

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

ASSOCIATION OF DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMEN

Washington, D.C.

March 20, 1975

It is a great pleasure for me to be with the Association of State Democratic Chairmen.

I am told by various friends that you have planned a lively meeting.

Just so you understand my position in all of this: I'm a lively guy. And I plan to give a lively speech. But I'm not so lively that I plan to stay around very long afterwards.

I think I'll seek refuge in more secure and quiet surroundings, like the Senate chamber, where there are some easy issues to deal with -- such as the oil depletion allowance.

But it is always refreshing to spend time with men and women who are out on the political front lines.

I've always said that if people want to understand American politics, they had better get out of Washington -- out to the states where the battles are won or lost.

On the basis of the evidence presented last November, I would say the Democratic Party is very much alive out in the states. And I know that you and your state Democratic organizations played a major role in this resurgence.

But there is a reverse side to my proposition about getting out of Washington, and it is this: If you want to find out what's happening in your Nation's Capital, then there is no substitute for some direct, on-site inspections. Somehow the real story of what is going on in Washington never seems to get past the immediate suburbs.

Since President Ford spends a good portion of his time traveling the country and criticizing the Congress, I thought this might be a good time to answer the President -- to tell you what, in my view, really is going on.

On balance, it is a hopeful, encouraging story for Democrats. But, also, it is a story that dramatizes our responsibility, as a Party, to win back the White House in 1976.

With the exception of a non-voluntary two-year sabbatical, I've been in Washington since 1949 serving the people of Minnesota and the United States. I've been in Congress most of this time, and I've always kept careful track of what is happening on Capitol Hill.

On the basis of this quarter-century experience, I can report that, with the possible exception of 1965-66, Congress never has been working harder than today; it never has been better informed on the critical issues; and it never has been more productive in charting sensible directions for the United States.

Whether the issue is economic recovery, or energy, or jobs, or strip mining, or Cambodia, or the farm bill, Congress is taking the lead in devising policies that truly serve the interests of the American people. Congress, rather than the President, is coming up with the right answers.

Now that proposition flies in the face of all the conventional wisdom we have come to accept over the past generation. It certainly runs directly counter to what a lot of supposedly well-informed people think is going on.

The conventional wisdom tells us that only the President has the wisdom, the expertise, the staff, and the national perspective to decide what is best for America.

Congress, for its part, is often written off as a hopeless impediment in the governing process.

Well, on the basis of comparative performances during the last several years, I think it is time to revise the conventional wisdom.

And by no means is it just a question of Watergate.

President Ford criticizes Congress for not acting more swiftly on tax cut legislation. We will have a tax bill on the President's desk by the end of this month, just two months after his legislation was delivered to Congress. But that really is not the point.

Last September, at the Economic Summit, the overwhelming consensus among economists and members of Congress was that our country was headed directly into the worst recession since World War II.

Speaker after speaker -- myself included -- pleaded with President Ford to take swift and decisive action to get our economy moving. We pleaded with the President to cut taxes, to get more spendable income into the pockets and pay envelopes of working men and women.

What was the President's response? He came before a joint session of Congress in early October and proposed a 5 percent tax increase. I hate to think of the economic problems we would have today if Congress had accepted that advice.

By mid-December, with unemployment now clearly on the rise, President Ford still was urging Congress to raise taxes. And he was telling the American people that a recession did not exist.

Finally, in mid-January, the President came to share the conclusion that most economists and almost every Democrat in Congress had reached at least six months earlier. But his proposed remedy -- the 16 billion dollar tax cut -- turned out to be inadequate, ill-considered, and inequitable.

He laid out an anti-recession strategy that would have the United States still mired in recession by the end of this decade -- unemployment still above 7 percent and economic output still lagging by more than 100 billion dollars.

And the President's scheme for tax rebates would have provided the wealthiest 17 percent of the population with 43 percent of the benefits. The trickle-down theory of Republican economics had truly found a new champion in Gerald Ford.

Congress had no choice but to devise an economic recovery plan that would work

-- a plan that will get people back to work this year and next, not in 1979 and 1980

-- an economy recovery action program that directs income to middle and low wage families

-- a strong stimulus to put the country's idle resources to work now, not five or six years from now.

