

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNORS CONFERENCE

Chicago, Illinois

April 22, 1974

I have come to Chicago to engage in a frank dialogue with you and to share my perspective on the key Democratic issues facing Congress.

We meet today at a critical juncture for the Democratic Party and for our nation.

The November elections are slightly more than six months away. The Presidential election of 1976 looms over the horizon just two and a half years into the future.

For the men and women who lead the Democratic Party in Congress, in the state houses, the legislatures and in the cities, the period from now until November 1976 will be a crucial time of testing.

All of us must pass a test.

We will have to prove to the American people that we can respond to their real needs and govern America.

We will have to prove that our economy can be made healthy once again.

And as Democrats we must prove that we can govern the nation equitably, permitting no favor for the powerful and showing compassion for the weak.

If we pass these tests we can transform a substantial congressional majority into a Presidential victory.

To put it bluntly: 1974 and 1975 are years of decision and years of opportunity for Democrats. In the next two years we will either pass these tests demonstrating that we are capable of effective action and restoration of trust, or we will forfeit our claim to progressive political leadership capable of governing this great nation.

It will do little good to tell the American people what could be done if a Democrat were sitting in the White House today. Nor will future promises of what may be possible after 1976 serve us well. The people expect and demand our Party to act decisively to solve their problems from the positions of trust and responsibility we now hold.

This is not an ordinary election year and our nation does not face routine problems. After many long years of dissension within our society at home and in war overseas, the American people have witnessed a series of events which every day erodes their trust in government.

We have seen the bounty of our great nation mismanaged at home and squandered for short-term advantage abroad.

We have seen our economy neglected.

We have seen shortages and scarcity grow through private greed and government short-sightedness.

We have seen our Constitutional system of delicate checks and balances dangerously tilted in favor of one branch of government at the expense of all others.

We have seen our political processes corrupted.

We have seen political power abused, and money abused as means of buying power.

We have seen highly placed trustees of the public confidence betray their trust, and act as though they were above the law -- indeed, they have acted as though they were the law.

The unprecedented corruption and governmental mismanagement of the Nixon Administration may offer Democrats a unique political opportunity.

Watergate may offer us a momentary reprieve from the challenges of a President who threatened to use his electoral mandate to demolish our efforts to achieve greater social justice and progress in human rights. But it does not lift the burden from our shoulders of mustering the will and the vision to clean up the mess and to govern America so that the people can once again believe that government is run for them and not for the special interests.

The job to be done, the challenges to be faced are not only in Washington. Anyone who believes so doesn't understand our government, our people, their needs and expectations.

The American people don't compartmentalize government, as those who serve in it are prone to do. All government, from the federal level to the state houses, from city hall to county court house, has failed in the public's view. And the political institutions which are supposed to nurture our system of government often do not work effectively. The public searches in vain for performance to follow the political promise -- it searches for accountability after political leaders have been granted the responsibility of governing.

Public disillusionment with government and political parties occurs just at the time when the Democratic Party seems to be emerging from a decade of internal strife, division and turmoil. The long night of our despair seems to be over.

No longer are we divided over a war.

No longer are we locked in fierce battle over who should run our party.

We have grown stronger from our disagreements. We have become enriched by our self-imposed diversity.

I believe the Congressional Democrats must recognize the new strength of the Democratic Party -- a party reformed, united and strengthened after its long and agonizing ordeal.

And Democrats on Capitol Hill must now work closely with party leaders at all levels of government to fashion a Democratic program for the Congress -- a program which will allow Democrats to go to the American people and say:

"We see how skyrocketing inflation destroys wage increases, making it impossible for families to make ends meet, and we are ready to act.

"We see how you pay your fair share of taxes while some Americans take advantage of gaping tax loopholes, and we are ready to act.

"We see how your family can be wiped out by medical bills when one member is afflicted with a serious illness, and we are ready to act.

"We see how months of joblessness and the constant threat of layoff demoralizes your family, and we are ready to act.

"We see how your children may be denied a college education because you just can't afford the high costs, and we are ready to act."

Yes, we will develop a program of legislative action which is relevant to the needs of the average American working family and which recognizes the values of self-reliance as well as governmental incentive.

And this program will demonstrate that we don't need an abdication of Republican leadership -- that we don't need a Watergate -- in order to govern sensibly and fairly in the name of all the people.

What are some of the essential items on this Democratic agenda?

First, Democrats must take immediate action to preserve the hard-won economic gains that American families have earned over the years despite the frequent economic setbacks during the Nixon Administration. This means the enactment of a strong anti-recession and anti-inflation legislative package.

Something must be done to curb an inflation rate of nearly 11% coupled with an alarming decline in total industrial output.

The cruel irony of unchecked, double-digit inflation combined with rising levels of unemployment affecting millions of Americans must be halted. In order to achieve these goals I suggest Democrats in Congress consider the following measures for action:

-- A \$10 billion tax cut aimed at inflation-battered lower income taxpayers, with the reduction in revenue being offset by elimination or sharp reduction of such items as the oil depletion allowance, foreign tax credits and strengthening the minimum tax.

-- A public employment program and an expansion in the coverage and duration of unemployment benefits. We can pay for this program by extremely modest reductions of waste in defense spending.

-- A new government program to make credit more readily available to consumer borrowers, small businesses (including home builders), state and local governments, and to home buyers. The inequity of soaring interest rates strikes hardest at those who can least afford it.

-- A permanent mechanism to administer a set of largely voluntary price-wage policies. This mechanism is badly needed as the present system of uneven and poorly managed wage and price controls comes to an end.

-- Limited standby authority for the President to reimpose wage and price controls on particular sectors of the economy.

