

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

JEFFERSON-JACKSON DAY DINNER

St. Paul, Minnesota

April 3, 1976

It's a great pleasure to be here with you tonight. I love being at home, and this Party -- its people and its program -- has been my political home for over 30 years.

Whatever I've been able to accomplish in public life has, in large measure, been due to my association with the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party.

I've been all around this country, spoken at hundreds of Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinners, shared platforms with countless notable party leaders. But you really have to come home to Minnesota to know what it means to have an enlightened, progressive political party.

We know that the DFL Party holds the allegiance of a clear majority of Minnesotans. We know that when we are united, this party's case is well received by the voters and, come this November, we will be victorious.

This year we celebrate our nation's bicentennial. We honor the daring, pioneering spirit of those early Americans who launched our bold experiment in democracy. We laud those who defied the established limits of their time, cast aside the comfortable rhetoric of the period, and risked the creation of a new political order.

As a nation, we can be justly proud of our accomplishments; among them, the great contributions we have made to the struggle for social justice and human dignity. At the same time, we must be mindful that the future provides tremendous opportunities for fulfilling the dreams of our founders

Tonight also celebrates the birth of the oldest and most successful political party known to man. The Democratic Party has stood these many years on the proud traditions of Jefferson -- the great architect of American ideals -- and Jackson -- the superb architect of our electoral coalition.

These two men of great vision established a tradition for this party that gives us an unparalleled perspective for viewing the conflicts of the moment against the broad sweep of history.

But our most immediate reason for celebration is the birth of our Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party some 32 years ago. It was a marriage of two proud parties founded in the populist, progressive spirit of the great Midwest.

Tonight we can speak with great pride of the accomplishments of DFL government in Minnesota. In four short years we have shown the people of this State that government can be made to work for them.

We have answered the State Republican warnings of the late sixties that state government was unmanageable and that local government would have to give way. Our answer was to restore strength to both.

We have demonstrated that the limits established by a century of Republican rule in this State were nothing more than imagery. We have a Governor and a Legislature that have boldly chosen to make a difference, have not been afraid to promise, and have delivered on those promises.

In the early forties, progressive Minnesotans faced this simple choice: either concede the future of Minnesota to Republican rule, or risk uniting in a new coalition with uncertain chances of success.

We chose to risk. We focused our efforts on the hard, down-to-earth job of winning elections.

Slowly, but steadfastly, important gains were made. I followed a trail blazed by John Blatnik, our first major office holder, and others joined me in positions of local, state and federal responsibility. And just four years ago we came to power in this State for the first time in history.

This success has not escaped the notice of my colleagues. They look with amazement at a political party that relies on caucuses and conventions, yet has an unparalleled measure of citizen participation. And they are utterly confounded by our history of broad-based financing that does without favors or privilege.

How have we done this?

Early on, we committed ourselves to a simple, straightforward set of principles:

- we would build a citizen-based party, ignoring the conventional wisdom that a strong party could only exist on a patronage base;

- we would have an open party, disregarding the common tradition of closed door party operations;

- we would defy those who argue that farm and labor organizations cannot join together in common cause;

- we would make public commitments the order of the day, and special interests would come to know this party only through its caucuses and conventions just like the rest of the people; and

- we would extend our concern far beyond election day to the process of governing itself.

But the foremost reason for our success is that this Party has not walked away from the tough battles. We have been at the very anvil of controversy year after year, and the people of Minnesota know that this Party takes on the most difficult of issues.

We wage intelligent, comprehensive debates and put our faith in the ability of the people of Minnesota to choose the candidates of the party who will deal with them squarely and honestly.

Most importantly, we campaign on specifics. We aren't the type who build three-ring circuses of surrogates, media blitzes and "please all the people, all of the time," rhetoric.

In 1970, we pledged this Party to making a dramatic change in the funding of public education in Minnesota. We said that the property tax was regressive, unfair and outmoded as the primary vehicle for paying for education.

Today the property tax increases have been stemmed; we have found new ways for financing education and providing equal educational opportunity throughout our state. Our promises then, are law today; and Minnesota is a model for the nation.

In 1972, we pledged this Party to open government, something the Republicans had not seen fit to provide in their century of control. Today, our promises of open government are law, and they set the standard for integrity throughout the nation.

In 1974, we pledged this Party to a "no-new-taxes" budget. While increasing services, we have held the line on state taxes, and rolled back considerable projected increases in local taxes. We have a surplus in the bank and our promises of 1974 are the tax policies of this State today.

What we have done is to treat the voters of this State with the great respect they deserve. We go to the voters with a record of promises kept, not with excuses that this State is ungovernable or that the problems lack solutions.

We stand together as a party that offers a vision of tomorrow not just on the local, state or federal levels of government, but with a promise of the kind of society we seek to build and an outline of how we intend to do it. We campaign on what we do through the collective ability of the governments in Washington, St. Paul and your own home towns.

And that is why, if I receive your endorsement this June, I will go to the voters of this State over the next five months heralding the high performance record of this Party.

