that. You're choosing agencies to protect the public interest. Every one of these many agencies - Securities Exchange Commission, Federal Trade Commission, Federal Power Commission, Federal Communications Commission -- whatever it is -- these are supposed to be extensions of the arms of Congress to help protect the public, to give the public a square deal. But when you elect a president, you not only elect a man, you elect a whole system for a whole period of time.

And I also said that when a man is re-elected and has no place to go except to seek his place in history, you can find the true colors of the man. When January 1973 came around, you began to see what the Nixon Republican Administration really meant for this country. Now just for a moment,

let's set aside Watergate, because one of the curses of Watergate is that it has deflected our attention, distracted us from things that mean a great deal to your families, to this nation, to these communities, to these towns and cities and counties and villages and the people that live in them. We started this session of Congress on the ^{subject of the} budget. Now the real test of an administration philosophy is in its budget. What are its priorities? What is it willing to put its money on? Put your money where your mouth is, as they say. What was this administration putting its money on? Where was it taking it away? And when we started back in January of this year talking about the budget, the Nixon budget, we also talked about impoundment. We talked about a Constitutional crisis, of the confrontation between the Congress and the Executive Branch of the government: the Office of Management and Budget disregarding the actions of Congress. The President took an oath of office that says he pledges to faithfully execute the laws of the land. He looked at the word "execute" and said it's an old fashioned meaning; it means "kill." Because program after program that has been duly passed by the Congress and signed by the President have been cut to ribbons. Some of them were stopped completely. Much of this action occurred prior to the 1972 election.

For example, one after the other of the following programs were killed: housing programs for the low and lower-middle income people of this nation; rural housing programs; water and sewer programs; environmental programs; education programs; research programs; medical programs; OEO community action programs. How were they killed? By the normal legislative process? No! These programs were killed by the sledgehammer, not of an official veto, which has happened on many occasions, but by the back door. By impoundment. By cutting back on the funds. By holding up on the money.

It is important that working people understand the budgetary process. That budget represents a tremendous amount of the resources of this country -- \$268.7 billion worth. That's about one-fourth of the total Gross National Product. That budget relates to state governments and county governments and local governments, because every state budget, every state government depends on a certain amount of its revenue to come from the federal government over and above what we call revenue sharing. Because of the Nixon Administration cutbacks, every state budget, therefore, has had to be trimmed or tailored. Mr. Nixon doesn't want any tax increase at the federal level. He's perfectly willing, however, to have it pushed back on the state and local level, to see property taxes going up, even though he talks piously

about how we must reduce property taxes.

These are things about which I want to engage your attention, because we can't give up this budget fight. We started out in the Congress of the United States this year saying that we were going to have budget reform. We haven't any. It hasn't taken place. And one of the proposed budget reforms would merely place the responsibility on some of the more conservative establishment of the Congress to decide what the future budget will be. I don't want to jump from the frying pan of the OMB into what I would call the hot coals of the conservatives of the Congress. I want you to have something to say about this. I want us to have something to say about the priorities of this country. You're a great union here. You supported us in a resolution I prepared on what we call "our national priorities." But again may I say most emphatically, the Congress as yet has not acted on that resolution -- and this is a Democratic Congress. We ought to be acting on it and not just stay glued to that TV tube.

Because when it's all said and done, when Watergate is all over, we ought to have campaign reform, election reform, campaign financing reform. These are minimums. The dollar check-off system which we once again passed (I offered the amendment again this year; the Republicans fought us; we voted for it two to one; we locked it in) has now been signed

into law. The Internal Revenue Service is required to place the check-off box on the front page of the return or beside the taxpayer's signature line.

And, after we're all through with these reforms -- and they are highly important, what about helping the school children of this country? What about helping the poor of this country? What about jobs? Herbert Hill of the NAACP reminded us the other day that 50 percent of our black youth are unemployed. And you wonder why there's trouble in these cities. And the government sits around here and does nothing.

What about the social services? What about the funds that we need for clinics for drug addiction? For alcoholism? What about the fact that this Administration is trying to make our old people pay higher medicare payments? What about the need for comprehensive health care coverage? What about the need for a better energy program than we have? Or are we going to let oil companies and the government together force us to pay more for our fuel -- which they're doing -- at least they are up in our part of the country. You wonder whether or not there's going to be any fuel oil at all, no matter what you pay. What about a government that hasn't any program for food? And now I read the stories that we're going to cut back on school lunch programs. They're going to cut out the school milk programs in a nation where we still find malnutrition.

I want the labor movement to go to work and fight for these things that need to be done in this country. You know we need some scrappers around here these days. One of the reasons I associated myself early with the labor movement is that we dared to try, even if we lost. We were willing to fight, willing to speak up. And this union of yours has been one of the most socially active unions in all of the labor movement. You haven't just talked for your members; you've talked for the whole nation.

