

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
35th Convention
Miami Beach, Florida
June 3, 1974

It is a pleasure to be with you today to participate in the 35th Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

It is a special privilege to be here as a close friend and an honorary member of your great Union.

Frankly, as I look around the room tonight, I see so many familiar faces, that this is more like a family reunion than an address to a Convention.

I take great pride in my identification with your union and with the entire American labor movement.

Throughout our nation's history the American labor movement has been the cutting edge for social progress.

It has championed the cause of people in every generation.

Your Union has been a strong and steady voice not only for its members and their families, but also for the poor, the elderly, the disabled, and those who are the victims of discrimination and prejudice.

As a strong and effective part of American labor, you have stood up for those too weak to stand for themselves, fought for those too weary to fight for themselves, and given visibility to those whose only crime was that "they were not seen."

Working with other liberal and progressive forces, your support of the great presidencies of Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, John Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson, has made tremendous progress in our nation possible.

The Ladies' Garment Workers and other major unions have led the fight:

- to assure every boy and girl a good education;
- to guarantee quality health care at reasonable prices, as a basic right of all Americans;
- to promote the dignity and self-respect of every man;
- to provide every American citizen with the full benefits and opportunities of his civil rights;
- to assure that the burden of taxation is equitably borne by all, a sure test of a society's justice;
- to curb monopoly and unconscionable profiteering, and to insure the benefits of competition in the marketplace; and
- to see to it that all our citizens have decent communities in which to raise their families, with safe streets, decent housing, quality education, and good jobs.

Labor has delivered its blows for the common man, and it has made them count!

But perhaps more important than its specific achievements, this great coalition of America's organized workers and progressives has clearly led our nation in the "politics of compassion."

Democracy can only work if it has a heart as well as a brain.

Government by computer may be more efficient, but it can never be of, by, and for the people. And it can never be more just.

Democracy can only flourish when the tears and laughter, anguish and joy, fears and hopes of the people are a very part of the political process.

If our coalition of labor and progressive forces have demonstrated anything, it is that compassion and common sense can go hand in hand for the common good.

And we have tasted the bitter fruits of failure to preserve the effectiveness of our coalition. That failure has meant great hardship for the American worker and his family. Hardship resulting from:

- The Nixon budget,
- The Nixon vetoes,
- The Nixon court,
- The Nixon scandals,
- the Nixon impoundments, and
- The Nixon economic policies.

Let me dwell a moment on the economy.

Nixonomics has been a disaster for the American worker and his family. Not since the days of Herbert Hoover has so little been done for so many, and so much been done for so few. But this should be no great surprise. Will Rogers put it quite simply and accurately, "Republicans take care of big money, and big money takes care of Republicans."

Since August of 1971, we have had an erratic series of "phases" and "freezes" and "game plans." Each has been announced by the Administration with "ruffles and flourishes" as the solution to our economic woes, each has been scrapped soon after as ineffective. This hodgepodge of economic actions has virtually destroyed the confidence of business, labor, and consumers in our economy.

The Administration's failure to deal successfully with inflation, recession, and unemployment has apparently convinced it to abandon the fight against these problems altogether. The only string still being played on the Nixon economic fiddle is interest rate policy. But letting banks increase interest rates and encouraging the Federal Reserve Board to maintain a tight money policy will hurt most Americans seriously and will not solve the unprecedented problems of simultaneous inflation, recession, and unemployment that wrack our nation today.

The economic facts clearly show that most Americans have been losers under Nixon economic game plans.

During the last year of Democratic economic policy in 1968, corporate profits increased by a solid 9.8% and the average weekly real earnings of American workers rose by a healthy 2.3%. In 1973, on the other hand, big business reaped a profit bonanza -- with profits up a full 28.9%.

At the same time, the American worker has taken a beating -- average weekly real earnings have actually declined 5.1% during the last year. From March to April of this year, their earnings dropped .9% or at a staggering annual rate of 11%. Every month finds the American worker in worse economic condition.

In 1968, the average home loan interest rate was 7.0%. Today it is over 8% everywhere in the country and at a record high 9% in many places.

In 1968, the prime interest rate averaged 5.9%, but today it has risen to devastatingly high levels of 11 1/2% and 11 3/4%, the highest levels since the economic chaos of the Civil War.

During the last year of Democratic economic policy, consumers saw the prices they paid go up 4.1%. But in the last 12 months, consumer prices virtually exploded at an annual rate of 10.2%. And as Authur Burns said last week "continued inflation may threaten the very foundation of our society."

In 1968, the Democrats managed to keep unemployment down to 3.6%. This year unemployment has been over 5% each month and prospects are for an increase later this year to about 6%.

And, I might add, the real output of our economy plummeted, dropping by 6.3% in the first quarter of 1974, the greatest loss in production since the Eisenhower recession of 1958.

Despite the facts, which clearly show that the first quarter of this year was one of the worst economic performances in our country since World War II, President Nixon proclaimed just last week that, "all the economic indicators prove we are making substantial progress."

The economic indicators "prove" economic progress about as much as the Watergate tapes "prove" the President's innocence.

The American people will not be deceived. They have learned the hard way that rhetoric cannot replace purchasing power and that rosy forecasts cannot replace lost jobs.

But while it is flattering to our egos to look at our progress, and important to take a hard look at the problems facing us today, our eyes must be focused on the future.

Today I would like to outline three goals of great concern to me. I believe they deserve our attention.

First, the survival of popular democracy is only assured when there is a partnership between the government and the people that is held together by mutual trust and faith.

Today the shadow of shame, doubt, and mistrust shroud our entire political process and threaten that vital partnership.

We must restore this loss of faith in self-government -- this faith and trust that give the social contract of popular government its meaning.

One way to cleanse and reform our political process is at the ballot box.

Our political process has become too commercialized. Politicians are sold to the public as if they were products in the market place.

Today the premium is on "image," not "substance"; on "charisma," not "character"; on "promises" and not "performance"; and on the "sensational" and not the "sensible." This must be changed.

Our political processes must be cleansed.

We are making progress. Campaign and election reform are coming, and that will help.

Never again will big money play the role in politics it has in the past.

No campaign in the future will be run as it has been in the past. Integrity has become the most precious asset of the politician.

But cleaning up campaigns is just the beginning.

Unless our government buckles down and begins to meet the needs of our people, and unless our politicians become more responsible in pursuing the public interest and in leveling with the people, all the campaign and election reform in the world will not restore the people's faith in government.

Second, we must reverse the growing income gap between the rich and the poor, the "haves" and the "have nots" in America and throughout the world,

Several major steps must be taken.

We need a new commitment by our government to maximize employment, maximize production, and maximize income -- a commitment made by the President and the Congress to the American worker and his family in the "Employment Act of 1946."