Second, Democrats must take immediate action to bring equity, sanity and reform to the American tax system. The tax abuses of our President only highlight the need to act. And no other issue goes to the fundamental moral question concerning the uneven distribution of wealth in America. Our Democratic program must courageously move forward in the field of tax reform and consider the following items for action:

-- Elimination of various tax preferences which inordinately favor the wealthy, while also strengthening minimum tax.

-- Elimination or sharp reduction of special tax benefits to oil companies and to American firms operating abroad.

-- Enactment of Senator Mondale's proposal to allow families to substitute a \$200 tax credit for the current personal exemption. This would greatly aid low income taxpayers.

-- Reform of the Social Security payroll tax to relieve its heavy burden on middle income wage earners.

-- Enactment of a comprehensive program of welfare reform which provides work incentives as well as a decent standard of living for those who need such assistance.

Third, Democrats must take immediate action to provide every American family with what it deserves in a modern, industrialized society: a system of national health insurance which would at least protect families against catastrophic illness. As health costs have skyrocketed, too many families have suffered extreme economic hardship. The enactment by Congress this session of a comprehensive national health insurance plan will go a long way toward improving a national health care system which has been marked by retrenchment and retreat.

Congress must act soon to guarantee the right of the American people to effective health care at the lowest possible cost.

And as the Congress considers this plan for health insurance it must also move to increase health care delivery and disease research budgets, expand health manpower programs, continue to enlarge our drug abuse efforts and restore reductions in the programs designed to serve the mentally and physically handicapped.

Last but not least, a system of comprehensive maternal and child health care should be enacted for the mothers and children of this nation.

Fourth, Democrats must take immediate action to develop a national energy policy. If this policy area is neglected in the future as it has been in the past, our economic situation will further deteriorate and millions of Americans will personally suffer for our inaction. With such a comprehensive policy, Congress should take action on the following energy issues:

-- Control oil prices to prevent excessive profits while maintaining investment incentives.

-- Develop a better fuel allocation system to minimize employment losses if supplies worsen.

-- Vertical integration in the oil industry should be reduced and ownership of multiple energy sources by one oil company should be eliminated.

-- A government corporation should be created to develop and produce energy resources in the public domain, and to assure their fair allocation.

-- An expanded and significant program of research in alternative energy sources -- particularly solar energy -- should be launched.

Fifth, it is essential that a Democratic-controlled Congress enact effective measures to address an increasingly severe food crisis.

At home, we are confronted with continually rising consumer food prices. Yet, our farmers face increasing production costs and limited supplies of essential materials, such as fertilizer, as well as severe constraints in moving commodities from farm to market. And our current grain reserves have dropped to their lowest levels since World War II.

Abroad, millions of people in the developing nations of the Third World face the threat of hunger and starvation, as widespread drought continues and the costs and demands of food production rise sharply.

I have called for a sound, sensible food policy to replace policies of the Nixon Administration that emphasize commodity export sales almost to the exclusion of meeting our own domestic requirements, and that leave our farmers with the threat of a "boom-and-bust" cycle of sharply fluctuating prices.

The food policy I have proposed would include, at a minimum:

- establishment of a modest food reserve program, and initiating monitoring systems on export sales, both to meet our food needs at home and to reasonably service all our export markets;

- and maintaining our commodity distribution programs, utilizing the open market when surpluses are not available, to serve the crucial nutrition needs of our children, the elderly, and lower-income families.

Finally, Democrats must take immediate action to design and institute a system of long-range policy planning in Congress and in the Executive Branch. Stop-gap solutions to long-range problems are at the heart of public discontent.

American government presently has absolutely no means to identify future problems and plan solutions which go beyond the one or two year budgetary outlay. Whether in housing, transportation, agriculture, or a host of other areas we have no way to assess future needs and prepare an adequate response. We are playing catch-up ball while the crises come fast and thick.

I believe any Democratic legislative agenda must include the enactment of a Balanced National Growth and Development Act to provide government at all levels with planning mechanisms to make rational decisions on how our nation should grow and how policy makers should organize government to meet future needs.

These are some of the basic items which should be included in any list of Democratic priorities. There are many others, including the vital issue of campaign reform bolstered by strong legislation mandating public financing for all elected federal offices.

But I do not consider this brief agenda as a party platform. As we all know, platforms collect dust on library shelves. These proposals and others must see the light of day.

They must be debated and considered by the people's representatives, because they reflect the areas of concern in which Americans seek involvement, commitment and action by their government.

If Democrats in Congress develop a progressive legislative agenda, we will still have not done the job expected of us by the American people.

Until Democrats in Congress have the courage and the foresight to reform our own institution, the voters will continue to give the Legislative branch a low rating.

According to a national poll taken in 1966, 42 percent of those polled expressed "a great deal of confidence in Congress." When the same question was asked in 1973, only 21 percent responded in the same fashion. This precipitous loss of confidence is due to the inability of Congress to act in a way to make itself worthy of trust and confidence.

To be sure, the American people are concerned with the ends of government -- the programs and policies which directly affect their lives. But they also care about the means -- how government is conducted and the integrity of the political and governmental processes.

A 20th century Congress cannot be content with employing 18th and 19th century techniques. If the Congress is to be taken seriously by the public and by the President, it must make itself a truly coequal and effective branch of government. Congressional reform must be a Democratic priority, and I would suggest consideration of the following steps:

- Strengthen the policy making role of the Democratic Caucus in both bodies and give it the opportunity to propose a comprehensive Democratic program as well as a legislative timetable to avoid undue delay.

- Establish a more formal working relationship between House and Senate Democratic leaders.

