REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY MISSOURI STATE DEMOCRATIC DINNER

Columbia, Missouri

January 17, 1976

Tonight this fine group of Democrats honors a great friend of mine, a colleague of many years, an outstanding Democrat, and one of the great public servants Missouri has sent to Washington.

I speak of Stuart Symington.

Since coming to the Congress in 1952, Stuart Symington has been a voice of reason, decency and common sense. He has stood for and he has fought for the policies and programs which mean a better, more prosperous America.

Stu Symington has been an exponent of a sound national defense policy. From his unique vantage point on both the Armed Forces and Foreign Relations Committees, he has been a moving force toward a sensible and reasoned foreign policy -- one that looks ahead at future needs and interests. When Stuart speaks, his colleagues listen, because they know that his views are firmly rooted in years of experience and devoted service.

I will miss him greatly. Whoever serves in his place has a great task ahead to equal his outstanding record.

Any gathering of Democrats in Harry Truman's beloved Missouri deserves some frank talk in the manner that was this great man's hallmark. He was never afraid to speak his mind. And he did this so often with reason and great clarity.

The Democrats face numerous challenges in 1976. The road toward the White House and a majority Congress is not an easy one to travel.

- -- We must not let past divisions and differences block our chances for victory.
- -- We must provide the nation with the type of candidates willing to tackle problems with compassion and fairness.
- -- We must not be afraid to propose solutions to these problems which may require sacrifices on the part of many Americans.

And we must not let the Republican Party deceive the American people as it did in 1968 and 1972 as to its platform and goals for America.

The Nixon and Ford Administrations stand condemned time and time again of betrayal of the promises they made to the American people that they would work for a healthy and prosperous economy.

-- In 1968 the Republican Party pledged itself to full employment. In 1972 its platform said: "We stand for a job for everyone willing and able to work..."

That was the rhetoric. Let's look at the record.

The unemployment rate in 1968 was 3.6 percent, or about 3.2 million people. Today, it has skyrocketed to 8.3 percent and eight million Americans are idle.

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And Gerald Ford has vetoed legislation to create nearly one million public service and public works jobs as well as a major initiative to increase production and employment in the construction industry.

-- In 1972, the Republican platform said the Party "will continue to pursue sound economic policies that will eliminate inflation..."

That was the rhetoric. Let's look at the record.

In 1968, the inflation rate was 4-1/2 percent. Double digit inflation now is the rule. And since that promise was made four years ago, the real purchasing power of the average worker has fallen 5.4 percent.

Consumer prices since 1972 have risen nearly 28 percent. Only one quarter of this increase is due to energy price hikes. Our per capita incomes now are no higher than they were in 1972.

-- In 1968 the Republican platform promised: "We must attack the root causes of poverty...In many areas poverty and its attendant ills affect large numbers of Americans...Our inner cities teem with poor, crowded slums."

That was the rhetoric. Let's look at the record.

In 1974, 1.3 million Americans were added to the nation's poverty rolls, bringing the number of poor Americans to the shameful level of 24.3 million. This represents 12 percent of our population. The war against poverty wasn't really lost because it was never waged. And our cities continue to decay from the neglect of eight years of indifference.

-- In 1972, Richard Nixon's party promised that: "We will continue to promote steady expansion of the whole economy..."

That was the rhetoric. Let's look at the record.

By the end of the decade, the Republican recession will have cost America \$1.5 trillion in goods that never will be produced, services never provided and income that never will be found in anyone's paycheck. This represents a loss of \$7,000 for every man, woman and child in America. Add to this loss the fact that the real value of your take-home pay is just about at the 1964 level.

-- In 1972, the Republican platform stated: "We are determined to attain the goal of a decent home for every American."

That was the rhetoric. Let's look at the record.

The number of housing units constructed in 1975 was 45 percent below the level in 1972. In fact, the number of housing starts in 1974 and 1975 averaged less than during the previous eight years of a Democratic Administration. In the last two years, we've been constructing 12 percent fewer houses than the average of 1961-1968.

I could go on and on. The record of broken Republican promises is astounding and appalling.

When the true record is laid bare, Americans will be forced to ask whether they can afford another four years of Gerald Ford, Ronald Reagan or any Republican. Despite the Republican rhetoric, the cold, hard facts of mismanagement and indifference cannot be hidden. To this poor record must be added a very sad and troubling assessment.

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President Ford seems to be content with the least ambitious economic goals of any President in modern American history. He proposes budgets and programs that will accept extraordinarily high levels of unemployment for years to come. He is willing to accept a slow recovery of production and income from the worst recession since the Great Depression.

He is willing to stand idly by as America's urban areas sink deeper into poverty and the number of idle black youth skyrocket.

And, he encourages the Federal Reserve to continue its exceptionally tight money policies. This means crippling interest rates, homes too expensive to purchase, small businesses handicapped, and farmers without available credit.

The record of the Nixon and Ford Administrations prove once again a basic fact of life which Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson knew all too well. The Republican Party cannot be trusted to manage the economic life of our nation.

As a basic minimum, I believe a majority of Democrats would support the following alternatives to this Administration's program of economic neglect:

- -- A more expansionary money and credit policy to support and sustain growth;
- -- Programs of public service jobs and emergency public works, all of which phase out as unemployment drops;
- -- A major initiative to put the housing industry back on its feet and home ownership back within reach for most families:
- -- An anti-inflation program designed to encourage competitive pricing and increase anti-trust prosecution;
- -- An all-out attack on waste throughout the economy -to put people and machines back to work, off the dole and
 onto the tax rolls so we can begin to get our budget back
 into balance. We don't have a spending deficit -- we have
 a recession deficit.
- -- An all-out attack on urban blight and decay so that our cities can be made safe and livable.
- -- Finally, we need to overhaul our tax system. It should be simplified, and the inequitable loopholes should be repealed to bring tax justice to America.

In 1960 John Kennedy described his race against Richard Nixon in these words:

"This is a race not merely between two parties....
It is a race between the comfortable and the concerned.
Those who are willing to sit and lie at anchor, and
those who want to go forward. This country has developed
as it is, because in other great periods of crisis we
have chosen to go forward."

