

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB LUNCHEON

Washington, D. C.

March 24, 1976

Before I begin, I want to convey a special note of thanks to my friends from the Minnesota Congressional delegation. They are here and I am very proud of them. Our chairman is John Blatnik -- the dearest friend a man could ever have. John, I salute you. You are "Mr. Democrat" as far as I am concerned -- both out home in Minnesota and elsewhere in this country.

This is a time for regrouping and a time for us to reassess our possibilities. And it is also a time to look at the record of those who have been occupying the White House for almost eight years.

The first thing I want to do is to expel some myths which are circulating in this city. When you hear these Republicans talk, you'd think that they just arrived in town last week because they are constantly talking about the "mess in Washington."

But I'd like to remind them that out of the last 24 years, Republicans have had sixteen of them in their control. They've been in that White House sixteen whole years. Now, that doesn't make me happy. Indeed, it is one of the sad facts of American history. But America can endure even this. Believe me, the vitality of this country is beyond even the ability of the Republicans to put it to sleep!

For the past eight years, Republicans have had control of the White House, of the Executive agencies, of most of the agencies of government -- and they've also had a dogged, determined opposition to the Congress of the United States. And I want to make it clear, with no possibility of mistake, that they are responsible for the state of the nation just like any other office holders.

The present condition of our country is not something that was left on the doorstep by Mr. Johnson or Mr. Kennedy. Both of those great public servants performed their duties in an admirable and honorable manner, and both departed their office with the respect of the American people. And they were replaced by Republicans.

So when the Republicans, and particularly whoever becomes the Republican nominee for the Presidency, start talking about all the regulations and rules which are crippling industry, about all the taxes which are burdening us in this country, and about all the mistakes which have occurred in government -- you want to listen very carefully.

And if they are giving the impression that they just arrived in town -- clear and clean of soul, bright of mind and pure of heart -- and are ready to take over, then we ought to remind them that they have taken over for the last eight years. They have taken over, and they have taken us for a ride.

So neither Mr. Ford nor any of his supporters can go around the country and truthfully tell the American people that whatever is wrong is something over which they have had no control. When they talk about Washington, it's their Washington, too. And when they talk about government, it's their leadership which has been in power since 1969.

That is why I am here today -- in the spirit of Al Smith -- to say, "Let's look at the record." And believe me, when we show that record to the American people, when we get the record of Republican mismanagement out in the open, then the Democrats will occupy that White House in 1977 just as surely as Moses led the children of Israel out of Egypt.

Republicans are experts in covering up. They've been doing it for a long time. But even more important, they are experts at propaganda -- at repeating something until the people begin to believe it. Look at the federal budget, for example.

The Republican party has a balanced budget as part of its catechism. They are always talking about it. But what does the record show? It shows that Republican presidents have brought on the worst unbalanced budgets in the history of this land -- with one exception. And that was during World War II, when we were fighting for our lives.

Or consider the deficit. The Republican party supposedly deplores deficits. And yet it has given the American people more deficits than any political administration in the history of this republic.

Republicans are always complaining about public debt. And yet the public debt has increased by 200 billion dollars in the past eight years under their leadership.

And remember, my friends, that Congress has not added to that budget. It is true that we have changed its priorities. But we have also cut the total amounts. And while we were cutting, the Republican administrations were busy adding to the public debt in such massive amounts that it defies the mind of man to even comprehend it.

The Republican party is the party that talks a lot about the work ethic. It is also the party that put more people on welfare than ever before in history except the Great Depression, and kept more people unemployed than at any time since the Great Depression. It is a party that talks a lot about prosperity, while presiding over more business bankruptcies than any year since 1936. And it is a party which talks unceasingly about good government. And yet its administrations have had more mismanagement and corruption than any time since the presidencies of Ulysses S. Grant and Warren G. Harding -- both of whom, incidentally, were Republicans.

Now, many people say to me, "Hubert, you're too tough on the Republicans." Pollsters come to me and say, "Mr. Humphrey, you ought to tone it down a little -- you're too partisan." Well, I don't care. I'm partisan and I'm proud of it. I've had a long partisan history.

I married the daughter of a Republican leader from rural South Dakota, and the experience was good for both of us. I got a wonderful woman and I saved her father from falling in the path of transgression.

Muriel's Dad was one of those hard-line Republicans. But we worked together and we prayed together -- and you ought to see what a Democrat I made out of that man.

Whenever I think about the Republicans, I remember what my father used to say about Mom. She was a sort of secret Republican and my Dad used to think that she voted for Harding. He could never get the proof, but he always believed it. I doubt that she did, but suspicion was normal in those days. Dad used to say to me,

"Your mother is a wonderful woman, son. She's lovely, I love her, she's my wife and my sweetheart. She has only one weakness -- she's politically unreliable."

Adlai Stevenson once said about the Republicans that he would trust them with anything in the world -- except public office. And that's the way I feel about them. There are people here in the Senate who are close personal friends of mine, and we work together well. I like them as personal friends, and I even like the President. We came to Congress at the same time. I think that he is one of the decent men in this city and I am personally fond of him.

But as I've said before: so is my Uncle Fred, but he ought not to be President.

There are many reasons why the Republicans shouldn't be in the Presidency, but one of them is particularly serious. Perhaps the saddest commentary on the Nixon-Ford Administration is that it has rejected an idea adopted by the Founding Fathers of this republic -- that the Executive and Legislative branches of this government should work together for the benefit of all the people.

The men who wrote the Constitution believed that there should be government by cooperation -- not by confrontation. They believed that men can disagree without being disagreeable. We can and should be able to debate the issues with clarity and purpose, and with determination. But when it's all over and the votes are in, we should accept the decision and move on to other things.

Unfortunately, it hasn't worked that way for the past few years. We have seen instead petty bickering, arguing and needless delay, government by veto or government by negation -- all of which have no place in our system. And the nation has suffered as a result.

When those with a negative attitude tell us today that we ought not to promise anything, that we ought not to look forward to better days, that we ought not to give people too much hope because we might fail in our fulfillment -- then I have to say, "why not?" I have to say, "Let's start working at it!"

This whole country was built on a promise. The Declaration of Independence and its commitment to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" -- what are they but a promise, a standard by which we measure achievement? What are they but a promise which lets us measure whether our performance is acceptable -- or unacceptable?

I believe in high hopes and I believe in ideals, I believe in promises so that we can stretch our abilities to achieve the best. And I believe that we constantly have to reach out for a little better life for all of us.