- End the outmoded system of seniority and replace it with the election of Committee Chairmen in the Caucus.

- Open meetings to the public of all committee sessions where legislation is voted upon, unless a majority of the Committee votes otherwise.

- Televisе, when appropriate, House and Senate sessions.

- Initiate a thorough budget analysis process that also assures on-time funding of federal assistance programs, such as urban renewal and aid to our schools, critically needed by our states and cities.

- Provide members of Congress and Committees with adequate staff to study and evaluate policies as well as assure the effective administration and funding of federal programs enacted by Congress.

These would be the first steps we should take toward reform and modernization of Congress. Election of a veto-proof Congress in 1974 will do Democrats little good unless fundamental changes are undertaken to allow Congress to do the job the American people elected it to do.

A former Democratic National Committee official, John Stewart, writing recently about our Party's future in the period from 1974 to 1976 hit the nail on the head when he said that ". . . governmental performance is the key to electoral success for the balance of the 1970's."

Those who look toward Watergate and the personal misfortunes of Richard Nixon to propel a Democrat into the White House in 1976 are deceiving themselves. In the coming months and years the American people will expect more from the Democrats than outrage at Republican scandals. The people want action and performance and the truth about the serious nature of our problems.

People ought to remember that it has been under Democratic leadership that they have pulled themselves up:

-- under Roosevelt, from a Great Depression;

-- under Truman, from the threat of severe post-war economic dislocation at home and major political and economic destabilization in Europe;

-- under Kennedy, from a serious recession;

-- and under Johnson, toward implementing the ideals of hope and opportunity for all Americans.

Our people today have a right to expect the same kind of Democratic leadership.

It is up to you as Governors and to the Congress to demonstrate to the people our capacity to govern. This is the only way that we can assure the election of a Democrat as President in 1976.

#

Like any Gov by the Name of
Wendell -

Chris Stranes

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

APRIL 22, 1974

I HAVE COME TO CHICAGO TO ENGAGE IN A FRANK DIALOGUE WITH
YOU AND TO SHARE MY PERSPECTIVE ON THE KEY DEMOCRATIC ISSUES
FACING CONGRESS.

WE MEET TODAY AT A CRITICAL JUNCTURE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC
PARTY AND FOR OUR NATION.

THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS ARE SLIGHTLY MORE THAN ~~SEVEN~~ ANY
MONTHS AWAY. THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1976 LOOMS OVER THE
HORIZON JUST TWO AND A HALF YEARS INTO THE FUTURE.

FOR THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO LEAD THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN
CONGRESS, IN THE STATE HOUSES, THE LEGISLATURES AND IN THE
CITIES, THE PERIOD FROM NOW UNTIL NOVEMBER 1976 WILL BE A CRUCIAL
TIME OF TESTING.

L ALL OF US MUST PASS A TEST.

L WE WILL HAVE TO PROVE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT WE CAN
RESPOND TO THEIR REAL NEEDS AND GOVERN AMERICA.

L WE WILL HAVE TO PROVE THAT OUR ECONOMY CAN BE MADE HEALTHY
ONCE AGAIN.

L AND AS DEMOCRATS WE MUST PROVE THAT WE CAN GOVERN THE NATION
honestly & fairly
EQUITABLY, PERMITTING NO FAVOR FOR THE POWERFUL AND SHOWING
COMPASSION FOR THE WEAK.

L IF WE PASS THESE TESTS WE CAN TRANSFORM A SUBSTANTIAL
CONGRESSIONAL MAJORITY INTO A PRESIDENTIAL VICTORY.

and I have no doubt that we will have
an ~~overwhelming~~ *overwhelming* majority in the next
congress - yes a U.S. pross Congress! But then
there can be ~~no~~ *no* excuses for any failure
to perform and act. And remember Richard Nixon
will not be running in '76. It will be a
Republican who has systematically put

a safe distance between himself and the Nixon crowd - that Republican might be on the attack - looking for + exploiting any weakness in our political armor

L TO PUT IT BLUNTLY: 1974 AND 1975 ARE YEARS OF DECISION AND

YEARS OF OPPORTUNITY FOR DEMOCRATS L IN THE NEXT TWO YEARS WE

WILL EITHER PASS ^{the} ~~THESE~~ TESTS DEMONSTRATING THAT WE ARE CAPABLE

OF EFFECTIVE ACTION AND RESTORATION OF TRUST, OR WE WILL FORFEIT

OUR CLAIM TO PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP CAPABLE OF GOVERNING

THIS GREAT NATION,

L IT WILL DO LITTLE GOOD ^{for any of us} TO TELL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHAT COULD

BE DONE IF A DEMOCRAT WERE SITTING IN THE WHITE HOUSE TODAY.

L NOR WILL FUTURE PROMISES OF WHAT MAY BE POSSIBLE AFTER 1976

SERVE US WELL L THE PEOPLE EXPECT AND DEMAND OUR PARTY TO ACT

DECISIVELY TO SOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS FROM THE POSITIONS OF TRUST

AND RESPONSIBILITY WE NOW HOLD.

and will hold after the election of 1974

THIS IS NOT AN ORDINARY ELECTION YEAR AND OUR NATION DOES
NOT FACE ROUTINE PROBLEMS. AFTER MANY LONG YEARS OF DISSENSION
~~WITHIN OUR SOCIETY~~ AT HOME AND IN WAR OVERSEAS, THE AMERICAN
unbelievable
PEOPLE HAVE WITNESSED A SERIES OF EVENTS WHICH EVERY DAY ERODES
THEIR TRUST IN GOVERNMENT.