These words have not lost their meaning.

, it.

The Democratic Party has the will to move America forward. We cannot afford to stay anchored to the politics of Coolidge and the economics of Hoover.

There are alternatives. I believe that the Democratic Party in Missouri and around the nation now is ready to point the way to better tomorrows for the American people.

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Boy, that music makes a guy feel good, doesn't it?

Thank you very much, Tom, Senator Eagleton, Senator Symington, my friends, fellow Democrats, all of you county officials out here, all of you Democratic candidates; oh, do we have candidates in our party. We've got candidates. But it tells you something. They tell me that when there's a lot of candidates there's a lot of hope and a lot of not only hope but chances.

And I just want to wish each and every one of you the very, very best. I always wanted people to do that for me so I said that to you now. We had a great evening. We had a great evening here. Just stepping into this hall I knew that this was a real Democratic function cause I didn't think we were going to get in for awhile.

Like Will Rogers said, we don't belong to any organized party, we're just Democrats. People are pushing and shoving to get on in here tonight to pay honor to one of the truly fine and good and great men of our country and he's sitting right down here and I love him. He's my friend, Stuart Symington. Why this man can bear such burdens. He even nominated me once for Vice President and survived it. Remarkable man.

Stuart, we're here in central Missouri County. They tell me they used to call it "Little Dixie" and they still may call it "Little Dixie". Somebody even told me they called Calloway "Kingdom of Calloway". I don't know if that's all true or not but I learned a lot about Missouri and everything I learn about

it, I like. I told our host that the gentleman that drove me into this meeting, Carl Back, how much I love to come to Missouri. It's America at its best. It's all here. It's so much it's Americana, it's just exactly like the kids that were up here tonight singing for us. And, by the way, weren't they good? They really had a lot of zip and go. I can't say that they'll qualify for the Metropolitan Opera but that's not my show anyhow.

I wish to pay my respects to your State Chairman, James
Bain. The County Chairman here, Mr. Reybach. I do this because I'm an organization Democrat and I'm not ashamed of it,
I'm proud of it. You can't have these folks that just come
in and out all of the time, you have to have those that stick
with you. There are only three kinds of people in the world,
you know: winners, losers, and survivors. And I'll tell you
it's good to be a survivor. (applause overrides at least one
sentence here)
...you've got to be a survivor.

Senator Symington, Stuart, what was read tonight from your state legislature says it so succinctly and so properly. A truly remarkable man is being honored here this evening. Oh I know that his heart is filled with gratitude and appreciation. There is no greater reward in public life than having people respect you. Hopefully, admire you, but above all to have their affection and their friendship. And Stuart Symington has that in Missouri. He has that in Minnesota. He has that in Washington and as we said here he's known throughout the

world. I couldn't help but note one of his titles was the Assistant Secretary of War and here's a man that has possibly done more in his lifetime for peace than any other man that I know in the Congress of the United States. A sensible man. He fought hard for the policies that made this country a better country. He and I both know that it can't be a perfect country right away at least. The Constitution itself only calls for a more perfect union. But Stu Symington and his partner, Tom Eagleton, have never forgotten the people. They have never forgotten those folks out here on these Missouri farms. have never forgotten the students of the colleges and the schools. They've never forgotten the senior citizens and those who are in need. They've never forgotten that this country has to have an economy that works. They're just great Senators. And that's what America needs. I don't know of anyone that has the incredible experience that Senator Symington has had. Foreign Relations Committee, yes. Armed Services Committee, how many years, Stu? Twenty-four years. Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. A man who's been trying to tell American and the world that the danger of nuclear proliferation, the danger of nuclear explosion, of nuclear war, is the prevailing danger of all mankind. And that's why he has put so much time and effort in trying to bring some sensibility to the spread of nuclear weaponry, to put a halt to it. For this we are eternally grateful and children yet unborn will be indebted to him because it takes courage, it takes foresight and it takes the kind of balanced judgment that your senator has.

So, let me say to the people of Missouri, the nation owes you a debt as we have before and we're thankful. I know that I can speak for the people of my state who know Senator Symington well, who know that I've been privileged to share his friendship and they, "Thank you, Stuart." Just as loud as the Missouri State Legislature, we say, "thank you." God bless you.

Now, let me say a word or two about Republicans. Now I got to talk to you folks tonight and I know that Stuart will bear with me if I get warmed up here and as Tom says, it doesn't take much to set me off. Particularly when the topic is one that I thoroughly enjoy. Now, let's just take, first of all, here we are in Missouri, the state of Harry Truman. That's good enough. A man who is remembered and will be remembered in generations yet to come for his candor, his frankness, his clarity, his purpose, his stubbornness, but his insi ht. And he demonstrated something that Americans should hold dear. That people coming from the stock of America, not from some aristocracy, but right out of the mainstream of American people, that such a person can be a great president. The greatest testimonial to representative government and free elections that any country could possibly have. I loved that man and I loved Bess Truman and I want you to know they're great people to give one inspiration. And something else needs to be remembered. He wasn't worried about being popular every day. He was worried about being right for history and for this

nation. Popularity is a cheap commodity. And if you have it, it is like a drawing account at a bank to be used for great purposes. Harry Truman understood that.