What is the real purpose of government if it can't give people the feeling that somehow or another, life can be better? What is the point of all our work in government, if not to hold out the promise of improvement, of a better day for all Americans?

I heard yesterday that smallpox, a terrible disease which once took the life of millions of people here and abroad, has finally been overcome. It has vanished from the face of the earth because the World Health Organization has finally been able to conquer it. That was nothing more than a promise, my friends, just a few years ago. And there were those who said that it could never be done.

And there are those who say that there are things in this society which can never be done. But when I look out and see people in American who are in trouble, when I see the elderly, the poor, the minorities, the small businessman who can't make ends meet and the working man who finds that his paycheck doesn't quite go around, when I see the businessman who finds himself trapped by tight credit and the family whose hope for a home is cut short by high interest rates -- then I say that those people need a commitment. They need a promise from the people who serve them in public life, a promise that we are trying to do better.

A reporter came to see me the other day, and he asked me how long I'd been in government. I told him that it was 30 years in all -- 26 years in Washington as Senator and Vice President, and four years as Mayor of Minneapolis. And then he said, "Well, after all that time, what's your goal -- what are you trying to do?"

I said, "I'm trying to do better." He looked at me and he said, "Well, now, that's not an answer."

I told him that it was a very good answer, that doing better as a Senator and a human being is just about as good as a man can hope to do. I told him that even in the Constitution, we talk about forming a "more perfect union." Nothing is said about a "perfect" union -- just one that is trying to be better. And that is the spirit of the Democratic Party in this year: the promise of something better.

"Better" can mean different things, however, in different situations. This morning at a press conference someone said, "Senator, isn't it true that the economy is better now, and that Mr. Ford is going to profit from that fact?"

And I said, "Yes, the economy is better, thank God. And that may make it easier for the incumbent. But I want you to remember also the price we paid for waiting until it got better. I want you to think about the heartache and the misery that our people suffered before this slight improvement arrived. And I want you to bear in mind that we Democrats don't win our elections at the expense of people's misery."

And we never have. From 1961 to 1969, when our party was in power, we presided over an economy that provided thirteen million new jobs. We had inherited high unemployment from the last year of the Eisenhower Administration, and we brought it down to 3.6 percent.

What is the corresponding record of the Nixon-Ford Administration? In the past three years, they have managed to increase employment by no more than a million jobs, compared to our thirteen. They have managed to push the official unemployment rate up to over an annual average of 8-1/2 percent and as high as 10 percent at one point. Since 1972, the Republicans have provided exactly one job for every four new job-seekers in this country.

That is, for one out of every four people trying to work, there has been a place. And for the other three -- nothing. To

the other three, government, society and industry have sat back and said: "We don't need you. There is no place for you here. You are not wanted."

That is a terrible indictment of Republican economics. It is a telling comment on those whose response to millions of unemployed Americans is to say nothing but "Go slow -- not too fast."

That may be a satisfactory answer for those people who already have made it. But for the thousands and, yes, millions of Americans who are having a tough time getting through every week, whose personal budgets are unbalanced, who are in debt for their daily living and unsure where they can work tomorrow, who suffer the indignity of welfare or the limbo of unemployment -- for those Americans, I assure you "Go slow" is no answer at all.

During the 1960's, when Presidents Kennedy and Johnson were in office, the weekly take-home pay of the working people in this country rose at an annual rate of 12.4 percent in real income. In the past three years alone, that same working man or woman has experienced a 5.8 percent drop in take-home pay. In fact, Republican mismanagement of the economy has pushed the working families of this country back to their 1965 level of income. That's a typical Republican pattern, isn't it? -- eight years in office equals an eleven-year slide backwards.

The American people have to be informed about that Republican record. If they are not, then this Administration is going to sell them the notion that things are better -- which is a lot like telling someone who comes down with pneumonia, heart disease and paralysis all at the same time that if he can wiggle his toe, he's getting better.

And we have to keep the Republicans from selling those tired old bromides about the economy. For example, they're still saying that we can't have price stability and full employment at the same time. But in 1960, when we Democrats were trying to make social and economic changes, unemployment averaged 3.6 percent and the rate of inflation stayed at only 2.5 percent. So when they tell you that it can't be done, they simply don't know what they're talking about.

Or they will bring in their economic witchdoctors to argue that if we try to stimulate the economy, we will be plagued with inflation. But we've all seen that as unemployment has come down in recent months, the gross national product has gone up and the inflation rate has fallen off.

But there is one thing you have to admire about the Republicans -- they do take care of their friends. They know who they are and they see to it that they benefit. In fact, the richest 20 percent of our population has actually increased its share of the total income of this nation during the past few years -- years which, for the rest of America, were a time of incredible inflation, joblessness and recession.

That is an economic fact: the Republicans have managed to reverse the trend toward greater economic equality established by the Democrats during the 1960's. Those were years full of promise for this country: 10 million Americans worked their way out of poverty in just three years, from 1966 to 1969. And I mean worked their way out, from below the poverty line into middle income. That is a record which is unparalleled by any nation in our time.

It is a record which we can be proud of -- but only in retrospect. Because since the Nixon-Ford Administration has been in office, three million of those people have slid back below the poverty line. That is the price the Republicans want us to pay: price stability for the upper crust of this country at the expense of poverty for millions and millions of Americans. No public policy could be more morally bankrupt.

But if the Republicans are uninterested in the fate of our people, they are very interested in the fate of the banks. The Nixon-Ford Administration and its Wall Street advisors have seen to it that the banks are very well cared for. In fact, the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Mr. Burns, told me just the other day that he feels it his solemn duty to take care of the banks of America.

Well, I agree with him. I want him to take care of the banks -- make no mistake about it. We cannot afford to have a bank panic.

And some of our banks are in serious difficulty because of some very loose policies in recent years. (Loose policies, may I say, which are a great deal more reprehensible than some poor little soul cheating on food stamps.)

But I wish there were some people in this Administration who were as concerned about the American people as Mr. Burns is about the banks -- and who carried out their duties with the dedication and skill that he does.

I wish we had someone over there in the Executive branch who was as concerned about our working people and our people who want to work, about our farmers and our businessmen who want to produce, as Mr. Burns is about his banks. To have an Arthur Burns whose job is to see to it that every American family does well -- that's what this country needs.

But until we have such a person, we can still ask something of this Administration. The American taxpayers spend a lot of money to make sure that the banks are taken care of -- and we can ask that the banks start taking care of the American taxpayers.

In the 1960's, the average rate of interest was under six percent, and people could afford to buy homes. Small businessmen could afford to expand, and communities grew and prospered.