Of course, I'm proud of what I've been able to do in the Congress along with Senator Mondale, and Congressmen Karth, Fraser, Nolan, Bergland and Oberstar.

But the Republicans in Minnesota had better be aware that each of us, joined by Wendy Anderson, Rudy Perpich, Warren Spannaus, Joan Grove, Jim Lord and Bob Mattson, will criss-cross this State with the message of the fine record of the first DFL Legislature in our history and asking for a mandate to continue.

We are a team. Fritz Mondale and I, and all of our DFL colleagues in Washington are immensely proud of what this Legislature and Governor have done for the people of Minnesota. There are no greater believers in strong state and local government than your DFL Congressional delegation.

And that's one reason why I look with amazement at those who campaign for national office by degrading the ability of that same government to do its job. They offer a false trade-off; that if only the federal government will withdraw, the state and local governments could do the job.

Let me say this. There is, indeed, a great deal that can and must be done by strong and effective state and local governments, such as we have in Minnesota.

And it does seem as if Washington too often is getting in the way instead of getting on with the job.

But who has been in charge in Washington these past seven years? The very people who are saying that the federal government should hand the job over to others.

Well, we had a Republican Administration in Minnesota that said the same thing in the late 60's. And the answer we came up with then had better be applied in Washington in 1976.

Let us again institute a retirement plan for these tired and timid Republicans, so that those of us who want to work on behalf of the people of our Nation can take over!

Let's take a hard look at the record of governmental mismanagement during the seven years of the Nixon-Ford Administration.

The Nixon-Ford team has totally bungled the management of the national economy.

-- Two Republican recessions have thrown 57 million Americans out of work and into the streets 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.

Now, if you were a Republican strategist, facing a presidential election with a record that even Grant, Harding and Hoover would run from, rather than on, what would you do?

Would you say, "well, now is the time to be held to account for seven years of government mismanagement?" Would you candidly admit the incompetence that has characterized the workings of the Nixon-Ford Administration?

Of course not.

Why do you think Ronald Reagan is running against the government? And why do you think the President acts as if he is fresh off the boat and unfamiliar with the Republican record?

These Republicans have made a choice. They will run against the government, against the Congress, against the courts, and against their own past promises.

The Republicans once promised balanced budgets. But they have given us the highest budget deficits in our history.

They once promised jobs and sang the glories of the work ethic. But they have given us the highest levels of unemployment since the Great Depression.

They once promised a stable dollar. But they have given us the highest inflation rates in our 200 year history.

They once promised free enterprise. But they have given us more rules and regulations than ever before and forced nearly 10,000 businesses to close their doors in 1975 alone.

At one time the Republicans promised good government. But they are guilty of more mismanagement and outright corruption than at any time since Grant and Harding.

They once promised law and order. Yet they preside over the highest crime rate in history.

So what we Democrats must face is another cover-up. A cover-up of Republican failures.

After all, when you get down to specifics, the Republicans know as well as you and I do, that the federal budget in relation to our total Gross National Product, has hardly grown in the last 16 years. That the size of the federal government has remained rather constant as opposed to a tremendous growth in local and state government.

My friends, this is not the time for the timid or the meek. We must challenge the anti-government, anti-politics rhetoric and call it what it really is -- the biggest cover-up since Watergate.

But there is an even more unseemly side to this current Republican campaign. They are heralding a massive retreat in our progress toward social justice and human dignity.

It is the rhetoric of the comfortable. It's the siren song of stand pat economics. They tell us to halt the movement of social progress in this country and accept what we have today as the limits on our future.

Mr. Vernon Jordan, director of the National Urban League, calls this philosophy "a blueprint for rolling back progressive social policies and laying waste the hopes of those who look for a more just, more equal America." "It is" he says, "a shoddy program to peddle in a year dedicated to recalling a revolution that raised mankind's hopes for justice and equality."

I agree. We cannot and must not institutionalize intolerable living conditions for the black and the poor, and perpetuate the continued decay of America's cities and rural poverty pockets.

I know in my heart that the American people will reject this course. A new day is dawning. We are close to being at the end of a long nightmare of confusion and dashed hopes.

And many of our people, in this Bicentennial year, are asking what legacy we will leave to future generations.

Let us pause and reflect on the kind of goals that were important to the first Americans.

They asserted the inalienable rights of people to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. They sought to create a new form of society that would stand for a full measure of human freedom and opportunity.

My hope is that each of us will consider the kind of America that our children and grandchildren will inherit.

Will they live in a society which refuses to see that adequate health care is available to all?

Will they grow to adulthood without knowing the value of work, because we have no jobs for them to do?

Will they learn only to distrust government and to ask less of themselves in the process?

If we believe in work, we must have a government that offers America a full employment policy that assures decent jobs at decent wages for all Americans.

If we believe in sound administration, we must have a program of long overdue reform to clean up the welfare mess so that help goes only to families who actually need it.