I am confident that Congress will send President Ford a far better tax bill than the one he proposed just two months ago -- a bill that will provide the initial economic stimulus that can turn this recession around.

But the real tragedy is President Ford's failure to propose an anti-recession program last September -- six months ago -- when we still had a chance of blunting the present recession. Instead, he forced Congress to spend its time fighting off a tax increase instead of working to pass a badly-needed tax cut.

This failure has meant untold suffering and dislocation for millions of Americans.

Exactly the same story can be told in regard to President Ford's energy program.

Last fall, on two occasions, Democrats in Congress formally offered to work out a compromise energy package with the President -- one that could be passed before Congress adjourned in December. The chairmen of three Senate committees -- Senator Jackson of Interior, Senator Magnuson of Commerce, and Senator Randolph of Public Works -- made this proposal in October and again in December.

President Ford simply rejected the first offer. The second attempt collapsed when the Administration refused to compromise on the issue of total decontrol of natural gas prices.

Finally, in mid-January, President Ford announced his own energy program. But again, as in the case of the tax cut, his proposals spelled disaster for the economy.

Whether the President's scheme of tariffs, excise taxes, and decontrolled energy prices actually would reduce imports is open to debate. But there is no doubt whatever as to its effect on fuel oil prices, or gasoline, or jet fuel, or utility rates, or the petrochemical industry, or fertilizer, or on countless other products that are essential to economic recovery.

The Ford plan would raise energy costs by at least 45 billion dollars in just one year. The Senate Interior Committee calculated a net annual increase of \$800 to the average family. Under the President's plan, an additional 440,000 Americans would lose their jobs and the cost of living for everyone would rise by 2 to 4 percent.

Once again, Congress had the good sense to reject this misguided, totally misinformed program.

Democrats in the Senate and House proposed an alternative energy package. It involves none of these senseless -- and needless -- economic sacrifices over the next two years. But, by 1977, the Democratic plan will save just as much imported oil as the President's plan. Over the long run, the Democratic plan will save more.

The general approach developed in the Democratic alternative will be the one written into law over the next month or so.

A third example of failure in Presidential leadership can be found in President Ford's proposal to place a 5 percent ceiling on Social Security, food stamps, and other income support programs of the federal government.

It is hard to decide whether this proposal makes less sense in terms of fairness and humanity or in terms of economic recovery.

On the one hand, it is simply outrageous to suggest that persons who already have suffered most from the inflation and recession of the past year should be asked to sacrifice even more of their inadequate income.

But on the other hand, what is the economic sense of using the tax system to raise the incomes of some families while using arbitrary expenditure ceilings to reduce the incomes of others?

Either way you slice it, President Ford's suggestion is a disaster.

But as with the tax bill and the energy program, Congress can be counted on to avoid the disaster and come up with a better answer.

In all of this, a clear pattern has emerged: Not only does Congress have the job of coming up with sensible and fair policies, but Congress first has to dispose of the unworkable and unfair programs suggested by the President.

Well, I can report that Congress is doing both jobs and doing them successfully. As Democrats, we should take pride in the record that is being written on Capitol Hill.

But there is, after all, a much more sensible way to proceed. We need to get a Democrat back into the Oval Office of the White House.

Just imagine the difference it would make if we had a Democratic President.

Consider the difference in jobs -- or have you forgotten that unemployment was 3.4 percent when Richard Nixon took the oath of office in January of 1969?

Consider the difference it would make in terms of housing programs -- or have you forgotten that we were building 2.5 million new houses a year under President Johnson, and today we are building less than 900,000?

Consider the difference in fighting poverty -- or have you forgotten that for eight years straight, we dramatically reduced the numbers of people living in poverty only to have those numbers begin to rise less than two years after the Republicans took over?



Consider the difference in fighting disease -- or have you forgotten that President Nixon, and now President Ford, have slashed the funds going to biomedical research?

But there is something else Democrats should consider.

How much we helped Richard Nixon win the Presidency in 1968 and again in 1972.