But then the Republicans took over. And interest rates shot up to ten percent, and then to 11 and 12 percent -- and construction loans rose to 20 percent. Credit tightened up to the point where the building trades and housing industry of this country had sunk well past a recession -- they were brought down in a full-scale depression. They were looking back on a recession as the "good old days."

By allowing that depression to take place, this Administration has denied millions of Americans the chance to have a home of their own, and it has crippled our economy as well. You know, the Republicans are always praising the American family. They just can't say enough about what a wonderful institution it is. But I want to remind them of something: a family needs a place to live!

I charge this Administration with adopting and pursuing a policy toward home-building and construction that has been a wholesale disaster. And not only a disaster for the contractors and the building trades -- but an unmitigated disaster for millions of young Americans who want to start their home lives with their little ones in a home of their own. These young families don't want a palace -- they just want a home that they can own, that they can put their money into and have a piece of the action in America. And this Administration has told them: "No way!" They ought to be ashamed of themselves.

The same is true of their tax policy. Some months ago, when the recession was beginning in earnest, and some of us in Congress were pleading for a tax reduction to face the realities of the recession, President Ford actually announced plans to raise taxes! Some people have forgotten that, because he completely reversed himself a couple of months later and came through with a modest tax cut. But that was our Republican President's first response to the signs of recession -- raise taxes.

Of course, by that time anybody with the brains of a March Hare could see that the recession was upon us, could see that health of our economy was declining and that it was time for some quick medicinal action.

But President Ford's first reaction was the same as that of the man he replaced. They punished and bled the American economy with outworn, 19th-Century ideas of how to restore health. You know, in the last century they thought they had a cure for the fever -- you just bleed the patient. That was their cure for a lot of diseases: just open up a vein and bleed the fellow for a while. Sometimes it didn't work: George Washington died because they bled him too much.

Well, that's the way the Nixon-Ford Administration looked at our economy. They saw inflation as a fever, and they figured that recession and unemployment was the way to bleed the patient and bring down the level of inflation.

Nowadays, of course, most people have changed their opinion of that kind of medicine. In the 19th Century, the bleeding used to be done by barbers, because a barber was a handy man with a razor. In fact, that's how the barber pole originated. It was an insignia to show that the man at that address was a good bleeder. The blue was for veins, the red was for arteries and the white was for flesh.

I've been thinking that we Democrats ought to get a little money together and buy a barber pole. I want to put it up in front of that Republican White House down there.

I'm not sure who's going to occupy that White House next year, but I am sure of one thing: the Democratic Party is not going to win this election by default. Because this year, one or another policy of government, this or that phase of government, is not the issue. Government itself is the issue.

And the Republicans know this. Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan are mixing it up a little bit over that very question. In fact, Mr. Ford has had a crick in his neck for more than a year now -- from looking around to see what Ronald Reagan is going to do next. And all the time, there's Reagan right behind him with his 20-mule team Borax Special: the 90 billion dollar budget cut.

Now, I don't expect that Mr. Reagan will be the Republican nominee. With that 90 billion dollar plan, someone is sure to check on his math scores in grade school and find them wanting. But his philosophy is catching, and I don't want it to prevail in this country.

And in particular, I don't want to see my fellow Democrats playing Mr. Reagan's game. I believe that we are going to return to the White House next year. But we are not going to do it by becoming anti-government zealots or prophets of gloom and doom.

We Democrats have a heritage and we have a solid record to stand on. And no candidate in this party, no nominee of this party, dares to run away from the heritage of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, of Adlai Stevenson and John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.

I want to serve warning on our Democratic candidates -- that if they run away from that heritage, they will forfeit any chance to be President of the United States and any chance to hold the trust of the public. Because that heritage and that record are historical proof that our Democratic leaders acted with the best interests of the American people at heart.

FDR looked out over America and did what he had to do in the times that he lived in. And Harry Truman, bless his spirit, did what he had to do in his. John Kennedy gave his nation a whole new spirit. And Lyndon Johnson cared about people -- all the people -- and he fought the good fight.

So when the voices of doubt and retreat tell us that we should give up on government, that we should walk away from the history of the New Deal and the Fair Deal, of the New Frontier and the Great Society, I say that they are cowardly and they are wrong.

I lived through all of those days, and I was in government from the WPA to the War on Poverty. I saw them up close, and I don't claim that they were days of perfection. We made our mistakes and we had our failures.

But we can be proud, even of those -- because our mistakes were not the mistakes of premeditation, nor were they the mistakes of the heart. And our failures were honest failures that occur whenever mankind has been courageous enough to experiment and bold enough to make the world a little better.

And we did make it better, despite those who said it couldn't be done. Thank God that Franklin Roosevelt didn't listen to those pusillanimous little minds who said no to the TVA, or who said that we simply couldn't produce 50,000 airplanes a year -- when we went on to produce 90,000. And thank God that FDR didn't listen to the Republicans who said no to Social Security. Not a single Republican voted for Social Security -- not one. Of course, they love to get on the victory wagon now, in an election year. They sing the halleluja chorus these days -- but I was there when the sinners were repenting. And in those days, they didn't want a crowd.

We Democrats can be truly proud of what we have achieved. And we can admit without hesitation that we have erred. We can admit that for one good reason: that Americans have lived better because we were in office. I am here to tell you that without what we accomplished in the 1930's and 1940's, without the vision we had and the programs we pioneered in the 1950's and 1960's, there would have been tragedy and violence across the streets of America in the 1970's.

People's very lives have been protected by Social Security. People have been able to survive because of unemployment compensation, and able to feed their families because of food stamps. Our elderly have been saved from disease because of Medicare.

Of course, there are chiselers and there are rip-off artists. And there always will be, just as there will always be Republicans. But the real issue underlying the anti-government issue is simply this: how can the interests of the people best be served? And the answer is not less government, but better government.

The men I respect and admire in this great party -- Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, Johnson -- are not leaders who ran against the government. They wanted to improve the government, to get into it and make it work. They didn't run against Washington. They ran against the Republicans. And when they ran, they won.

We Democrats have no business doing anything else. We should be running against the Republicans who gave us Watergate, who gave us double-digit inflation, who gave us a crippling recession and incredible unemployment, who gave us thousands of bankruptcies and the crisis in our cities.

Isn't that enough to run against? And if we want more, we can run against Washington, too. We can run against the Washington of Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew, the Washington of Jerry Ford and Bill Simon and Earl Butz, to name just a few. But not against the Washington of Roosevelt and Truman, of Kennedy and Johnson. Not against that.