Now we have a man in the White House today who is a nice fellow, there isn't any doubt about that. We don't have to downgrade somebody and say that you know bad things about him. He's a friendly man. He's a decent man. He's a nice man. So's my Uncle Fred, but he ought not to be President of the United States. But this man, Gerald Ford, goes around trying to pretend he's Harry Truman. I want to say this would be like me trying to pretend I'm Joe Namath or Fran Tarkington. No way! But he says that he thinks he's Harry Truman cause he has a fight with Congress. But Truman fought a do-nothing Congress. We're fighting a do-nothing President. That's the difference. But I'm at least glad that Mr. Ford felt he had to go to a Democrat to have a hero. You should could look on that recent grade of Republicans and you have to do some scrambling. At least he might have, out of respect, at least said a kind word about President Eisenhower. We Democrats say that too, because he was a great American. He had one political, one little little liability, like my dad said about my mother. One time I was sassing my mother and dad always brought his boys up to be respectful of their mother and if they were not, there was a certain kind of treatment we would get and as we got older, we were actually told that the welt was wide open if you don't like it around mom. And I remember so well when I was a very young fellow I got real sassy with mother and was quite abusive,

apparently, and she told my father about it. My father said to me something like this. I suppose I'm paraphrasing it but I can remember some of the results at least. And he said, "I want to tell you something, young man. Your mother is my sweetheart. Yes, she's my wife and she is your mother, but she's my sweetheart. And I intend that you boys treat her with respect. She has only one weakness. She's politically unreliable." Because Dad always felt that Mother voted for Harding. And I think that may be true. But she paid for that for years and years and years. So I am a forgiving man on some political transgression. Let me just quickly say that if there are any Republicans in the house you are welcome here. May I assure you. We not only welcome, we appreciate your dear contribution if you are a sponsor we appreciate that more and if you'll just stick with us, you'll know what glory really is.

Now, friends, as was said here tonight by Tom Eagleton, we have had our problems. And it can be succinctly said that we never really lost an election because the Republicans beat us. We were capable of defeating ourselves. That is over. That has to be over. Our party was willing to go through a trememdous amount of trouble to try to become a representative party of the American people, to broaden our base, to fill our tent, so to speak. Contrary to the Republican party which has narrowed its base until the struggle today is between a conservative president and Ronald Reagan. That shows how small that base is getting. No, they're not reaching out, they're not reaching out to the plain folks of American, they're not

reaching out to the young people of America, they're not reaching out to the farm people of America. They are just staying with their hard core. Well, may I say they can have it. We don't need it. They can keep it and we'll go on out and talk to the rest of the American people about what's good for this country. That's why we Democrats have a special responsibility and that's why I'm here tonight to be with my friend, Stuart Symington, who has proven in politics that you do not need to be in the control of anyone. You don't need to be owned by anyone. You just simply need to serve the public because the great words of American literature are but three—"We the people". That's the way it all started. That's what it's all about, just we the people.

So tonight we must pledge to ourselves to let people in individually. Not to let division and arguments over trivia destroy a great common purpose. To deny us the chance to lead and to get this nation direction. And we must provide this country with the best that we have in our talents. We must provide it with candidates at every level that we have reason to believe will serve with integrity, compassion, with vitality and imagination. America deserves the best and we must dare, all be courageous, be pioneering. We must dare to propose solutions to problems that are perfectly evident and obvious and propose solutions even if they may require sacrifices on the part of many Americans. The American people are willing to sacrifice if we share the sacrifice equally, if some people are not called on to do all of it. And if we Democrats will remember

that, I think then we'll be successful. Now I thought I'd just take a little while tonight to take a look at one of the statements our Republican friends always talk about. They always say that we Democrats are really long on promises, you know. They say we've out-promised, we've over-promised, you know, we've promised everything to everybody. They like to repeat it, repeat it until they start to believe it. I'd like to read to you some of their promises and some of their words and then look at some of their results.

I remember 1968. I have reason to. The Republican party pledged itself in 1968, unqualifiedly, these words; full words in their platform. We stand for employment. a job for everyone willing and able to work. In 1970 they said we will have no recession. In 1972 they repeated it in capital letters. The unemployment rate when we Democrats were in charge in 1968 was 3.6 percent. Today, it's 8.3 and it has stood at about 9 percent for a year with over 9 million of our fellow Americans who are willing and able to work denied the opportunity for gainful employment and production while the Republican part just goes along and says we dare not try. Gerald Ford has vetoed every piece of legislation that's been designed to put America back to work. You know we got these Republicans convinced about unemployment compensation. May I quickly divert to tell you there wasn't a single Republican in the Congress in the days of Roosevelt that voted for Social Security or Unemployment Compensation? Not one. Now you know they like to come along and say we're for it. They're slow

learners. We got them trained. Now all they can think about is unemployment compensation. They cannot think about putting people to work. They cannot think about getting America to produce. In 1972 that same party platform said, "We will continue to pursue sound economic policy that eliminates inflation and provide work and jobs for all who are willing and able to work." I quote their language. That's the rhetoric. Let's look at the results. In 1968 the inflation rate was about 4 percent. In 1974-75 it's been at double digit up as high as 14 percent. And since that promise was made four years ago the real purchasing power of the American people has dropped 5 1/2 percent. You gotta be a rich nation to afford these Republicans. Believe me, you do. Consumer prices since 1972 have gone up over 40 percent. Per capita income is about what it was four years ago.

In 1968 the Republican platform said we must attack the root causes of poverty. In many areas poverty and its attendent ills affect large numbers of Americans. They discovered poverty. But, ladies and gentlemen, in the years of Lyndon Johnson and John Kennedy, 10 million Americans worked their way out of poverty. Ten million more Americans stood on the high ground of self-sustaining self-sufficiency. Ten million Americans were productive citizens, paying taxes, taking care of their families, building a home, holding jobs. Ten million had worked their way out of the depths of poverty and degradation. Since 1970, six years, 10 million have fallen back into the pits of poverty. This is their record. Oh, but as long as

it isn't one of their cronies. As long as it isn't one of their contributers they see it not. They never seem to sense that there are people out there waiting to be Americans that want to go to work. They don't seem to sense that there are people there in the ghettos and in the areas of rural poverty that want to stand on their own feet. They want to be able to overlook that flag and be as proud as you and I are. No, they only see those that they consort with at their fund-raising parties.

In 1972, Richard Nixon's party promised that we shall continue to promote steady expansion of the whole economy. And you and I know the tragic truth. Let me tell you what this Republican recession has cost you. Now only fiscal debt, not only jobs, but listen to this figure right from the Office of Management and Budget and they publish it without shame.

The cost of this recession from 1974 to 1984 according to your own government will be one trillion, five hundred billion dollars in lost production, lost income and lost revenues.

Purchasing power that never touched the pocket book, income that never found its way into a bank, revenues that never came to a government, federal, state or local. One trillion, five hundred billion dollars to have Nixon and Ford run this country. Ladies and gentlemen, we can't afford that.