But we've got to continue the fight. We can't get trapped in to just a TV extravaganza. We've got to get down to the things that need to be done. I remind you that the prime interest rate is 8 1/4 percent. And I met with an economist today who said, "Senator Humphrey, it'll be 10 percent before the end of this year." And you wonder what's going to happen to the housing program. What young family who is starting their life together can afford that kind of interest rate for 30 years? The average young couple buying a house today puts their name on that line for thirty years. And they'll pay for that house 2 1/2 times what the capital of that house is before it's theirs -- or more at these interest rates.

What about the cost of financing this government? I've often wondered why it is that everyone else is supposed to have controls, except bankers. Isn't it interesting that the one way that this Administration feels you can control

"inflation," as they call it, is by tight credit and high interest rates. Now that's the old fashioned, political, economic medicine. That's just like Old Ward's Liniment that used to take off the warts, take care of your lumbago, good for arthritis, sore throat -- sort of a general all-around remedy. The problem is that it killed a lot of patients.

By the same token, so does this system of tightening up on the money, tightening up on the interest. Only a few months ago we were talking about the highest interest in a hundred years. That's when the prime rate was 7 percent. Today it's 8 1/4. It went up to 8 1/2. They brought it down again to 8 1/4. But just as surely as we're in this room -- and listen well to what I tell you -- it'll be 8 1/2. And, if it's 8 1/2 prime, that means for the best credit, it doesn't take care of any of you in this room.

Most of you here are family people. Now I've always said that the way you test whether a government is doing its job is to say, "What does it mean to my family?" When I sought this high office of the Presidency, I said I want to be the President for the American family. I understand something about families. I understand what it means to see your kids have to look for a job -- what it means to have to pay those bills. I can honestly say that we've never made it easy for the Humphrey boys. They've had to go on out and do it on their own. I've watched them try to meet these

accounts.

We've got a President today and an Administration that is not interested in what happens with the family. It's primarily concerned about what it can do to help things out in the corporate board rooms. That's what they are talking about today. And the evidence is there. The profits of corporations, after taxes, went up 14.5 percent in 1971; 15.5 percent in 1972; and, in the first five months of 1973, 32.8 percent. That's right. And they're going up more.

And the biggest mistake that this country ever made is when the Administration took off Phase Two and went to Phase Three -- and permitted everyone to jockey themselves into a position literally to milk the country. So today you find unbelievable conditions existing in this nation, where a freeze has been put on, a freeze where there are so many inequities that some of the people who ought to be producing the food that we eat are not producing it. And some of the people that ought to be producing the products that we need are not producing them.

To give you one example, I met this last week, with the turkey producers in the state of Minnesota. We're the largest turkey producing state in the country. And these poultry producers said to me, "Senator, we cannot produce the birds at the cost of the feed. We have no assurance of

the propane or the fuel oil that we need. Yet we've got to maintain temperatures for those birds at 90 to 95 degrees. And we cannot have a slack for one single hour. Unless we can have the assurance that we're going to get the fuel, we are not going to produce a single bird." That's 29 million turkeys that will not be produced in this country and there'll be no turkey.

Oh yes, but that's just one little item. I tried to get this government of ours, I tried to get your labor movement and my labor movement interested in what we call a food reserve program in this country.

What do I mean? We've got strategic metals piled up that cost us billions of dollars -- everything from chromium to magnesium, to tin to lithium, you name it, we've got it. There are stocks of copper, lead, tin, zinc. We said we would never be caught again because of the inability to protect ourselves in case of a massive attack. So we have a large supply of strategic metals. And we pay the price for them. We warehouse these metals. Nobody complains about it at all. It's gone on for years. I haven't read an article about it. But when the copper prices went up here in 1967, skyhigh, I was in an Administration that came over to Congress and said, "We want to release copper from the stockpile." That brought the copper prices right down to a fair and reasonable rate. It also made copper available for the factories that needed it so workers had jobs.

We've got a military establishment over here that's got enough reserves of bombs to fight about five wars. We have a reserve army, reserve planes, reserve ships -- in mothballs as they call it. The only thing that we don't have in reserve that's really necessary around here for life is some food. And there was a fellow by the name of Napoleon that once said, "An army fights on its stomach."

Well, Napoleon or no Napoleon, let's just talk, not about the military, but the consumer aspects. Had we been doing what some of us have been advocating and pleading for -- and I've been in the forefront of this battle -- we would have had a reserve, a strategic reserve of corn, soybeans and feed grains that would have protected our market at home and made it possible for us not to have to cancel a single export abroad. We ought to have it. And we ought not to call it a surplus.

We're never going to have low food prices again. Just as sure as I'm looking at you, remember that the day of low food prices is gone! Once they're up, they don't come down much. They're just going to stay there. Oh, we'll have some variables, on such things as fresh fruits and vegetables, but that's about it. The demand for food around the world is terrific and we ought to have -- just to give you an idea -- 500 million bushels of wheat in storage at all times. This

means that we would not be caught in the situation we're in today, where we literally don't have any. We ought to have 40 million tons of corn in storage. That's a three-month supply, that's all. You can't have beef and pork and you can't have dairy products without corn. And we ought to have 50 million bushels of soybeans in reserve at all times. That's about less than a two-months' supply. This would mean again that your pork prices, your beef prices and your poultry prices would not go through the roof.

