

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

PENNSYLVANIA AFL-CIO CONVENTION

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

April 8, 1976

It is a pleasure to be here in Pennsylvania with all my friends from the great American Labor Movement. I am honored that you have asked me to be with you this morning.

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. Responsibility to the people -- 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 the Democratic 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 higher in state after state, city after city.

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" -- "trickle down" 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 the real value of their 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 progressive leaders 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.

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

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 in the 1960's.

The Nixon-Ford 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. They reached levels of 10 percent, 12 percent and 15 percent, which were experienced at the time of the Civil War.

The income, production and employment loss to America as a result of the 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.

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 those 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 corporate 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 jumped 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 our White House friends delivered on their promises of "law and order."

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.

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

In Minnesota last February, 34,000 additional people were added to the unemployment rolls; in Pittsburgh, Boston, Philadelphia, Los Angeles and New York, and in many other cities across the land, big and small, unemployment is still at the double-digit level.

Yes, thankfully, after 20 months of inflation and recession, some improvement 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.

Second, the American people should remember that it was a Democratic Congress that argued, prodded and cajoled the 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 enough.

-- The Nixon-Ford team has punished and bled 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 our people. It has succeeded only in running it into the ground.

But we won't win this election by default.

Progressive forces 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.

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 the Nixon-Ford Administration. They should run against the Administration that gave us Watergate, double-digit inflation, and depression-level unemployment. They should run against the Washington of Richard Nixon, Spiro Agnew, 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.

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. Let us 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 and how to do it! And, that is the Democratic Program and it needs and deserves the support of every working family in America.

SPEECH GIVEN BY SENATOR HUMPHREY

STATE AFL-CIO CONVENTION

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

April 8, 1976

Thank you for presenting me to this great delegation of the finest people in America, the delegates of the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO. I heard somebody out there say "We want Humphrey"; let me tell you you've always had me. You don't need to worry about that. May I say since we've been together, it's a great fellowship and it's a marvelous friendship.

Every time I come to Pennsylvania, every time I have been in Allegheny County, on every occasion that I've been here in Pittsburgh, it's always been a great moment for me. You've given me strength. You've given me inspiration. You've given me your support, and now I want to do what I can in my way, whatever that way may be, to help you. And we're going to do it.

Let me quickly pay my very sincere respects to all of the officers of your State Federation. Of course, to Harry Bock, Bob McIntire, and to that old war horse over here, Mike Johnson. Mike is going to have to give up the key to the executive suite. He's going to really have to go to work now for a change. Whenever we needed some help, and whenever there was a job to do, we could call on Mike Johnson, and now he has a successor -- and I want to tell you that successor is ready to do battle, and I want to congratulate Jimmy Mahoney. I want to wish him well. I tell him to get busy.

We've got elections to win. We've got workers to organize and we've got things to do. Let me quickly say that I am going to be a little rough on Republicans today, but I do appreciate the one that was up here yesterday with you, Senator Schweiker. And I appreciate the fact that he would change his schedule so that I could be here today instead of yesterday because I had work to do in the Committee and the Senate yesterday that necessitated my being in Washington.

I've never been against Republicans. As a matter of fact, I like Republicans. I am just like Adlai Stevenson, who said that he would trust Republicans with anything in the world except public office! Now you've heard me tell you before that my father married a Republican and he had a lot of trouble with mom under that. I remember when I was a boy, dad would tell me that he brought his sons up to respect their mother. That was a cardinal principle in our home when I was a boy, as is the principle in my home now with my sons. We have three sons and they've been brought up to respect their mother.

One time dad told me after I had been a little sassy to mom, he said, "I want to tell you something young man, your mother is a wonderful woman and I don't intend to let you in any way abuse her. She's a marvelous woman; she's my wife; she's my sweetheart; she happens to be your mother; and she's one of the finest women in the world. She has just one weakness -- she's politically unreliable!" And mom really was. Dad always felt she voted for Harding.

And what do you think I did when I got married? I went out and married the daughter of one of the staunchest Republicans here in South Dakota, but I tell you, my dear friends, I've got a wonderful wife and I saved her father from trouble because I made a Democrat out of her!

So you see, I've had to play politics most of my life. And much of my life I've been trying to help my Republican friends get out of the ditch and stand on the high ground of progressive democracy. And if there is any in the hall today that need political salvation, come right on down here. Yes, we fought many battles together but there are battles yet to be fought and victories yet to be won.

Let me quickly say that in 1968 in this very city, I came here and it was the Steelworkers at that time having their great convention. It was the beginning of a tremendous move that we were making to try to hold on to the Presidency of the United States. I can't tell you how disappointed I was to have failed in that effort. The Republicans didn't win. We gave it to them. We were divided. We were torn. We were not united. We had a third party. We had everything working against us. But despite that, we came within 1/2 of 1% of winning that election and I say to you that had we had another week, maybe less, I think we could have been having this little gathering down at the White House right now. I've always told you that if you'd stick with me I'd see that you get in down there, and I've talked to all these Democratic candidates and I have a pledge from them that they're going to give you a key for the front door -- you won't have to come in the back door.

Now let me give you a little history. Two hundred years ago, that's our birthday isn't it, we're celebrating our bicentennial, and my goodness, Pennsylvania is in the very front line of this bicentennial celebration. Pittsburgh at that time was out here as a fort on the river. It was a pioneer country.

And Philadelphia was the very center of the American movement for independence. Two hundred years ago Thomas Jefferson, writing the Declaration of Independence, declared our independence of the British

Tories in 1776; and 200 years later in 1976 we are going to declare our freedom from the Republican Tories! It's the same old fight. These old Tories, they never give up -- they hang in there. You think you've got them practically eliminated and you wake up to find out that when you thought one of them was dead, he was just sleeping!

So we've got our work cut out. There's a constant battle in this country for social betterment. There's a constant struggle between the forces of reaction and the forces of progress. It will never be so. We will build a better society only if we stay with the fight.

Those immortal words of those God-given inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness -- those are not guarantees. Those are challenges. Yes, God Almighty gave us those rights, but those rights can only be exercised if we, the people, through government, by the consent of the people through representative government in which we have something to say, if we are willing to mobilize; if we're willing to dedicate our resources; if we're willing to make the necessary commitment.

We want life and we want the good life, not just survival. That's what the labor movement is all about. It was the labor movement from the very first days of this republic that fought for a better life, for better working conditions. As I said to the Building Trades Council at the Building Trade Department that was meeting in Washington this past week, I said it was the Carpenters and Joiners, one of the early great guilds and unions that was as much a part of this republic, my friends, as George Washington and Benjamin Franklin. They were there. In the very earliest days it was the laborers and the farmers that fought side by side. Remember, it was the embattled farmers at Lexington and Concord, not the stockbrokers. Remember, it was the working people that

stood for independence. The history of America reveals it.