We have plenty to run against, and we have plenty to run for. We can run for a government that offers the American people a full employment policy -- one that offers them decent jobs at decent wages, that offers them a chance to better themselves and join in the nation's prosperity. We can run for a government which provides for the poorest of our citizens, but which also cleans up the welfare mess and assures that help goes to those who need it -- not to those who abuse it.

We can run for a national health care system which provides quality health care at a reasonable price. That is long overdue, and the people have grown impatient. There are 40 million Americans with no health care whatsoever, and another 45 million with coverage which provides very little protection at all. And there is a man in the White House who has told us that he will not consider any kind of health care legislation. That, in itself, is plenty to run for.

We need progressive and practical policies on scores of fronts. We need a housing policy which can rid our cities of the shame of the slums -- and replace that shame with the kind of decent housing at reasonable cost which we can be proud of. We need interest rates and mortgage availability which will make home ownership more than a dream to millions of Americans.

We have loaned millions of dollars for foreign economic and military assistance at interest rates as low as two percent. We have lent millions more to pay for our exports to foreign countries at rates of six and seven percent. We do that every year.

But everyone in this country knows that when we want to build a house for Americans, in an American community and built of American products by American labor -- we can't get a loan at anything less than nine percent. And even then, we have to be lucky to get it.

What kind of a policy is that in a nation committed to equal opportunity? I want to see a President in the White House who will stand up and say, "I believe in poverty. I believe in it so much that I think everybody ought to have some of it. I think we ought

to spread it around, if that's what it takes for the average American to get a loan."

With that kind of President, and that kind of policy, we can have money available for credit and interest rates that people can afford to pay. We can tell the young Americans who want to have a home for their families and a little joy in life that the machinery is there: that there is money for a mortgage and good American workers ready to build.

Instead of that bright promise, what do we have now? We have a government that has a computer. And that computer knows how to print welfare checks. It knows how to print unemployment compensation checks. It knows how to increase the public debt and how to pay 50 billion dollars in interest on that debt. But, my friends, that computer doesn't have the imagination to figure out how to build a teepee, much less a solid home for American citizens.

My fellow Democrats, let us work together to get rid of that computer. And while we're at it, let's get rid of those who say that America has reached its limit, who say that its best days are over, that it is time to retreat from the fundamental commitments we have made as a nation.

There was another time in American history when people felt very much the same way. I was a young then, and all around me there was poverty, there was unemployment and there was despair. There was the sense that the promise of America had been broken, that our hope of opportunity for all had faded forever.

And into that mood of restlessness and despair, someone came to speak to America. Someone spoke to me as if he was in my heart my mind and my soul and said, "All you have to fear, Hubert Humphrey, is fear itself,"

That is the great promise of the Democratic Party. That is the great hope which says that America has not yet seen its best days. And I am here to tell you that we haven't even started them.

The history of this Republic in its third century will record great days of America. And the leaders of America in that century will not be those who told this nation to stop, to stand back, to retreat to the past. They will be those with the courage and

the vision to say that the job is not yet finished, although our big problems are behind us. They will be those who say: "There is a great task to be done. But we have a strong people to do it and a great vision to lead them. Let's get to work."

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC LUNCH

Washington, D.C.

March 24, 1976

It is a pleasure to be with my friends of the National Democratic Club once again. This year, more than ever, it is vitally important that all Democrats recognize the challenge that is ahead of us and the importance of victory in November.

In just eight months our people will elect a President and a new Congress.

The Democratic Party will attempt to recapture the White House for the American people.

And our Party once again will do battle on behalf of progress for all Americans.

As we look back on the seven sad years of Republican control of the White House, it is time to demand an accounting. All we are getting is empty rhetoric -- another "cover-up" for disastrous Republican performance.

Perhaps the saddest commentary of all is that the Nixon-Ford Administration has rejected the notion adopted by the Founding Fathers that the Executive and Legislative branches of this government should work together for the benefit of all the people -- that there should be government by consensus.

We can disagree without being disagreeable. We can and should debate and discuss the issues. But when it's all over, we should accept the decisions and move on to other things.

Petty bickering and arguing, needless delay, government by veto -- these have no place in our system of government. We Democrats, all of us in public service, have a responsibility to the people. And that's the most important issue of the day.

Let's take a quick look at what it has meant to have Republicans in charge.

From 1961 to 1969, when our party was in the White House, we created 13 million new jobs. We reduced unemployment to 3.6 percent in 1968.

In the last three years, the Nixon-Ford team has been able to increase employment by a mere one million jobs. They managed to push the official unemployment rate to an 8.5 percent average in 1975 and the real unemployment rate remains today at a double-digit level.

Since 1972 the Republicans have provided exactly one job for every four new job seekers in our country.

One job for every four persons! What an indictment of "go slow" Republican economics.

In the Democratic 60's, with Presidents Kennedy and Johnson in the White House, the weekly take home pay of a working man or woman, after inflation, rose by 12.4 percent.

In the past three years alone that same man or woman has experienced a drop of 5.4 percent in take home pay. Republican economic mismanagement has, in fact, pushed the working families of America back 10 years to their 1965 income level.

In the 60's when Democrats were attempting to make important social and economic changes in our nation in order to improve life for all our citizens, the rate of inflation was a mere 2.3 percent.

In the last several years the Republicans have given us not only high unemployment but the highest levels of inflation since World War II. In fact, the Republicans have managed to give us an average rate of inflation three times higher than in the last decade. It takes more than WIN buttons and anti-government demagoguery to keep prices from going through the roof.

But not everyone has lost since 1969 under the Nixon-Ford team.

Because of the capital gains loophole, and inflation-proof real estate income, the richest 20 percent of our population actually increased its share of the total income of our nation during this period of economic suffering for most Americans.

This reversed the trend toward greater income equality firmly established by our Party in the 1960's.

Republican economics produced a shift of about \$20 billion from the pockets of working Americans to the coffers of the rich. They guaranteed that the wealthy would have full compensation from the ravages of inflation, while the rest of America suffered.

The Nixon-Ford Administration, and its Wall Street advisers in Washington, has seen to it that our big banks were well cared for.

From 1960 to 1968 mortgage rates averaged less than six percent.

Since 1969 they soared more than 50 percent to levels last experienced at the time of the Civil War.

The income, production and employment loss to America as a result of Republican bungling of national economic management since 1969 is staggering;

-- Two Republican recessions have thrown 57 million Americans out of work and into the street at one time or another.

-- Two Republican recessions have robbed one trillion dollars from the paychecks of American workers.

-- Two Republican recessions have wiped out the entire income gain made by working families of America during the decade of the 60's.