We need tough and effective measures to protect the purchasing power of our workers' pay-checks from the ravages of uncontrolled inflation.

We need basic tax reforms to close corporate loopholes, and to guarantee that the burden of taxation is related to the ability of the taxpayer to pay.

And to permanently reduce the differences in living standards in America, we need to give the most deprived in our society a chance at equality when they reach the starting line in this competitive world.

Children from low and middle income families must be guaranteed nutritious food from birth, the availability of quality health care, and true equality in the opportunity for education.

While our primary responsibility must be at home, the growing gap in the quality of life between the rich and the poor nations of the world endangers peace and violates human dignity.

How long will the world's poor be content to live a "hand to mouth" existence as the "hewers of wood and haulers of water" for the world's wealthy? Such economic and human injustice may have been tolerable in a former age, but not as we enter the last quarter of the twentieth century.

A world of peace and prosperity is only possible if standards of living are improved from generation to generation.

As Pope Paul has so accurately stated - "The new name for peace is development."

Third, rapid change and increased complexity are the characteristics of a modern society. As a result, it is essential that we find ways to anticipate change and direct it.

The energy crisis and the world food shortage are only two of the most obvious examples of failures to anticipate basic changes and their results.

At present, we do not have the instruments of government that are needed for planning our nation's balanced growth and development, for planning its future.

If we are to "design" our future and not simply "resign" ourselves to it, we must fashion a system of planning for growth and development.

For six years the "politics of compassion" have taken a back seat to the "politics of indifference."

We have seen the bitter fruits of negative politics in the sacking of the poverty programs, impounding of funds for the sick and the needy, the gutting of housing programs, the retreat from the commitment to make our cities liveable, and the callous abuse of the veto power to block programs for some of those in America that most need the help of this government - the physically and mentally handicapped and our working poor.

Government of the few, by the few and for the few has no place in America.

We must refocus the attention and energies of America on those human problems that the indifferent, the preoccupied, and the faint of heart turn away from and ignore.

But I have great faith in America. I have confidence in the American people. I do not agree with the pessimists, the prophets of gloom and doom. Rather I share the view of Carl Sandburg:

"I see America, not in the setting sun of a black night of despair ahead of us. I see America in the crimson light of a rising sun fresh from the burning, creative hand of God. I see great days ahead, great days possible to men and women of will and vision."

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REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
35TH CONVENTION

MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA

JUNE 3, 1974

IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE WITH YOU TODAY TO PARTICIPATE
IN THE 35TH CONVENTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT
WORKERS UNION. 35th Conv. - I L G W U

IT IS A SPECIAL PRIVILEGE TO BE HERE AS A CLOSE FRIEND AND
AN HONORARY MEMBER OF YOUR GREAT UNION. Honorary Member

FRANKLY, AS I LOOK AROUND THE ROOM TONIGHT, I SEE SO MANY
FAMILIAR FACES, THAT THIS IS MORE LIKE A FAMILY REUNION THAN AN
ADDRESS TO A CONVENTION. Family Reunion

I TAKE GREAT PRIDE IN MY IDENTIFICATION WITH YOUR UNION AND
WITH THE ENTIRE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT.

THROUGHOUT OUR NATION'S HISTORY THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT
HAS BEEN THE CUTTING EDGE FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS. Cutting Edge
in
Social Progress

IT HAS CHAMPIONED THE CAUSE OF PEOPLE IN EVERY GENERATION,

YOUR UNION HAS BEEN A STRONG AND STEADY VOICE NOT ONLY FOR

ITS MEMBERS AND THEIR FAMILIES, BUT ALSO FOR ^{unorganized, the} THE POOR, THE

ELDERLY, THE DISABLED, AND THOSE WHO ARE THE VICTIMS OF

DISCRIMINATION AND PREJUDICE.

AS A STRONG AND EFFECTIVE PART OF AMERICAN LABOR, YOU HAVE

STOOD UP FOR THOSE TOO WEAK TO STAND FOR THEMSELVES, FOUGHT FOR

THOSE TOO WEARY TO FIGHT FOR THEMSELVES, AND GIVEN VISIBILITY TO

THOSE WHOSE ONLY CRIME WAS THAT "THEY WERE NOT SEEN."

WORKING WITH OTHER LIBERAL AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES, YOUR

SUPPORT OF THE GREAT PRESIDENCIES OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, HARRY

TRUMAN, JOHN KENNEDY, AND LYNDON JOHNSON, HAS MADE TREMENDOUS

PROGRESS IN OUR NATION POSSIBLE.

FDR
HST
JFK
LBJ

THE LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS AND OTHER MAJOR UNIONS HAVE

LED THE FIGHT:

↳ TO ASSURE EVERY BOY AND GIRL A GOOD EDUCATION;

↳ TO GUARANTEE QUALITY HEALTH CARE AT REASONABLE PRICES,

AS A BASIC RIGHT OF ALL AMERICANS;

↳ TO PROMOTE THE DIGNITY AND SELF-RESPECT ~~OF EVERY MAN;~~

↳ TO PROVIDE EVERY AMERICAN CITIZEN WITH THE FULL BENEFITS

AND OPPORTUNITIES OF HIS CIVIL RIGHTS;

↳ TO ASSURE THAT THE BURDEN OF TAXATION IS EQUITABLY BORNE

BY ALL, A SURE TEST OF A SOCIETY'S JUSTICE;

To Reform

-- TO CURB MONOPOLY AND UNCONSCIONABLE PROFITEERING, AND TO

INSURE THE BENEFITS OF COMPETITION IN THE MARKETPLACE; AND

L- TO SEE TO IT THAT ALL OUR CITIZENS HAVE DECENT COMMUNITIES

IN WHICH TO RAISE THEIR FAMILIES, WITH SAFE STREETS, DECENT HOUSING,

QUALITY EDUCATION, AND GOOD JOBS,

Yes you have
KING HAS DELIVERED ~~IT~~ BLOWS FOR THE COMMON MAN, AND IT HAS
MADE THEM COUNT!

L BUT PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANT THAN ITS SPECIFIC ACHIEVEMENTS,

THIS GREAT COALITION OF AMERICA'S ORGANIZED WORKERS AND PROGRESSIVES

HAS CLEARLY LED OUR NATION IN THE "POLITICS OF COMPASSION."

Politics of Compassion

L DEMOCRACY CAN ONLY WORK IF IT HAS A HEART AS WELL AS A BRAIN.

L GOVERNMENT BY COMPUTER MAY BE MORE EFFICIENT, BUT IT CAN

NEVER BE OF, BY, AND FOR THE PEOPLE. AND IT CAN NEVER BE MORE

JUST.