All through our history from the very first day of our freedom, of our independence, working people have mobilized, they have organized, they have fought, they have died to make America a better place in which to live. This labor movement has been the conscience of American politics for two centuries.

From the earliest days of the Knights of Labor to this very day, you've fought for the children. You fought against child labor. You fought for a shorter work week. You fought for benefits, for a chance for a vacation, for better health, for education for everything. And I challenge this labor movement not to give up. Don't let anybody tell you our work is done. Don't let anybody tell you that we're getting soft and flabby. I ask you to go on out and be as vigorous and as vital and as dynamic as you were on the day that you organized your union. That's our pattern.

And what I say for labor, I want to say to my fellow politicians, particularly those that claim to be Democrats and that claim to be progressives, this is no time to retreat. I don't intend to let Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan set the dimensions of this campaign. Not one bit. I don't intend to let the Nixon-Ford Administration with this movie actor running around here trying to be a candidate, I don't intend to let them turn back the social progress that we won and fought for. Yes, they'd like to have you believe that everything's been a failure. Let me tell you, when they tell you these programs have been a failure, they're telling you that you've been a failure. You fought for these programs.

When they tell you that you can't get anything done in your government, they're telling you that you can't get anything done. Well, I'll

admit one thing. As long as that crowd is around Washington, we're not going to get anything done. But we're going to change that. As somebody once said, after this election in 1976 and when we put a new man in the White House in 1977, there's going to be the greatest exodus of people from Washington across the Potomac, as the time when Moses led the children of Israel out of Egypt.

Now friends, why should that be the case? Not simply because one is a Republican and one is a Democrat, but because of what's happened. Because this America of ours needs to have new standards. Because we need to do better. I checked the record a little bit. I grew up in the days when one of the great political heroes was Al Smith. And old Al Smith used to say, let's look at the record. So I'll put on my glasses here so I can take a look at the record 'cause I don't want to mislead you, I want to give you the facts.

In 1961 or from 1961 to 1969 when the Democratic Party was in the White House, we created 13 million new jobs for American workers and we reduced unemployment to 3.6% in 1968. In the last 3 years the Nixon-Ford wrecking team has been able to increase employment by just one million. They managed to push the official unemployment rate to an average of 8.5% and, in fact, it was much larger and higher in state after state and city after city. That unemployment rate means literally nothing until you get specific. When you go to New York, it is 15%. When you go to Detroit, it is 18%. When you go into Miami, it is 14%. You go to Providence, Rhode Island, it is 13%. You go to Boston, Massachusetts and it is 12.5% to 13%. Those are the figures that count. You go to Los Angeles, it is 14%. In city after city millions of people who cry out to have a chance to earn their way are condemned to welfare, condemned to food stamps, condemned to unemployment compensation, instead of

being permitted to contribute to the life of their country and the benefit of their family. It is an outrage.

Since 1972 these Republicans have provided just one job for every four that was needed. One out of four. For the four new job seekers since 1972, they've had one job. One job for every four persons. That's what we mean by "No, No, Go Slow, Not Now, Be Told" and this crowd that tells us to stand still, one out of four.

In the Democratic 1960's with Presidents Kennedy and Johnson in the White House, the weekly take home pay, and that's what counts, the take home pay, of a working man or woman, after inflation, rose 12.4%. A genuine increase in the standard of living in the past three years alone, that same family, that same man and woman, has experienced a drop of 5.4% in real value of their take home pay.

Republican economic mismanagement, in fact, has pushed the working families of America back ten years, and today your take home pay in terms of purchasing power is what it was in 1965. That's what this is all about. Forget all this flim flam that they give you, all this banana oil that they like to spread around. Let's talk about what counts. You've got to pay your bills. You want to educate your children. You would like to take care of your home. There are things that you need and you can't do it with a Republican speech -- you've got to have it in your pay check and you and I know it. Those Democratic years from 1961 to 1969 the average rate of inflation was 2.3%. Unemployment 4% or below, the average rate of inflation 2.3%. Now, we've got a crowd in there with a lot of economic witch doctors concocting some kind of poison telling us that if you get the rate of unemployment down that inflation will rise. That's what they tell you every day.

Every day, like Goebels, they spread the propaganda. Every day

they tell millions of Americans through those cameras, through the press, I'm not complaining about reporters now, they've got a job to report, well report this. Let me tell you something, the best way to get inflation down is to put people to work. We've got a message. We've got a story to tell. They'll report it. All we got to do is tell it and tell it like it is. Well one thing I'll say about my Republican friends, now this is very important, because I think everybody ought to be good to their friends, and this Republican team, they're good to their friends -- the trouble is you're not one of them.

Listen here, I've served as Chairman of the Joint Economic Committee and I have been looking up the facts. I don't write fiction. I am looking up the facts. If you want some kind of spook story, go get one of those other fellows. I am not going to try to tell you something that I can't back up.

And I'm here to tell you that from 1969 of this Nixon-Ford team, the richest 20% of our people actually increased its share of the total income of the nation during the period of economic suffering for millions and billions of Americans. The Nixon-Ford economics produced a shift of about \$20 billion from the pockets of the working Americans -- the people in the shops, factories and mines -- into the pockets of the super rich. They took care of their inflation alright. The minute that you get a little wage contract, the very first thing they say is "well, we've got to look at that now, that might be inflationary".

This Nixon-Ford Administration, and that's what it is, its Nixon and Ford, and its Wall Street advisors. And they have got them in Washington; they don't just leave them up in New York, they brought them down and put them on the payroll. They have seen to it that their

people were taken care of, including, may I say, some of the biggest banks. I am not opposed to them taking care of big banks, because everyone of us has a stake in a good banking system. All that I ask is that they spread their benefits around a little bit. And don't just stop at the bank. For example, from 1961 to 1968 the average mortgage interest rate was 6%. 6% -- so that you and your children could buy a home.

Since 1969 that rate of mortgage has gone up more than 50%. And today the housing industry is crippled. It is in a depression because of the miserable uneconomic, inflationary policies of Ford and Nixon backed up with the Federal Reserve Board. That is what caused your housing depression.

We have had mortgage rates of 10%, interest rates of 12% and 15%, construction loans at 20%, and they say, well, we can't do anything about that. They say those are the forces of the marketplace. Isn't that interesting? And yet, dear friends, let me tell you what the forces of the marketplace don't do. When we get ready to loan money abroad, your money, we can loan it at 2%. We loan it at 6%, we loan it at 5%. Now, don't misunderstand me, that's necessary in many instances. But I am here to tell you that if you got 6% money for Brazil and if you got 7% money for the Russians, you can have 6% and 7% money for Pennsylvania.