WE HAVE SEEN THE BOUNTY OF OUR GREAT NATION MISMANAGED AT
HOME AND SQUANDERED FOR SHORT-TERM ADVANTAGE ABROAD.

WE HAVE SEEN OUR ECONOMY NEGLECTED.

WE HAVE SEEN SHORTAGES AND SCARCITY GROW THROUGH PRIVATE
GREED AND GOVERNMENT SHORT-SIGHTEDNESS.

WE HAVE SEEN OUR CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM OF DELICATE CHECKS
AND BALANCES DANGEROUSLY TILTED IN FAVOR OF ONE BRANCH OF
GOVERNMENT AT THE EXPENSE OF ALL OTHERS.

✓ WE HAVE SEEN OUR POLITICAL PROCESSES CORRUPTED,

✓ WE HAVE SEEN POLITICAL POWER ABUSED, AND MONEY ABUSED AS
MEANS OF BUYING POWER.

✓ WE HAVE SEEN HIGHLY PLACED TRUSTEES OF THE ^{our government} PUBLIC CONFIDENCE
BETRAY THEIR TRUST, AND ACT AS THOUGH THEY WERE ABOVE THE
LAW -- INDEED, THEY HAVE ACTED AS THOUGH THEY WERE THE LAW!

✓ THE UNPRECEDENTED CORRUPTION AND GOVERNMENTAL MISMANAGEMENT
OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION ^{does indeed} ~~may~~ OFFER DEMOCRATS A UNIQUE
POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY. - and, the stench of

✓ ^{offer will have a direct effect} WATERGATE ~~HAS OFFERED US A MOMENTARY REPRIEVE FROM THE~~
~~on the election -~~ ^{And we must not forget} ~~that it was a Republican President who used~~
~~his all-gotten Electoral Mandate to limit or~~
~~demolish our efforts to achieve greater social~~

JUSTICE AND PROGRESS IN HUMAN RIGHTS.

~~Neither the Corruption or Mismanagement of
the Nixon administration or the mess of
Watergate~~
~~can~~

~~BUT IT DOES NOT LIFT THE BURDEN FROM OUR SHOULDERS OF~~
We now have the responsibility and the opportunity
to ~~muster~~ must ~~have~~ the WILL AND THE VISION TO CLEAN UP THE MESS AND

TO GOVERN AMERICA SO THAT THE PEOPLE CAN ONCE AGAIN BELIEVE ~~in and~~

+ ~~trust their~~ Without that Trust and faith of the
~~that~~ GOVERNMENT, ~~IS RUN FOR THEM AND NOT FOR THE SPECIAL~~
people in their government, there can be no
progress, and no

But THE JOB TO BE DONE, THE CHALLENGES TO BE FACED, ARE NOT ONLY

They are in every state -
IN WASHINGTON. ~~ANYONE WHO BELIEVES SO, DOESN'T UNDERSTAND OUR~~
county and municipality
GOVERNMENT, OUR PEOPLE, THEIR NEEDS AND EXPECTATIONS

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DON'T COMPARTMENTALIZE GOVERNMENT, AS
THOSE WHO SERVE IN IT ARE PRONE TO DO. ALL GOVERNMENT, FROM THE
FEDERAL LEVEL TO THE STATE HOUSES, FROM CITY HALL TO COUNTY COURT
HOUSE, HAS FAILED IN THE PUBLIC'S VIEW.

L AND THE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS WHICH ARE SUPPOSED TO NURTURE

OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT OFTEN DO NOT WORK EFFECTIVELY. THE

PUBLIC SEARCHES IN VAIN FOR PERFORMANCE TO FOLLOW THE POLITICAL

PROMISE -- IT SEARCHES FOR ACCOUNTABILITY AFTER POLITICAL LEADERS

HAVE BEEN GRANTED THE RESPONSIBILITY OF GOVERNING.

L PUBLIC DISILLUSIONMENT WITH GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL

PARTIES OCCURS JUST AT THE TIME WHEN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

SEEMS TO BE EMERGING FROM A DECADE OF INTERNAL STRIFE, DIVISION

AND TURMOIL. THE LONG NIGHT OF OUR DESPAIR SEEMS TO BE OVER.

L NO LONGER ARE WE DIVIDED OVER A WAR.

L NO LONGER ARE WE LOCKED IN FIERCE BATTLE OVER WHO SHOULD

RUN OUR PARTY.

WE HAVE GROWN STRONGER FROM OUR DISAGREEMENTS. WE HAVE
BECOME ENRICHED BY OUR SELF-IMPOSED DIVERSITY.

I BELIEVE THE ~~CONGRESSIONAL~~ DEMOCRATS MUST RECOGNIZE THE
NEW STRENGTH OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY -- A PARTY REFORM^{ED}, UNITED
AND STRENGTHENED AFTER ITS LONG AND AGONIZING ORDEAL.

AND DEMOCRATS ON CAPITOL HILL MUST NOW WORK CLOSELY WITH
PARTY LEADERS AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT TO FASHION A
DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM FOR THE CONGRESS -- A PROGRAM WHICH WILL
ALLOW DEMOCRATS TO GO TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE *with a message*

"WE SEE HOW SKYROCKETING INFLATION DESTROYS WAGE INCREASES,
MAKING IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR FAMILIES TO MAKE ENDS MEET, AND WE
ARE READY TO ACT.

L "WE SEE HOW YOU PAY YOUR FAIR SHARE OF TAXES WHILE SOME
AMERICANS TAKE ADVANTAGE OF GAPING TAX LOOPHOLES, AND WE ARE
READY TO ACT.

L "WE SEE HOW YOUR FAMILY CAN BE WIPED OUT BY MEDICAL BILLS
WHEN ONE MEMBER IS AFFLICTED WITH A SERIOUS ILLNESS, AND WE
ARE READY TO ACT.