Our divisions and our internal bickering were major factors in both elections. You know it. And, believe me, I know it.

We lost the Presidency on both occasions. And we also lost the chance to use the power and resources of the federal government in behalf of the people.

We, as Democrats, lost. But the American people lost a lot more. When we next ponder the 7.5 million people now out of work, or the record-high prices, or the deterioration of urban services, or the rising crime rate, or the growing numbers of people living in poverty, we had better remember who really paid the price for our losses in 1968 and 1972.

I do not believe we have the right to ask the American people to pay such a price again. We have the duty to choose a presidential nominee, and to unite around him, and to conduct the kind of hard-hitting and unified campaign that can make sure the country will not be exposed to four more years of Republican government.

Bob Strauss, our National Chairman, has done a remarkable job in laying the foundation for such a presidential campaign in 1976. I salute him for what he has achieved to date, far more than anyone dreamed could be done when he accepted the job in December of 1972. He has earned our appreciation and our support.

And I applaud what each of you has been able to do in your respective states -- working toward the kind of unified Democratic Party that can win elections and, just as importantly, serve the people after the elections are over.

But I am not so naive as to believe that our internal problems are over. I read the newspapers and look at the TV, and I get my share of phone calls. So I recognize, as do you, that many of the Democratic Party's most difficult tests lie ahead.

How we face these tests -- the vision and understanding that we bring to the difficult job of selecting a presidential nominee and writing a platform -- will be decisive factors in getting America the kind of government that we so desperately need today.

Yes, the 94th Congress is doing its job. We are writing a legislative record of which Democrats can be proud.

But let me tell you this: We need a Democratic president. Give us a Democrat in the White House, and we can truly bring this country back to life.

That is the opportunity that lies within our grasp. Will we seize it?

That is the question we must answer today and in the days remaining until November of 1976.

Bob Vance. President

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ASSOCIATION OF STATE DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMEN

WASHINGTON, D.C.

MARCH 20, 1975

IT IS A GREAT PLEASURE FOR ME TO BE WITH THE ASSOCIATION  
OF STATE DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMEN.

L I AM TOLD BY VARIOUS FRIENDS THAT YOU HAVE PLANNED A  
LIVELY MEETING,

L JUST SO YOU UNDERSTAND MY POSITION IN ALL OF THIS:

I'M A LIVELY GUY AND I PLAN TO GIVE A LIVELY SPEECH BUT

I'M NOT SO LIVELY THAT I PLAN TO STAY AROUND VERY LONG

AFTERWARDS.

L I THINK I'LL SEEK REFUGE IN MORE SECURE AND QUIET

SURROUNDINGS, LIKE THE SENATE CHAMBER, WHERE THERE ARE

SOME EASY ISSUES TO DEAL WITH -- SUCH AS THE OIL DEPLETION

ALLOWANCE.

L BUT IT IS ALWAYS REFRESHING TO SPEND TIME WITH MEN AND  
WOMEN WHO ARE OUT ON THE POLITICAL FRONT LINES.

L I'VE ALWAYS SAID THAT IF PEOPLE <sup>really</sup> WANT TO UNDERSTAND AMERICAN  
POLITICS, THEY HAD BETTER GET OUT OF WASHINGTON -- OUT TO THE  
STATES WHERE THE BATTLES ARE WON OR LOST.

L ON THE BASIS OF THE EVIDENCE PRESENTED LAST NOVEMBER,  
I WOULD SAY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS VERY MUCH ALIVE OUT there in  
THE STATES. L AND, I KNOW THAT YOU AND YOUR STATE DEMOCRATIC  
ORGANIZATIONS PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN THIS RESURGENCE.

L BUT THERE IS A REVERSE SIDE TO MY PROPOSITION ABOUT GETTING  
OUT OF WASHINGTON, AND IT IS THIS: IF YOU WANT TO FIND OUT  
WHAT'S HAPPENING IN YOUR NATION'S CAPITAL, THEN THERE IS NO  
SUBSTITUTE FOR SOME DIRECT, ON-SITE INSPECTIONS.