Listen, we haven't had just one recession in the last few years, we've had two -- you forgot the first one, because the first has been overshadowed by the second one and the reason is the first one they just broke your legs; this time they broke your back. And you know, you kind of forget the earlier pain. It's all relevant. But we've

had two -- two Republican recessions and thrown 57,000,000 Americans at one time or another out of work. You need to know this. Fifty-seven million people have been denied the chance for constant weekly paychecks. Two Republican recessions have robbed our economy of one trillion dollars in workers' paychecks, industrial production and agricultural income. One trillion dollars, two Republican recessions have wiped out the entire income gain made by the American workers since 1960 and even more alarming is the fact that this Republican veto policy is convincing many of our citizens that a welfare check is better than a paycheck.

We have an entire generation of young Americans in our big cities, many of them unemployed as much as 35% to 40% unemployment that are growing up and never knowing the value of work. Never have the sense of discipline of work. Never have the chance to learn a skill. Youth unemployment and this Administration stands there paralyzed, ignoring the facts and you and I know that as youth unemployment goes up, so does crime. It's not only the tragedy of young people being denied a chance to be a part of the American economy and the American society. It is that they are pushed to the side, they have to live in the shadow economy. They try to get by on what little they can pick off and then they try to get by on what little they can rip off, and I am here to say without fear of contradiction as the result of the 7 year study made under the guidance and the supervision of the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress, that as youth unemployment goes up, crime goes up.

Today 80% of all the crime is committed by youngsters between the ages of 14 and 18, and 90% is committed by youngsters between 14 and 21, and we're building jails rather than having job corps. We have an Ad-

ministration that wants to cut off our youth employment program; that wants to do away with our Job Corps program; that wants to do away with our summer employment programs.

Ladies and Gentlemen, that's not only bad economics, that is unforgivable immorality. Unbelievable. Yes, these free market pirates, these buckaneers, and I am here to tell you that is what they're doing to us. I wouldn't mind it if they were like Robinhood -- he knew who to take it from. Now do you remember? I've got to remind you so you can take this home.

I want you to talk about it at your meetings. I want you to talk about it around the dinner table. I want you to talk about it over at the club when your're having a beer. I want you to remind your friends of what Hubert Humphrey told you. Tell the folks. You might get into a little fight, but go ahead and have one.

You remember when Republicans promised to get crime off the street. They did, they put it into corporate offices. Not all companies, thank God. But it's a fact, isn't it? What I'm telling you is not just a political statement, our neighborhoods are more filled with crime today than ever before and yet we have these proponents and exponents of political piety and high position reminding the American people of their good old days and trying to make you believe you got them.

I'm here to tell you that the crime rate has risen 30% since 1969. The number of murders has jumped 50%. The number of robberies 58%. The number of burglaries has soared 84%. Is that what they mean by a fight on crime? For as long as this economy is in trouble, as long as kids are without work, as long as folks can't get a family, as long as you have millions on welfare, as long as millions and millions of people don't know what tomorrow will offer, these conditions will plague us.

I believe that most people want to do the right thing but today to do the right thing has become very difficult for many. Your family has one chance in six of being victimized by a burglary or a theft this year. That's how our White House has delivered on their promises of law and order. But you know, when you listen to them talk, you would think they just got into town! I listen to the Republican spokesmen and all the time they talk about the mess that is in Washington, they're all the time talking about things have all fallen apart and somehow or other, they're trying to make you believe that they just got into town on Monday and they found it all there.

Let me just advise you. They've been in power 16 of the last 24 years in that White House and they've been in power over 7 years in consecutive years since 1969. They've been there. Now when you've got a corporation where the people are robbing the till, where the production is falling, where the customers are turning away from the product, they generally get a new manager. They try, at least, to take a look at the board of directors and see who is running the business. I tell you what this country needs -- it doesn't need a change in the government of institutions, that isn't what it needs; you don't need a change, we don't even need to move the White House, we just need to move somebody out of the White House. I hope that whomever is the next President of the United States will promise to stay around the White House and save this country.

All right, now listen. The Republicans get out their next speech and they say they're talking about balanced budgets. You wonder what they're smoking. Balanced budgets. They haven't had a balanced budget since they've been in. Strange. Got their advisors in there and they got the biggest deficits that this country has ever known since World

War II. They talk about fiscal responsibility; They talk about reducing the public debt. They talk about it so much that some people believe they are doing it. They added \$200 billion on to the public debt in the last 7 years. You've really got to work at it for us to do that. Oh, they'll tell you its Congress' fault because we appropriate the money. Let me tell you, we have not appropriated any more than they have asked for. We have appropriated less in many instances. We just changed the appropriations a little bit. We don't give quite as much for foreign aid as they used to. We don't give quite as much to some things in the Defense Department as we used to. We put a little more in jobs. We put a little more into education, a little more into health because some of us believe that not only do we need a good defense policy, but we need a healthy people.

But I just keep reminding you, do you remember when they promised a stable dollar? Oh my goodness, they said the American dollar, they devalued it twice internationally. And they've taken 38% by inflation. They talk about free enterprise, every time they need a Republican, he just shows his tattoo that says "I'm for free enterprise" and they've got it right across here.

But they had 12,000 bankruptcies last year. The highest rate since the Great Depression. And then they talk about the work ethic -- they really get going when they get on that. That's when they really feel the spirit. They talk about the work ethic and they have more people unemployed than more people on welfare in 1975 and 1976, than any year since the Great Depression. What kind of work ethic is that?

They also talk about good government. That's the one they like best. They just think that great and good government -- they had more mismanagement, more city rules and regulations, and more corruption

than other times since Ulysses S. Grant and Warren G. Harding. That's their record here friends and don't you forget it. Now take that home to your friends and neighbors.

To put it simply, everything that ought to be up like employment and income is down; everything that ought to be down like prices and unemployment is up. They got the whole thing cock-eyed. Upside down and I told the National Convention out there in San Francisco why. Now you've heard many people complain about the President and other things like that and I'm not going to do that, I just want to tell you why the thing's in trouble. After all, what kind of vision do we have ?

Now the President of the United States, a very decent guy, played football. You remember that. Now Lyndon Johnson said some pretty mean things about that; I'm not going to do that because I think that's unfair. But I will tell you what position he played. He played center. Now when you play center you've got to get over the ball and you look like this, and when you're looking between your legs at the quarterback, of course everything's upside down.

Now look here, dear friends, we have to have a little fun and humor in politics as well as serious discussion, but that is not just fun and humor, that is regrettably what's been happening.

I know that the man that's there in the White House today is a good fellow. I am frank with you. I personally like him. I want it on the record. I have known him since the 81st Congress, we came into Congress together. I think he has without a doubt one of the finest ladies that ever graced the White House in Betty Ford. She's a lovely and a fine woman. These are good people. And I like the President. He's a decent fellow. But so is my Uncle Fred, but that's not enough to be President. But he is a relief after Nixon.