Had that reserve been here today, you would have been able to level off this food situation right now, to have been able to take care of our domestic needs. All of this hullaballu that you're reading about exports controls isn't going to help you one bit. The horse is out of the barn before Richard locked the door. Make no mistake about it, it's gone.

Now the news comes that we're going to have to cut back the senior citizens' feeding program. We're going to cut back on the school feeding program. We're going to have to cut back on the breakfast program. We're going to have to cut back on the program that we call supplementary feeding. All of these things on which we've worked for years are being pushed aside, because of what we, as a people, not only as a government, have neglected and I want this labor movement

to start to fight! I want them to start calling the shots.

We've got an investigating committee on Watergate that'll do better than any of us. Now we've got to start talking about how we're going to build some houses that we can afford to purchase. We're going to have to talk about how we're going to feed people. We're going to have to talk about how we're going to employ people. We're going to have to talk about whether we're going to have vocational-technical schools. We're going to have to talk about whether there is real equality in education. We're going to have to start talking about whether there is going to be any civil rights for our people or whether we're going to retreat. And this Administration has not been retreating on just a couple of these points. We've had a massive retreat on every one of these fronts.

And that's why I'm up here with you tonight. Because you can do something about it back home. I know it may be difficult. As they used to say back home, "Don't talk much politics in the summer; everybody wants to go fishing." I know that, but the prices of fish are up too!

Well, that's about all I had to say to you except that it's kind of good to remind people that it was just a year ago this month that the man who's in the White House today and his Secretary of the Treasury said that by January, the first of the year, they'd have a major, total, comprehensive tax

reform package before the Congress. You've forgotten that. I haven't. Then we heard that they couldn't have it ready by January. They'd have it ready by March. We still don't have it. We're not going to get it. Tax reform means that the boys that have been paying their bills are going to have to pay their fair share and every family in this country that has an income of under \$25,000 a year has an interest in tax reform. And that takes care of an awful lot of you, too, I'll tell you. All that tax reform means is that we pay our fair share. You've got a big stake in this.

When you get back home, and you call the membership together(it's hard to get them in these days, I know that), discuss this record of the Nixon Administration. Remember that all you need in every union is a few good articulate stand-up people, men and women who know what the issues are, who are prepared to take on all comers, who will get up there and have the courage to call upon the membership to take a stand and we'll start to get things done in this country.

We don't have to have a hundred million leaders in America. You don't have to have 15 million leaders in the labor movement. You don't have to have 600,000 of them in the State, County and Municipal Employees. All you need to have is you, right here. I have said so many times in my public life, that if we could have just a few people, dedicated, willing to fight, understanding the issues,

knowing when to attack and when not, knowing when to take a stand and when to back away, knowing how to carry on the battle -- then we could do almost anything that we need to do. It won't be easy. There are no easy ways out. We're going to have a tough time for years to come, because this Administration has loused up this economy more in a period of 4 1/2 years than anyone since the time of Herbert Hoover. And we're going to pay dearly.

Did you ever think you'd live to see the time, that day after day, you could pick up that newspaper and see the American dollar under threat abroad? Did you ever think you'd see the day that we were importing a lot more than we were able to export? Did you ever think that you'd see the day that, after we lectured the whole world that they ought to buy our agricultural products, we'd put on an embargo when they were just ready to buy? Did you ever think that you'd see the day that this Administration would permit interest rates to become usurious and then say it was all done in the name of prudent fiscal policy? This has happened.

Did you ever think you'd see the day that the Congress of the United States could appropriate funds on a roll call vote, the President would sign the legislation, the money was made available and then for some reason or another it just disappeared? It never got to where it was supposed to go. It was tied up and they called it impoundment in the name of fighting inflation.

There are so many things that have happened to us lately, dear friends, that it almost confounds you; that it, as the kids say, just "blows your mind." Well don't let it. Just get your piece of paper out and start putting down what you think we need to do.

What are the things you need to do? First, you organize, organize, organize, not only economically, but politically. You have great power. You can be the spokesman in every central body. You can be the spokesman in the American Federation of Labor and CIO in this country. You have the talent. You're vigorous, you're young, you're diversified. You come from every part of this country. You work at government. You have people who can teach you how to do these things. And, believe me, if you don't take on your share of the burden, I'm here to tell you it won't get done. I've been around this town a long time. As I've said to some people, I not only know where the bodies are buried, occasionally I carried one there myself.

We're going to get just the kind of government that we fight for, that's all. If we're willing to turn over the power tools to the vested interests, they'll take it. They know what to do with it and they do it shamelessly. It doesn't bother them a bit to read in the paper that their profits went up 32 1/2 percent after taxes. It does bother them to hear that you got a 6 percent wage increase. That just shakes them up badly. It doesn't bother them at all to

read that the prime rate is the highest it's ever been in this nation's history, and going up, but it just bothers them to no end - may I tell you, no end at all - if you get a little extra dime on that pension plan. It gives them nervous prostration.