If we believe in the right of every American to a full life, we need a national health care system that provides quality health service for all at the lowest possible cost.

If we believe in the right of all Americans to pursue excellence, we must support efforts to improve the quality of education and the way it is financed.

If we believe in our cities, we must have 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.

If we believe in equality, we must have 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.

If we believe in expanding our economy, we must have a transportation program that meets the needs of urban and rural people.

If we want to improve the quality of life for all Americans, then we must have an energy program that assures America of energy resources for decades to come.

And most important, we must have National leadership that works with compassion and understanding and is clearly, "of, by and for the people."

What we need to signal to the American people is that the Democratic Party is ready to move forward with a vision of the future where the original promises of America will be fulfilled. And the way that can be done is to follow the traditions of this Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party.

Our Party stands for restoration of American values, and for replacing the politics of slogans with performance.

A favorite quotation of mine summarizes the kind of vision we must offer to the American people. It comes from the great American poet, who seemed to understand the heartbeat and the spirit of this nation. These are the words of Carl Sandburg. He speaks for me, as I know he speaks for you:

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

As we will it, so shall it be. A nation without a vision shall perish. But a people with vision shall triumph.

Together, we can make an America true to Sandburg's words. That kind of Nation, renewed in spirit, its faith restored, is well within our grasp.

You and I have worked for over three decades towards that achievement. Now is not the time to shy away. It remains only for us to reach out, to risk and to dare greatly, once again. Whether or not we are fully successful, we owe it to ourselves to try.

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Ch. Rick Scott
Gov. Anderson
Sen. Mondale
Member of Cong
State Officials
Legislature

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JEFFERSON-JACKSON DAY DINNER

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

APRIL 3, 1976

IT'S A GREAT PLEASURE TO BE HERE WITH YOU TONIGHT, I LOVE
BEING AT HOME, AND THIS PARTY -- ITS PEOPLE AND ITS PROGRAM --
HAS BEEN MY POLITICAL HOME FOR OVER 30 YEARS.

WHATEVER I'VE BEEN ABLE TO ACCOMPLISH IN PUBLIC LIFE HAS,
IN LARGE MEASURE, BEEN DUE TO MY ASSOCIATION WITH THE MINNESOTA
DEMOCRATIC-FARMER-LABOR PARTY.

I'VE BEEN ALL AROUND THIS COUNTRY, SPOKEN AT HUNDREDS OF
JEFFERSON-JACKSON DAY DINNERS, SHARED PLATFORMS WITH COUNTLESS
NOTABLE PARTY LEADERS, BUT YOU REALLY HAVE TO COME HOME TO
MINNESOTA TO KNOW WHAT IT MEANS TO HAVE AN ENLIGHTENED, PROGRESSIVE
POLITICAL PARTY. — *our own DFL.*

and hearty support
WE KNOW THAT THE DFL PARTY HOLDS THE ALLEGIANCE OF A CLEAR
MAJORITY OF MINNESOTANS.

WE KNOW THAT WHEN WE ARE UNITED, THIS PARTY'S CASE IS WELL

RECEIVED BY THE VOTERS AND, COME THIS NOVEMBER, WE WILL BE

VICTORIOUS - *in mass. and in the nation.*

THIS YEAR WE CELEBRATE OUR NATION'S BICENTENNIAL, WE HONOR

THE DARING, PIONEERING SPIRIT OF THOSE EARLY AMERICANS WHO LAUNCHED

OUR BOLD EXPERIMENT IN DEMOCRACY. WE *praise and admire* THOSE WHO DEFIED THE

ESTABLISHED LIMITS OF THEIR TIME, CAST ASIDE THE COMFORTABLE

RHETORIC OF THE PERIOD, AND RISKED THE CREATION OF A NEW POLITICAL

ORDER.

and AS A NATION, WE CAN BE JUSTLY PROUD OF OUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS;

AMONG THEM, THE GREAT CONTRIBUTIONS WE HAVE MADE TO THE STRUGGLE

FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DIGNITY. AT THE SAME TIME, WE MUST BE

MINDFUL THAT THE FUTURE PROVIDES TREMENDOUS OPPORTUNITIES FOR

FULFILLING THE DREAMS OF OUR FOUNDERS.

L ^{we} TONIGHT ~~also~~ CELEBRATE THE BIRTH OF THE OLDEST AND MOST
SUCCESSFUL POLITICAL PARTY KNOWN TO MAN. L THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY
HAS STOOD THESE MANY YEARS ON THE PROUD TRADITIONS OF JEFFERSON --
THE GREAT ARCHITECT OF AMERICAN IDEALS -- AND JACKSON -- THE
SUPERB ARCHITECT OF OUR ELECTORAL COALITION.

L THESE TWO MEN OF GREAT VISION ESTABLISHED A TRADITION FOR
~~the Democratic Party~~
THIS PARTY THAT GIVES US AN UNPARALLELED PERSPECTIVE FOR VIEWING
THE CONFLICTS OF THE MOMENT AGAINST THE BROAD SWEEP OF HISTORY.