But now they've got something going for them, and I hear people say, no matter, how do you plan on beating the Republicans when the economy has improved? It is improving and I am grateful for it. We've had trouble getting them around to get it improved. Every move that's been made we have had to literally tackle them and ride them down and twist their arm and bend them over. You remember when the President talked in December 1974 about going to raise taxes, do you recall that? He had a 5% tax increase. He took a 180 degree turn after that. The recession had already been under way 6 months. But they didn't see that. They're a little slow catching on down there. So everything that's been done -- the job program, the tax cut, the public works, whatever it is, -- we've had to fight it over the President's veto or over his resistance. The only thing they really come up with that was original were those "WIN" buttons and they are now ranking right along with the Edsel!

But it is a fact that the economy is better, for which I am thankful. But I think you need to know a couple of facts. That's when you are flat on your back, there's only one way you can go and that's up!

They remind me of the traffic engineer that says, things are better on the highway, we only killed 500 people last week and the week before it was 510 people. So it is better. But the economic terrain is covered with the casualties of this Administration's policies. Millions of kids in trouble, homes that have been lost, housing projects that have been closed up, senior citizens that are having an unbelievable time trying to make ends meet, businesses that have gone bankrupt, just unbelievable trouble. The building trades that want to build this country. The finest skilled workmen in the world, over 16% unemployed. That's a national shame. The American people should remember all of these things.

Seven years of the Nixon-Ford team, you add it up. They've punished and bled the American people with their 19th Century economic philosophy of trickle down and they never give it up. They say put the goodies on top, and if there's any crumb or crust down at the bottom, they will keep you alive. I learned my economics the hard way. I learned it the practical way. Yes, I've worked for a university. I've been a college teacher in the field of political economy but I've learned more economics in a South Dakota dust storm than I did in 7 years at a university. And my father was the best economics teacher I ever had. He was a merchant. I grew up in the business world, and Dad used to say to me, "Son" (that's after I came back from college and when I thought I knew it all. I was going to tell him how to run the business), he said "Let me tell you something, Son, we're no more prosperous than the person who walks through that front door. If they have it, we can get it. If they don't have it, I don't care how many college degrees, Son, we can't get it". That's economics. If you've got it, business will do well. If you haven't got it, all they'll do is jack up the prices, because they've got overhead to pay for.

We need to understand practical economics and the economics of America is in the working families of this country. Give them the income, give our farmers a fair price, and business will do well.

But I have to admit, they're not without some ideas. They've found 89 different ways in their vetoes to stop progress in this country. You have to give them credit. They're ingenious. I think, therefore, it's time, as I've tried today, just to take the gloves off and let the chips fall where they may, to mix a metaphor. But there needs to be a little chopping away to see what the truth is and then to lay out a program that can reverse this business. We won't win this

election by default and we shouldn't. We shouldn't win this election only by pointing out how badly they've mismanaged things. Progressive forces will win if they go to the country with a positive message and convince our citizens that we have a better idea and we'll do a better job. Democrats are not perfect, nor are Republicans. There are no saints on either ticket. It's a question of alternatives.

Ladies and Gentlemen, life is built on hope. Promises make for hope. Sure, promises unkept are sorry and tragic but there needs to be standards by which we measure our conduct and performance and without the promise there would never be any performance; without the standard and promise you'll never know how well you've done. Everything worthwhile is a promise, a marriage is a promise, a child coming into this world is a promise and hope.

The Constitution is a promise, the pledge of allegiance "with liberty and justice for all" is a promise, the Declaration of Independence, when it was written, was only a promise, the Bible itself with the promise of heaven is a promise. Am I to be told that you're not to tell people that we can do better? Yet, that to me is the tone in this campaign from the Republican side and I don't want any of my Democrats falling into it. People have said what is your function here, Humphrey? I'll tell you what it is. To lay out the line of attack because we aren't going to get anyplace if we settle for mediocrity. Franklin Roosevelt gave us a promise and hope, Harry Truman gave it to us, John Kennedy gave it to us, "high hopes" he said. Lyndon Johnson promised us the great society and he started working on it and then we had to turn over the baton to Richard Nixon. And, dear friends, when we turned that baton, and we turned that job, Commander-in-Chief, over to Mr. Nixon and his tribe; you know what happened. The promise was

lost and the American people have suffered ever since. I want to say to my fellow Democrats, that the issue in this campaign isn't Washington; the issue is who's in charge in Washington. Who is in the Congress? Labor knows that with friends in the White House, with a friend in the White House, and with friends in Congress, Washington can be your friend and your partner, not your enemy.

So the talk about Washington is off the mark. What we need to talk about is who's running things in Washington? Franklin Roosevelt didn't run against Washington, he ran against Hoover! Harry Truman didn't run against Washington, he ran against Tom Dewey! John Kennedy didn't run against Washington, he ran against Nixon! Lyndon Johnson didn't run against Washington, he ran against Goldwater! And I didn't run against Washington, I ran against that Nixon! I know what we are to be running against.

Let me just say to the labor movement, the strength you have is this. You went to Washington one time to protect your rights to organize. That's where you got your protection. The Wagner and Labor Relations Act. That wasn't handed down on high. You had to work for it. You came to Washington for Social Security, for Medicare, for jobs, for job safety legislation. You came there because that's the only place you could get it. You came to Washington for help to our schools, elementary, secondary and higher education. You came to Washington for a school lunch program for your kids. You came to Washington for the help of our needy, and you came to Washington for Senior Citizens housing and, thank God, when you came to Washington in those earlier days for housing programs to give middle income and lower income America a better place

in which to live. And you came to Washington and I was there to see to it that every American was treated with equal justice in our battle for Civil Rights. Ladies and Gentlemen, Washington can be your partner. It just depends on who you have running it, and don't you forget it.

I ask my fellow Democrats to launch their campaign against the Nixon-Ford Administrations. I ask them to run their campaign against the Administration that gave us Watergate, that gave us double digit inflation, that gave us high interest rates, that gave us depression-level employment. They should run against the Washington of Richard Nixon, Spiro Agnew, Gerald Ford and William Simon. Those are the people. They're in charge. Not the Washington that gave you Social Security. Not the Washington that gave you economic growth and jobs. You know that political action is vital. You know that with your COPE. You know that your future depends upon a friendly government. You know that your children's future depends on it, and don't you let people tell you that we shouldn't be trying to do things in the Nation's Capital. I will guarantee you that the Nation's Capital is your protector if you occupy it with your friends. The big boys don't need it. Of course, they don't. The buckaneers, they don't need it. They like to work the countryside. Sure they like the market forces. That'll leave you out in the ditch.

The only protection that you have, millions of you, is a government of the people, a government by the people and a government for the people. It's only your government that can stand up against a big multi-national corporation. It's only your government that can develop for you the programs that you need in cooperation with

the private sector. But a government that knows what it's doing is a government that works. The issue isn't big government. The issue is what kind of government.