Two strikes is enough. The Republicans have proven that they do not deserve another swing of the bat. Our people cannot be asked to suffer a Republican economic management strikeout.

Even more alarming is the fact that Republican "go slow" policies are convincing many of our citizens that a welfare check is as good as a paycheck. We have an entire generation of young men and women who never have held a full time job. The odds are one to four against them. The Nixon-Ford team has stacked the deck.

The policies of these modern day free market buccaneers have torn the fabric of our society in other ways, too.

The Republicans promised to get crime off the streets, but they failed to tell us they would bring it to their suites.

Our neighborhoods are more crime filled today by far than when the Republicans moved into the White House.

Since 1969 the crime rate has risen 30 percent. The number of murders has leaped 50 percent. The number of robberies has risen 68 percent. The number of burglaries has soared 84 percent.

Your family has a one in six chance of being victimized by a burglary or theft this year. That's how Republicans deliver on their promises.

Today President Ford and his economic advisers travel around the country with their economic medicine show. The message is always the same: "We have found the miracle cure. Economic recovery is under way and prosperity is just around the corner."

Once again, the Republicans are claiming an "economic miracle" in an election year. There is, indeed, a modest recovery underway, but can it be sustained with the Ford Administration economic policy projections for fiscal 1977?

Sure, profits are improving and the stock market is booming along, but how about the lower income groups?

In Minnesota last month, 24,000 additional people were added to the unemployment rolls; in Providence, Rhode Island; Boston, Massachusetts; Los Angeles and New York, and in many other big cities across the land, unemployment is still at the double-digit level.

Yes, economic improvement is under way but I see few signs that a true "people's recovery" has taken hold.

Let me just remind you of two facts. First, when you are flat on your back the only way to go is up. American workers and their families are now on their knees, when they should be walking, and it hardly is reason to rejoice.

Second, the American people should remember that it was a Democratic Congress that argued, prodded and cajoled the Republican President to take every reluctant step that has produced the modest economic improvement that we see.

Let's not forget that in December of 1974 Gerald Ford was calling for a tax increase, while the worst recession since the Great Depression took an ever firmer strangle hold on the American economy. And remember that at that time the only Administration response was the WIN button and a smile.

Seven sad years of the Nixon-Ford team are more than too much.

-- The Nixon-Ford team has devastated the American economy with its 19th century economic ideology.

-- The Nixon-Ford team has undermined confidence in government, bringing it to its lowest point in decades. And I'm not just talking about forced resignations of a President and Vice President. More to the point, I'm talking about the widespread belief among our people that this government isn't functioning, isn't responding to their concerns, isn't doing anything until it is hit by one crisis or another.

-- The only creativity we have seen from the White House has been its ability to say no in 89 different ways.

It is time to take off the gloves and tell it like it is.

The party that has occupied the White House for the last seven years is a minority party -- and for good reason. It has clearly demonstrated that it is incapable of running the country in the interest of all its people. It has succeeded only in running it into the ground.

But we won't win this election by default. A President has a tremendous advantage due to his incumbency.

The Democrats will only win if they go to the country with a positive message and convince our citizens that we have a better idea and will do a better job.

Democrats always have joined together because they shared a vision of the future for America. Republicans always have banded together in the hope that somehow, someday, they could prevent the future from arriving.

So, my fellow Democrats, there is a lesson for us today.

We will return to the White House in 1977.

But we cannot do so as anti-government zealots or as prophets of doom and gloom.

The real issue underlying the anti-government issue is whether and how the interests of people best can be served. The answer is not less government, but better government -- a government that works to serve the nation's needs.

Franklin Roosevelt recognized this and so did Harry Truman, John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.

These men didn't disparage what can be done in Washington for the benefit of the people by dedicated men and women -- they did recognize its limitations.

Yes, they could have run against Washington -- it never has been perfect. They could have made the federal government the whipping boy for the dissatisfaction and despair that existed in the country. Instead, they chose to do their best to make it better -- not perfect -- just a little better.

Democrats should run against Republicans. They should run against the Republicans that gave us Watergate, double-digit inflation, and depression-level unemployment. They should run against the Washington of Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford and William Simon. But not against the Washington of FDR and JFK and LBJ -- the Washington of Social Security and Medicare.

Democrats will win not because they are against the government we hope to run, but because we are for government which helps people:

- a government that offers America a full employment policy that assures decent jobs and decent wages for all Americans;

- a program of long overdue reform to clean up the welfare mess so that help goes only to families who actually need it;

- a national health care system that provides quality health service for all at the lowest possible cost;

- a housing program that replaces slums with sound, low-cost, high quality housing, and interest rates that make home ownership a reality for working people once again;

- a tax program that eliminates the glaring tax loopholes that make it possible for the super-rich and the giant corporations to pay little or nothing while the middle-income taxpayer bears the major burden of government expenditures;

- a transportation program that meets the needs of urban and rural people;

- an energy program that assures America of energy resources for decades to come;

-- and national leadership with compassion and understanding that is clearly "of, by and for the people."

The issue of this election year is not Washington -- but the disastrous policies of the Nixon-Ford Administration -- vetoes, unemployment, recession, inflation, crime, corruption and the neglect of our nation's cities.

Let us get on with the work of running against the Republicans and their economic policies which have brought us to the brink of depression.

Only by this route will we regain the faith and confidence of the American people.

We will win because we care.

We will win because we dare to pioneer.

We will win because America is tired of being told what it can't do.

#

John Mahoney

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Memorandum
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC LUNCH

WASHINGTON, D.C.

MARCH 24, 1976

IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE WITH MY FRIENDS OF THE NATIONAL
DEMOCRATIC CLUB ONCE AGAIN. THIS YEAR, MORE THAN EVER, IT IS
VITALLY IMPORTANT THAT ALL DEMOCRATS RECOGNIZE THE CHALLENGE
THAT IS AHEAD OF US AND THE IMPORTANCE OF VICTORY IN NOVEMBER.

h IN JUST EIGHT MONTHS OUR PEOPLE WILL ELECT A PRESIDENT AND
A NEW CONGRESS.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY WILL ATTEMPT TO RECAPTURE THE WHITE
HOUSE FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

AND OUR PARTY ONCE AGAIN WILL DO BATTLE ON BEHALF OF
PROGRESS FOR ALL AMERICANS.

h AS WE LOOK BACK ON THE SEVEN SAD YEARS OF REPUBLICAN CONTROL
OF THE WHITE HOUSE, IT IS TIME TO DEMAND AN ACCOUNTING. ALL
WE ARE GETTING IS EMPTY RHETORIC -- ANOTHER "COVER-UP" FOR
DISASTROUS REPUBLICAN PERFORMANCE.