L BUT OUR MOST IMMEDIATE REASON FOR CELEBRATION IS THE BIRTH
OF OUR DEMOCRATIC-FARMER-LABOR PARTY SOME 32 YEARS AGO. L IT WAS
A MARRIAGE OF TWO PROUD PARTIES FOUNDED IN THE POPULIST, PROGRESSIVE
SPIRIT OF THE GREAT MIDWEST.

L TONIGHT WE CAN SPEAK WITH GREAT PRIDE OF THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS
OF DFL GOVERNMENT IN MINNESOTA. L IN FOUR SHORT YEARS WE HAVE SHOWN

THIS
THE PEOPLE OF ~~THE~~ STATE THAT GOVERNMENT CAN BE MADE TO WORK FOR
THEM.

~~WE HAVE ANSWERED THE STATE REPUBLICAN WARNINGS OF THE LATE
SIXTIES THAT STATE GOVERNMENT WAS UNMANAGEABLE AND THAT LOCAL
GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO GIVE WAY. L OUR ANSWER WAS TO RESTORE STRENGTH
TO BOTH.~~

~~L WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT THE LIMITS ESTABLISHED BY A CENTURY
OF REPUBLICAN RULE IN THIS STATE WERE NOTHING MORE THAN IMAGERY.~~

L WE HAVE A GOVERNOR AND A LEGISLATURE THAT HAVE BOLDLY CHOSEN TO
MAKE A DIFFERENCE, HAVE NOT BEEN AFRAID TO PROMISE, AND HAVE DELIVERED
ON THOSE PROMISES.

L IN THE EARLY FORTIES, PROGRESSIVE MINNESOTANS FACED THIS SIMPLE
CHOICE: EITHER CONCEDE THE FUTURE OF MINNESOTA TO REPUBLICAN RULE,
OR RISK UNITING IN A NEW COALITION WITH UNCERTAIN CHANCES OF SUCCESS.

L WE CHOSE TO RISK. ^{and} WE FOCUSED OUR EFFORTS ON THE HARD, DOWN-TO-
EARTH JOB OF WINNING ELECTIONS.

L SLOWLY, BUT STEADFASTLY, IMPORTANT GAINS WERE MADE. L I FOLLOWED
A TRAIL BLAZED BY JOHN BLATNIK, OUR FIRST MAJOR OFFICE HOLDER, AND
OTHERS JOINED ME IN POSITIONS OF LOCAL, STATE AND FEDERAL
RESPONSIBILITY. L AND JUST FOUR YEARS AGO WE CAME TO POWER IN THIS
STATE FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY.

L THIS SUCCESS HAS NOT ESCAPED THE NOTICE OF ~~MY COLLEAGUES~~ ^{Political observers}

L THEY LOOK WITH AMAZEMENT AT A POLITICAL PARTY THAT RELIES ON
CAUCUSES AND CONVENTIONS, YET HAS AN UNPARALLELED MEASURE OF
CITIZEN PARTICIPATION.

AND THEY ARE UTTERLY CONFOUNDED BY OUR HISTORY OF BROAD-BASED *party*

FINANCING THAT DOES WITHOUT FAVORS OR PRIVILEGE.

How HAVE WE DONE THIS? *Well,*

EARLY ON, WE COMMITTED OURSELVES TO A SIMPLE, STRAIGHTFORWARD

SET OF PRINCIPLES:

-- WE WOULD BUILD A CITIZEN-BASED PARTY, IGNORING THE
CONVENTIONAL WISDOM THAT A STRONG PARTY COULD ONLY EXIST ON

A PATRONAGE BASE;

-- WE WOULD HAVE AN OPEN PARTY, DISREGARDING THE COMMON
TRADITION OF CLOSED DOOR PARTY OPERATIONS;

-- WE WOULD DEFY THOSE WHO ARGUE THAT FARM AND LABOR
ORGANIZATIONS CANNOT JOIN TOGETHER IN COMMON CAUSE;

L -- WE WOULD MAKE PUBLIC COMMITMENTS THE ORDER OF THE DAY, AND
SPECIAL INTERESTS WOULD COME TO KNOW THIS PARTY ONLY THROUGH ITS
CAUCUSES AND CONVENTIONS JUST LIKE THE REST OF THE PEOPLE; AND

L -- WE WOULD EXTEND OUR CONCERN FAR BEYOND ELECTION DAY TO THE
PROCESS OF GOVERNING ITSELF.

L BUT THE FOREMOST REASON FOR OUR SUCCESS IS THAT THIS PARTY HAS
NOT WALKED AWAY FROM THE TOUGH BATTLES. WE HAVE BEEN AT THE
VERY ANVIL OF CONTROVERSY YEAR AFTER YEAR, AND THE PEOPLE OF
MINNESOTA KNOW THAT THIS PARTY TAKES ON THE MOST DIFFICULT OF
ISSUES.