You've got to be willing to take your stand and that helps me take my stand. But I learned a long time ago, that if you're going to go into battle, you've got to have more than the general that's willing to fight. You'd better have some troops. And I'm looking over my shoulder.

Thank you, very much.

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TO AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY,
AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES, AFL-CIO
WASHINGTON HILTON
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~~And~~ I don't want ^{my} good friends in the labor movement, where politics means so much to you and your families, to let this whole political process be contaminated and literally corrupted in the public mind because of the specific acts of specific individuals at a ~~specified and~~ specific time. We've ^{just} got to ~~just~~ clear the record. We'll wait for all the evidence to come in. I'm not going to pass judgment here. I'm not going to ~~try to~~ short-cut what we call the processes of justice. I'm not going to ~~try to~~ second guess what the investigating committee is going to discover. I'm not even going to assess blame. I'm simply going to say that it is unkind and unfair, and it is a terrible thing to try ^{to} ~~and~~ make it appear ^{that} what we now witness on the television screen ~~as if this~~ is the political pattern in American life. Because it isn't.

Now we ought to do a little better when we get into public life, ~~because~~ We ought ~~to try~~ to set some standards. We ought to be in a position of leadership. When you're a leader, it doesn't give you a privilege. It gives you a responsibility. And every person ^{who} ~~that~~ has a leadership role, whether you're a council director, a member of a board, or a president or a vice president of a union or of any other organization, ~~if you have a leadership role you have~~ ^{have} a special responsibility. That's what leadership means. ~~And~~ ^{to} have it appear that leadership means that you just have it nice, ~~and~~ that you're above the law, or beyond it, or that you ~~do~~ make the law as you see fit for your own purposes, ~~that's~~ not leadership. That's arrogance. ~~And that's exactly what it is~~ and we ought not to confuse it.

Now let me suggest that we ^e get down to the issues that really affect the lives of your members. You have 650,000 or more ⁻⁻⁻ ~~A~~ thousand a week coming in. ^{But} You represent more than that. What you do, in terms of the people in government at state, county and municipal levels, ^{is} ~~you~~ work for the benefit of everyone, whether they're in your membership or not. You, in a very real sense, subsidize -- by your dues, by your work, by your leadership, by your grievance procedures, by the host of things that you do -- you subsidize hundreds of thousands of others who have, as yet, not become a member of this great organization.

~~But~~ let me say to them -- and I hope you'll remember this as you talk to those yet to be organized -- that every time ~~that~~ an organization such as this grows in strength, it provides just that much more security, that much more protection, for those ~~that are~~ in these positions of responsibility in state and local government. ~~And~~ you have the right to go to them to ask them to join with you, ~~and to become~~ an active, participating member. ~~Because~~ after all, you're working for them. ~~And~~ their being out weakens your position. Their being in strengthens their position. And I think there's a great chance for us to do a marvelous job of organization around the country.

Now you've done a good deal of work in political education and political action. ~~And~~ I'm pleased to note that your director here in that field, Bill Welsh, has been making some comments about the Minnesota State Legislature, about the last session of our legislative assembly in Minnesota. We've been waiting for a hundred years to have Democratic a majority in both houses of the legislature. We've elected a governor, ~~we've had good governors~~. We've elected a Lieutenant Governor. We've elected a Public Service Commissioner. We had a majority several times in the House of Representatives, ~~But~~ never a majority in the State Senate since Minnesota became a state. Never a majority. This time we put it all together.

One of the reasons we put it all together is because we all worked together. I spent a good deal of my time and resources and energy working to help others in the state of Minnesota and ~~that~~ this is not to be on an ego kick here tonight, ~~it is~~ said for the purpose of an

a fact. I traveled throughout my state campaigning for every one of our legislative candidates, ~~Working for the entire ticket,~~ as we have for years. I've always figured that political popularity is like money in the bank. It was there to be drawn out, to be used. Now if you're running a close one, and you've got to take care of just your own hide, that's another matter. But if a man has any extra, he ought to share it and he ought to give some of it to help somebody else.

We pulled together - Senator Mondale, Senator Humphrey, the governor of our state and the rest of us got in there and we put together a winning combination. And it produced results. We went to the people with programs, and said we would do a certain number of things. ~~And I think that~~ your own representatives from Minnesota will tell you that never has any state in as short a period of time as we did in this last year, put together as much constructive legislation that was to your benefit and to the benefit of ~~the~~ people, *generally.*

That's enough on that level. Now let me talk about Washington. I have been trying to say over the years, without acrimony, ~~without trying to be a bitter man,~~ *that* ~~and~~ I do not have enemies, I have adversaries. I worry about people that list somebody as the enemy, whether that's internationally or domestically. We can have competitors and adversaries. Enemies you seek to destroy. Adversaries you seek to defeat. There's a great deal of difference. The mind that conceives of people as enemies indicates something about the personality and something about the character.