And then, don't you remember when they said that we will have decent home for every American. These are their promises. The only reason I bring it to your attention is because they would like to put the big lie on us.

promise a decent home for every American. The housing industry in

American today is in a depression, millions of people that need homes can't afford to buy them, they've been priced out of the market, and this administration stands there like a stunned ox paralyzed in its own indifference. Leaving an industry in shambles and leaving thousands, yea, hundreds of thousands of young families without a decent home and putting a burden of payments upon those that buy one that is almost beyond their capacity to hold up to.

My complaint is not only of their promises. We Democrats promised a lot of things. We had to. The difference is, we tried to keep that promise. It isn't that we've always done it and we would be fooling ourselves and others if we said that everything that we promised we had delivered. We have not. We have no monopoly on either virtue or wisdom. But I tell you, my fellow Americans, that we tried. And I tell you that we raised the hopes of people. And I tell you that we worked ceaselessly, men like Stu Symington and Tom Eagleton and other members of your congressional delegation to keep those promises. We haven't forgotten that old people need a decent home in which to live. We haven't forgotten that students need a chance to go to college. We haven't forgotten that a person needs, an elderly person needs, medical care and hospital care. We haven't forgotten that our cities need to be modernized. We tried. We tried to help those that were in the depths of depression and poverty and misery to lift themselves out of it. The fact that we did not do well enough is

only that a challenge remains for us to do better. Oh, they talk about all of our programs being a failure. Well, dear friends, most of these programs that they talk about being a failure were programs that fell into the hands of the political enemy. When Richard Nixon was elected president of the United States we were trying to fulfill the goals and the objectives and the common purpose of years of Democratic administration and we'd done some great things. Rural America was electrified, senior citizens did get some Social Security, we were on our way. But then the captain was in charge of our ship of state, he put up the white flag of surrender to the forces of poverty and ugliness and evil. And not only did he put up the flag of surrender but he also put in charge of what programs were left people that didn't believe in them. He tried to dismantle our agencies and our instrumentalities and when that didn't work he impounded the money that the Congress of the United States appropriated.

What a time we've lived in when the duly elected representatives of the people have had to go to the courts of law to get the President of the United States to faithfully execute the laws of the land which he's required to do under the Constitution. They violated the law not only at Watergate. They violated the law not only in the CIA and the FBI. They violated the law, dear friends, in holding back highway funds, in holding back school funds, in holding back help to people that needed help. (applause lost one sentence or so)

Now don't get me wrong. I remember my old friend Adlai

Stevenson speaking about his Republican neighbors and friends and I have them too and a lot of them in Minnesota that vote for me. By the way, I have no complaints about Republicans or somebody saying he's a Republican if it makes him feel better. I really think it's all right. But I got to say this for a corporate executive—that if you're a Republican with a fiduciary responsibility—if you're the head of a bank or a business that has a responsibility of stockholders, you can't afford the luxury of voting that way. You can afford the luxury of saying you're one but you can't afford the luxury of voting that way and putting your stockholders into trouble. And you and I know it.

Yes, I do like Republicans. I've grown up with them. As a matter of fact my wife's father was a Republican until we had a chance to play together. I worked with them. Like Adlai said, I'd trust them with anything in the world, except public office. It's somewhat of a joke, but it's also true. Public service does not seem to be as the youngsters put it "their bag". They don't seem to understand that it's we the people, not just some of the people, for which the government was constructed.

Let's summarize it. Let's take a look at what these

Republican leaders have said. The promise of a balanced budget,

oh my goodness, they worship at the shrine of the balanced

budget, up on it like oatmeal when you were a kid.

You know? The balanced budget. And they have the highest

budget deficits in the history of this republic since World War

II. Let's remind them of it. They've been in charge. The

Congress of the United States has not appropriated more than the President has ever asked for. It's just that we have appropriated for different things. Like Senator Symington has said, we possibly didn't need a ten billion dollar submarine. What we possibly needed was a ten million dollar job program to put people to work. Our argument has been with priorities. And this party, my Republican friends, they're for the work ethic, you know. Oh, they don't like those welfare cheaters. They don't like these folks that are on the dole. They're for the work ethic. And they've got more people unemployed under the administration than at any time since the great depression and have done little or nothing about it. The longest recession in this nation's history since Mr. Hoover started the last one. Let's not forget it. They promised us a stable dollar. Why that was the second thing next to the balanced budget. The stable dollar. The first thing they did was to devalue it and they devalued it again, internationally. That Republican dollar today has gotten to bad they've had to print two-dollar bills so we can get somebody to take that, we're not ashamed of them.

They promised us free enterprise. They worship at the shrine of free enterprise. And I'll leave it to you (garbled for about three sentences) more monopolies and more bankruptcies under their so-called free enterprise Republican administration than any administration since World War II.

They promised us good government. Oh, they had sessions at the White House. Great leaders coming in there; spiritual

leaders, good government, government. And there's been more mismanagement and outright corruption than any time since Ulysses S. Grant or Warren G. Harding. They know it and I know it.

They promised you law and order. I can still hear them talking about law and order. Law and order, you know. Why they outdid George Wallace. They made him look permissive. The first think they did was to violate the law of the highest office of the land. Law and order -- the highest rates of crime this nation's ever known. They don't seem to relate or understand the relationship between economic distress and lawlessness. Well let me tell you, dear friends, as Chairman of the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress, we've been making a study and we've had experts world wide studying and reviewing their studies. The relationship of juvenile or adult, I should say adult unemployment, youth unemployment, to street crimes or crimes or property, your muggings, to the kind of crime that you read about every day, the relationship to the rise in youth unemployment and crime is identical. This administration is going to have a public building program of jails. it's pitiful to mention it. But in state after state there is no more room in the jails. And they can look and feel whole generation of government records who might any day be called upon to defend this country. Throwing the rocks, standing on the corner, no jobs, no hope, no care. And they can close their eyes to it like it never

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existed. If you remember nothing else that Hubert Humphrey tells you tonight let me tell you this. That America will pay for this recession for years to come. In institutions of taking care of the criminal, of the mentally ill, of the sick and the others as a result of a depression, of a recession that has ground the people, millions of them, down. These are the social costs, not only the costs of jobs and income but the costs of life. This is why I tell you that we can't afford another Republican administration.