L WE WAGE *spirited,* INTELLIGENT, COMPREHENSIVE DEBATES AND PUT OUR FAITH
IN THE ABILITY OF THE PEOPLE OF MINNESOTA TO CHOOSE THE
CANDIDATES OF THE PARTY WHO WILL DEAL WITH THEM SQUARELY AND
HONESTLY.

L MOST IMPORTANTLY, WE CAMPAIGN ON Issues. WE AREN'T THE TYPE
Political
WHO BUILD THREE-RING CIRCUSES OF SURREPTICES, MEDIA BLITZES AND

"PLEASE ALL THE PEOPLE, ALL OF THE TIME," RHETORIC.

L IN 1970 WE PLEDGED THIS PARTY TO MAKING A DRAMATIC CHANGE IN
THE FUNDING OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN MINNESOTA. WE SAID THAT THE
PROPERTY TAX WAS REGRESSIVE, UNFAIR AND OUTMODDED AS THE PRIMARY
VEHICLE FOR PAYING FOR EDUCATION.

L TODAY ~~THE~~ PROPERTY TAX INCREASES HAVE BEEN STEMMED; WE HAVE
FOUND NEW WAYS FOR FINANCING EDUCATION AND PROVIDING EQUAL
EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY THROUGHOUT OUR STATE. OUR PROMISES THEN,
ARE LAW TODAY; AND MINNESOTA IS A MODEL FOR THE NATION.

L IN 1972, WE PLEDGED THIS PARTY TO OPEN GOVERNMENT,
SOMETHING THE REPUBLICANS HAD NOT SEEN FIT TO PROVIDE IN THEIR
CENTURY OF CONTROL.

L TODAY, OUR PROMISES OF OPEN GOVERNMENT ARE LAW, AND THEY SET THE
STANDARD FOR INTEGRITY THROUGHOUT THE NATION.

L IN 1974, WE PLEDGED THIS PARTY TO A "NO-NEW-TAXES" BUDGET.

L WHILE INCREASING SERVICES, WE HAVE HELD THE LINE ON STATE TAXES, AND
ROLLED BACK CONSIDERABLE PROJECTED INCREASES IN LOCAL TAXES. L WE HAVE
A SURPLUS IN THE BANK AND OUR PROMISES OF 1974 ARE THE TAX POLICIES
OF THIS STATE TODAY.

L WHAT WE HAVE DONE IS TO TREAT THE VOTERS OF THIS STATE WITH
THE GREAT RESPECT THEY DESERVE. L WE GO TO THE VOTERS WITH A RECORD
OF PROMISES KEPT, NOT WITH EXCUSES THAT THIS STATE IS UNGOVERNABLE
OR THAT THE PROBLEMS LACK SOLUTIONS.

L WE STAND TOGETHER AS A PARTY THAT OFFERS A VISION OF TOMORROW
NOT JUST ON THE LOCAL, STATE OR FEDERAL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT,

~~BUT WITH A PROMISE OF THE KIND OF SOCIETY WE SEEK TO BUILD
AND AN OUTLINE OF HOW WE INTEND TO DO IT. WE CAMPAIGN ON
WHAT WE DO THROUGH THE COLLECTIVE ABILITY OF THE GOVERNMENTS
IN WASHINGTON, ST. PAUL AND YOUR OWN HOME TOWNS.~~

L AND THAT IS WHY, IF I RECEIVE YOUR ENDORSMENT THIS JUNE,
I WILL GO TO THE VOTERS OF THIS STATE OVER THE NEXT FIVE

MONTHS HERALDING THE HIGH PERFORMANCE RECORD OF THIS PARTY.

L ~~OF COURSE~~, I'M PROUD OF WHAT ^{we have} ~~WE~~ BEEN ABLE TO DO IN

THE CONGRESS, ~~ALONG WITH~~ SENATOR MONDALE, AND CONGRESSMEN KARTH,

FRASER, NOLAN, BERGLAND AND OVERSTAR - ^{all of us have} ~~worked together.~~

L BUT THE REPUBLICANS IN MINNESOTA HAD BETTER BE AWARE
THAT EACH OF US, JOINED BY WENDY ANDERSON, ^{Rudy} ~~RUTH~~ PERPICH, WARREN

SPANNAUS, JOAN GROWE, JIM LORD AND BOB MATTSON, ~~Karl Rolvaag,~~
~~Ron Anderson, Richard Sessing~~

WILL CRISS-CROSS THIS STATE WITH THE MESSAGE OF THE FINE RECORD

OF THE FIRST DFL LEGISLATURE IN OUR HISTORY AND ASKING FOR A

MANDATE TO CONTINUE.

L WE ARE A TEAM, L FRITZ MONDALE AND I, AND ALL OF OUR DFL

COLLEAGUES IN WASHINGTON ARE IMMENSELY PROUD OF WHAT THIS LEGISLATURE

AND GOVERNOR HAVE DONE FOR THE PEOPLE OF MINNESOTA. L THERE ARE NO

GREATER BELIEVERS IN STRONG STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT THAN YOUR

DFL CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION.