The man that occupies the White House today has a tremendous power. In the ¹⁹68 campaign, as well as in the ¹⁹72 campaign, our standard bearers were trying to tell the American people what was in the offing for them. I remember in ¹⁹68 I said you're not just electing a president, you're choosing a Supreme Court. You're not only doing that, you're choosing agencies to protect the public interest. Every one of these many agencies - Securities Exchange Commission, Federal Trade Commission, Federal Power Commission, Federal Communications Commission -- whatever it is -- these are supposed to be extensions of the arms of Congress to help protect the public, to give the public a square deal. But when you elect a president, you not only elect a man, you elect a whole system for a whole period of time.

And I also said that when a man is re-elected and has no place to go except to seek his place in history, you can find the true colors of the man. When January 1973 came around, you began to see what the Nixon Republican Administration really meant for this country. Now just for a moment, let's set aside Watergate. Because one of the curses of Watergate is that it has deflected our attention, distracted us from things that mean a great deal to your families, to this nation, to these communities, to these towns and cities and counties and villages and the people that live in them. We started this session of Congress on the budget. Now the real test of an administration philosophy is in the budget. What are the priorities? What ^{is it} are you willing to put ^{it} your money on?

Put your money where your mouth is, as they say. What was this administration putting its money on? Where was it taking it away? And when we started back in January of this year, ~~we talked about the budget~~ ^{talked} the Nixon budget, ~~we also~~ ^{talked about} and impoundment. We talked about the confrontation, the Constitutional crisis, ~~UNRECORDED~~ ^{unrelated} to Watergate. We talked about a Constitutional crisis, ~~of a~~ ^{so to speak}, of the confrontation between the Congress and the Executive Branch of the government; The Office of Management and Budget disregarding the actions of Congress; The President through impoundment exercising POCKET veto, killing programs. The President took an oath of office that says he pledges to ~~faithfully~~ ^{faithfully} execute the laws of the land. He looked at the word "execute" and said it's an old-fashioned meaning; it means "kill". Because program after program that has been duly passed by the Congress and signed by the president, ~~In 1972, prior to the election, those programs were~~ ^{have been cut to ribbons} ~~out to ribbons.~~ Some of them were stopped completely. ~~much of this~~ ^{action occurred prior to the 1972 election} ~~one after the other of the following programs were~~ ^{cut.}

For example, housing programs for the low and lower-middle income people of this nation, Rural housing programs, Water and sewer programs, Environmental programs, Education programs; research programs; medical programs; ~~DEO~~ ^{DEO} ~~DEO~~ community action programs, ~~one after the other -- killed.~~ How were they killed? By the normal legislative process? ~~no!~~ These programs were killed by the sledgehammer, not of an official veto, which has happened on many occasions, but by the back door. By impoundment. By cutting back on the funds. By

holding up on the money. ~~By~~

It is important that working people understand the budgetary powers.
~~This is the kind of thing that working people ought to understand. Because~~

that budget represents a tremendous amount of the resources of this country -- \$268.7 billion worth. That's about one-fourth of the total Gross National Product.

That budget relates to state governments and county governments and local governments, ~~Because every state budget, every state government depended~~ on a certain amount to come from the federal government. ~~Over and above what we call~~ revenue sharing. ~~Because of the Nixon Administration cutbacks,~~ Every state budget, therefore, has had to be trimmed or

tailored. Mr. Nixon doesn't want any tax increase at the federal level. He's perfectly willing, however, to have it pushed back on the state and local level, ~~Perfectly willing~~ to see property taxes have to go up, even though they talk piously about how we must reduce property taxes.

These are things about which I want to engage your attention. Because we can't give up this ~~fight~~ ^{budget}. We started out in the Congress of the United States this year saying that we were going to have budget reform. We haven't got any. It

hasn't taken place. And one of the proposed budget reforms would merely ~~place the~~ ^{responsibility on} some of the more conservative establishment of the Congress ~~that decide~~ ^{to decide} what the future budget will be. I don't want to jump from the frying pan of the OMB into what I would call the hot coals of the conservatives of the Congress. I want you to have something to say about this. I want us to have something to say about

the priorities of this country. You're a great union here. You supported us in a resolution I prepared on what we call "our national priorities". But again may I say most emphatically the Congress as yet has not acted on that, ^{resolution --} and this is a ~~Democratic~~ ^{star} Congress. We ought to be acting on it, And not just glued to that TV tube.

Because when it's all said and done, when Watergate is all over, we ought to have campaign reform, election reform, campaign financing reform. These are minimums. The ^{dollar} checkoff system which we once again passed - I offered the amendment again this year; the Republicans fought us; we voted ^{for it} two to one, we locked it in. ^{has} It's now been signed again so that it will be a part of the ^{into} law, and it'll be on page one of your income tax blank in the coming year, not way on the back sheet.

~~The Internal Revenue Service is required to place the check-off box on the front page of the return or beside the taxpayer's signature line.~~ And after we're all through with that, ^{they are} and that's highly important, what about helping the school children of this country? What about helping the poor ^{of} in this country? What about the jobs, ^{? Herbert Hill of the NAACP} when I read from the NAACP here the ^{reminded us the other day that 50 percent of our} other day, Herbert Hill's speech -- where in the ghettos of our cities 50% of ^{black youth are unemployed.} our black youth are unemployed. And you wonder why there's trouble in these cities. And the government sits around here and does nothing.