L DEMOCRACY CAN ONLY FLOURISH WHEN THE TEARS AND LAUGHTER,
ANGUISH AND JOY, FEARS AND HOPES OF THE PEOPLE ARE A VERY PART
OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

L IF OUR COALITION OF LABOR AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES HAVE
DEMONSTRATED ANYTHING, IT IS THAT COMPASSION AND COMMON SENSE
CAN GO HAND IN HAND FOR THE COMMON GOOD.

L AND WE HAVE TASTED THE BITTER FRUITS OF FAILURE TO PRESERVE
THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR COALITION. L THAT FAILURE HAS MEANT GREAT
HARDSHIP FOR THE AMERICAN WORKER AND HIS FAMILY. HARDSHIP

RESULTING FROM:

-- THE NIXON BUDGET,

-- THE NIXON VETOES,

-- THE NIXON COURT,

-- THE NIXON SCANDALS,

-- THE NIXON IMPOUNDMENTS, AND

-- THE NIXON ECONOMIC POLICIES.

↳ LET ME DWELL A MOMENT ON THE ECONOMY.

NIXONOMICS HAS BEEN A DISASTER FOR THE AMERICAN WORKER AND

HIS FAMILY. NOT SINCE THE DAYS OF HERBERT HOOVER HAS SO LITTLE

BEEN DONE FOR SO MANY, AND SO MUCH BEEN DONE FOR SO FEW. ↳ BUT,

THIS SHOULD BE NO GREAT SURPRISE. WILL ROGERS PUT IT QUITE SIMPLY

AND ACCURATELY, "REPUBLICANS TAKE CARE OF BIG MONEY, AND BIG

MONEY TAKES CARE OF REPUBLICANS."

↳ SINCE AUGUST OF 1971, WE HAVE HAD AN ERRATIC SERIES OF

"PHASES" AND "FREEZES" AND "GAME PLANS." ↳ EACH HAS BEEN ANNOUNCED BY

THE ADMINISTRATION WITH "RUFFLES AND FLOURISHES" AS THE SOLUTION TO

OUR ECONOMIC WOES, EACH HAS BEEN SCRAPPED SOON AFTER AS INEFFECTIVE.

*yo-yo - In & out, up & Down
sideways*

~~WHY IS OUR ECONOMY IN SUCH BAD SHAPE?~~

I ~~WILL TELL YOU WHY.~~ ↳ SINCE 1969 THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE WITNESSED A CONTINUAL GAME OF ECONOMIC MUSICAL CHAIRS.

↳ WE HAVE HAD 4 TREASURY SECRETARIES, 4 BUDGET MANAGERS, SIX WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLLERS, 5 ENERGY CHIEFS, TWO CHAIRMEN OF THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISORS AND TWO ECONOMIC CZARS. NOW WE HAVE AN ECONOMIC COORDINATOR.

↳ WE HAVE HAD ZIGS AND ZAGS. ↳ BUT WE HAVEN'T HAD A COHERENT AND SENSIBLE ECONOMIC GAME PLAN.

we have had confusion not direction -

THIS HODGEPODGE OF ECONOMIC ACTIONS HAS VIRTUALLY DISTROYED

THE CONFIDENCE OF BUSINESS, LABOR, AND CONSUMERS IN OUR ECONOMY.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S FAILURE TO DEAL SUCCESSFULLY WITH

INFLATION, RECESSION, AND UNEMPLOYMENT HAS APPARENTLY CONVINCED

IT TO ABANDON THE FIGHT AGAINST THESE PROBLEMS ALTOGETHER. THE

ONLY STRING STILL BEING PLAYED ON THE "NIXON ECONOMIC FIDDLE" IS

INTEREST RATE POLICY. BUT, LETTING BANKS INCREASE INTEREST RATES

AND ENCOURAGING THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD TO MAINTAIN A TIGHT

MONEY POLICY WILL HURT MOST AMERICANS SERIOUSLY AND WILL NOT

SOLVE THE UNPRECEDENTED PROBLEMS OF SIMULTANIOUS INFLATION,

RECESSION, AND UNEMPLOYMENT THAT WRACK OUR NATION TODAY.

THE ECONOMIC FACTS CLEARLY SHOW THAT MOST AMERICANS HAVE

BEEN LOSERS UNDER NIXON ECONOMIC GAME PLANS.

Interest Rate

DURING THE LAST YEAR OF DEMOCRATIC ECONOMIC POLICY IN 1968,

CORPORATE PROFITS INCREASED BY A SOLID 9.8% AND THE AVERAGE

WEEKLY REAL EARNINGS OF AMERICAN WORKERS ROSE BY A HEALTHY

2.3%. In 1973, ON THE OTHER HAND, BIG BUSINESS REAPED A

PROFIT BONANZA -- WITH PROFITS UP A FULL 28.9%.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE AMERICAN WORKER HAS TAKEN A BEATING --

AVERAGE WEEKLY REAL EARNINGS HAVE ACTUALLY DECLINED 5.1% DURING THE

LAST YEAR. FROM MARCH TO APRIL OF THIS YEAR, THEIR EARNINGS

DROPPED .9% OR AT A STAGGERING ANNUAL RATE OF 11%. EVERY MONTH

FINDS THE AMERICAN WORKER IN WORSE ECONOMIC CONDITION.

In 1968, THE AVERAGE HOME LOAN INTEREST RATE WAS 6.5%

TODAY IT IS OVER 8% EVERYWHERE IN THE COUNTRY AND AT A RECORD

HIGH 9% IN MANY PLACES.

↳ IN 1968, THE PRIME INTEREST RATE AVERAGED 5.9%, BUT TODAY IT HAS RISEN TO DEVISTATINGLY HIGH LEVELS OF 11 1/2% AND 11 3/4%, THE HIGHEST LEVELS SINCE THE ECONOMIC CHAOS OF THE CIVIL WAR.

↳ DURING THE LAST YEAR OF DEMOCRATIC ECONOMIC POLICY, CONSUMERS SAW THE PRICES THEY PAID GO UP 4.1%. ↳ BUT IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS, CONSUMER PRICES VIRTUALLY EXPLODED AT AN ANNUAL RATE OF 10.2%.

AND AS AUTHUR BURNS SAID LAST WEEK "CONTINUED INFLATION MAY THREATEN THE VERY FOUNDATION OF OUR SOCIETY."

↳ IN 1968, THE DEMOCRATS MANAGED TO KEEP UNEMPLOYMENT DOWN TO 3.6%. ↳ THIS YEAR UNEMPLOYMENT HAS BEEN OVER 5% EACH MONTH AND PROSPECTS ARE FOR AN INCREASE LATER THIS YEAR TO ABOUT 6%.

AND, I MIGHT ADD, THE REAL OUTPUT OF OUR ECONOMY

Dropped
~~PLUMMETED, DROPPING~~ BY 6.3% IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1974, THE

GREATEST LOSS IN PRODUCTION SINCE THE Republican ~~RECESSION~~ RECESSION OF

1958.