I repeat to you that the Democrats will not win by running against the very government that we hope to manage because we are for a government which helps people. We are for a government that offers America a full employment policy with decent jobs and we can do it. We're for a government that will have a program to clean up our welfare mess and so that people who need it will get it and those that don't, won't. We're for a government that will give us a national health care system so that every man, woman and child in this country can have the best of medical care. That's what we're for. We are for a government that will see once again that Americans are housed, that our cities are cleaned up, as I spoke in New York.

Isn't it interesting that once we had a government and a government policy that rebuilt Europe, once we had a government policy that was able to help take Berlin out of the rubble and London out of its devastation. City after city. But today we've got a government that wants to wash its hands like Pontius Pilate, of any responsibility for our cities. That's wrong friends. Wrong.

Yes, we need a government that has a tax program that eliminates the varied tax loopholes that make it possible for the super rich and some of the giant industries and banks to pay very little, while middle income American taxpayers bear the major burden of government financing. We need a government that has a transportation policy that will get these railroads fixed up, build our ports. America's railroad system today is in mortal trouble,

raising the cost of production, slowing us down, and, here's a government that sits around and doesn't know what to do about it except to give it a subsidy when we need to take and build up trackage. We need to clean up the right of way. We need to build the locomotives. We need to build the cars that are necessary and America has the workers to do it. We need a government that has a national food policy to assure us of an abundance of food for ourselves and exports abroad so we can pay for what we buy. We need a government policy, dear friends, that will develop America. Jobs. Build. Construct. Develop. And a government, if you please, that will see to it that the air that we breathe and that the water that we drink will be wholesome and clean. But above all, a government that will see that the social environment in which we live is one of decency, and not one of hatred and bitterness and tension.

The issue, then, this year is not Washington. It is the issue of the disastrous policies of the Nixon-Ford Administrations. It is the issue of vetoes. Unemployment. Recession, Inflation. Crime. Corruption. The neglect of our cities and the neglect of our children. Those are the issues so let us get on with this business of running against the people that ought to be out, and running for the things that ought to be in.

I'm here to say to you as I leave you that we will win. And we will win not because we have an answer to everybody's problem, but we will win because we care. That's been the central theme of the great Democratic progressive forces. That's why you're here. Why have you been able to organize? Because people that you came to knew that you cared. They knew that you tried to get

a little better life for your members. We're going to win because we care and we're going to win because we dare. We're going to win because we are willing to share. We will win because we have faith in the people. We will win because we are optimists about our future and what is our policy? What is the policy that I offer to you? Action. Movement. Challenge. Be willing to reach for the stars so that you can stretch and that you can grow. Action, not reaction. Faith in ourselves. Fellow Americans, let's get over this nonsense. Let's not let anybody tell us that we're second best and that we're second rate. Let's do away with this kind of thinking that says we have to settle for less. Not in your life.

I'm here to tell you that there's a whole world out there. I'm here to tell you that the best days in this republic are yet to be lived. I'm here to tell you that as long as there's a hungry child, there's a job to do. I'm here to tell you that as long as there's a sick person, there's somebody to be healed. I'm here to tell you that as long as there's a worker that wants to work, there's a job to be done and a job to be fulfilled. I'm here to tell you that America is strong when American is idealistic. When we tell the world what we stand for, not only our guns and our bombs, but our ideas and our love and our faith and our optimism. Fellow Americans, we're young, we're a young country, let's act that way. Let's have the love of life. Let's be pioneers. Let's be optimists and above all, let's be kind to one another. Go to it.

✓ Sen
Schweiker
✓ a new U.S. Senator this year

(X)

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

PENNSYLVANIA AFL-CIO CONVENTION

PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA -

(X) Harry Boyer - Harry Black
APRIL 7, 1976
Root McIntyre
(X) Mike Johnson Born

(X) Jimmy Mahoney -
Gen. V.P. of Penn. AFL-CIO
(Turn in garage)

IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE HERE IN PENNSYLVANIA WITH ALL MY FRIENDS FROM THE GREAT AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT. I AM HONORED THAT YOU HAVE ASKED ME TO BE WITH YOU THIS MORNING.

IN JUST ~~EIGHT~~⁷ 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.
RESPONSIBILITY TO THE PEOPLE -- THAT'S THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE
OF THE DAY.

1776
200 yrs Ago - Declared an independent
17th British forces - 1976 declared
freedom for
LET'S TAKE A QUICK LOOK AT WHAT IT HAS MEANT TO HAVE
REPUBLICANS IN CHARGE. (Jefferson
at Democrat) the Republican
forces!

FROM 1961 TO 1969, WHEN THE DEMOCRATIC 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 HIGHER IN STATE AFTER STATE, CITY AFTER CITY.

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" --
"TRICKLE DOWN" ECONOMICS.

L 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 THE REAL VALUE OF THEIR TAKE-
HOME PAY. 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 PROGRESSIVE LEADERS 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.

L BUT NOT EVERYONE HAS LOST SINCE 1969 UNDER THE NIXON-FORD TEAM!

L 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.

L ~~THIS REVERSED THE TREND TOWARD GREATER INCOME EQUALITY FIRMLY~~
ESTABLISHED IN THE 1960's.

L THE NIXON-FORD 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.

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

L SINCE 1969 THEY SOARED MORE THAN 50 PERCENT. L THEY REACHED
LEVELS OF 10 PERCENT, 12 PERCENT AND 15 PERCENT, WHICH WERE **LAST**
EXPERIENCED AT THE TIME OF THE CIVIL WAR.

L THE INCOME, PRODUCTION AND EMPLOYMENT LOSS TO AMERICA AS A
RESULT OF THE BUNGLING OF NATIONAL ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT SINCE

1969 IS STAGGERING:

Waste!

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.

*and the income
of American Business + Agriculture*

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 EVEN MORE ALARMING IS THE FACT THAT REPUBLICAN "GO SLOW"^{-Veto}
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} ~~these~~ MODERN DAY FREE MARKET BUCCANEERS HAVE
TORN THE FABRIC OF OUR SOCIETY.

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

Republicans Promised Balanced
Budget - Deficits

Republicans Promised "Stable Dollar"
Inflation + Devaluation

Republicans Proclaim Fiscal
Responsibility - Public Debt
up \$200 Billion

Republicans - Free Enterprise -
Bankruptcies

Republicans - Work Ethic -
Unemployment

Republicans - Good Govt -
mismanagement +
Corruption

What's up should be down
What's down " be up

Presses up - Should be down ;
Jobs Down " be up !

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

L SINCE 1969 THE CRIME RATE HAS RISEN 30 PERCENT. L THE NUMBER
OF MURDERS HAS JUMPED 50 PERCENT L THE NUMBER OF ROBBERIES HAS
RISEN 68 PERCENT L 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 OUR WHITE HOUSE FRIENDS
DELIVERED ON THEIR PROMISES OF "LAW AND ORDER."