What about the social services? What about the funds that we need for clinics for drug addiction? For alcoholism? What about the fact that this ^A administration

is trying to load ~~of their old people on Medicare payments?~~ ^{make me pay higher medicare payments} What about the need for comprehensive health care coverage? What about the need for a better energy program than we have? Or are we going to let oil companies and the government together force ~~you~~ ^{us} to pay more for ~~your~~ ^{our} fuel -- which they're doing -- at least they are up in our part of the country. You wonder whether or not there's going to be any fuel oil at all, no matter what you pay. What about a government that hasn't any program for food? And now I read the stories that we're going to cut back on school lunch programs. They're going to cut out the school milk programs. In a nation ~~that has high amounts of malnutrition, and~~

~~we've demonstrated it beyond the shadow of a doubt.~~ ^{where we still find malnutrition.}

All of that is still here. And I want ~~this~~ ^{the} labor movement in the ~~to~~ ^{to} get off its back end and go to work and fight for these things that need to be done in this country. You know we need some scrappers around here these days. One of the reasons I associated myself early with the labor movement is that we dared to try, even if we lost. We were willing to fight, willing to speak up. And this union of yours has been one of the most socially active unions in all ~~of~~ ^{the} the labor movement. You haven't just talked for your members; you've talked for the whole nation.

But we've got to continue the fight. We can't get trapped in to just a TV extravaganza. We've got to get down to the things that need to be done.

~~I remind you that the~~ ^{Good God!} Prime interest rate 8 1/2%. And I met with an economist today who ^{is percent.}

said, "Senator Humphrey, it'll be ^{percent} 10% before the end of this year." And you wonder what's going to happen to the housing program. What young family who ^{is} starting their life together, can afford that kind of interest rates for ~~30~~ ³⁰ ~~years~~ years." The average young couple buying a house today puts their name on that line for thirty years. And they'll pay for that house $2\frac{1}{2}$ times what the capital of that house is ^{before} ~~before~~ it's theirs. Or more at these interest rates. ~~-----~~

^{What about the} ~~The~~ cost of financing this government? I've often wondered why it is that everyone else is supposed to have controls, except bankers (~~pardon me, Bill~~). Isn't it interesting that the one way that this administration feels you can control ~~the~~ "inflation," as they call it, is by ^{tight} ~~tight~~ credit and high interest rates. Now that's the oldest-fashioned political, economic medicine. That's just like Old Ward's Liniment that used to take off the warts, take care of your lumbago, good for arthritis, sore throat, ~~Sort~~ ^{Sort} of a general all-around remedy. The problem is that it killed a lot of patients.

~~And~~ ^{By} the same token, so does this system of tightening up on the money, tightening up on the interest. Only a few months ago we were talking about the highest interest rates in a hundred years. That's when the prime rate was ^{percent} ~~7%~~ ^{It} Today it's $8\frac{1}{4}$, went up to $8\frac{1}{2}$. They brought it down again to $8\frac{1}{4}$, ~~but~~ ^{But} just as surely as we're in this room -- and listen well to what I tell you -- it'll be $8\frac{1}{2}$, and if it's $8\frac{1}{2}$ prime, that means for the best credit, ^{it} ~~That~~ doesn't take care of any of you in this room.

Now most of you here are family people. Now I've always said that the way you test whether a government is doing its job is to say, "what does it mean to my family?" When I sought this high office of the presidency, I said I want to be the president for the American family. ~~I think~~ I understand something about families. ~~I think~~ I understand what it means to see your kids have to look for a job. What it means to have to pay those bills. I can honestly say that we've never made it easy for the Humphrey boys. They've had to go on out and do it on their own. ~~And~~ I've watched them try to meet these accounts.

~~And I think that we've got a president today and we have an Administration today that is not interested in what happens in the family dining room, or happens in the family room or happens with the family. But~~ It's primarily concerned about what ~~they~~ it can do to help things out in the corporate Board rooms. That's what they are talking about today. And the evidence is there. The profits of corporations, after taxes went up percent 14.5% in 1971; percent 15.5% in 1972; and, in the first five months of 1973, percent 32.8%. That's right. And they're going up more.

And the biggest mistake that this country ever made the Administration ~~took~~ is when ~~they~~ they took off ~~that~~ Two Phase I and went to Phase II, and permitted everyone to jockey themselves into a position to literally milk the country. So And today you find unbelievable conditions existing in this nation. ~~The conditions today~~, where a freeze has been put on, are A freeze ~~that~~ where there were so many inequities, that some of the people who ~~that~~ ought to be producing the food that we eat are not producing it. And some

of the people that ought to be producing the products that we need are not producing them.