↳ DESPITE THE FACTS, WHICH CLEARLY SHOW THAT THE FIRST QUARTER

OF THIS YEAR WAS ONE OF THE WORST ECONOMIC PERFORMANCES IN OUR

COUNTRY SINCE WORLD WAR II, PRESIDENT NIXON PROCLAIMED JUST LAST

WEEK THAT, "ALL THE ECONOMIC INDICATORS PROVE WE ARE MAKING

"
SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS."

↳ THE ECONOMIC INDICATORS "PROVE" ECONOMIC PROGRESS ABOUT

AS MUCH AS THE WATERGATE TAPES "PROVE" THE PRESIDENT'S INNOCENCE! 6

↳ THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL NOT BE DECEIVED. ↳ THEY HAVE LEARNED

THE HARD WAY THAT RHETORIC CANNOT REPLACE PURCHASING POWER AND

THAT ROSY FORECASTS CANNOT REPLACE LOST JOBS.

↳ BUT WHILE IT IS FLATTERING TO OUR EGOS TO LOOK AT OUR
PROGRESS, AND IMPORTANT TO TAKE A HARD LOOK AT THE PROBLEMS
FACING US TODAY, OUR EYES MUST BE FOCUSED ON THE FUTURE.

↳ TODAY I WOULD LIKE TO OUTLINE THREE GOALS OF GREAT CONCERN
TO ME. I BELIEVE THEY DESERVE OUR ATTENTION.

3
Goal

↳ ~~First~~, THE SURVIVAL OF POPULAR DEMOCRACY IS ONLY ASSURED
WHEN THERE IS A PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE
THAT IS HELD TOGETHER BY MUTUAL TRUST AND FAITH.

1

↳ TODAY THE SHADOW OF SHAME, DOUBT, AND MISTRUST SHROUD OUR
ENTIRE POLITICAL PROCESS AND THREATEN THAT VITAL PARTNERSHIP.

WE MUST RESTORE THIS LOSS OF FAITH IN SELF-GOVERNMENT -- THIS
FAITH AND TRUST THAT GIVE THE SOCIAL CONTRACT OF POPULAR
GOVERNMENT ITS MEANING.

ONE WAY TO CLEANSE AND REFORM OUR POLITICAL PROCESS IS AT

THE BALLOT BOX.

OUR POLITICAL PROCESS HAS BECOME TOO COMMERCIALIZED.

POLITICIANS ARE SOLD TO THE PUBLIC AS IF THEY WERE PRODUCTS IN

THE MARKET PLACE.

TODAY THE PREMIUM IS ON "IMAGE," NOT "SUBSTANCE";

ON "CHARISMA," NOT "CHARACTER"; ON "PROMISES" AND NOT "PERFORMANCE";

AND ON THE "SENSATIONAL" AND NOT THE "SENSIBLE." THIS MUST BE CHANGED!

OUR POLITICAL PROCESSES MUST BE CLEANSED.

~~WE ARE MAKING PROGRESS.~~ CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION REFORM ARE *absolutely*

necessary. There can be no delay -
~~COMING, AND THAT WILL HELP.~~

must we permit 'big money' to

~~NEVER AGAIN WILL BIG MONEY PLAY THE ROLE IN POLITICS IT HAS~~

~~IN THE PAST.~~

NO CAMPAIGN IN THE FUTURE WILL BE RUN AS IT HAS BEEN IN THE
PAST. INTEGRITY HAS BECOME THE MOST PRECIOUS ASSET OF THE POLITICIAN.

BUT CLEANING UP CAMPAIGNS IS JUST THE BEGINNING.

UNLESS OUR GOVERNMENT BUCKLES DOWN AND BEGINS TO MEET THE NEEDS
OF OUR PEOPLE, AND UNLESS OUR POLITICIANS BECOME MORE RESPONSIBLE
IN PURSUING THE PUBLIC INTEREST AND IN LEVELING WITH THE PEOPLE,
ALL THE CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION REFORM IN THE WORLD WILL NOT RESTORE
THE PEOPLE'S FAITH IN GOVERNMENT.

SECOND, WE MUST REVERSE THE GROWING INCOME GAP BETWEEN THE
RICH AND THE POOR, THE "HAVES" AND THE "HAVE NOTS" IN AMERICA
AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

SEVERAL MAJOR STEPS MUST BE TAKEN.

WE NEED A NEW COMMITMENT BY OUR GOVERNMENT TO MAXIMIZE
EMPLOYMENT, MAXIMIZE PRODUCTION, AND MAXIMIZE INCOME -- A COMMITMENT
MADE BY THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS TO THE AMERICAN WORKER AND
HIS FAMILY IN THE "EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1946."

WE NEED TOUGH AND EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO PROTECT THE PURCHASING
POWER OF OUR WORKERS' PAY-CHECKS *+ those on fixed income* FROM THE RAVAGES OF UNCONTROLLED
INFLATION.

WE NEED BASIC TAX REFORMS TO CLOSE *tax* CORPORATE LOOPHOLES. *Tax Reform*
AND TO GUARANTEE THAT THE BURDEN OF TAXATION IS RELATED TO THE
ABILITY OF THE TAXPAYER TO PAY.

AND TO PERMANENTLY REDUCE THE DIFFERENCES IN LIVING STANDARDS
IN AMERICA, WE NEED TO GIVE THE MOST DEPRIVED IN OUR SOCIETY A
CHANCE AT EQUALITY WHEN THEY REACH THE STARTING LINE IN THIS
COMPETITIVE WORLD.

CHILDREN FROM LOW AND MIDDLE INCOME FAMILIES MUST BE GUARANTEED
NUTRITIOUS FOOD FROM BIRTH, THE AVAILABILITY OF QUALITY HEALTH CARE,
AND TRUE EQUALITY IN THE OPPORTUNITY FOR EDUCATION.

WHILE OUR PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY MUST BE AT HOME, THE GROWING
GAP IN THE QUALITY OF LIFE BETWEEN THE RICH AND THE POOR NATIONS
OF THE WORLD ENDANGERS PEACE AND VIOLATES HUMAN DIGNITY.

HOW LONG WILL THE WORLD'S POOR BE CONTENT TO LIVE A "HAND
TO MOUTH" EXISTENCE AS THE "HEWERS OF WOOD AND HAULERS OF WATER" FOR
THE WORLD'S WEALTHY? SUCH ECONOMIC AND HUMAN INJUSTICE MAY HAVE
BEEN TOLERABLE IN A FORMER AGE, BUT NOT AS WE ENTER THE LAST
QUARTER OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

A WORLD OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY IS ONLY POSSIBLE IF STANDARDS
LIVING ARE IMPROVED FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION.