L "WE SEE HOW MONTHS OF JOBLESSNESS AND THE CONSTANT THREAT
OF LAYOFF DEMORALIZES YOUR FAMILY, AND WE ARE READY TO ACT.

L "WE SEE HOW YOUR CHILDREN MAY BE DENIED A COLLEGE EDUCATION
BECAUSE YOU JUST CAN'T AFFORD THE HIGH COSTS, AND WE ARE READY
TO ACT."

we must and we
L YES, ~~WE~~ WILL DEVELOP A PROGRAM OF LEGISLATIVE ACTION WHICH
meets
~~IS RELEVANT TO~~ THE NEEDS OF THE AVERAGE AMERICAN WORKING FAMILY
AND WHICH RECOGNIZES THE VALUES OF SELF-RELIANCE AS WELL AS
GOVERNMENTAL INCENTIVE.

AND THIS PROGRAM WILL DEMONSTRATE THAT WE DON'T NEED AN
ABDICATION OF REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP -- THAT WE DON'T NEED A
even and then
WATERGATE -- IN ORDER TO GOVERN SENSIBLY AND FAIRLY IN THE NAME
OF ALL THE PEOPLE.

111
L WHAT ARE SOME OF THE ESSENTIAL ITEMS ON THIS DEMOCRATIC
AGENDA?

FIRST, DEMOCRATS MUST TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION TO PRESERVE
THE HARD-WON ECONOMIC GAINS THAT AMERICAN FAMILIES HAVE EARNED
OVER THE YEARS DESPITE THE FREQUENT ECONOMIC SETBACKS DURING

THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION. THIS MEANS THE ENACTMENT OF A STRONG
ANTI-RECESSION AND ANTI-INFLATION LEGISLATIVE PACKAGE.

SOMETHING MUST BE DONE TO CURB AN INFLATION RATE OF NEARLY
11% COUPLED WITH AN ALARMING DECLINE IN TOTAL INDUSTRIAL
OUTPUT.

THE CRUEL IRONY OF UNCHECKED, DOUBLE-DIGIT INFLATION

COMBINED WITH RISING LEVELS OF UNEMPLOYMENT AFFECTING MILLIONS

OF AMERICANS MUST BE HALTED.

The specter of a drop
~~IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THESE GOALS~~

of almost 6% in our GNP, an unprecedented
I SUGGEST DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING

10 1/4% in the prime interest rate; and
MEASURES FOR ACTION:

*a rise in the cost of living of almost
11%. A staggering rise in the wholesale
prices of 19% during the last year, and
the incredible drop of 12% in real
weekly spendable earnings. There
are the cruel and shocking facts*

of Republican rule - Here is that I mean
and we must ~~not~~ have the courage
& boldness to ⁻¹² take action - may I
suggest:

-- A \$10 BILLION TAX CUT AIMED AT INFLATION-BATTERED LOWER
Reduces taxes for low & middle income families
INCOME TAXPAYERS, WITH THE REDUCTION IN REVENUE BEING OFFSET

BY ELIMINATION OR SHARP REDUCTION OF SUCH ITEMS AS THE OIL

DEPLETION ALLOWANCE, FOREIGN TAX CREDITS AND STRENGTHENING THE

MINIMUM TAX.

-- A PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM AND AN EXPANSION IN THE
COVERAGE AND DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS. WE CAN PAY FOR
THIS PROGRAM BY ~~EXTREMELY~~ MODEST REDUCTIONS OF WASTE IN DEFENSE
SPENDING.

-- A NEW GOVERNMENT PROGRAM TO MAKE CREDIT MORE READILY
AVAILABLE TO CONSUMER BORROWERS, SMALL BUSINESSES (INCLUDING
HOME BUILDERS), STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, AND TO HOME BUYERS.

Nat Development Bank -

THE INEQUITY OF SOARING INTEREST RATES STRIKES HARDEST AT THOSE WHO CAN LEAST AFFORD IT.

L-- A PERMANENT MECHANISM TO ADMINISTER A SET OF LARGELY VOLUNTARY PRICE-WAGE POLICIES. THIS MECHANISM IS BADLY NEEDED AS THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF UNEVEN AND POORLY MANAGED WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS COMES TO AN END.

L-- LIMITED STANDBY AUTHORITY FOR THE PRESIDENT TO REIMPOSE WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS ON PARTICULAR SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY.

~~ST~~ ^{yes} ~~SECOND~~, DEMOCRATS MUST TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION TO BRING

EQUITY, SANITY AND REFORM TO THE AMERICAN TAX SYSTEM. THE

TAX ABUSES OF OUR PRESIDENT ONLY HIGHLIGHT THE NEED TO ACT.

indirectly

AND NO OTHER ISSUE GOES ¹ TO THE FUNDAMENTAL MORAL QUESTION

CONCERNING THE UNEVEN DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN AMERICA, ~~FOR~~

DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM MUST COURAGEOUSLY MOVE FORWARD IN THE FIELD

OF TAX REFORM AND CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING ITEMS FOR ACTION:

-- ELIMINATION OF VARIOUS TAX PREFERENCES WHICH INORDINATELY
FAVOR THE WEALTHY, WHILE ALSO STRENGTHENING ^{THE} MINIMUM TAX.

-- ELIMINATION OR SHARP REDUCTION OF SPECIAL TAX BENEFITS ~~OF~~
~~OIL COMPANIES AND~~ TO AMERICAN FIRMS OPERATING ABROAD.