The record of the Nixon and Ford administrations prove once again a basic fact of life which Franklin Roosevelt,

Harry Truman, John Kenndy and Lyndon Johnson knew all too well.

Namely, the Republican party cannot be trusted to manage the economic life of our nation and they knew it and they told us so and they were right.

Republican. General Electric special. But I have to tell you that we're requiring all appliances to be properly labeled. They have Mr. Reagan out campaigning. Now he's come up with a real lulu. He's got himself a ninety billion budget cut that he doesn't know what to do with. He's gone all full circle from practically saying he didn't say it, that he didn't mean it, that maybe he shouldn't have said it, that he did say it and now prove it. And listen to what they had to say tonight and listen to this. I repeat from the New York Times front page stories. If the state don't provide for the poor, the unemployed, the handicapped, you can vote with your feet. You can move elsewhere.

Ladies and gentlemen, if it were not a true statement, I would ask you to burst in laughter but you ought to come out in tears. Here is a man that seeks the highest office of the land that tells those who find it not possible to get by in a certain place, give up and leave. This is America. It isn't 50 states with separate entities where we live as if we were separate members of the United Nations. Yes, I'm a resident of Minnesota. I'm a citizen of Minnesota. And the proudest thing of my life is I'm a citizen of the United States of America. So when Mr. Reagan says we'll take 90 billion dollars out of the federal budget and we'll put it all back into the states, he's not only telling you raise your property taxes, not only telling you to raise your income taxes, not only telling you to raise your sales taxes because the problems are still here. The old people are still here. The sick are still here. The handicapped are still here. The mentally retarded are still here. The jobless are still here. But Mr. Reagan says put it back on every state and then he says if the state doesn't treat you well, you can vote with your feet, you can move elsewhere. I tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that's the most callous, brutal, political statement that I've heard in the 20th Century. It's just plain mean. What he ought to be telling you is that his scheme has one thing in it, he's looking to see who's going to pay the taxes. Because all of this costs money and I can tell you that Minnesota or Missouri cannot tax an international conglomerative. We cannot tax Exxon. We cannot tax a great multi-national cooperation that

does business all over the world except for that little portion that they do in our state. But the Congress of the United States can. And we can tax and tax fairly and the revenue that's raised can be used to help your children go to school in your state, to help the child in a poor district in northern Minnesota where there's nothing but cut-over land and no chance to raise the revenue to go to a decent school. And Mr. G.E. Reagan is clearly shifting the burden of taxation from the giant multi-national corporations on to the plain, ordinary people of this country and if any citizen get sucked in, as Harry Truman said, you deserve it.

Now we're going to win in '76. And I want you to know we're going to win the Presidency in 1976. And we're not going to win because we've got a miracle cure for everything, because we haven't. And we're not going to win because we can solve every problem, because we can't. We are going to win because the people are going to remember that this political party of ours with all its limitations, with all of its inadequacies, with all of its troubles, that this party does care. We do care about people. And, my fellow Democrats, whenever we forget that we will loose any hope of ever winning and rightly so. I am not going to be an apologist for the fact that we try to help the unfortunate; my father taught me early as a young man that we were no better off than the customer that came in our store. John Stuart Mill, the great English philosopher, once said: Let a man have nothing to do for his country and he shall have no love for it. Patriotism means involvement. It means that the citizen feels that the country is his, he

belongs, he's a part of it. And the new American patriotism must be one in which all of us share not only in power but in the benefits of our society. I'm not asking that those who are on top be cut down; I'm asking that those who are in the middle have a chance to rise to the top; I'm asking that those who are on the bottom have a chance to rise at least to the middle. I'm asking for America for an upward movement, to lift our eyes to the stars and get our mind out of a ditch. That's what we need in this country.

And let me warn my fellow Democrats, this will not come without daring. There's a characteristic about the Democratic party -- we've been pioneers. Thomas Jefferson pioneered the Bill of Rights. That was pioneering, believe me. Shook the world. Thomas Jefferson pioneered the Declaration of Independence, a document that sent shock waves through all of the royal houses of Europe. Andrew Jackson pioneered. Woodrow Wilson pioneered. Franklin Roosevelt pioneered. Al Smith pioneered. Adlai Stevenson pioneered. We've pioneered. We haven't been willing to stand still. We recognize the problems and tried to do something about it rather than cover them up. So that's why we've been a party of tension at times. Even confusion. But we dared.

Listen to what Roosevelt said once: The country needs bold, persistent experimentation. It is common sense to take a method and try it; if it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, try something. Try something.

And I'm reminded of that Democratic philosophy that says

that it is not the duty of government of the people to see that those who already have too much shall have more, but rather to see that those who have too little, shall have a chance to have enough. Let's not forget that, friends, let's not forget our heritage. Let's not let them talk us out of it. Oh, I've been hearing of late that some of us like Hubert Humphrey are old New Dealers; you bet I am. I don't apologize for it at all. The world always needs a new deal. A new deal for peace, a new deal for opportunity, a new deal for a chance. We haven't completed our agenda of democracy. Oh yes, we're told that some of us are just talking about the Fair Deal, and the New Deal, and the New Frontier, and the Great Society -well, I'd rather talk about that than to be the architect of recession and depression and be the architect of joblessness and inflaction which is exactly what those who are talking about our New Deal, Fair Deal, Great Society and all of that are the architects of. Let's stay with what we have, friends; let's not sell short our heritage. I'm proud of my parents, proud of my country, proud of my family. I'm not about ready to repudiate any of it to cater to a temporary prejudice. Give us a chance; we'll come forth. We'll never cure our fiscal problems with Mr. Ford's budget cutting. We Democrats will be fiscally responsible and prudent; we've got a budget process and we'll stick to it. But the answer in America is not only to cut but to build. I want to see my party live in the heritage and the promise of Roosevelt and Truman, in the hope and the promise of a Kennedy and a Johnson. I want us

to be builders, I want us to construct, I want us to achieve, I want us to get jobs, I want to put America to work, I want to see America grow and expand and be what it ought to be and we can do it, my friends.