AS POPE PAUL HAS SO ACCURATELY STATED - "THE NEW NAME FOR PEACE IS DEVELOPMENT."

Planning

#3 THIRD, RAPID CHANGE AND INCREASED COMPLEXITY ARE THE CHARACTERISTICS OF A MODERN SOCIETY. AS A RESULT, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE FIND WAYS TO ANTICIPATE CHANGE AND DIRECT IT.

THE ENERGY CRISIS AND THE WORLD FOOD SHORTAGE ARE ONLY TWO OF THE MOST OBVIOUS EXAMPLES OF FAILURES TO ANTICIPATE BASIC CHANGES AND THEIR RESULTS.

AT PRESENT, WE DO NOT HAVE THE INSTRUMENTS OF GOVERNMENT THAT ARE NEEDED FOR PLANNING OUR NATION'S BALANCED GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT, FOR PLANNING ITS FUTURE.

IF WE ARE TO "DESIGN" OUR FUTURE AND NOT SIMPLY "RESIGN" OURSELVES TO IT, WE MUST FASHION A SYSTEM OF PLANNING FOR GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT.

FOR SIX YEARS THE "POLITICS OF COMPASSION" HAVE TAKEN A BACK SEAT TO THE "POLITICS OF INDIFFERENCE."

WE HAVE SEEN THE BITTER FRUITS OF NEGATIVE POLITICS IN THE SACKING OF THE POVERTY PROGRAMS, IMPOUNDING OF FUNDS FOR THE SICK AND THE NEEDY, THE GUTTING OF HOUSING PROGRAMS, THE RETREAT FROM THE COMMITMENT TO MAKE OUR CITIES LIVEABLE, AND THE CALLOUS ABUSE OF THE VETO POWER TO BLOCK PROGRAMS FOR SOME OF THOSE IN AMERICA THAT MOST NEED THE HELP OF THIS GOVERNMENT - THE PHYSICALLY AND MENTALLY HANDICAPPED AND OUR WORKING POOR.

A GOVERNMENT "OF THE FEW, BY THE FEW AND FOR THE FEW" HAS NO PLACE IN AMERICA.

Govt - Preamble We the People -
to form a more perfect Union

To Secure the Blessings
of Liberty etc

to establish Justice
to insure domestic Tranquility
to provide for the common Defense
to Promote the General Welfare

Constitution - not protect Govt from the People
but protect People from abuse
of Power by Govt.

There are some simple values
that need to be reestablished

(1) ObeY the Law -

(2) Tell the Truth

~~(3)~~

Watergate is not "Politics as Usual"
any more than a ~~crack~~^{corruption} in the
Labor movement by one union
or officer is representative
of all organized labor.

Winning elections is important
Pol. Action " " "

We have had trouble before - We grew
stronger - Corruption before - we cleaned it up
Latter had had corruption - but we didn't abandon
the honor mountain

WE MUST REFOCUS THE ATTENTION AND ENERGIES OF AMERICA ON

THOSE HUMAN PROBLEMS THAT THE INDIFFERENT, THE PREOCCUPIED,
AND THE FAINT OF HEART TURN AWAY FROM AND IGNORE.

BUT I HAVE GREAT FAITH IN AMERICA. I HAVE CONFIDENCE IN
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. I DO NOT AGREE WITH THE PESSIMISTS, THE
PROPHETS OF GLOOM AND DOOM. RATHER I SHARE THE VIEW OF CARL
SANDBURG:

"I SEE AMERICA, NOT IN THE SETTING SUN OF A
BLACK NIGHT OF DESPAIR AHEAD OF US. I SEE AMERICA
IN THE CRIMSON LIGHT OF A RISING SUN FRESH FROM THE
BURNING, CREATIVE HAND OF GOD. I SEE GREAT DAYS AHEAD,
GREAT DAYS POSSIBLE TO MEN AND WOMEN OF WILL AND VISION."

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Miami, Fla., Fontainebleau Hotel
June 3, 1964

They want to see America come back together again. This must be our goal. By that I mean bringing all of our people together, business and labor, parents and children, north and south, black and white, farm and city. Yes, and the millions of disillusioned Republicans and independents who want to join with us in this crusade to get America back on the track again. Others may seek to make America great again. I seek to make America good again. For that is our best claim to greatness. Thank you. (Applause)

PRES. STULBERG: We are in complete agreement with the program which you've outlined, except for one thing. We don't want to influence the judges. That's never been the way we function. But you apparently missed out on that sign over there. "Impeach Nixon." We are not ready to wait until 1975. (Applause)

SENATOR JACKSON: I just want to say that we in the Congress are going to do everything in our power to speed up the adjudication in spite of every dilatory move that the White House will continue to make. We want a fair trial in the Senate, a speedy trial. As jurors, the senate is in a different position than the House. I'm going to reserve my judgment and I will listen to all of the testimony, and the evidence that's brought before the Senate. But I can only make this one observation. I never felt that the time would ever come that when you walked into the office of the man who represents the highest office in the land to find that in the Oval Room they would be taping, eavesdropping on conversations without your consent. I thought that only happened behind the Iron Curtain. (Applause)

The irony of it may well be that these tapes could be their undoing. I learned in Sunday School what was right and what was wrong. You did, too, and there's certain things you don't do in life and one of them is to tape the conversation of others without their consent, and that to me is the most serious ethical violation that occurred. (Applause)

When I went behind the Iron Curtain I was briefed and told how they tape everything, that they had recorders and listening devices. But I never thought that would happen at the summit of our government. To me this is the big issue. That's why from an overall standpoint, it's so important that we start to make this country good again. (Applause)

PRES. STULBERG: Will the committee please escort our next speaker, Senator Hubert Humphrey, to the platform. (Applause) This man needs no introduction to the delegates of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. He is an honorary member of our union. He is near and dear to our hearts and to the country as a whole. He has been in the forefront of every conceivable fight for human decency. Hubert Humphrey needs no introduction to any audience in the United States. Wherever you go, Hubert, I have said it before and others have said it, too, wherever you go, wherever destiny leads you, we'll go alongside you and in front of you. (Applause) Delegates to this convention, it is my great privilege to present to you this morning, the great senator, the great Vice President, and I think he should have been President of the United States. We would have no need for signs to impeach anyone if he had been President. (Applause) May I remind you, we are taping everything. (Laughter) But no one will have to subpoena these tapes. It is my great privilege to present this great tribunal of the American people, Hubert H. Humphrey. (Applause)

SENATOR HUMPHREY: You surely know how to make a fellow feel good. I do want to thank you for that generous applause. Thank you very much Pres. Stulberg, for not only a fine introduction, but for the expression of your deep friendship. Might I say that this comes back to you with compound interest at at the current rates, it means a lot.