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

L ONCE AGAIN, THE REPUBLICANS ARE CLAIMING AN "ECONOMIC MIRACLE"
IN AN ELECTION YEAR.

SURE, PROFITS ARE IMPROVING AND THE STOCK MARKET IS BOOMING.

~~But~~
~~ALONG, BUT HOW ABOUT THE LOWER INCOME GROUPS?~~

~~IN MINNESOTA LAST FEBRUARY, 34,000 ADDITIONAL PEOPLE WERE
 ADDED TO THE UNEMPLOYMENT ROLLS; IN PITTSBURGH, BOSTON, PHILADELPHIA,
 LOS ANGELES AND NEW YORK, AND IN MANY OTHER CITIES ACROSS THE LAND,
 BIG AND SMALL, UNEMPLOYMENT IS STILL AT THE DOUBLE-DIGIT LEVEL.~~

✓ YES, THANKFULLY, AFTER 20 MONTHS OF INFLATION AND RECESSION,
SOME IMPROVEMENT 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.

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

L 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 THE~~ *And the*
ONLY ADMINISTRATION RESPONSE WAS THE WIN BUTTON AND A SMILE.!

L SEVEN SAD YEARS OF THE NIXON-FORD TEAM ARE MORE THAN
ENOUGH. *! Yes, we've had enough! It's time
to clean house!*

L -- THE NIXON-FORD TEAM HAS PUNISHED AND BLED THE AMERICAN
ECONOMY WITH ITS 19TH CENTURY ~~ECONOMIC~~ *Philosophy of Trust*
Down Economics!

L -- 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.

thing need coming from
L THE ONLY ~~CREATIVITY WE HAVE~~ THE WHITE HOUSE HAS
BEEN ITS ABILITY TO SAY NO IN 89 DIFFERENT WAYS. (*no squap*)

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

L THE PARTY THAT HAS OCCUPIED THE WHITE HOUSE FOR THE LAST
SEVEN YEARS IS A MINORITY PARTY. ~~AND FOR THIS REASON~~ L IT HAS
CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED THAT IT IS INCAPABLE OF RUNNING THE COUNTRY
IN THE INTEREST OF ALL OUR PEOPLE. L IT HAS SUCCEEDED ONLY IN
RUNNING IT INTO THE GROUND. G

L BUT WE WON'T WIN THIS ELECTION BY DEFAULT.

L PROGRESSIVE FORCES WILL ~~NOT~~ 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. *(not Perfect, but better)*

~~BUT WE CANNOT DO SO AS "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. THE ANSWER IS
NOT LESS GOVERNMENT, BUT BETTER GOVERNMENT -- A GOVERNMENT THAT
WORKS TO SERVE THE NATION'S NEEDS.~~

(X) 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.~~

✓ You had to come to Washington -
to get the Wagner Act to ~~save your~~
Protect your right to organize;
✓ you came to Washington for
Soc Sec, Medicare, AA
Safety legislation;

✓ you came to Washington for help
to our Schools; for student
Loans; for School lunches

you came to Washington for Union
citizen housing; for aid to
our Cities; - CIVIL RIGHTS

you came to Washington Yes,
to build our Railroads; give Farmers
land; Farm credit; PEA -

It just depends on who is in
Washington!!

The issue isn't Washington, but rather
-13-
who is in the White House - + who

~~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~~
~~CONGRESS, WASHINGTON CAN BE YOUR~~
~~THE COUNTRY. INSTEAD, THEY CHOSE TO DO THEIR BEST TO MAKE IT~~
~~BETTER NOT PERFECT JUST A LITTLE BETTER.~~
Partner, not your enemy!

Democrats should run against the Nixon-Ford Administration. ^{Republican}!

They should run against the Administration that gave us Watergate,

double-digit inflation, and depression-level unemployment. They

should run against the Washington of Richard Nixon, Spiro Agnew,

Gerald Ford and William Simon. But not against the Washington

^{HST}
of FDR and JFK and LBJ -- the Washington of Social Security and

Medicare, jobs and economic growth; ~~the Washington~~

ag
(^{GOP}
Right to Work laws)

Program

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DEMOCRATS WILL ~~WIN NOT BECAUSE THEY ARE~~ AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT

WE HOPE TO ~~WIN~~ manage & run, BUT BECAUSE WE ARE FOR GOVERNMENT WHICH HELPS

PEOPLE:

- Yes, all Government - People's Out!

-- A GOVERNMENT THAT OFFERS AMERICA A FULL EMPLOYMENT POLICY

with ~~that assures~~ DECENT JOBS AND Good ~~and~~ WAGES FOR ALL AMERICANS;

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

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

Housing -- 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;

1 of 7 pages
-- 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;

Trans -- A TRANSPORTATION PROGRAM THAT MEETS THE NEEDS OF URBAN AND

RURAL PEOPLE;

Economic Development!

Energy -- AN ENERGY PROGRAM THAT ASSURES AMERICA OF ENERGY RESOURCES

FOR DECADES TO COME;

a national food program that is based on abundance, + fair prices for our farmers

-- AND NATIONAL LEADERSHIP WITH COMPASSION AND UNDERSTANDING

THAT IS CLEARLY "OF, BY AND FOR THE PEOPLE."

It's the THE ISSUE OF THIS ELECTION YEAR IS NOT WASHINGTON -- ~~NOT THE~~ *the people*

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. LET US 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 dare - we share!

yes WE WILL WIN BECAUSE WE DARE TO PIONEER.

WE WILL WIN BECAUSE AMERICA IS TIRED OF BEING TOLD WHAT
IT CAN'T DO. We will win because we have
faith in the people - we will win because
we are optimists about America
AMERICA WANTS TO HEAR WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE AND HOW TO DO

What is our policy? - Action not
IT! And that is the Democratic Program and it needs and deserves

Reaction - Faith not doubt, optimism
THE SUPPORT OF EVERY WORKING FAMILY IN AMERICA.
not pessimism; Forward not
retreat; Victory not defeat.

September 2, 1976

Mr. Leo Perlis, Director
Department of Community Services
American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations
815 Sixteenth Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Mr. Perlis:

Enclosed is the edited transcript of Senator Humphrey's
speech at your recent national conference. Please call me
if there are any questions.

Sincerely,

(Ms.) Betty South
Press Secretary to
Hubert H. Humphrey

Enclosure

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 637-5000

Betty

August 24, 1976

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
232 Old Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Humphrey:

Here is a transcript of the speech you delivered at our recent national conference.

We would appreciate your returning it to us with your corrections - if any.

We have many requests for copies of your speech - and we will mail them soon after Labor Day.