L SOMEHOW THE REAL STORY OF WHAT IS GOING ON IN WASHINGTON

NEVER SEEMS TO GET PAST THE IMMEDIATE SUBURBS, /✓

L SINCE PRESIDENT FORD SPENDS A GOOD PORTION OF HIS TIME  
TRAVELING THE COUNTRY AND CRITICIZING THE CONGRESS, I THOUGHT  
THIS MIGHT BE A GOOD TIME TO ANSWER THE PRESIDENT -- TO TELL

YOU WHAT, IN MY VIEW, REALLY IS GOING ON here.

L ON BALANCE, IT IS A ~~HOPEFUL~~ ENCOURAGING STORY FOR  
DEMOCRATS. BUT, ALSO, IT IS A STORY THAT DRAMATIZES OUR  
RESPONSIBILITY, AS A PARTY, TO WIN BACK THE WHITE HOUSE IN 1976.

L WITH THE EXCEPTION OF A "NON-VOLUNTARY TWO-YEAR SABBATICAL" *following*

1968, I'VE BEEN IN WASHINGTON SINCE 1949 SERVING THE PEOPLE OF

MINNESOTA AND THE UNITED STATES.

I'VE BEEN IN CONGRESS MOST OF THIS TIME, AND I'VE ALWAYS  
KEPT CAREFUL TRACK OF WHAT IS HAPPENING ON CAPITOL HILL.

ON THE BASIS OF THIS QUARTER-CENTURY EXPERIENCE, I  
CAN REPORT THAT, WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF 1965-66,

CONGRESS NEVER HAS BEEN WORKING HARDER THAN TODAY; IT NEVER  
HAS BEEN BETTER INFORMED ON THE CRITICAL ISSUES, AND IT NEVER  
HAS BEEN MORE PRODUCTIVE IN CHARTING SENSIBLE DIRECTIONS FOR  
THE UNITED STATES.

WHETHER THE ISSUE IS ECONOMIC RECOVERY, OR ENERGY, OR JOB  
OR STRIP MINING, OR CAMBODIA, OR THE FARM BILL, CONGRESS IS  
TAKING THE LEAD IN DEVISING POLICIES THAT TRULY SERVE THE  
INTERESTS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, CONGRESS, RATHER THAN THE  
PRESIDENT, IS COMING UP WITH THE RIGHT ANSWERS.

L NOW THAT PROPOSITION FLIES IN THE FACE OF ALL THE CONVEN-  
TIONAL WISDOM WE HAVE COME TO ACCEPT OVER THE PAST GENERATION,

L IT CERTAINLY RUNS DIRECTLY COUNTER TO WHAT A LOT OF SUPPOSEDLY  
WELL-INFORMED PEOPLE THINK IS GOING ON.

L THE CONVENTIONAL WISDOM TELLS US THAT ONLY THE PRESIDENT HAS  
THE WISDOM, THE EXPERTISE, THE STAFF, AND THE NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE  
TO DECIDE WHAT IS BEST FOR AMERICA.

L CONGRESS, FOR ITS PART, IS OFTEN WRITTEN OFF AS A HOPELESS  
obstacle IMPEDIMENT IN THE GOVERNING PROCESS.

L WELL, ON THE BASIS OF COMPARATIVE PERFORMANCES DURING  
THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS, I THINK IT IS TIME TO REVISE THE  
CONVENTIONAL WISDOM.

L AND BY NO MEANS IS IT JUST A QUESTION OF WATERGATE!

L PRESIDENT FORD CRITICIZES CONGRESS FOR NOT ACTING MORE  
SWIFTLY ON TAX CUT LEGISLATION / WE WILL HAVE A TAX BILL ON

THE PRESIDENT'S DESK BY THE END OF THIS MONTH, <sup>less than</sup> ~~just~~ TWO MONTHS

AFTER HIS LEGISLATION WAS DELIVERED TO CONGRESS, BUT THAT  
REALLY IS NOT THE POINT.

L LAST SEPTEMBER, AT THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT, THE OVERWHELMING  
CONSENSUS AMONG ECONOMISTS AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WAS THAT  
OUR COUNTRY WAS HEADED DIRECTLY INTO THE WORST RECESSION SINCE  
WORLD WAR II.