Economy on Side of Republicans

They Say -2-

PERHAPS THE SADDEST COMMENTARY OF ALL IS THAT THE NIXON-FORD

ADMINISTRATION HAS REJECTED THE NOTION ADOPTED BY THE FOUNDING

FATHERS THAT THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES OF THIS

GOVERNMENT SHOULD WORK TOGETHER FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL THE

PEOPLE -- THAT THERE SHOULD BE GOVERNMENT BY CONSENSUS.

WE CAN DISAGREE WITHOUT BEING DISAGREABLE / WE CAN AND

SHOULD DEBATE AND DISCUSS THE ISSUES. BUT WHEN IT'S ALL OVER,

WE SHOULD ACCEPT THE DECISIONS AND MOVE ON TO OTHER THINGS.

PETTY BICKERING AND ARGUING, NEEDLESS DELAY, GOVERNMENT BY

VETO -- THESE HAVE NO PLACE IN OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT. WE

~~DEMOCRATS,~~ ALL OF US IN PUBLIC SERVICE, HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY

TO THE PEOPLE, AND THAT'S THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE OF THE

DAY,

Ford - & Economy - Plus & minus

-3-

LET'S TAKE A QUICK LOOK AT WHAT IT HAS MEANT TO HAVE

REPUBLICANS IN CHARGE.

L FROM 1961 TO 1969, WHEN OUR PARTY WAS IN THE WHITE HOUSE, WE
CREATED 13 MILLION NEW JOBS. / WE REDUCED UNEMPLOYMENT TO 3.6 PERCENT

IN 1968.

- Inflation Rate - average under ~~3%~~
2 1/2 %

L IN THE LAST THREE YEARS, THE NIXON-FORD TEAM HAS BEEN ABLE TO
INCREASE EMPLOYMENT BY A MERE ONE MILLION JOBS / THEY MANAGED TO

PUSH THE OFFICIAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE TO AN 8.5 PERCENT AVERAGE IN

1975

and higher in state after state, city
AND THE REAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE REMAINS TODAY AT A DOUBLE-DIGIT

after city

LEVEL.

L SINCE 1972 THE REPUBLICANS HAVE PROVIDED EXACTLY ONE JOB

(4)
FOR EVERY FOUR NEW JOB SEEKERS IN OUR COUNTRY.

L ONE JOB FOR EVERY FOUR PERSONS! WHAT AN INDICTMENT OF

"GO SLOW" REPUBLICAN ECONOMICS.

h IN THE DEMOCRATIC 60's, WITH PRESIDENTS KENNEDY AND JOHNSON
IN THE WHITE HOUSE, THE WEEKLY TAKE HOME PAY OF A WORKING MAN OR
WOMAN, AFTER INFLATION, ROSE BY 12.4 PERCENT.

L IN THE PAST THREE YEARS ALONE THAT SAME MAN OR WOMAN HAS
EXPERIENCED A DROP OF 5.4 PERCENT IN TAKE HOME PAY. L REPUBLICAN
ECONOMIC MISMANAGEMENT HAS, IN FACT, PUSHED THE WORKING FAMILIES
OF AMERICA BACK 10 YEARS TO THEIR 1965 INCOME LEVEL.

L IN THE 60's WHEN DEMOCRATS WERE ATTEMPTING TO MAKE IMPORTANT
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES IN OUR NATION IN ORDER TO IMPROVE
LIFE FOR ALL OUR CITIZENS, THE RATE OF INFLATION WAS A MERE
2.3 PERCENT.

L IN THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS THE REPUBLICAN HAVE GIVEN US NOT
ONLY HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT BUT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF INFLATION
SINCE WORLD WAR II.

IN FACT, THE REPUBLICANS HAVE MANAGED TO GIVE US AN AVERAGE RATE OF INFLATION THREE TIMES HIGHER THAN IN THE LAST DECADE. IT TAKES MORE THAN WIN BUTTONS AND ANTI-GOVERNMENT DEMAGOGUERY TO KEEP PRICES FROM GOING THROUGH THE ROOF.

h BUT NOT EVERYONE HAS LOST SINCE 1969 UNDER THE NIXON-FORD TEAM.

GOP takes care of its friends

L ~~BECAUSE OF THE CAPITAL GAINS LOOPHOLE, AND INFLATION-PROOF REAL ESTATE INCOME,~~ THE RICHEST 20 PERCENT OF OUR POPULATION

ACTUALLY INCREASED ITS SHARE OF THE TOTAL INCOME OF OUR NATION

DURING THIS PERIOD OF ECONOMIC SUFFERING FOR MOST AMERICANS.

THIS REVERSED THE TREND TOWARD GREATER INCOME EQUALITY
FIRMLY ESTABLISHED BY OUR PARTY IN THE 1960'S.

L REPUBLICAN ECONOMICS PRODUCED A SHIFT OF ABOUT \$20 BILLION
FROM THE POCKETS OF WORKING AMERICANS TO THE COFFERS OF THE
RICH. L THEY GUARANTEED THAT THE WEALTHY WOULD HAVE FULL
COMPENSATION FROM THE RAVAGES OF INFLATION, WHILE THE REST OF
AMERICA SUFFERED.

L THE NIXON-FORD ADMINISTRATION, AND ITS WALL STREET ADVISERS
IN WASHINGTON, HAS SEEN TO IT THAT OUR BIG BANKS WERE WELL
CARED FOR.

L FROM 1960 TO 1968 MORTGAGE RATES AVERAGED LESS THAN SIX
PERCENT.

L SINCE 1969 THEY SOARED MORE THAN 50 PERCENT TO LEVELS LAST
EXPERIENCED AT THE TIME OF THE CIVIL WAR.

10% - 12% - 20%

THE INCOME, PRODUCTION AND EMPLOYMENT LOSS TO AMERICA AS
A RESULT OF REPUBLICAN BUNGLING OF NATIONAL ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT
SINCE 1969 IS STAGGERING;

L-- TWO REPUBLICAN RECESSIONS HAVE THROWN 57 MILLION AMERICANS
OUT OF WORK AND INTO THE STREET AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER.

L-- TWO REPUBLICAN RECESSIONS HAVE ROBBED ONE TRILLION DOLLARS
FROM THE PAYCHECKS OF AMERICAN WORKERS.