To give you one example, I met this last week, with the turkey producers in the state of Minnesota. We're the largest turkey-producing state in the country. ~~Turkey is not the rich man's meat. You know, poultry is after you can't afford meat. That's right.~~ And these poultry producers said to me, "Senator, we cannot produce the birds at the cost of the feed. ~~And~~ we have no assurance of the propane or the fuel oil that we need. ~~we've~~ ^{got} we've got to maintain temperatures for those birds at 90 ^{to} 95 degrees. And we cannot have a slack for one single hour. ~~And~~ unless we can have the assurance that we're going to get the fuel, we are not going to produce a single bird. That's 29 million turkeys that will not be produced in this country and there'll be no turkey.

Oh yes, but that's just one little item. I tried to get this government of ours ~~and~~ I tried to get your labor movement and my labor movement interested in what we call a food reserve program in this country. ~~Now let me just take a minute and I'll shut up on this one.~~

What do I mean? We've got strategic metals

piled up that cost us billions of dollars. ~~Everything~~ ^{There are} from chromium to magnesium, to tin to lithium, you name it, we've got it. ~~Stocks~~ ^{of} copper, lead, tin, zinc, ~~strategic stockpiles~~. We said we would never be caught again because of the inability to ~~really~~ protect ourselves in case of a massive attack. ~~we~~ ^{So} we have a large supply of strategic metals. And we pay the price for them. We warehouse these metals. Nobody complains about it at all. It's gone on for years. I haven't read an article about it. But when the copper prices went up here in 1967, skyhigh, I was in an ~~administration~~ ^{administration} that came over to Congress and said, "We want to release copper from the stockpile." ~~And~~ ^{to} that brought the copper prices right down. ~~Put them at~~ ^{to} a fair and reasonable rate. It also made copper available for the factories that needed it so workers had jobs.

We've got a military establishment over here that's got enough reserves of bombs to fight about five wars. We have a reserve army, reserve planes, reserve ships ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ mothballs as they call it. ~~Some~~ The only thing that we don't have in reserve that's really necessary around here for life is some food. And there was a fellow by the name of Napoleon that once said, "An army fights on its stomach."

Well, Napoleon or no Napoleon, let's just talk ~~about~~ ^{about} not the military, but the consumer aspects. Had we been doing what some of us have been advocating and pleading for ~~and~~ ^{and} I've been in the forefront of this battle ~~we~~ ^{we} would have had a reserve, a strategic reserve of corn, soybeans, and feed grains that would have

protected our market at home and made it possible for us not to have to cancel a single export abroad. ~~And~~ We ought to have it. And we ought not to call it a surplus.

We're never going to have low food prices again. Just as sure as sure as I'm looking at you, remember that the day of low food prices is gone! Once they're up, they don't come down much. They're just going to stay there. Oh, we'll have some variables, on such things as some fresh fruits and vegetables, but that's about it. The demand for food supply around the world is terrific and we ought to have just to give you an idea ~~some figures~~ -- million we ought to have 500,000,000 bushels of wheat in storage at all times. ~~That~~ means that we would not be caught in the situations we're in today, where we literally don't have any. We ought to have 40 million tons of corn in storage. That's a three-month supply, that's all. ~~And~~ You can't have beef and pork and you can't have dairy products without corn. And we ought to have 50 million bushels of soybeans in reserve at all times. That's about less than a two - supply months. ~~Because that~~ would mean again that your pork prices, your beef prices and your poultry prices would not go through out of the roof.

You would have been able, had that reserve been here today, to level off food situation this ~~off~~ right now, to have been able to take care of our domestic needs, ~~and~~ all of this hullaballu that you're reading about ~~about~~ exports controls isn't going to help you one bit. The horse is out of the barn before Richard got to lock the door. Make no mistake about it, he's gone.

There aren't any soybeans around, ~~there isn't any extra.~~ ^{And} So now the news comes that we're going to have to cut back the senior citizens' feeding program, ~~We're going to cut back on the school feeding program,~~ ~~We're going to have to cut back on the breakfast program.~~ We're going to have to cut back on the program that we call supplementary feeding. All of these things ~~that~~ ^{on which} we've worked ~~for~~ for years are being pushed aside, because of what we, as a people, not only as a government, have neglected and I want this labor movement to start to fight! I want them to start to call the shots.

We've got an investigating committee on Watergate that'll do ~~a damn sight~~ better than any of us. Now we've got to start talking about how we're going to build some houses that we can afford to ~~pay for,~~ ^{purchase.} We're going to have to talk about how we're going to feed people. We're going to have to talk about how we're going to employ people. We're going to have to talk about whether we're going to have ~~vo-tech~~ ^{vocational-technical} schools. We're going to have to talk about whether there is real equality in education. We're going to have to start to ~~fight~~ ^{talk} about whether there is going to be any civil rights for our people, ~~or~~ whether we're going to retreat, ~~and~~ this administration has not only been retreating. ~~It's~~ It's been a massive retreat on every one of these fronts.

And that's why I'm up here with you tonight. Because you can do something about it back home. I know things are good, ~~and~~ ^{As} they used to say back home, "don't talk much politics in the summer; everybody wants to go fishing." I know that, ~~but~~ the prices of fish are up too!