L SPEAKER AFTER SPEAKER -- MYSELF INCLUDED -- PLEADED WITH  
PRESIDENT FORD TO TAKE SWIFT AND DECISIVE ACTION TO GET OUR  
ECONOMY MOVING L WE PLEADED WITH THE PRESIDENT TO CUT TAXES,  
TO GET MORE SPENDABLE INCOME INTO THE POCKETS AND PAY ENVELOPES  
OF WORKING MEN AND WOMEN.

L WHAT WAS THE PRESIDENT'S RESPONSE? He came before a  
JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS IN EARLY OCTOBER AND PROPOSED A  
5 PERCENT TAX INCREASE. <sup>+ WIN Button</sup> L I HATE TO THINK OF THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS  
WE WOULD HAVE TODAY IF CONGRESS HAD ACCEPTED THAT ADVICE.

L BY MID-DECEMBER, WITH UNEMPLOYMENT NOW CLEARLY ON THE  
RISE, PRESIDENT FORD STILL WAS URGING CONGRESS TO RAISE TAXES.

AND HE WAS TELLING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT A RECESSION DID NOT  
EXIST.

FINALLY, IN MID-JANUARY, THE PRESIDENT CAME TO SHARE THE  
CONCLUSION THAT MOST ECONOMISTS AND ALMOST EVERY DEMOCRAT IN  
CONGRESS HAD REACHED AT LEAST SIX MONTHS EARLIER. BUT, HIS  
PROPOSED REMEDY -- THE 16 BILLION DOLLAR TAX CUT -- TURNED  
OUT TO BE INADEQUATE, ILL-CONSIDERED, AND INEQUITABLE.

HE LAID OUT AN ANTI-RECESSION STRATEGY THAT WOULD HAVE  
THE UNITED STATES STILL MIRED IN RECESSION BY THE END OF  
THIS DECADE -- UNEMPLOYMENT STILL ABOVE 7 PERCENT AND ECONOMIC  
OUTPUT STILL LAGGING BY MORE THAN 100 BILLION DOLLARS *a year*

1 1/2 Trillion loss by 1980



L AND THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEME FOR TAX REBATES WOULD HAVE PROVIDED THE WEALTHIEST 17 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION WITH 43 PERCENT OF THE BENEFITS. L THE TRICKLE-DOWN THEORY OF REPUBLICAN ECONOMICS HAD TRULY FOUND A NEW CHAMPION IN GERALD FORD.

L CONGRESS HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO DEVISE AN ECONOMIC RECOVERY PLAN THAT WOULD WORK;

-- A PLAN THAT WILL GET PEOPLE BACK TO WORK THIS YEAR AND NEXT, NOT IN 1979 AND 1980;

L AN ECONOMY RECOVERY ACTION PROGRAM THAT DIRECTS INCOME TO MIDDLE AND LOW WAGE FAMILIES;

L -- A STRONG STIMULUS TO PUT THE COUNTRY'S IDLE RESOURCES  
TO WORK NOW, NOT FIVE OR SIX YEARS FROM NOW.!

I AM CONFIDENT THAT CONGRESS WILL SEND PRESIDENT FORD  
A FAR BETTER TAX BILL THAN THE ONE HE PROPOSED JUST TWO MONTHS  
AGO -- A BILL THAT WILL PROVIDE THE INITIAL ECONOMIC STIMULUS  
THAT CAN TURN THIS RECESSION AROUND.

L BUT THE REAL TRAGEDY IS PRESIDENT FORD'S FAILURE TO  
PROPOSE AN ANTI-RECESSION PROGRAM LAST SEPTEMBER -- SIX  
MONTHS AGO -- WHEN WE SILL HAD A CHANCE OF BLUNTING THE PRESENT  
RECESSION. INSTEAD, HE FORCED CONGRESS TO SPEND ITS TIME  
FIGHTING OFF A TAX INCREASE INSTEAD OF WORKING TO PASS A BADLY-  
NEEDED TAX CUT.