And my very special regards and greetings to your General Sec'y-Treas. Sol C. Chaikin, Executive Vice Pres.

Wilbur Daniels and First Vice Pres. E. Howard Mollisani, and to an old friend that we see to my left, still smoking those good cigars, Honorary Pres. David Dubinsky. God bless him! And Mr. Political Action himself, Gus Tyler. If the nation would have listened to Gus Tyler on several occasions, we would have been better off than we are today. (Applause)

There is one other person that I want to cite here, for your special commendation, and that is the magnificent woman who knows more members of the Congress than anyone else and does more and gets more done, Evelyn Dubrow. (Applause)

So you just had your 74th birthday, they tell me. That is great. I just had my 63rd, feeling fine too, going strong. Well, let me tell you something Scoop Jackson is a fighter. And he is for the people. And I am proud to be on the same platform with Senator Jackson.

We have been together so many times that I feel like I am a member of your family. I am privileged to be an honorary member of ILGWU. It is a real badge of distinction. I thank you for what you have done for me personally through the many years of my public life, but most significantly what you have done for the working people of this nation, what you have done for freedom and democracy throughout the world, what you have done for effective government in this country and what you have done for social progress in America. I salute the ILGWU. (Applause)

Once in a while we sort of take each other for granted. That is one of the dangers of warm friendships. And I'm afraid that some of the friends of the labor movement sort of take the labor movement for granted. But let me lay it on the line quickly. The labor movement of America and particularly this great union, has been in the forefront of every battle for human decency in this nation. You have been the cutting edge of the knife of social progress.

And don't you ever underestimate the meaning of that. Tell your children about it because sometimes they forget.

Fights for Social Justice

The history of American labor movement should be known by every citizen of this country because if America is a better place in which to live, a good deal of it is due to the fact that there were people who had the courage and even at times, may I say, had the audacity, to speak up for the workers, the people in the shops and the factories of this country. This union for 74 years, has been carrying the battle for social justice. I am proud of you.

You have stood up for those who were too weak to stand for themselves. You have fought for those who were too weary to fight for themselves. And you have given visibility to those whose only crime was that they were not seen. You have not only worked for the organized worker, but have stood up for the poor in this nation who are unorganized, the elderly that needed someone to speak for them, the disabled, and those who have been the victims of discrimination and prejudice. That is the record of this union. Not just the paycheck, not just working conditions for the membership, but this Union has stood up for people everywhere in the world, who aspire for a better life.

What greater and nobler objective is there than that? And you have been in the forefront of every major political battle. You have lost some, but you have won some. Aren't you proud of the fact that you helped elect Franklin Delano Roosevelt? Harry S. Truman? John F. Kennedy? Lyndon B. Johnson? (Applause)

Wouldn't you like to trade in what you have now for just half-time of any of those? (Applause)

You have been in the forefront of every struggle . . . of every boy and girl in this country for good and better education. You have led the fight or been in the struggle for quality health care.

And if you stick with me and I stick with you, we are going to be able to get more comprehensive health insurance for every American. (Applause)

By the way, I am no Johnny-come-lately on this issue. I was for national health care when Senator Murray of Montana and Robert Wagner of New York back in 1949 and 1950 proposed such legislation. Hubert Humphrey was a co-sponsor with those great senators for national comprehensive health care, and I am going to be in the Senate long enough to see it enacted. (Applause)

You have been in the forefront of the battle to provide every American citizen with the full benefits and opportunities of their civil rights. You know what it means to fight for social justice. You have been in the forefront to insure that the burden of taxation is equitably borne by all, based on the principle of the ability to pay. You have fought against monopoly, and to curb profiteering, and to encourage competition in the marketplace.

Work To Be Done

And you have also sought for all of our citizens decent communities in which to raise their families, with safe streets and decent housing and quality education and good jobs. Yes, we have fought together for these things. The fact that we have not accomplished all of them, doesn't mean we have failed. It simply means that we have work to do and I am here and happy to join with you in order to get them done.

When we work together, when we don't let people tear us apart. When we kick away the non-essential details, when we keep the big things in mind, the big picture, the great objectives—we get things done.

We ought never to lose elections. We don't lose them—we give them away, sometimes. (Applause) This man who's in the White House today never won; we let him have it. (Applause) He never should have won in 1968, and God only

knows, he never should have won in '72. (Applause)

When we see what's happening in this country today, when we see how a man can defy the law, when we see how a person who occupies the highest office in this land can ignore the Constitution, just remember that it was because our great coalition of progressive forces was divided, because we didn't hold together, that he got in.

Benjamin Franklin was right: "We either hang together, or we hang separately." And are we hanging now, dear friends!

Politics of Compassion

So, let's learn our lesson. We've had enough of this nonsense. People talking about the New Politics and this esoteric business. There's only one kind of politics that counts—politics of service; politics of interest in the people; politics of hard work; politics of honesty; politics of fulfillment. All this other junk is for people who never knew how to win an election; they only knew how to lose them. And I have no time for them. (Applause)

The politics of compassion, that's what made for the great liberal coalition. That was the politics of Roosevelt. That was the politics of an early governor of New York, Al Smith. That was the politics of Truman, and of Kennedy and Johnson, and I think it's my politics—the politics of compassion.

You know, democracy has to have a heart as well as a brain. You can't run government by a computer. No, let me tell you, government of the people, by the people and for the people requires peoples with a sense of justice and compassion and humility and a government by computer may be efficient, but it's not just.

Democracy can flourish only when the tears and laughter, the anguish and joy, the fears and hopes of the people are a very distinct part of the political process; when we're involved, when

we've made up our minds that we can do better, and if our coalition of labor and progressive forces have demonstrated anything, it is that compassion and common sense can go hand in hand for the common good, and without compassion and common sense, there is no hope.

We've tasted the bitter fruits of failure, to preserve the effectiveness of this coalition. That's what it's all about today.

Somebody said, "Where did Watergate start?" When we failed. When we let them in. And you're not surprised, are you, that these things are happening?

The Nixon Misdeeds

You couldn't possibly be. Indeed, we should have expected it. We've suffered great hardship because of what's going in the nation's capital and the White House and the Executive Branch. The Nixon budgets, the Nixon vetoes, the Nixon Court, the Nixon scandals, the Nixon impoundments of duly appropriated funds by the Congress, and the Nixon economic policies.