Well, that's about all I had to say to you, ~~let's see, yeah, well, I don't want to get into the rest of that, though. Got too much there.~~ I just want to say, that, you know ~~some of these untouchable topics, like tax reform, for example. I~~ ~~think~~ ^{except that} it's kind of good to remind ^{people that} ~~people that~~ it was just a year ago this month that the man who's in the White House today and his Secretary of the Treasury, said that by January, the first of the year, they'd have a major, total, comprehensive tax reform package before the Congress. You've forgotten that. I haven't. ~~I remember all of their damn lies, every one of them.~~ Then we ~~hear~~ ^{heard} that they couldn't have it ready by January, they'd have it ready by March. ~~Still~~ ^{we} haven't got it. We're not going to get it. ~~Because~~ ^{tax} reform means that the boys that have been paying their bills are going to have to pay their fair share and every family in this country that has an income of under \$25,000 a year has an interest in tax reform. And that takes care of an awful lot of you, too, I'll tell you.

→ ~~And~~ All that tax reform means is that we pay our fair share. You've got a big stake in this. Well, When you get back home, and you call the membership together, it's hard to get them in these days, I know that ~~that's another thing~~ ~~discussed this record of the Nixon administration~~ ~~that's going to be difficult.~~ But you're doing a better job, you're doing a better job of building internal strength in your union. Remember, ^{that} all you need in every union is a few good articulate stand-up people, Men and women who know what the issues are, ^{that are} they're prepared to take on all comers, that will get up there and have the courage to call upon the membership to take a stand

and we'll start to get things done in this country.

We don't have to have a hundred million leaders in America. You don't have to have 15 million leaders in the labor movement, ~~you~~ you don't have to have 600,000 of them in the State, County and Municipal Employees. All you need to have is you, right here. I have said so many times in my public life, that if ~~we~~ ^{me} could have just a few people, dedicated, willing to fight, understanding the issues, knowing when to attack and when not, knowing when to take a stand and when to back away, knowing how to carry on the battle -- ~~we can~~ ^{then we could} do almost anything that we need to do.

It won't be easy. There are no easy ways out. We're going to have a tough time for years to come, because this ~~administration~~ administration has loused up this economy more in a period of 4½ years than anyone since the time of Herbert Hoover. ~~And they have.~~ And we're going to pay dearly.

Did you ever think you'd live to see the ~~day~~ ^{time}, that day after day, you could pick up that newspaper and see the American dollar ~~was~~ under threat abroad, ~~and indeed, even had to be bolstered by shenanigans and gimmickry such as happens today.~~ Did you ever think you'd see the day when American paper abroad could not sell? Did you ever think you'd see the day that we were importing a lot more than we were able to export? Did you ever think you'd see the day that after we lectured the whole world that they ought to buy our agricultural products ~~that~~ we'd put out an embargo when they were just ready

~~to say?~~ ^{buy} Did you ever think that you'd see the day that this Administration would permit interest rates to become usurious? ~~And to say~~ ^{then} it was all done in the name of prudent fiscal policy. This has happened.

Did you ever think you'd see the day that ~~the~~ ^{the} Congress of the United States could appropriate funds on a roll call vote ~~and~~ the President would sign the legislation, ~~and~~ ^{then} the money was made available and for some reason or another it just disappeared? It never got to where it was supposed to go ~~and~~ ^I it was tied up and they called it impoundment in the name of fighting inflation.

There are so many things that have happened to us lately, dear friends, that it almost confounds you; that it, as the kids say, just "blows your mind," ~~you know~~. Well don't let it. ^{just} just get your piece of paper out and ~~just~~ start putting down what you think we need to do.

What are the things you need to do? First, you organize, organize, organize, not only economically, but politically. You have great power. You can be the spokesman in every central body. You can be the spokesman in the American Federation of ^{LABOR} ~~Lab~~ and CIO in this country. You have the talent. You're vigorous, you're young, you're diversified. You come from every part of this country. You work at government. You have people who can teach you how to do these things. And believe me, if you don't take on your share of the burden, I'm here to tell you it won't get done. I've been around this town a long time, ~~and~~ ^{as} I've said to some people, I not only know where the bodies are buried, occasionally I carried one there myself.

We're going to get just the kind of government that we fight for, that's all. If we're willing to turn over the power tools to the vested interests, ~~we're willing to turn it over to the big ones~~ they'll take it. They know what to do with it and they do it shamelessly. It doesn't bother them a bit to read in the paper that their profits went up ^{percent} 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ after taxes. It does bother them to hear that you got ^{a percent} 6 wage increase. That just shakes them ^{badly!} up ~~bad~~. It doesn't bother them at all to read that the prime rate is the highest it's ever been in this nation's history, and going up, but it just bothers them to no end - may I tell you, no end at all - if you get a little extra dime on that pension plan. ~~Just up to them,~~ ^{it gives them} nervous prostration.

~~Well, damn it, let 'em have some of it.~~ You've got to be willing to take your stand and that helps me take my stand. But I learned a long time ago, that if you're going to go into battle, you've got to have more than the general that's willing to fight. You'd better have some troops. And I'm looking over my shoulder.

Thank you, very much.

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