L THIS FAILURE HAS ~~MEANT~~ <sup>frught</sup> UNTOLD SUFFERING AND DISLOCATION FOR MILLIONS OF AMERICANS.

L EXACTLY THE SAME STORY CAN BE TOLD IN REGARD TO PRESIDENT FORD'S ENERGY PROGRAM.

L LAST FALL, ON TWO OCCASIONS, DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS FORMALLY OFFERED TO WORK OUT A COMPROMISE ENERGY PACKAGE WITH THE PRESIDENT -- ONE THAT COULD BE PASSED BEFORE CONGRESS ADJOURNED IN DECEMBER. THE CHAIRMEN OF THREE SENATE COMMITTEES -- SENATOR JACKSON OF INTERIOR, SENATOR MAGNUSON OF COMMERCE, AND SENATOR RANDOLPH OF PUBLIC WORKS -- MADE THIS PROPOSAL IN OCTOBER AND AGAIN IN DECEMBER.

L PRESIDENT FORD SIMPLY REJECTED THE FIRST OFFER, L THE SECOND  
ATTEMPT COLLAPSED WHEN THE ADMINISTRATION REFUSED TO COMPROMISE  
*its demand for*  
ON ~~THE ISSUE OF~~ TOTAL DECONTROL OF NATURAL GAS PRICES.

L FINALLY, IN MID-JANUARY, PRESIDENT FORD ANNOUNCED HIS OWN  
ENERGY PROGRAM. L BUT AGAIN, AS IN THE CASE OF THE TAX CUT, HIS  
PROPOSALS SPELLED DISASTER FOR THE ECONOMY.

L WHETHER THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEME OF TARIFFS, EXCISE TAXES,  
AND DECONTROLLED ENERGY PRICES ACTUALLY WOULD REDUCE IMPORTS  
IS OPEN TO DEBATE. L BUT THERE IS NO DOUBT WHATEVER AS TO ITS  
EFFECT ON FUEL OIL PRICES, OR GASOLINE, OR JET FUEL, OR UTILITY  
RATES, OR THE PETROCHEMICAL INDUSTRY, OR FERTILIZER, OR ON  
COUNTLESS OTHER PRODUCTS THAT ARE ESSENTIAL TO ECONOMIC RECOVERY.

L THE FORD PLAN WOULD RAISE ENERGY COSTS BY AT LEAST 45

BILLION DOLLARS IN JUST ONE YEAR. THE SENATE INTERIOR COMMITTEE

CALCULATED A NET ANNUAL INCREASE OF \$800 TO THE AVERAGE FAMILY,

L UNDER THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN, AN ADDITIONAL 440,000 AMERICANS

WOULD LOSE THEIR JOBS AND THE COST OF LIVING FOR EVERYONE

WOULD RISE BY 2 TO 4 PERCENT,

L ONCE AGAIN, CONGRESS HAD THE GOOD SENSE TO REJECT THIS

MISGUIDED, TOTALLY MISINFORMED PROGRAM.

L DEMOCRATS IN THE SENATE AND HOUSE PROPOSED AN ALTERNATIVE

ENERGY PACKAGE L IT INVOLVES NONE OF THESE SENSELESS -- AND

NEEDLESS -- ECONOMIC SACRIFICES OVER THE NEXT TWO YEARS.

L BUT, BY 1977, THE DEMOCRATIC PLAN WILL SAVE JUST AS MUCH

IMPORTED OIL AS THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN, <sup>and</sup> OVER THE LONG RUN, THE

DEMOCRATIC PLAN WILL SAVE MORE.

*more jobs not less  
no increase in cost of living.*

L THE GENERAL APPROACH DEVELOPED IN THE DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE  
WILL BE THE ONE WRITTEN INTO LAW OVER THE NEXT MONTH OR SO.