In 1960 John Kennedy described his race against Richard Nixon in these words: This is a race not merely between the parties. It is a race between the confortable and the concerned, those who are willing to sit and lie at anchor and those who want to go forward. This country has developed as it is because in the great periods of crisis we have chosen to go forward -- that's my philosophy. America suffers today from a spiritual crisis -- a crisis of confidence. Our problems are not just economic. You know it and I know it. All over this land there's skilled labor waiting to go to work. All over America are factories waiting to go to work. All over America are families waiting to buy a home. This country is vital, it's young. Two hundred years? -- yes, but young as a Republic as young as a people, vibrant and vigorous. Ready to be and anxious to be called to action, to be released to be emancipated from our fears and our doubts.

But today those who say they lead us in high office and those even who aspire to high office are all too often telling us that you can't trust anybody, they are telling us that we can't do this and we can't do that, they are teaching doctrines of cynicism, indifference, and negativeism. I'm here to tell you as a fellow American, one that seeks nothing, wants nothing, and needs little; I'm here to tell you that

what America needs today is a rebirth of its spiritual vitality. We need to begin to believe in ourselves again. We need to be willing to pioneer. We need to be optimists and we must be willing, dear friends, to accommodate one another in mutual respect. A republic such as ours cannot live without tolerance. It is confidence and faith; it is the cement that binds us together into one people and one country. We cannot live without hope. Where there is hope, there is everything. And I know that our Democratic leaders in the past have given us great moments of hope. When Roosevelt told my parents all you have to fear is fear itself -- I have never forgotten that. When John Kennedy said, Ask not what your country can do for you but what you can do for your country -- I have not forgotten that. And I have not forgotten when Lyndon Johnson said to the people who were oppressed, We shall overcome. And, ladies and gentlement, while all of these dreams have not been realized, neither has the great dream of the Old and the New Testament. Neither has, if you please, the great dream of the Constitution of the United States or the Declaration of Independence. But I'm not about ready to repudiate and reject any of them. I still believe, I still believe we can make a better country. I still believe the people of this country want to do the right thing; I still believe they want to work together in common cause and common purpose. I think all they are asking for is that some of us who have responsibility and positions of leadership cleanse our minds of negativism, clean our thinking of doubts and fears and suspicion, and say

once again to America, move forward in a strong and active faith. Ask the wife of this man down here, Stewart Symington; he never gave up.

applause

I have a great privilege tonight. I have given you my message, you've been very tolerant and patient and I thank you very much for listening out to me, but you came here tonight as I said in my opening remarks, to pay your respects to a faithful servant, one who's been a steward of the public trust and one who has never brought you worry, shame or heartache. And in this day and age, ladies and gentlemen, no higher tribute can be given to a man in public life than to say that he is a decent man, he is a good man, he is an honest man, he is a creative man, he's a loyal dedicated citizen who has given of his great talents to the public good. And this is my chance to do for Stewart Symington what on other occasions he has done for me: to say that I join with his friends and neighbors in Missouri in saluting him for literally doing the Lord's work, for thinking of our country above himself, for giving of himself these many years in public life, in public service, to what has been good for America and I happen to believe, dear friends, with Lincoln, that this is yet the last best hope on earth. And if it is all of that and I think

it is, any man that has given of himself to this great republic and this great country and our people has given himself to mankind, and I present to you your Senator, your friend, and my friend and a great American, Stewart Symington.

band, applause

Jackim Clay (KiC) calloway "Lingdon of Calloway" Warren + St. Liws, + Jeffer entra Museuri Crimbies Callaway 7 Me Distil 20 Recentano forward I haves commettee Boone Cour Co lundua ain-Statich walk REback-coych

Symunter

TONIGHT THIS FINE GROUP OF DEMOCRATS HONORS A dear

FRIEND OF MINE, A COLLEAGUE OF MANY YEARS, AN OUTSTANDING

DEMOCRAT, AND ONE OF THE GREAT PUBLIC SERVANTS MISSOURI

HAS SENT TO WASHINGTON.

I SPEAK OF STUART SYMINGTON.

colonet Their and all

SINCE COMING TO THE CONGRESS IN 1952, STUART SYMINGTON

HAS BEEN A VOICE OF REASON, DECENCY AND COMMON SENSE. HE HAS

STOOD FOR AND HE S FOUGHT FOR THE POLICIES AND PROGRAMS WHICH

MEAN A BETTER, PROSPEROUS AMERICA.

(Honors)

STU SYMINGTON HAS BEEN AN EXPONENT OF A SOUND NATIONAL

DEFENSE POLICY FROM HIS UNIQUE VANTAGE POINT OF

Joint Committee -

ARMED FORCES AND FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEES, HE HAS BEEN A

MOVING FORCE TOWARD A SENSIBLE AND REASONED FOR POLICY TELINAL SECURITY

ONE THAT LOOKS ALL AT FUTURE NEEDS AND INTERESTS.

Food in his Attacks or congress thinks he is Truman -Truman - Do nothing Congress but We have a' Do Nothing no Sto, Sw Slow, Vello Preistnt WHEN STUART SPEAKS, HIS COLLEAGUES LISTEN, BECAUSE THEY KNOW

THAT HIS VIEWS ARE FIRMLY ROOTED IN YEARS OF EXPERIENCE AND

DEVOTED SERVICE. Ws Will mess his wine H GREATLY. WHOEVER SERVES IN HIS PLACE HAS

A GREAT TASK AHEAD TO EQUAL HIS OUTSTANDING RECORD.