L-- TWO REPUBLICAN RECESSIONS HAVE WIPED OUT THE ENTIRE INCOME
GAIN MADE BY WORKING FAMILIES OF AMERICA DURING THE DECADE OF
THE 60's.

~~TWO STRIKES IS ENOUGH. THE REPUBLICANS HAVE PROVEN THAT THEY
DO NOT DESERVE ANOTHER SWING OF THE BAT. OUR PEOPLE CANNOT BE
ASKED TO SUFFER A REPUBLICAN ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT STRIKEOUT.~~

L EVEN MORE ALARMING IS THE FACT THAT REPUBLICAN "GO SLOW"
POLICIES ARE CONVINCING MANY OF OUR CITIZENS THAT A WELFARE CHECK
IS AS GOOD AS A PAYCHECK. WE HAVE AN ENTIRE GENERATION OF YOUNG
MEN AND WOMEN WHO NEVER HAVE HELD A FULL TIME JOB. THE ODDS ARE
ONE TO FOUR AGAINST THEM. THE NIXON-FORD TEAM HAS STACKED THE
DECK.

L THE POLICIES OF THESE MODERN DAY FREE MARKET BUCCANEERS HAVE
TORN THE FABRIC OF OUR SOCIETY IN OTHER WAYS, TOO.

L THE REPUBLICANS PROMISED TO GET CRIME OFF THE STREETS, BUT
THEY FAILED TO TELL US THEY WOULD BRING IT TO THEIR ^{Corporate} SUITES.

L OUR NEIGHBORHOODS ARE MORE CRIME FILLED TODAY BY FAR THAN
WHEN THE REPUBLICANS MOVED INTO THE WHITE HOUSE.

h SINCE 1969 THE CRIME RATE HAS RISEN 30 PERCENT. L THE NUMBER
OF MURDERS HAS ^{jumped} ~~leaped~~ 50 PERCENT. L THE NUMBER OF ROBBERIES HAS
RISEN 68 PERCENT. THE NUMBER OF BURGLARIES HAS SOARED 84 PERCENT.

L YOUR FAMILY HAS A ONE IN SIX CHANCE OF BEING VICTIMIZED BY
A BURGLARY OR THEFT THIS YEAR. L THAT'S HOW REPUBLICANS DELIVER ON
THEIR PROMISES. *of law + order*

TODAY PRESIDENT FORD AND HIS ECONOMIC ADVISERS TRAVEL AROUND
THE COUNTRY WITH THEIR ECONOMIC MEDICINE SHOW. L THE MESSAGE IS
ALWAYS THE SAME: ^h "WE HAVE FOUND THE MIRACLE CURE. ECONOMIC
RECOVERY IS UNDER WAY AND PROSPERITY IS JUST AROUND THE CORNER." l)

h ONCE AGAIN, THE REPUBLICANS ARE CLAIMING AN "ECONOMIC MIRACLE"
IN AN ELECTION YEAR. L ~~THERE IS, INDEED, A MODEST RECOVERY UNDERWAY,~~
~~BUT CAN IT BE SUSTAINED WITH THE FORD ADMINISTRATION ECONOMIC~~
~~POLICY PROJECTIONS FOR FISCAL 1977?~~

SURE, PROFITS ARE IMPROVING AND THE STOCK MARKET IS BOOMING
ALONG, BUT HOW ABOUT THE FOLKS?

IN MINNESOTA LAST MONTH, 34,000 ADDITIONAL PEOPLE WERE ADDED
TO THE UNEMPLOYMENT ROLLS; IN PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND; BOSTON,
MASSACHUSETTS; LOS ANGELES AND NEW YORK, AND IN MANY OTHER BIG
CITIES ACROSS THE LAND, UNEMPLOYMENT IS STILL AT THE DOUBLE-DIGIT
LEVEL.

thankfully, after 20 months
~~YES, ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT IS UNDER WAY BUT I SEE FEW SIGNS~~
of Inflation + Recession, some improvement
~~THAT A TRUE "PEOPLE'S RECOVERY" HAS TAKEN HOLD.~~
is underway.

But LET ME JUST REMIND YOU OF TWO FACTS. FIRST, WHEN YOU ARE
FLAT ON YOUR BACK THE ONLY WAY TO GO IS UP. ~~AMERICAN WORKERS~~
AND THEIR FAMILIES ARE NOW ON THEIR KNEES, WHEN THEY SHOULD BE
WALKING, AND IT HARDLY IS REASON TO REJOICE.

↳ SECOND, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SHOULD REMEMBER THAT IT WAS A
DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS THAT ARGUED, PRODDED AND CAJOLED THE
REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT TO TAKE EVERY RELUCTANT STEP THAT HAS
PRODUCED THE MODEST ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT THAT WE SEE.

↳ LET'S NOT FORGET THAT IN DECEMBER OF 1974 GERALD FORD WAS
CALLING FOR A TAX INCREASE, WHILE THE WORST RECESSION SINCE
THE GREAT DEPRESSION TOOK AN EVER FIRMER STRANGLE HOLD ON
THE AMERICAN ECONOMY. ↳ AND REMEMBER THAT AT THAT TIME THE ONLY
ADMINISTRATION RESPONSE WAS THE WIN BUTTON AND A SMILE.

↳ SEVEN SAD YEARS OF THE NIXON-FORD TEAM ARE MORE THAN TOO MUCH.
-- THE NIXON-FORD TEAM HAS ~~DEASTATED~~ ^{Punished + killed} THE AMERICAN ECONOMY
WITH ITS 19TH CENTURY ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY.

-- THE NIXON-FORD TEAM HAS UNDERMINED CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT,
BRINGING IT TO ITS LOWEST POINT IN DECADES. AND I'M NOT JUST
TALKING ABOUT FORCED RESIGNATIONS OF A PRESIDENT AND VICE
PRESIDENT. MORE TO THE POINT, I'M TALKING ABOUT THE WIDESPREAD
BELIEF AMONG OUR PEOPLE THAT THIS GOVERNMENT ISN'T FUNCTIONING,
ISN'T RESPONDING TO THEIR CONCERNS, ISN'T DOING ANYTHING UNTIL IT
IS HIT BY ONE CRISIS OR ANOTHER.

THE ONLY CREATIVITY WE HAVE SEEN FROM THE WHITE HOUSE HAS
BEEN ITS ABILITY TO SAY NO IN 89 DIFFERENT WAYS.

IT IS TIME TO TAKE OFF THE GLOVES AND TELL IT LIKE IT IS.

THE PARTY THAT HAS OCCUPIED THE WHITE HOUSE FOR THE LAST
SEVEN YEARS IS A MINORITY PARTY -- AND FOR GOOD REASON.