#3 L A THIRD EXAMPLE OF FAILURE IN PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP

CAN BE FOUND IN PRESIDENT FORD'S PROPOSAL TO PLACE A 5 PERCENT

*Budget* CEILING ON SOCIAL SECURITY, <sup>raise the Price</sup> FOOD STAMPS, AND <sup>cut other income</sup> OTHER INCOME

SUPPORT PROGRAMS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

L IT IS HARD TO DECIDE WHETHER THIS PROPOSAL MAKES LESS  
SENSE IN TERMS OF FAIRNESS AND HUMANITY OR IN TERMS OF ECONOMIC  
RECOVERY.



L ON THE ONE HAND, IT IS SIMPLY OUTRAGEOUS TO SUGGEST  
THAT PERSONS WHO ALREADY HAVE SUFFERED MOST FROM THE INFLATION  
AND RECESSION OF THE PAST YEAR SHOULD BE ASKED TO SACRIFICE  
EVEN MORE OF THEIR INADEQUATE INCOME.

L BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, WHAT IS THE ECONOMIC SENSE OF  
USING THE TAX SYSTEM TO RAISE THE INCOMES OF SOME FAMILIES  
WHILE USING ARBITRARY EXPENDITURE CEILINGS TO REDUCE THE INCOMES  
OF OTHERS?

L EITHER WAY YOU SLICE IT, PRESIDENT FORD'S SUGGESTION IS  
A DISASTER.

L BUT AS WITH THE TAX BILL AND THE ENERGY PROGRAM, CONGRESS  
CAN BE COUNTED ON TO AVOID THE DISASTER AND COME UP WITH A

BETTER ANSWER.

! *Congress has a better idea,  
not Ford!*

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L IN ALL OF THIS, A CLEAR PATTERN HAS EMERGED; NOT ONLY  
DOES CONGRESS HAVE THE JOB OF COMING UP WITH SENSIBLE AND  
FAIR POLICIES, BUT CONGRESS FIRST HAS TO DISPOSE OF THE  
UNWORKABLE AND UNFAIR PROGRAMS SUGGESTED BY THE PRESIDENT.

L WELL, I CAN REPORT THAT CONGRESS IS DOING BOTH JOBS AND  
DOING THEM SUCCESSFULLY. L AS DEMOCRATS, WE SHOULD TAKE PRIDE IN  
THE RECORD THAT IS BEING WRITTEN ON CAPITOL HILL.

L BUT THERE IS, AFTER ALL, A MUCH MORE SENSIBLE WAY TO  
PROCEED. WE NEED TO GET A DEMOCRAT BACK INTO THE OVAL OFFICE  
OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

L JUST IMAGINE THE DIFFERENCE IT WOULD MAKE IF WE HAD A  
DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT.

L CONSIDER THE DIFFERENCE IN JOBS -- OR HAVE YOU FORGOTTEN  
THAT UNEMPLOYMENT WAS <sup>ONLY</sup> 3.4 PERCENT WHEN RICHARD NIXON TOOK THE  
OATH OF OFFICE IN JANUARY OF 1969?

L CONSIDER THE DIFFERENCE IT WOULD MAKE IN TERMS OF HOUSING  
PROGRAMS -- OR HAVE YOU FORGOTTEN THAT WE WERE BUILDING 2.5  
MILLION NEW HOUSES A YEAR UNDER PRESIDENT JOHNSON, AND TODAY  
WE ARE BUILDING LESS THAN 900,000?

L CONSIDER THE DIFFERENCE IN FIGHTING POVERTY -- OR HAVE  
YOU FORGOTTEN THAT FOR EIGHT YEARS STRAIGHT, WE DRAMATICALLY  
REDUCED THE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE LIVING IN POVERTY ONLY TO HAVE  
THOSE NUMBERS BEGIN TO RISE LESS THAN TWO YEARS AFTER THE  
REPUBLICANS TOOK OVER?

L CONSIDER THE DIFFERENCE IN FIGHTING DISEASE -- OR HAVE  
YOU FORGOTTEN THAT PRESIDENT NIXON, AND NOW PRESIDENT FORD,  
HAVE SLASHED THE FUNDS GOING TO BIOMEDICAL RESEARCH?

L BUT THERE IS SOMETHING ELSE DEMOCRATS SHOULD CONSIDER:

L HOW MUCH WE HELPED RICHARD NIXON WIN THE PRESIDENCY IN  
1968 AND AGAIN IN 1972.