L AND THAT'S ONE REASON WHY I LOOK WITH AMAZEMENT AT THOSE WHO

CAMPAIGN FOR NATIONAL OFFICE BY DEGRADING THE ABILITY OF THAT

~~FEDERAL~~ SAME GOVERNMENT TO DO ITS JOB. L THEY OFFER A FALSE TRADE - 77

THAT IF ONLY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WILL WITHDRAW, THE STATE AND

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS COULD DO THE JOB.

But State + Local Government
cannot establish a National
Transportation Policy -

Can't design a National
Fund Policy -

Can't give us a unified
Coordinated National
Environment Protection
Policy -

And State + Local Govt
alone Can't establish
a National Economic
Policy. for Job Production

L LET ME SAY THIS. L THERE IS, INDEED, A GREAT DEAL THAT CAN AND

MUST BE DONE BY STRONG AND EFFECTIVE STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS,

SUCH AS WE HAVE IN MINNESOTA (X)

But,

AND IT DOES SEEM AS IF WASHINGTON TOO OFTEN IS GETTING IN

THE WAY INSTEAD OF GETTING ON WITH THE JOB!

But, Jack,

L BUT WHO HAS BEEN IN CHARGE IN WASHINGTON THESE PAST SEVEN YEARS? Well, tell you, the
L THE VERY PEOPLE WHO ARE SAYING THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
SHOULD HAND THE JOB OVER TO OTHERS.

~~L WELL, WE HAD A REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION IN MINNESOTA THAT~~
~~SAID THE SAME THING IN THE LATE 60'S. AND THE ANSWER WE CAME~~
~~UP WITH THEN SHOULD BE APPLIED IN WASHINGTON IN 1976.~~

L We will provide, ~~the solution,~~
LET US AGAIN INSTITUTE A RETIREMENT PLAN FOR THESE TIRED

AND TIMID REPUBLICANS, SO THAT THOSE OF US WHO WANT TO WORK ON

BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE OF OUR NATION CAN TAKE OVER!

We will

X Put a Democrat in the White House in 1976

2 Republican Recessions have
cost State + Local Government
over \$35 Billion in lost Revenue

2 Republican Recessions have
added 200 Billion to Nat. Debt

✓ Expanded our Welfare Roles;

✓ Increased Crime

✓ Put our Construction industry
into a Depression

✓ Reduced the Value of our
Dollar

✓ Brought Inflation that
has robbed the poor & the
elderly

✓ Caused Bankruptcies
for Business

✓ Raised the Interest
rate to the highest
level since the Civil War

L LET'S TAKE A HARD LOOK AT THE ~~RECORD~~ ^{Republican} OF ~~GOVERNMENTAL~~ ^{Record} ~~MANAGEMENT~~ DURING THE SEVEN YEARS OF THE NIXON-FORD ADMINISTRATION.

L THE NIXON-FORD TEAM HAS TOTALLY BUNGLED THE MANAGEMENT OF THE
NATIONAL ECONOMY,

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

L -- TWO REPUBLICAN RECESSIONS HAVE ROBBED ^{200 Billion} ~~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.

← L NOW, IF YOU WERE A REPUBLICAN STRATEGIST, FACING A PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTION WITH A RECORD THAT EVEN GRANT, HARDING AND HOOVER WOULD

RUN ^{away} FROM, RATHER THAN ^{run} ~~BE~~ WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

~~WOULD YOU SAY, "WELL, NOW IS THE TIME TO BE HELD TO ACCOUNT~~

~~FOR SEVEN YEARS OF GOVERNMENT MISMANAGEMENT?"~~ WOULD YOU ~~CANDIDLY~~

ADMIT THE INCOMPETENCE THAT HAS CHARACTERIZED THE WORKINGS OF THE

NIXON-FORD ADMINISTRATION?

L OF COURSE NOT, / - NO -

L WHY DO YOU THINK RONALD REAGAN IS RUNNING AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT?

AND WHY DO YOU THINK THE PRESIDENT ACTS AS IF HE IS FRESH OFF THE

BOAT AND UNFAMILIAR WITH THE REPUBLICAN RECORD? -

L THESE REPUBLICANS HAVE MADE A CHOICE, / THEY WILL RUN AGAINST

THE GOVERNMENT, AGAINST THE CONGRESS, AGAINST THE COURTS, AND

AGAINST THEIR OWN PAST PROMISES.

~~They would like to~~
~~look at the promises~~

OK THE REPUBLICANS ONCE PROMISED BALANCED BUDGETS BUT THEY

HAVE GIVEN US THE HIGHEST BUDGET DEFICITS IN OUR HISTORY.

↳ THEY ONCE PROMISED JOBS AND SANG THE GLORIES OF THE WORK ETHIC.

BUT THEY HAVE GIVEN US THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF ^{unemployment} UNEMPLOYMENT SINCE

THE GREAT DEPRESSION.