ANY GATHERING OF DEMOCRATS IN HARRY TRUMAN'S BELOVED

MISSOURI DESERVES SOME FRANK TALK IN THE MANNER THAT WAS THIS

GREAT MAN'S HALLMARK. HE WAS NEVER AFRAID TO SPEAK HIS MIND,

Cowith handres, my clarity. mu

THE DEMOCRATS FACE NUMEROUS CHALLENGES IN 1976. THE ROAD

TOWARD THE WHITE HOUSE AND A MAJORITY CONGRESS IS NOT AN EASY

ONE TO TRAVEL. (We have come a long

-, WE MUST NOT LET PAST DIVISIONS AND DIFFERENCES BLOCK

OUR CHANCES FOR VICTORY.

Personal Revenuentation.

Det & Common Rense to take

Ce method and try it; it

it faces, admit it trankly

they disother. But always

all try Domething."

-- WE MUST PROVIDE THE NATION WITH THE WILLING TO TACKLE PROBLEMS WITH CONPASSION AND FAIRNESS L- WE MUST NOOM TO PROPOSE SOLUTIONS TO THESE PROBLEMS WHICH MAY REQUIRE SACRIFICES ON THE PART OF MANY Rep. Promises, Platform AMERICANS. AND WE MUST NOT LET THE REPUBLICAN PARTY DECEIVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AS IT DID IN 1968 AND 1972 AS TO ITS PLATFORM AND GOALS FOR AMERICA. THE NIXON AND FORD ADMINISTRATIONS STAND CONDEMNED TIME AND TIME AGAIN OF BETRAYAL OF THE PROMISES THEY MADE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT THEY WOULD WORK FOR A HEALTHY AND PROSPEROUS

ECONOMY.

Look at 46 Words or then the Results

-- IN 1968 THE REPUBLICAN PARTY PLEDGED ITSELF TO FULL EMPLOYMENT. IN 1972 ITS PLATFORM SAID: "WE STAND FOR A JOB

In 1971 - men serd "We will how to Receive Lat's Look at the record.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IN 1968 WAS 3.6 PERCENT, OR ABOUT

3.2 MILLION PEOPLE. TODAY, IT HAS SKYROCKETED TO 8.3 PERCENT

AND EIGHT MILLION AMERICANS ARE IDLE.

AND GERALD FORD HAS VETOED LEGISLATION TO CREATE NEARLY

ONE MILLION PUBLIC SERVICE AND PUBLIC WORKS JOBS AS WELL AS A

MAJOR INITIATIVE TO INCREASE PRODUCTION AND EMPLOYMENT IN THE

-- In 1972, THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM SAID THE PARTY "WILL

CONTINUE TO PURSUE SOUND ECONOMIC POLICIES THAT WILL ELIMINATE

unling of able to work "

THAT WAS THE RHETORIC. LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD.

IN 1968, THE INFLATION RATE WAS 4 1/2 PERCENT.

DIGIT INFLATION NOW 18 THE RULE. AND SINCE THAT PROMISE WAS

MADE FOUR YEARS AGO, THE REAL PURCHASING POWER OF THE

AVERAGE WORKER HAS FALLEN 5.4 PERCENT

Consumer prices since 1972 have risen nearly 30 percent

Our per capita incomes now are no higher than they were in 1972.

-- IN 1968 THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM PROMISED: "WE MUST ATTACK

THE ROOT CAUSES OF POVERTY... IN MANY AREAS POVERTY AND ITS ATTENDANT ILLS AFFECT LARGE NUMBERS OF AMERICANS...OUR INNER CITIES TEEM WITH POOR, CROWDED SLUMS."

THAT WAS THE RHETORIC. LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD.

Inthe 1960's - To million ameri worked their way out of Powerty omillion hausken ad ER WAGED. AND OUR CITIES CONTINUE TO DECAY FROM THE NEGLECT OF EIGHT YEARS OF INDIFFERENCE. -- IN 1972, RICHARD NIXON'S PARTY PROMISED THAT: "WE WILL CONTINUE TO PROMOTE STEADY EXPANSION OF THE WHOLE ECONOMY ... " THAT WAS THE RHETORIC. LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD. By THE END OF THE DECADE, THE REPUBLICAN RECESSION WILL HAVE COST AMERICA \$1.5 TRILLION IN GOODS THAT NEVER WILL BE PRODUCED, SERVICES NEVER PROVIDED AND INCOME THAT NEVER WILL BE FOUND IN ANYONE'S PAYCHECK. THIS REPRESENTS

A LOSS OF \$7,000 FOR EVERY MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD IN AMERICA.

ADD

ADD TO THIS LOSS THE FACT THAT THE REAL VALUE OF YOUR

TAKE-HOME PAY IS JUST ABOUT AT THE 1964 LEVEL

#

-- IN 1972, THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM STATED: "WE ARE

DETERMINED TO ATTAIN THE GOAL OF A DECENT HOME FOR EVERY

AMERICAN."

THAT WAS THE RHETORIC, LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD.

THE NUMBER OF HOUSING UNITS CONSTRUCTED IN 1975 WAS

45 PERCENT BELOW THE LEVEL IN 1972. IN 1972 THE NUMBER

OF HOUSING STARTS IN 1974 AND 1975 WERROOD LESS THAN DURING

THE PREVIOUS FIGHT YEARS OF A DEMOCRATE ADMINISTRATION.

In the Last two years, we've been constructing 12 percent

FEWER HOUSES THAN THE AVERAGE OF 1961-1968. and / what

I could go on and on. The record of broken

REPUBLICAN PROMISES IS ASTOUNDING AND APPALLING.

now, Don't get me wrong -"Ilike Republicano, I have Grown up with them, worked with them, and would Trust them with anything witheworld-except Public office " (Follai Heamon) Work, John, Build, Dewilop, Found Program

When the true record to show Americans will when the true record to show the there are afford another four years

OF GERALD FORD, RONALD REAGAN OR ANY REPUBLICAN

DESPITE THE REPUBLICAN RHETORIC, THE COLD, HARD FACTS

OF MISMANAGEMENT AND INDIFFERENCE CANNOT BE HIDDEN. To

THIS POOR RECORD MUST BE ADDED A VERY SAD AND TROUBLING

ASSESSMENT.