Now, if that isn't enough poison for one day, I don't know what you're ever going to get. That's unbelievable. (Applause)

Just stop for a moment, regardless of Watergate (and by the way, let me say this, that I do not want my political party, the Democratic Party, to win an election just because there've been a few scoundrels in high positions in government). I want us to win it on the issues, not only of clean government, but on the economic and social policies, and I don't want us to forget that it's going to take something more in the White House than somebody who can count the change. We've got to have somebody in the White House in 1976 who's not only honest in terms of the purse, but also has a deep sense of commitment to the needs of the American people, to see to it that every man, woman and child

in this country has a chance, has a better life, has an opportunity; and there's somebody in the White House that will stand up and fight for the people who can't fight for themselves—that's what we're going to need. (Applause)

Economic Disaster

Yes, Mr. Nixon's economics have been a disaster for the American worker and his family. Not since the days of Herbert Hoover has so little been done for so many and so much done for so few, but as I said, this should be no great surprise. Will Rogers told us about it a long time ago. He said, "Republicans take care of big money, and big money takes care of Republicans." That's it. That's the whole show. (Applause) And if you don't believe it, take a look at the oil profits, take a look at the bank profits, take a look at the corporate profits, take a look at what's going on.

But whenever it comes to having a little more social security for grandpa and grandma, that's inflation. Whenever it comes to seeing whether or not you can fill a new bank with more money, that's the "market system" working, you know. That's a lot of baloney. And by the way, that stuff went up too, didn't it? (Applause)

With this administration, particularly since August of 1971, we've had phases and freezes and game plans and you know what. These have been announced by the administration with all the publicity they could give it, and after it got started, they scrapped it.

It's what they call the "yo-yo system." I never could understand why President Nixon, when he was down there in Nashville, dedicating that new 'opry' house, couldn't make a yo-yo work. He's been yo-yo-ing the American economy ever since he got in office. (Applause)

Up and down, in and out, sideways, around the circles—you name it, we've had it, since 1969. The American people have witnessed a continual game of economic musical chairs. We've had

four secretaries of the treasury, four budget managers, six wage and price controllers, five energy chiefs, two chairmen of the Council of Economics Advisors, and two economic czars, and now we've got an economic coordinator.

Yes, we've had the zigs and we've had the zags, and I'll tell you what else we've had: one hell of a time. (Applause)

We've had confusion where we needed direction, and we've had double talk where we needed straight talk. The administration's failure to deal with inflation, recession and unemployment has apparently convinced us that it ought to abandon every effort and just pull up its camp.

The only string that they now have on their economic flivver is high interest rates, and boy, are they playing that string!

Highest Interest Rates

Those are the highest interest rates the nation has known in its entire history. The last time I told you, I said the highest in a hundred years. They're doing even better. It's the highest since George Washington. Unbelievable! Eleven and a half percent prime rate, and going up. And what does this mean to the working people of this country? Built-in inflation. Built-in costs. Your children and you trying to buy a home under these rates. Everything that's touched today in the economic system, everything that's touched by interest, and as they say, they're "controlling" inflation—they feed the gasoline to it. And that, too, has gone up.

Your economic facts show that most Americans have been losers while a handful have been winners. During the last year of the Democratic administration, with all of its problems, in 1968, corporate profits showed a good, solid 9 percent. And the average weekly earnings of the American workers rose by a healthy 2.3 percent.

In 1973, on the other hand, big busi-

ness reached a profit bonanza, with profits up a full 28.9 percent, almost 29 percent. At the same time, the American worker was taking a beating. Average weekly earnings had declined 5.1 percent during the last year, and at the present rate, at a staggering 11 percent annual rate. That's the economics.

When you talk about economics, you're talking about what does your money buy? How much do you get? How far will it go? What expenses will it meet?

And believe me, we know what the facts are today. You used to be able to buy a house, only six years ago, at 6½ percent to 7 percent interest. Try it now!

In 1968, the prime rate—that's the best, you know, the prime rate—was 5.9 percent. Today it's 11¾. That's a record.

It isn't just Watergate. It isn't just that they've covered up, broken and entered—breaking and entering; it isn't just that they have done everything that you can conceivably think of that would corrupt this country. It's that the economic policies of this administration will take their toll upon millions and millions of people for years and years to come.

Nixon Mortgage Tax

Everybody who signs a mortgage has signed himself up for a Nixon tax the rest of his life. Everyone will be affected for years to come by what happens, by the Federal Trade Commission, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the courts of the United States—all of them filled with appointees by this administration.

When I sought the presidency in 1968, I said, you're not voting for a man! you're voting for a system. You're voting about the court. You're voting about regulatory agencies. You're voting about long-term policies, because long after Presidents leave office, what they did in office remains after them,

and this administration has not only seen fit to undo what other Presidents did do, but it's seen to do everything it could do to you.

The people's business is politics, and when you don't take care of your business, dear friends, you get the business. And that's what's been happening. (Applause)

Just last week the President was here in Florida. He said on the radio, during 13 minutes of free time, that "all the economic indicators prove that we're making substantial progress." This would be like the captain of the Titanic telling the passengers that those things in the Atlantic were just ice cubes. (Laughter and applause)

And then of course, there is Arthur Burns, the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. He said that we're heading for disaster. But Ron Zeigler, who mastered simple arithmetic and is the President's press secretary, says that Mr. Burns doesn't know what he's talking about. May I suggest that whatever they're saying doesn't make any sense. Not one bit. (Applause)

Look to the Future

Mr. Nixon is not going to be running for office in 1976 and we must remember that. It's easy to stand up here and berate him, but I think we ought rather to look ahead to what the future's going to be like.

Our very first goal must be the survival of our popular democracy. This can be assured when there is a partnership between government and the people held together not by gimmicks but by mutual trust and faith.

And today the shadow of shame, of doubt, of mistrust shrouds our entire political process and threatens that vital partnership. People are disgusted, disenchanted. The first objective that we must have is to restore our faith in self-government. The way to reform is at the ballot box. That's where you

pass judgment and that's why political action is so important.

Our political process has been commercialized. Politicians are sold to the public, like detergents.

Today the premium in politics is on image, not on substance on charisma, not on character; on promises, not on performance; on the sensational, not on the sensible. Above all, what we need is just plain ordinary common sense. (Applause)

Campaign Reform

We must insist upon campaign reform. Don't let anybody tell you that it can wait. It can't. Every one of us who has run for national office knows how difficult it is. The method of financing national campaigns in this country is outrageous and we'll have to clean it up for once and for all. Let the union movement take the lead.

We're going to have to do something about the gap between the rich and the poor. We need a new commitment by our government and it won't come until you get another election. But we're going to work at it. We need a new commitment by our government to maximize employment, production and income. A government that's worth its salt will find things to do for people who want to work rather than leaving them locked on the unemployment lines or being kicked around in a welfare system that doesn't offer very much welfare to anybody. It's wrong, it can be changed. (Applause)

Close Tax Loopholes

And we've got to have basic tax reforms, the closing of tax loopholes and that's something that's up in Congress now. All that oil depletion allowance, that's a beaut. These oil companies need an oil depletion allowance like a dog needs more fleas. (Applause)

Now, we're going to do something about it. There are just profits that are unconscionable and they need to be

treated like any other business, not with special privilege.