IT HAS CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED THAT IT IS INCAPABLE OF RUNNING

THE COUNTRY IN THE INTEREST OF ALL ITS PEOPLE, IT HAS SUCCEEDED
ONLY IN RUNNING IT INTO THE GROUND.

BUT WE WON'T WIN THIS ELECTION BY DEFAULT, A PRESIDENT HAS
A TREMENDOUS ADVANTAGE DUE TO HIS INCUMBENCY.

THE DEMOCRATS WILL ONLY WIN IF THEY GO TO THE COUNTRY WITH
A POSITIVE MESSAGE AND CONVINCE OUR CITIZENS THAT WE HAVE A
BETTER IDEA AND WILL DO A BETTER JOB.

DEMOCRATS ALWAYS HAVE JOINED TOGETHER BECAUSE THEY SHARED
A VISION OF THE FUTURE FOR AMERICA. REPUBLICANS ALWAYS HAVE
BANDIED TOGETHER IN THE HOPE THAT SOMEHOW, SOMEWAY, THEY COULD
PREVENT THE FUTURE FROM ARRIVING.

So, MY FELLOW DEMOCRATS, THERE IS A LESSON FOR US TODAY.

L WE WILL RETURN TO THE WHITE HOUSE IN 1977.

L BUT WE CANNOT DO SO AS ¹¹ ANTI-GOVERNMENT ZEALOTS OR AS PROPHETS
OF DOOM AND GLOOM.

L THE REAL ISSUE UNDERLYING THE ANTI-GOVERNMENT ISSUE IS WHETHER
AND HOW THE INTERESTS OF PEOPLE BEST CAN BE SERVED. L THE ANSWER
IS NOT LESS GOVERNMENT, BUT BETTER GOVERNMENT -- A GOVERNMENT
THAT WORKS TO SERVE THE NATION'S NEEDS.

L FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT RECOGNIZED THIS AND SO DID HARRY TRUMAN,
JOHN KENNEDY AND LYNDON JOHNSON.

THESE MEN DIDN'T DISPARAGE WHAT CAN BE DONE IN WASHINGTON FOR
THE BENEFIT OF THE PEOPLE BY DEDICATED MEN AND WOMEN -- THEY DID
RECOGNIZE ITS LIMITATIONS.

L YES, THEY COULD HAVE RUN AGAINST WASHINGTON -- IT NEVER HAS
BEEN PERFECT. L THEY COULD HAVE MADE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT THE
WHIPPING BOY FOR THE DISSATISFACTION AND DESPAIR THAT EXISTED
IN THE COUNTRY. L INSTEAD, THEY CHOSE TO DO THEIR BEST TO MAKE
IT BETTER -- NOT PERFECT -- JUST A LITTLE BETTER.

L DEMOCRATS SHOULD RUN AGAINST REPUBLICANS. L THEY SHOULD RUN
~~NOT AGAINST~~
AGAINST THE REPUBLICANS THAT GAVE US WATERGATE, DOUBLE-DIGIT
INFLATION, AND DEPRESSION-LEVEL UNEMPLOYMENT. L THEY SHOULD RUN
~~SPAN AGNU~~
AGAINST THE WASHINGTON OF RICHARD NIXON AND GERALD FORD AND
WILLIAM SIMON. BUT NOT AGAINST THE WASHINGTON OF FDR AND JFK
AND LBJ -- THE WASHINGTON OF SOCIAL SECURITY AND MEDICARE, Jobs,
and economic growth.
L DEMOCRATS WILL WIN NOT BECAUSE THEY ARE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT

WE HOPE TO RUN, BUT BECAUSE WE ARE FOR GOVERNMENT WHICH HELPS PEOPLE:

L -- A GOVERNMENT THAT OFFERS AMERICA A FULL EMPLOYMENT POLICY
THAT ASSURES DECENT JOBS AND DECENT WAGES FOR ALL AMERICANS;

L -- A PROGRAM OF LONG OVERDUE REFORM TO CLEAN UP THE WELFARE
MESS SO THAT HELP GOES ONLY TO FAMILIES WHO ACTUALLY NEED IT;

L -- A NATIONAL HEALTH CARE SYSTEM THAT PROVIDES QUALITY HEALTH
SERVICE FOR ALL AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE COST;

L -- A HOUSING PROGRAM THAT REPLACES SLUMS WITH SOUND, LOW-COST,
HIGH QUALITY HOUSING, AND INTEREST RATES THAT MAKE HOME OWNERSHIP
A REALITY FOR WORKING PEOPLE ONCE AGAIN;

L -- A TAX PROGRAM THAT ELIMINATES THE GLARING TAX LOOPHOLES
THAT MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE SUPER-RICH AND THE GIANT
CORPORATIONS TO PAY LITTLE OR NOTHING WHILE THE MIDDLE-INCOME
TAXPAYER BEARS THE MAJOR BURDEN OF GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES;

L -- A TRANSPORTATION PROGRAM THAT MEETS THE NEEDS OF URBAN
AND RURAL PEOPLE;

L -- AN ENERGY PROGRAM THAT ASSURES AMERICA OF ENERGY RESOURCES
FOR DECADES TO COME;

L -- AND NATIONAL LEADERSHIP WITH COMPASSION AND UNDERSTANDING
THAT IS CLEARLY "OF, BY AND FOR THE PEOPLE."

L THE ISSUE OF THIS ELECTION YEAR IS NOT WASHINGTON -- BUT THE
DISASTROUS POLICIES OF THE NIXON-FORD ADMINISTRATION -- VETOES,
UNEMPLOYMENT, RECESSION, INFLATION, CRIME, CORRUPTION AND THE
NEGLECT OF OUR NATION'S CITIES.

L LET US GET ON WITH THE WORK OF RUNNING AGAINST THE REPUBLICANS
AND THEIR ECONOMIC POLICIES WHICH HAVE BROUGHT US TO THE BRINK OF
DEPRESSION.

*and let's get on with the
work of building a better
america.*

ONLY BY THIS ROUTE WILL WE REGAIN THE FAITH AND CONFIDENCE

OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE - We Will Win, not because
we can produce miracles - but

WE WILL WIN BECAUSE WE CARE.

WE WILL WIN BECAUSE WE DARE TO PIONEER.

WE WILL WIN BECAUSE AMERICA IS TIRED OF BEING TOLD WHAT

IT CAN'T DO. , America wants to
hear what needs
to be done + How
to do it! That's
the Democratic Program.



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