-- ENACTMENT OF ^{a Democratic} ~~SENATOR ROBERT~~'S PROPOSAL TO ALLOW FAMILIES
TO SUBSTITUTE A \$200 TAX CREDIT FOR THE CURRENT PERSONAL EXEMP-
TION, THIS WOULD GREATLY AID LOW INCOME TAXPAYERS.

-- REFORM OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY PAYROLL TAX TO RELIEVE ITS
HEAVY BURDEN ON MIDDLE INCOME WAGE EARNERS.

-- ENACTMENT OF A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM OF WELFARE REFORM
WHICH PROVIDES WORK INCENTIVES AS WELL AS A DECENT STANDARD OF
LIVING FOR THOSE WHO NEED SUCH ASSISTANCE.

Health ~~THE~~ DEMOCRATS MUST TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION TO PROVIDE EVERY
AMERICAN FAMILY WITH WHAT IT DESERVES IN A MODERN, INDUSTRIALIZED

SOCIETY, A SYSTEM OF NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE WHICH WOULD AT

LEAST PROTECT FAMILIES AGAINST CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS, AS HEALTH

COSTS HAVE SKYROCKETED, TOO MANY FAMILIES HAVE SUFFERED EXTREME

ECONOMIC HARDSHIP.

*The party that gave
Medicaid to the Elderly should now
~~bring child and Maternal~~
provide a comprehensive system
of child and Maternal health care for
the nation's children & mothers.*

L THE ENACTMENT BY CONGRESS THIS SESSION OF A COMPREHENSIVE
NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE PLAN WILL GO A LONG WAY TOWARD
IMPROVING A NATIONAL HEALTH CARE SYSTEM WHICH HAS
BEEN MARKED BY RETRENCHMENT AND RETREAT.

CONGRESS MUST ACT ~~SWIFT~~ TO GUARANTEE THE RIGHTS OF THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE TO EFFECTIVE HEALTH CARE AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE
COST.

L AND AS THE CONGRESS CONSIDERS THIS PLAN FOR HEALTH INSURANCE

IT MUST ALSO MOVE TO INCREASE ~~HEALTH AND DISEASE RESEARCH~~ *medical Research*

~~BUDGETS~~, EXPAND HEALTH MANPOWER PROGRAMS, CONTINUE TO ENLARGE

OUR DRUG ABUSE EFFORTS AND ~~RESTORE REDUCTIONS IN THE PROGRAMS~~ *Champion these Programs*

DESIGNED TO SERVE THE MENTALLY AND PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED.

A party that CARES can do no less.

In any health care program there must be
~~LAST BUT NOT LEAST, A SYSTEM OF COMPREHENSIVE MATERNAL AND~~
~~CHILD HEALTH CARE, SHOULD BE ENACTED FOR THE MOTHERS AND~~
~~CHILDREN OF THIS NATION.~~

Energy

Energy ~~FOURTH~~ DEMOCRATS MUST TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION TO DEVELOP A
NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY. IF THIS POLICY AREA IS NEGLECTED IN
THE FUTURE AS IT HAS BEEN IN THE PAST, OUR ECONOMIC SITUATION

WILL FURTHER DETERIORATE AND MILLIONS OF AMERICANS WILL

PERSONALLY SUFFER FOR OUR INACTION. WITH SUCH A COMPREHENSIVE

POLICY, CONGRESS SHOULD TAKE ACTION *to establish* ~~ON THE FOLLOWING ENERGY~~

Department of Energy & Natural Resources -
an office of Research & Development in
fuels -

~~CONTROL OIL PRICES TO PREVENT EXCESSIVE PROFITS WHILE~~
~~THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE DEMANDING~~
~~MAINTAINING INVESTMENT INCENTIVES~~

It must prevent excessive profits
while maintaining incentives
for production.

we must be ready to

- DEVELOP A BETTER FUEL ALLOCATION SYSTEM TO MINIMIZE
EMPLOYMENT LOSSES IF SUPPLIES WORSEN.
- VERTICAL INTEGRATION IN THE OIL INDUSTRY SHOULD BE
REDUCED AND OWNERSHIP OF MULTIPLE ENERGY SOURCES BY ONE OIL
COMPANY SHOULD BE ELIMINATED.

- A GOVERNMENT CORPORATION SHOULD BE CREATED TO DEVELOP
AND PRODUCE ENERGY RESOURCES IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN, AND TO
ASSURE THEIR FAIR ALLOCATION.

- AN EXPANDED AND SIGNIFICANT PROGRAM OF RESEARCH IN
ALTERNATIVE ENERGY SOURCES -- PARTICULARLY SOLAR ENERGY --
SHOULD BE LAUNCHED.

(COMPLIMENT GOVERNORS FOR THEIR INITIATIVES IN THIS AREA.)

Food
Policy
IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT A DEMOCRATIC-CONTROLLED

CONGRESS ENACT EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO ADDRESS AN INCREASINGLY

SEVERE FOOD CRISIS

- We need a National Food Policy

AT HOME, WE ARE CONFRONTED WITH CONTINUALLY RISING

CONSUMER FOOD PRICES. *L* YET, OUR FARMERS FACE INCREASING

PRODUCTION COSTS AND LIMITED SUPPLIES OF ESSENTIAL MATERIALS,

SUCH AS FERTILIZER, AS WELL AS SEVERE CONSTRAINTS IN MOVING

COMMODITIES FROM FARM TO MARKET *L* ~~AND~~ OUR CURRENT GRAIN

RESERVES HAVE DROPPED TO THEIR LOWEST LEVELS SINCE WORLD

WAR II.