Children of low and middle income families ought to be guaranteed at least one good meal a day and the school that they attend must provide good nutrition. We have the means to do it.

And a lot of people on fixed incomes, those people on pensions, social security recipients and others today are victimized by this raging inflation. The least that a government with a heart can do is to see to it that those poor people are not made the innocent victims of an economic system that grinds them into the dirt. If we can't do better than that, we can expect the worse.

I, as one United States senator, seeking nothing, wanting no other office, having half as much as most people ever dreamed of ever wanting or hoping for, intend to dedicate the rest of my life to doing something about the wrongs of American society and putting things right. (Applause)

Need to Plan

We've got to start to plan. We don't have any planning in our government. That's why we got caught with an energy crisis. That's why we get caught with these unbelievable food prices. We don't have a national food policy. We don't have a national transportation policy. We live by guess and by good luck. We can't do it any longer. We're going to have to start to look to what resources we have, to start to plan their better use because the way we're going now is wasteful and all it does is make the rich richer and the poor poorer. All it does is broaden the gap between the peoples in our country, between the workers and the managers, between the whites and the blacks and all different kinds of people in America.

We planned to put a man on the moon and we did it. We planned to split the atom and we did it. We planned an interstate highway system and we did it. I suggest we start to plan

our health, our housing, how to make our cities livable, how to live a better life in the country. (Applause)

This country has been in trouble before and out of each era of trouble we've come out stronger. In the formative years of this republic we had secession. We had a civil war between our people of the north and the south, one of the bloodiest wars that the world has ever known. We had unbelievable corruption after that war.

We've had abuse of power; during the days of depression we saw a full economic system grind to a halt, we saw our banks fail, we saw unbelievable corruption in the republic, but out of all of it we did something. We learned. We learned the hard way. We put regulations on our banks, the securities exchange commission, the public utilities.

We can learn some simple truths. For example, to obey the law. We don't really have to have a degree from a great university to know that that's required. We can learn the simple truth, to tell the truth and quit lying. We really don't need so much that's new. We need to rediscover that which we already have learned. And let me just conclude this message today with my short course on the American government.

The most precious words from the Constitution are the first three: We the people. Those are the words that have been forgotten by people in high places. Those are the words that Mr. Nixon and all the others around him forgot. But those words are there. "We the people in order to form a more perfect union." By the way, they even talked about a union back in those early days. (Laughter) "In order to form a more perfect union, to establish justice, to afford domestic tranquility, to provide for the common defense, to promote the general welfare and to assure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity to thereby establish and obey this Constitution." Now, friends, that's it. (Applause)

Common Purpose

Listen to the impact of those words. Those men who wrote those words were people of experience. That came out of years of struggle for their liberty and their independence. They knew that the union that they were fashioning was not perfect. They knew that there was a wide variety of people and cultures in our country. So they said that the challenge is to form a more perfect union, to work at it, to try to build an America, not necessarily a melting pot but a mosaic. That people had the right to a different culture and heritage but at the same time had common purpose.

To establish justice they had to know what injustice was. They had witnessed what the kings had done, and they wanted to make sure that there was justice not just for some but for all. To provide for the common defense because they knew that this nation of ours was imperiled and would be for years to come. The defense was to be not only from the enemies without but from the enemies within. And then to promote the general welfare which speaks for itself. And to secure the blessings of liberty. Listen to the words: to form, establish, provide, promote, secure. Action words! Action government, and that is what is needed. That is why we need a Congress that can override a veto. That is why we need political action. And that is why we need you. There is not a word in the Constitution, dear friends, designed to protect the government from the people. But there is word after word, and section after section, designed to protect the people from those who may abuse power when they are in government. And that is what has been forgotten by some of the people in our government today.

There have been a few people in the labor movement who failed their trust, but that did not mean that we did away with unionism or condemned the movement. We have some people in government who fail in their trust, but that does not mean that you do away with the system. Or that you condemn the whole governmental structure. When I

hear people say that Watergate is nothing but politics as usual, I say that is a contemptible lie. Politics may have its inadequacies. Those of us in politics are guilty at times of exaggeration, and over-promising, and maybe worse, but I want to tell you that there is great deal of difference between that kind of politics and breaking and entering an office, then covering up, than obstruction of justice, than refusing to respond to a subpoena. You try that, and see what happens to you.

There is a great deal of difference between the use of power and exaggeration. (Applause) Don't lose heart, and don't lose elections. We have to organize, that is the way you built this union. We can do what we need to do in this country if we make up our mind to do it. I am not going to let those who put poison in the well tell me that all the water has been contaminated. (Applause)

We are going to get rid of the poisoners and those who have violated their trust. We are going to clean up this mess and we are going to put America back on the high road of social progress and social justice. Thank you very much. (Applause)

PRES. STULBERG: The senator must catch a plane for Washington. To members of the press, I want to say that Senator Humphrey and our union have been in love for many years. Thank you for coming and giving us the lesson that you did this morning. You have helped us in the past and I am sure you will help us in the future. Wherever you go we know that you represent the finest that this country has. (Applause)

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you very much.

PRES. STULBERG: Can you imagine what would have happened in this country if this man had been elected in 1968 instead of Nixon? (Applause) But this is life. I call upon Vice Pres. Henry Mendelsund, chairman, and Julio Ramirez, secretary, for the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

VICE PRES. MENDELSUND: We are pleased that our committee should be the first to report after the statement of the senators who appeared here today.

Your Resolutions Committee had before it 117 resolutions. These resolutions were divided into seven categories.

The first set of resolutions deals with the economy: jobs, income taxes, shortages, environmental safeguards.

A second category deals with political programs and political action.

A third category deals with civil rights and the efforts of minority groups to win first-class citizenship in the U.S.

A fourth set deals with imports.

A fifth set deals with labor matters such as support for the farm workers, merger of apparel unions, etc.

A sixth category of solutions applies to ILGWU support for a variety of organizations.

A final set deals with a variety of miscellaneous resolutions.

The Committee met twice and after serious consideration decided to report to the convention its recommendations under the headings as listed above.

The first statement of our committee deals with the economy. I do believe very firmly that this statement could be used in the future, not only as a formal statement of policy on the part of our union to be presented to the public and to the world, but also as an educational document to be disseminated among our members.

The American economy is in a state of crisis—the worst since the Great Depression of the early 1930's. The nation is hit with rising unemployment, rising prices, rising taxes, rising interest rates, rising profits and a falling standard of living.

This painful circumstance is reflected in the many resolutions we have received from our affiliates. The frustration and anger they voice echo the pro-



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