L OUR DIVISIONS AND OUR INTERNAL BICKERING WERE MAJOR  
FACTORS IN BOTH ELECTIONS L YOU KNOW IT! AND, BELIEVE ME, I  
KNOW IT!

L WE LOST THE PRESIDENCY ON BOTH OCCASIONS. AND WE ALSO  
LOST THE CHANCE TO USE THE POWER AND RESOURCES OF THE FEDERAL  
GOVERNMENT IN BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE,

L WE, AS DEMOCRATS, LOST! BUT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE LOST A  
LOT MORE. WHEN WE NEXT PONDER THE 7.5 MILLION PEOPLE NOW OUT  
OF WORK, OR THE RECORD-HIGH PRICES, OR THE DETERIORATION OF  
URBAN SERVICES, OR THE RISING CRIME RATE, OR THE GROWING  
NUMBERS OF PEOPLE LIVING IN POVERTY, WE HAD BETTER REMEMBER  
WHO REALLY PAID THE PRICE FOR OUR LOSSES IN 1968 AND 1972.

L I DO NOT BELIEVE WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO ASK THE AMERICAN  
PEOPLE TO PAY SUCH A PRICE AGAIN. WE HAVE THE DUTY TO CHOOSE  
A PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE, AND TO UNITE AROUND HIM, AND TO  
CONDUCT THE KIND OF HARD-HITTING AND UNIFIED CAMPAIGN THAT  
CAN MAKE SURE THE COUNTRY WILL NOT BE EXPOSED TO FOUR MORE  
YEARS OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT.

L BOB STRAUSS, OUR NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, HAS DONE A REMARKABLE  
JOB IN LAYING THE FOUNDATION FOR SUCH A PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN  
IN 1976. L I SALUTE HIM FOR WHAT HE HAS ACHIEVED TO DATE, FAR  
MORE THAN ANYONE DREAMED COULD BE DONE WHEN HE ACCEPTED THE  
JOB IN DECEMBER OF 1972. L HE HAS EARNED OUR APPRECIATION AND  
OUR SUPPORT.

L AND I APPLAUD WHAT EACH OF YOU HAS BEEN ABLE TO DO IN YOUR  
RESPECTIVE STATES -- WORKING TOWARD THE KIND OF UNIFIED  
DEMOCRATIC PARTY THAT CAN WIN ELECTIONS AND, JUST AS IMPORTANTLY,  
SERVE THE PEOPLE AFTER THE ELECTIONS ARE OVER.



L BUT I AM NOT SO NAIVE AS TO BELIEVE THAT OUR INTERNAL  
PROBLEMS ARE OVER. L I READ THE NEWSPAPERS AND LOOK AT THE  
TV, AND I GET MY SHARE OF PHONE CALLS. L SO I RECOGNIZE, AS DO  
YOU, THAT MANY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S MOST DIFFICULT TESTS  
LIE AHEAD.

L HOW WE FACE THESE TESTS -- THE VISION AND UNDERSTANDING  
THAT WE BRING TO THE DIFFICULT JOB OF SELECTING A PRESIDENTIAL  
NOMINEE AND WRITING A PLATFORM -- WILL BE DECISIVE FACTORS IN  
GETTING AMERICA THE KIND OF GOVERNMENT THAT WE SO DESPERATELY  
NEED TODAY.

L YES, THE 94TH CONGRESS IS DOING ITS JOB. L *well write* WE ARE WRITING  
A LEGISLATIVE RECORD OF WHICH DEMOCRATS CAN BE PROUD.

L BUT LET ME TELL YOU THIS: WE NEED A DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT.

GIVE US A DEMOCRAT IN THE WHITE HOUSE, AND WE CAN TRULY BRING

THIS COUNTRY BACK TO LIFE.

L THAT IS THE OPPORTUNITY THAT LIES WITHIN OUR GRASP.

WILL WE SEIZE IT?

THAT IS THE QUESTION WE MUST ANSWER TODAY AND IN THE DAYS  
REMAINING UNTIL NOVEMBER OF 1976.

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