L ABROAD, MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IN THE DEVELOPING NATIONS

~~OF THE THIRD WORLD~~ FACE THE THREAT OF HUNGER AND STARVATION,

AS WIDESPREAD DROUGHT CONTINUES AND THE COSTS AND DEMANDS

OF FOOD PRODUCTION RISE SHARPLY.

I HAVE CALLED FOR A SOUND, SENSIBLE FOOD POLICY TO

REPLACE POLICIES OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION THAT EMPHASIZE

Commercial ~~COMMODITY EXPORT SALES~~ *with too little regard for our*
~~ALMOST TO THE EXCLUSION OF MEETING OUR~~

OWN DOMESTIC REQUIREMENTS, AND THAT LEAVE OUR FARMERS WITH

THE THREAT OF A "BOOM-AND-BUST" CYCLE OF SHARPLY FLUCTUATING

PRICES.

L THE FOOD POLICY I HAVE PROPOSED WOULD INCLUDE, AT A

MINIMUM:

a food and fiber
-- ~~ESTABLISHMENT OF A MODEST COMMODITY RESERVE PROGRAM;~~

a system to monitor & supervise
~~AND INITIATING MONITORING SYSTEM ON EXPORT SALES, *so that we*~~

can MEET OUR FOOD NEEDS AT HOME AND *be a reliable supplier*
~~TO REASONABLY SERVICE ALL~~

in our export markets.
~~OUR EXPORT MARKETS;~~

Food is power - Food is our ace
in the hole - if we have a national
Food Policy. -21-

a universal school feeding program
-- ~~AND MAINTAINING OUR COMMODITY DISTRIBUTION PROGRAMS,~~
of at least one good nutritional meal a day;
~~UTILIZING THE OPEN MARKET WHEN SURPLUSES ARE NOT AVAILABLE,~~
The assurance of adequate & wholesome food
~~TO SERVE THE CRUCIAL NUTRITION NEEDS OF OUR CHILDREN, THE~~
to our elderly our needy !
~~ELDERLY, AND LOWER INCOME FAMILIES.~~

FINALLY, DEMOCRATS ^{should} ~~not~~ TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION TO DESIGN AND
INSTITUTE A SYSTEM OF LONG-RANGE POLICY PLANNING IN CONGRESS
AND IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH. STOP-GAP SOLUTIONS TO LONG-RANGE
PROBLEMS ARE AT THE HEART OF PUBLIC DISCONTENT.

The Federal
~~AMERICAN~~ GOVERNMENT PRESENTLY HAS ABSOLUTELY NO MEANS TO
IDENTIFY FUTURE PROBLEMS AND PLAN SOLUTIONS WHICH GO BEYOND
THE ONE OR TWO YEAR BUDGETARY OUTLAY. WHETHER IN HOUSING, Health,
TRANSPORTATION, AGRICULTURE, OR A HOST OF OTHER AREAS WE HAVE
NO WAY TO ASSESS FUTURE NEEDS AND PREPARE AN ADEQUATE RESPONSE.

WE ARE PLAYING CATCH-UP BALL WHILE THE CRISES COME FAST AND
THICK.

L I BELIEVE ANY DEMOCRATIC LEGISLATIVE AGENDA MUST INCLUDE
THE ENACTMENT OF A BALANCED NATIONAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT
ACT TO PROVIDE GOVERNMENT AT ALL LEVELS WITH ~~PLANNING~~ ^{better planning}
MECHANISMS TO MAKE RATIONAL DECISIONS ON HOW OUR NATION SHOULD
GROW AND HOW POLICY MAKERS SHOULD ORGANIZE GOVERNMENT TO MEET
FUTURE NEEDS. *Queen Mr Stein & Budget Committee Roy ask
Seem to agree. ! Lets not delay.*

L THESE ARE SOME OF THE BASIC ITEMS WHICH SHOULD BE INCLUDED
IN ANY LIST OF DEMOCRATIC PRIORITIES. THERE ARE MANY OTHERS,
INCLUDING THE VITAL ISSUE OF CAMPAIGN REFORM BOLSTERED BY
STRONG LEGISLATION ^{framing} ~~FUNDATING~~ PUBLIC FINANCING FOR ALL ELECTED
FEDERAL OFFICES.

AM

✓ BUT I DO NOT CONSIDER THIS ~~THIS~~ AGENDA AS A PARTY PLATFORM!

AS WE ALL KNOW, PLATFORMS COLLECT DUST ON LIBRARY SHELVES.

THESE PROPOSALS AND OTHERS MUST SEE THE LIGHT OF DAY!

✓ THEY MUST BE DEBATED AND CONSIDERED BY THE PEOPLE'S

REPRESENTATIVES. ~~BECAUSE~~ ✓ THEY REFLECT THE AREAS OF CONCERN

IN WHICH AMERICANS SEEK INVOLVEMENT, COMMITMENT AND ACTION BY

THEIR GOVERNMENT.

✓ *But even if*
IF DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS DEVELOP A PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATIVE

AGENDA, WE WILL STILL HAVE NOT DONE THE JOB EXPECTED OF US BY

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. -

now as a member of congress, let me say
We must
~~UNTIL~~ DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS HAVE THE COURAGE AND THE

FORESIGHT TO REFORM OUR OWN INSTITUTION ✓ THE VOTERS ~~WILL~~

CONTINUE TO GIVE THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH A LOW RATING.