↳ THEY ONCE PROMISED A STABLE DOLLAR. BUT THEY HAVE GIVEN US

THE HIGHEST INFLATION RATES IN OUR 200 YEAR HISTORY.

↳ THEY ONCE PROMISED FREE ENTERPRISE ↳ BUT THEY HAVE GIVEN US

MORE RULES AND REGULATIONS THAN EVER BEFORE AND FORCED ^{over} ~~NEARLY~~ 12,000

BUSINESSES TO CLOSE THEIR DOORS IN 1975 ALONE.

~~THE~~ ^{once} THE REPUBLICANS PROMISED GOOD GOVERNMENT. BUT

THEY ARE GUILTY OF MORE MISMANAGEMENT AND OUTRIGHT CORRUPTION THAN

AT ANY TIME SINCE GRANT AND HARDING.

↳ THEY ONCE PROMISED LAW AND ORDER. YET THEY PRESIDE OVER THE

HIGHEST CRIME RATE IN HISTORY.

are seeing + hearing us
SO WHAT WE DEMOCRATS ~~MEANS~~ ANOTHER COVER-UP. A COVER-UP
OF REPUBLICAN FAILURES! But that Cover-up will be exposed!

AFTER ALL, WHEN YOU GET DOWN TO SPECIFICS, THE REPUBLICANS KNOW
AS WELL AS YOU AND I DO, THAT THE FEDERAL BUDGET IN RELATION TO OUR
TOTAL GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT, HAS HARDLY GROWN IN THE LAST 16 YEARS.
THAT THE SIZE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS REMAINED RATHER CONSTANT
AS OPPOSED TO A TREMENDOUS GROWTH IN LOCAL AND STATE GOVERNMENT.

~~MY FRIENDS,~~ THIS IS NOT THE TIME FOR THE TIMID OR THE MEEK.

WE MUST CHALLENGE THE ANTI-GOVERNMENT, ANTI-POLITICS Republican ~~RETORTIC~~ AND
propaganda and
CALL IT WHAT IT REALLY IS -- THE BIGGEST COVER-UP SINCE WATERGATE..!

BUT THERE IS AN EVEN MORE Deemey ~~WATERGATE~~ SIDE TO THIS CURRENT
REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN. THEY ARE HERALDING A MASSIVE RETREAT IN OUR
PROGRESS TOWARD SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DIGNITY.

1960 - The Comfortable + the Concerned

-17-

L IT IS THE RHETORIC OF THE COMFORTABLE.. IT'S THE SIREN SONG OF
old fashioned Republican Tickle Down Economics.
~~STAND PAT ECONOMICS.~~ THEY TELL US TO HALT THE MOVEMENT OF SOCIAL
They Tell us what not to do, not
~~PROGRESS IN THIS COUNTRY AND ACCEPT WHAT WE HAVE TODAY AS THE LIMITS~~
what we can + should do.
~~ON OUR FUTURE.~~

L MR. VERNON JORDAN, DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, CALLS
negative
THIS PHILOSOPHY "A BLUEPRINT FOR ROLLING BACK PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL
A
POLICIES AND LAYING WASTE THE HOPES OF THOSE WHO LOOK FOR A MORE
JUST, MORE EQUAL AMERICA." "IT IS" HE SAYS, "A SHODDY PROGRAM TO
PEDDLE IN A YEAR DEDICATED TO RECALLING A REVOLUTION THAT RAISED
MANKIND'S HOPES FOR JUSTICE AND EQUALITY."

L I AGREE. L WE CANNOT AND MUST NOT INSTITUTIONALIZE INTOLERABLE
LIVING CONDITIONS FOR THE BLACK AND THE POOR, AND PERPETUATE THE
CONTINUED DECAY OF AMERICA'S CITIES AND RURAL POVERTY POCKETS.

I KNOW ~~I KNOW~~ THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL REJECT THIS
COURSE. A NEW DAY IS DAWNING WE ARE CLOSE TO BEING AT THE END
OF ^{this} ~~A~~ LONG NIGHTMARE OF CONFUSION AND DASHED HOPES. ^{Our future} ~~is~~
is in our hands - yes in our votes in 1976.
AND MANY OF OUR PEOPLE, IN THIS BICENTENNIAL YEAR, ARE ASKING
WHAT LEGACY WE WILL LEAVE TO FUTURE GENERATIONS.

LET US PAUSE AND REFLECT ON THE KIND OF GOALS THAT WERE
IMPORTANT TO THE FIRST AMERICANS.
THEY ASSERTED THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF PEOPLE TO LIFE, LIBERTY
AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS. THEY SOUGHT TO CREATE A NEW FORM OF
SOCIETY THAT WOULD STAND FOR A FULL MEASURE OF HUMAN FREEDOM AND
OPPORTUNITY. (X)

MY HOPE IS THAT EACH OF US WILL CONSIDER THE KIND OF AMERICA
THAT OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN WILL INHERIT.