PRESIDENT FORD SEEMS TO BE CONTENT WITH THE LEAST

AMBITIOUS ECONOMIC GOALS OF ANY PRESIDENT IN MODERN AMERICAN

HISTORY. HE PROPOSES BUDGETS AND PROGRAMS THAT WILL ACCEPT

EXTRAORDINARILY HIGH LEVELS OF UNEMPLOYMENT FOR YEARS TO

COME HE IS WILLING TO ACCEPT A SLOW RECOVERY OF PRODUCTION

AND INCOME FROM THE WORST RECESSION SINCE THE GREAT DEPRESSION.

HE IS WILLING TO STAND IDLY BY AS AMERICA'S URBAN AREAS SINK DEEPER INTO POVERTY AND THE NUMBER OF IDLE BLACK YOUTH

SKYROCKET.

AND, HE ENCOURAGES THE FEDERAL RESERVE TO CONTINUE ITS EXCEPTIONALLY TIGHT MONEY POLICIES. THIS MEANS ORIPPLING INTEREST RATES, HOMES TOO EXPENSIVE TO PURCHASE, SMALL BUSINESSES HANDLEAPPED, AND FARMERS WITHOUT AVAILABLE CREDIT. THE RECORD OF THE NIXON AND FORD ADMINISTRATIONS PROVE

ONCE AGAIN A BASIC FACT OF LIFE WHICH FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT,

HARRY TRUMAN, JOHN KENNEDY AND LYNDON JOHNSON KNEW ALL TOO

Party is one of Research, Hr Interest of that

+ 1 opteredit, Basiness bankrytrus, Instate
and mempless to

Democ Angram
' Work, Johs, Construct
bulled, Sweamerica
a Chance to So to Work

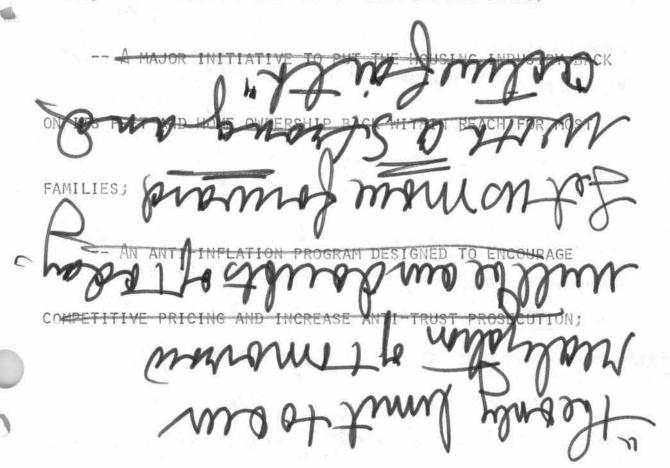
John Shermentation. It to Common Smee & take a Milhod and try it. If it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But about 18 Try Something.

As a basic minimum, I believe a majority of Democrats

Would support the following alternatives to this Administration's
PROGRAM OF ECONOMIC NEGLECT:

- -- A MORE EXPANSIONARY MONEY AND CREDIT POLICY TO SUPPORT
 AND SUSTAIN GROWTH;
 - -- PROGRAMS OF PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS AND EMERGENCY PUBLIC

WORKS, ALL OF WHICH PHASE OUT AS UNEMPLOYMENT DROPS;



and so he co- But so is my uncle Fred, but he should wit be Tresident. We are not dealing with a question as to whither a not the President is friendly We are talky Polay - Program now later to Reagns - 40 Billion Budit at - + To Lay Me says if the States dant Producte to the Poor, He unemployed, the Handropped,
The Students - "your convote with
your feet - your can move elsewhy" We will Wan the Presidency in 1976 not because we have instant Muracle aures. but because eve can - we dare - we Pronen. Spritted Crisis -7DR-"new Deal) Betru HST- For Doal Dursely JFK new routes

-- AN ALL-OUT ATTACK ON WASTE THROUGHOUT THE ECONOMY --

ONTO THE TAX ROLLS SO WE CAN BEGIN TO GET OUR BUDGET BACK
INTO BALANCE. WE DON'T HAVE A SPENDING DEFICIT -- WE HAVE
A RECESSION DEFICIT.

OUR CITIES CAN BE MADE SAFE AND LIVABLE.

-- FINALLY, WE NEED TO OVERHAUL OUR TAX SYSTEM. IT
SHOULD BE SIMPLIFIED, AND THE INEQUITABLE LOOPHDLES SHOULD
BE REPEALED TO BRING TAX JUSTICE TO AMERICA.

In 1960 John Kennedy described his Race Adainst Richard

NIXON IN THESE WORDS:

- Promue, Belowed Budgets and Law the highest budget Defents Amee world Warth or have the bighest unimployment Awarthe Hunt Depression - Promise a Stable Dellar- and lave The highest suffation mour Lau Pott more Rules + Regulation than ever before v Promue Prosperity - and hawthe longost + most costly recession smette Haover Depression L Provise Good Soverment and are guetty of more memanagement and autright conception than anytime since Grant + Harding - Promise face + order - and preside over the highest crume record

In 1960 John Kennedy des

"THIS IS A RACE NOT MERELY BETWEEN TWO PARTIES....

IT IS A RACE BETWEEN THE COMFORTABLE AND THE CONCERNED.

THOSE WHO ARE WILLING TO SIT AND LIE AT ANCHOR, AND

THOSE WHO WANT TO GO FORWARD. THIS COUNTRY HAS DEVELOPED

AS IT IS, BECAUSE IN OTHER GREAT PERIODS OF CRISIS WE

HAVE CHOSEN TO GO FORWARD."

THESE WORDS HAVE NOT LOST THEIR MEANING.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS THE WILL TO MOVE AMERICA FORWARD

WE CANNOT AFFORD TO STAY ANCHORED TO THE POLITICS OF COOLIDGE

AND THE ECONOMICS OF HOOVER, and the morality of Muson,

THERE ARE ALTERNATIVES. I BELIEVE THAT THE DEMOCRATIC

PARTY IN MISSOURI AND AROUND THE NATION NOW IS READY TO POINT THE

WAY TO BETTER TOMORROWS FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

Introduce Sen o

Minnesota Historical Society

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