ACCORDING TO A NATIONAL POLL TAKEN IN 1966, 42 PERCENT OF THOSE POLLED EXPRESSED "A GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE IN CONGRESS." WHEN THE SAME QUESTION WAS ASKED IN 1973, ONLY 21 PERCENT

RESPONDED IN THE SAME FASHION. ~~THIS PRECIPITOUS LOSS OF~~

~~CONFIDENCE IS DUE TO THE INABILITY OF CONGRESS TO ACT IN A WAY~~
~~TO MAKE ITSELF WORTHY OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE.~~

TO BE SURE, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE CONCERNED WITH THE ENDS OF GOVERNMENT -- THE PROGRAMS AND POLICIES WHICH DIRECTLY AFFECT THEIR LIVES. BUT THEY ALSO CARE ABOUT THE MEANS -- HOW GOVERNMENT IS CONDUCTED AND THE INTEGRITY OF THE POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL PROCESSES.

A 20TH CENTURY CONGRESS CANNOT BE CONTENT WITH EMPLOYING

~~18TH AND~~ 19TH CENTURY TECHNIQUES / IF THE CONGRESS IS TO BE TAKEN

SERIOUSLY BY THE PUBLIC AND BY THE PRESIDENT, IT MUST MAKE

ITSELF A TRULY COEQUAL AND EFFECTIVE BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT.

/ CONGRESSIONAL REFORM MUST BE A DEMOCRATIC PRIORITY, AND I WOULD

SUGGEST CONSIDERATION OF THE FOLLOWING STEPS:

-- STRENGTHEN THE POLICY MAKING ROLE OF THE DEMOCRATIC
CAUCUS IN BOTH BODIES AND GIVE IT THE OPPORTUNITY TO PROPOSE
A COMPREHENSIVE DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM AS WELL AS A LEGISLATIVE
TIMETABLE TO AVOID UNDUE DELAY.

-- ESTABLISH A MORE FORMAL WORKING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
HOUSE AND SENATE DEMOCRATIC LEADERS.

-- END THE OUTMODED SYSTEM OF SENIORITY AND REPLACE IT
WITH THE ELECTION OF COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN IN THE CAUCUS.

-- OPEN MEETINGS TO THE PUBLIC OF ALL COMMITTEE SESSIONS
WHERE LEGISLATION IS VOTED UPON, UNLESS A MAJORITY OF THE
COMMITTEE VOTES OTHERWISE.

-- TELEVISION, WHEN APPROPRIATE, HOUSE AND SENATE SESSIONS.

-- INITIATE A THOROUGH BUDGET ANALYSIS PROCESS THAT
(*You Have Now Known*)
ALSO ASSURES ON-TIME FUNDING OF FEDERAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS,
SUCH AS URBAN RENEWAL AND AID TO OUR SCHOOLS, CRITICALLY NEEDED
BY OUR STATES AND CITIES. (*Legislation overnight*)

-- PROVIDE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND COMMITTEES WITH ADEQUATE
STAFF TO STUDY AND EVALUATE POLICIES AS WELL AS ASSURE THE
EFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATION AND FUNDING OF FEDERAL PROGRAMS ENACTED
BY CONGRESS. - *check & recheck on programs*

If they don't work - change!

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These would be the first steps we should take toward reform
and modernization of Congress. Election of a veto-proof Congress
IN 1974 WILL DO DEMOCRATS LITTLE GOOD UNLESS FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES
ARE UNDERTAKEN TO ALLOW CONGRESS TO DO THE JOB THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE ELECTED IT TO DO.

A FORMER DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE OFFICIAL, JOHN
STEWART, WRITING RECENTLY ABOUT OUR PARTY'S FUTURE IN THE
PERIOD FROM 1974 TO 1976, HIT THE NAIL ON THE HEAD WHEN HE
~~SAYED THAT~~ " . . . GOVERNMENTAL PERFORMANCE IS THE KEY TO
ELECTORAL SUCCESS FOR THE BALANCE OF THE 1970'S."

It is not
THOSE WHO LOOK TOWARD WATERGATE AND THE PERSONAL MISFOR
unes of Richard Nixon to propel a Democrat into the White
HOUSE IN 1976 ARE DECEIVING THEMSELVES. IN THE COMING MONTHS
AND YEARS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL EXPECT MORE FROM THE
DEMOCRATS THAN OUTRAGE AT REPUBLICAN SCANDALS / THE PEOPLE
WANT ACTION AND PERFORMANCE AND THE TRUTH ABOUT THE SERIOUS
NATURE OF OUR PROBLEMS.

PEOPLE OUGHT TO REMEMBER THAT IT HAS BEEN UNDER
DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP THAT THEY HAVE PULLED THEMSELVES UP:

-- UNDER ROOSEVELT, FROM A GREAT DEPRESSION;

Not Image but Substance
Not Charisma but Character
Not Promises but ~~performance~~ actions
Not P.R. but performance
Mind the Store.

Let's Remember ~~the~~ the purpose of
Govt - Preamble

-- UNDER TRUMAN, FROM THE THREAT OF SEVERE POST-WAR

ECONOMIC DISLOCATION AT HOME AND MAJOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC

Chaos
~~DESTABILIZATION~~ IN EUROPE;

-- UNDER KENNEDY, FROM A SERIOUS RECESSION;

-- AND UNDER JOHNSON, TOWARD IMPLEMENTING THE IDEALS OF
HOPE AND OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL AMERICANS.

OUR PEOPLE TODAY HAVE A RIGHT TO EXPECT THE SAME KIND OF

DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

in the years ahead.

People want substance, Character, Integrity, Decency.

IT IS UP TO YOU AS GOVERNORS AND TO THE CONGRESS TO

DEMONSTRATE TO THE PEOPLE OUR CAPACITY TO GOVERN. THIS IS

THE ONLY WAY THAT WE CAN ASSURE THE ELECTION OF A DEMOCRAT

AS PRESIDENT IN 1976.



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