L WILL THEY LIVE IN A SOCIETY WHICH REFUSES TO SEE THAT ADEQUATE
HEALTH CARE IS AVAILABLE TO ALL?

L WILL THEY GROW TO ADULTHOOD WITHOUT KNOWING THE VALUE OF WORK,
BECAUSE WE HAVE NO JOBS FOR THEM TO DO?

L WILL THEY LEARN ONLY TO DISTRUST GOVERNMENT AND TO ASK LESS OF
THEMSELVES IN THE PROCESS?

*Will they live in an
America that forgets its
poor - its needy - its less fortunate?*

~~L~~ IF WE BELIEVE IN WORK, WE MUST HAVE A GOVERNMENT THAT OFFERS

AMERICA A FULL EMPLOYMENT POLICY THAT ASSURES DECENT JOBS AT DECENT
WAGES FOR ALL AMERICANS.

L IF WE BELIEVE IN SOUND ADMINISTRATION, WE MUST HAVE A PROGRAM

OF LONG OVERDUE REFORM TO CLEAN UP THE WELFARE MESS ~~SO THAT HELP~~ ^{to}

modernize programs
~~GOES ONLY TO FAMILIES WHO ACTUALLY NEED IT.~~

modern Days.

L IF WE BELIEVE IN THE RIGHT OF EVERY AMERICAN TO A FULL LIFE,

then WE NEED A NATIONAL HEALTH CARE SYSTEM THAT PROVIDES QUALITY HEALTH
SERVICE FOR ALL AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE COST.

L IF WE BELIEVE IN THE RIGHT OF ALL AMERICANS TO PURSUE EXCELLENCE,
WE MUST SUPPORT EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION AND THE
WAY IT IS FINANCED.

L IF WE BELIEVE IN OUR CITIES, WE MUST HAVE 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 IF WE BELIEVE IN ~~FAIR PLAY~~ *fair-play-then* WE MUST HAVE 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.

If we ~~believe~~ want to improve
~~if we believe in expanding our economy, we must have a~~
The Quality of life for all Americans, then we
~~TRANSPORTATION PROGRAM THAT MEETS THE NEEDS OF URBAN AND RURAL~~
must protect our environment, and
~~PEOPLE,~~ Conserve our resources.

L ~~If we believe in an expanding economy,~~
~~if we want to improve the quality of life for all Americans,~~

THEN WE MUST HAVE AN ENERGY PROGRAM THAT ASSURES AMERICA OF

ENERGY RESOURCES FOR DECADES TO COME, ~~and~~

L AND MOST IMPORTANT, WE MUST HAVE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP THAT WORKS

WITH COMPASSION AND UNDERSTANDING AND IS CLEARLY, "OF, BY AND FOR

THE PEOPLE."

~~The issue, what by the way, is~~
~~The issue, who is who does government~~

WHAT WE NEED TO SIGNAL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IS THAT THE

~~Serve! Does it serve people!~~

DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS READY TO MOVE FORWARD WITH A VISION OF THE

FUTURE WHERE THE ORIGINAL PROMISES OF AMERICA WILL BE FULFILLED,

AND THE WAY THAT CAN BE DONE IS TO FOLLOW THE TRADITIONS OF

THIS DEMOCRATIC-FARMER-LABOR PARTY.

OUR PARTY STANDS FOR RESTORATION OF AMERICAN VALUES, AND FOR
REPLACING THE POLITICS OF SLOGANS WITH PERFORMANCE.

A FAVORITE QUOTATION OF MINE SUMMARIZES THE KIND OF VISION
WE MUST OFFER TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. IT COMES FROM THE GREAT

AMERICAN POET, WHO SEEMED TO UNDERSTAND THE HEARTBEAT AND THE

SPIRIT OF THIS NATION. THESE ARE THE WORDS OF CARL SANDBURG. HE

SPEAKS FOR ME, AS I KNOW HE SPEAKS FOR YOU:

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

AS WE WILL IT, SO SHALL IT BE. A NATION WITHOUT A VISION
SHALL PERISH. BUT A PEOPLE WITH ~~WILL~~ Hope SHALL TRIUMPH!

TOGETHER, WE CAN MAKE AN AMERICA TRUE TO SANDBURG'S WORDS,
THAT KIND OF NATION, RENEWED IN SPIRIT, ITS FAITH RESTORED, IS WELL
WITHIN OUR GRASP.

YOU AND I HAVE WORKED FOR OVER THREE DECADES TOWARDS THAT
ACHIEVEMENT. NOW IS NOT THE TIME TO ~~SEEK~~ ^{retreat,} IT REMAINS ONLY FOR
US TO REACH OUT, TO RISK AND TO DARE GREATLY, ~~ONCE AGAIN.~~ ^{at least,} WHETHER
OR NOT WE ARE FULLY SUCCESSFUL, WE OWE IT TO OURSELVES TO TRY.!

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↳ OPPORTUNITY FOR AMERICA ONCE MORE TO BE CONFIDENT
AND HAPPY--THIS IS OUR PROMISE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE!

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