Thanks again for your participation and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Leo Perlis, Director
Department of Community Services

LP:mm

Attachment

HHH: ~~Thank you friends. My friend Paul Hall, thank you. I understand that Governor Romney has set some sort of example here this morning for what he calls compacting and compressing a message and he said to me, "Now I am going to stick around and see if you can do as well as I did."~~ Well let me tell you right now Governor, I have no intention ^{to} ~~of~~ do so. Even though I think good judgement would dictate that I do so ~~xxx~~ because we have a very heavy and busy schedule today. I am going to forego many of the formalities and ^{of} ~~some~~ the niceties that ^I ~~one~~ would like to express to an audience such as I see here today. I only want to ^{convey} ~~express~~ to you my everlasting thanks for ^{giving me} ~~being given~~ the high honor of the Murray-Green Award last year. That is something I cherish. It is one of the finest awards and citations in all of my public life. And I ~~xxxxx~~ am truly very grateful. I know that on Thursday of this week, you present that same award to ~~xxx~~ one of the outstanding personalities of the 20th century - Golda Meir. And I must say that she is being honored by a very distinguished group. But the fact that she accepts your award is also a great honor to you and I am looking forward to seeing my friend Golda and having a talk with her. I am going to ~~tell~~ her I paved the way for her getting the award. My friend Peter Bommarito I saw in your United Rubber Worker paper your ~~xxxxx~~ picture there with Leo. Leo Perlis article on the Human Contract which relates to our social services, and I am going to ~~address~~ myself to that today. I want to say to my friends from Minnesota here, Bea Kersten and Virgil Moline, how much I look forward to seeing them back home. I won't be able to see them here as much as I should like. But we have things to do back our way and we are going to get at it. Now ^{My} purpose this morning is to try to put into some focus the role of government in the ^{xxx} ~~matter~~ of social services, ^{that is,} ~~The role of government and its relationship to people~~ ^{and} the development of ~~the~~ human resources. And I think this is something ~~xxx~~ at this particular time ^{we} need to think about. The political rhetoric of 1976 is anti-government, and I shall address myself to that. And it is understandable. But despite the current political rhetoric ^{which is like tides (it comes and goes)}, there are some facts ~~xxx~~ we need to understand ~~ing~~ and there are also some characteristics of government

and the ^{relationship} ~~role~~ of government ^{and} with the public that ^{you} we need to understand. I happen to believe that government has and can make a positive contribution towards helping each person live a reasonably secure, happy and satisfactory life. ~~Now~~ ^{Now} let me start off on the bicentennial spirit and give you a little history. ^{this year} You are going to hear portions of the Declaration of Independence repeated ¹ - time after time. But I just want us to remember what it says. Because so many things that are said we fail to listen to the words or to comprehend. Our Declaration of Independence, which commemorates our coming to life as a nation ^{an} independent, free people, brings together political rights and human rights and brings together the role of government and the protection of those rights. First of all the rights that are spoken - the right to life - that is not merely to survive but to really live the full life is a right that comes from divine providence. It is called an inalienable right. A natural right. Born in the person, a part of spirit and soul. A gift of an almighty or what we call a natural right. ^{the Declaration of Independence} Secondly, those rights of life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness are, according to that Declaration of Independence, to be secured by government and remember what the Declaration of Independence said. These inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness - those are among some of the rights we have - God given rights. And government are established amongst men in order to secure these rights. Now what do we mean by secure. To make them real. So for the day of the birth of this republic there has been a positive role for government as it relates to people. Namely to secure, protect, defend, make alive meaningful those rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Let me just pause to say a word about those three rights that we - Life, Liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Many other countries have spoken of life, liberty and property. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~. There is only one political document that ever used the phrase "The pursuit of happiness" It is found in no other literature. Now that has a unique meaning because that phrase was brought into what you might call visibility or was brought ~~xx~~ to light by people who believe that the purpose of life was enrichment,

happiness. Life has meaning when you are free and life has meaning when you are free so that you can pursue in your own way that which makes you feel good. That which makes you feel happy. So the American society has never been a negative society. It has never been a society that is ~~xxxxxx~~ supposed to be graced by or I shouldn't say grace ~~xxxxxxx~~ but plagued by despair and suspicion and doubt. It started in its beginning with a positive purpose and what I can I positive thrust. The pursuit of happiness the enrichment of the human spirit, and body. Now lets move along. The Constitution of the U.S.. Now I am an old teacher of government. And you only need to know one thing about government in the U.S. If you were my student I would ask you to remember just one paragraph and then I would see to it that you had for all practical purposes completed your course. And what is that paragraph? The preamble of the Constitution. Now listen to its words, because again we pay little or no attention to what we are reciting. The very first three words - We the people - This ties back to the Declaration of Independence of government by the consent of the government. and these words were spoken at a time when the prevailing political theory was the divine right of kings. When governments were autocracies, dictatorships, empires with kings and rulers with absolute authority. So here we were, people on the Atlantic seaboard having just declared our independence, won our war for independence and then almost losing it in the jealousies and bitterness that was growing up amongst the thirteen states. So the men that gathered at Philadelphia to write the Constitution immediately embraced the concept of popular sovereignty - said "We the people" which means that the whole purpose of America is for people. I had a group ask me the other day, a student from a group said How would you define America, Mr. Humphrey? I said I wouldn't define it as a piece of geography. That's incidental. What America is , is a dedication to human dignity. America is people. America is people with rights and privileges, and if we understand that then we begin to understand the thrust of government and the purpose of government in this Country. Now come back again to the preamble, "We the people - in order to form a more perfect union" - Might I say to my union friends, you got your name in early. The founders knew that there was trouble and turmoil and dissention. They knew that

government was being established by people and people were fallible and not infallible. People have limitations - they are not perfect. They knew there was no hope of perfection but that we could strive to do better. So it said We the people in order to form a more perfect union hopefully a better situation than they found. And the very next thrust, what's the first purpose of government. What is the first purpose of organized society? To establish justice. They had their priorities properly worked out in those days. To establish justice. Assure domestic tranquility. Not indifference. Not apathy, but a harmony like a great hebrew word Shalom which means more than peace. A harmony amongst all things. To provide for the common defense. And then that great phrase that this organization must embrace. To promote the general welfare and to secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity we do here by establish and ordain this Constitution. Now ladies and gentlemen if you listen to those words you get the following:

1. The whole purpose is for we the people, Following right up from the natural rights doctrine to the Declaration of Independence.
2. That the Constitution the preamble presupposes a government of action. Not a government of indifference. And why do I say it. Listen to the words. To form a more perfect union. When you form something, you have got to work at it. To establish justice. Not just a passing thought about justice but establish it. To assure the sense of confidence. To assure the domestic tranquility. To provide you make sacrifices. To provide for the co-mon defense. And to promote within enthusiasm - with purpose the general welfare and to secure to protect to hold to us the blessings of liberty. ~~Waxdaxkxwxwxwxwx~~ We do. The word do. An action word. Today the living constitution as if it were written this morning. Not back in Philadelphia in 1789 but this morning. We do establish and ordain this constitution. So I say to that government from the beginning has had a positive role in the relationship with people. Abraham Lincoln put it so well - a government by the people and for the people. A government is to be on the side of the people. And all of this anti-government talk - All of this concocted political propoganda that some how government is suppose to not be in our lives and not suppose to be working with us is as foreign to the American

experience as if it came from another planet. The whole purpose of government is to enhance the living conditions the life of people. To protect that life. Governments are established amongst men said Jefferson and the 56 signers of the Declaration of Independence to secure these rights of life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And the constitution says the whole purpose of government is to establish justice. Is to assure domestic tranquility. Is to provide for the common defense and is to promote the general welfare and is to secure the blessings of liberty not only for ourselves but for our grandchildren and for our children. Now if you understand that then we get things in perspective. Now that doesn't mean that government alone does everything.

As a matter of fact there is a sort of social contract in this country between government and the people. The voluntary agencies are unique in American societies. Very few other countries have it and we have what we call a sharing of responsibility. And I think the voluntary agencies bring a sense of humanity into the government activities. That sense of spirit. That voluntarism that is so vital. Which makes these programs and policies that we try to establish ~~to~~ and promote something that are close to people and have heart. And have spirit to them. And if I didn't believe what I just told you, I would get out of government because I look upon government as something more as a policeman. Liberty is not merely the absent of restraint. Liberty is a positive feeling of fulfillment. In other words, Life, Liberty for what purpose? The pursuit of happiness. We have a lot of people today that feel that you are only free when you are being totally left alone. An ignorant person is not free. Thomas Jefferson said you cannot be both free and ignorant. And therefore education which is a public responsibility in cooperation indeed yes with ~~private~~ private endeavors is an interference in one's life. Compulsory education - yes even to quarantine the sick - when they have contagious disease is an interference with one's right to anything they wish to. But with illness and sickness you are ~~not~~ not free. You are enslaved. You are oppressed. So that health is a part of freedom. Now we have learned a lot about the role of government during the period of the Great Depression. Our economic and social system required collective action, governmental action. And believe me, I make no apologies for what was attempted during those

days. Now having said all that I said. I'm not one so foolish as to believe that what government always does is good. But sometimes good intentions go astray. Frequently, programs that are designed to be helpful miss the target and our job is to constantly reassess what we try to do. Most of us are family people. We haven't always succeeded everything we have tried in our family. We hopefully try to learn from experience. We try new methods. New things to make our lives and the lives of our loved ones better. But it is understandable as I indicated a moment ago why people today buy what ~~XXXXXX~~ I call the Anti-Washington attitude. But I got to tell you what I said out on the stump. Those ~~of~~ who are running for high public office today and are antiwashington better remember that they will most likely ~~live here~~ have to live here if they are elected. But let's see why people today feel disenchanted. Even though I think there is more talk about it than reality. Maybe I am missing the boat. But I get around a lot more than some of the columnists who sit there by their typewriter day in and day out. Last night I was up until 2:30 in the morning going over my schedule. We average 100 invitations a day. And I am getting them from everywhere. And I go on out as much as my strength will permit me and I am not talking about political meetings. I am going out to every kind of meeting from the handicapped to the senior citizens, for high schools, for colleges. Now I don't find all this cynicism and all this suspicion and stuff that people write about all the time. People down here live off of each other. Sometimes somebody writes a column and somebody else doesn't have time to be original so he just revises it slightly. And I mean that quite frankly. There is of course a deep concern. In less than a decade listen why. A series of precedent shattering events have driven a wedge between our people and their government. The ^Sassassination of a president and the assassination of other great respected leaders, ~~pl~~ political, spiritual and others. A violent disruption across the land in our urban centers. A tragic war in Southeast Asia that ~~was~~ inevitability lost the people's support. The gross mismanagement of our national economy in which the old fashioned economics of designed ~~xxxxxxx~~ unemployment to reduce the fever of inflation was inflicted upon this public of ours. Deception and ~~xxx~~ corruption that reached into the Oval Office itself and eventually drove an elected Vice President and President from office. The

abandonment or mismanagement of social programs that initially were presented to the people as solutions to many of Americas most troubling and deep rooted domestic problems. All of these events have come into being in the past 10-12 years. It's more than people can take. It is like one constant series of earthquakes battering peoples lives and their hopes. Now these events seem to violate our deeply rooted faith in our governments committment to protect and promote the general welfare. So I ask=you is it any wonder that it became attractive politically attractive to attack the institutions identified with this time of trouble. But I also ask you to put things in perspective. Critice tend to overlook the many examples of our systems continuing ability to correct and to change what is gone wrong. Remember the greatness of our system is not only that you have the right to resite our weakness in what's gone wrong. But also that we have the right if you please, and I believe the capacity to set right what has gone wrong. In other words to change it. And out of all of this, we have learned many important lessons More than 20 million people today receive quality medical attention because of medicare and madicaid and in my boyhood that was not a reality. I have the living memory of the poor house on the hill in Redfeild South Dakota. I have the memory of sick, old people with no one to care for them. Millions of our children today are helped by the federal government's aid to education. I fought for it all my life. The very first bill I voted on when I came to the Senate in 1949 was federal aid to education. It was either killed by the doctrine or the so called claim of states right or religion. One or the other. And finally somebody thought about children. President Kennedy and President Johnson - and we started pumping in resources into our school systems. Not that that alone is enough because the school cannot take the place of the family. School teachers are not mothers and fathers. They are teachers. But thank God for what we have done in education. School lunches maybe the only good meal that some children get. Headstart that gave little children in poverty stricken areas their first chance to see the light of hope. And look what we have done in the field of higher education. I'm the author of the student fellowship program. Student loans. I'm proud of it. Millions of young people have gone to college and they become better people because of it. Our work study

programs. Tens of millions of older americans are being protected from destitution and misery by social security. I ask this audience "What do you think would bf happened in america in 1974-75 without social security? Without unemployment compensation, without food stamps, without the social welfare programs we had? What do you think ~~what~~ would have happened? I'll te~~l~~l you what would have happened. People today who are critics would have been driven out of their homes. There would have been violence in America. We ought to be everlasting grateful we have leaders in the past that had some sense of vision. The american economy has been kept alive because of what we call transfer payments. The critics of the food stamps, how do ~~xyx~~ you think supermarkets make money in some of these towns. It was food stamps. And what is wrong with feeding the people when a country is wallowing in abundance? I am fully aware that there are some cheaters and you name me any group who doesn't have them. And I know that government has a responsibility to hopefully and effectively administer these programs. And we try. at least we try to design ~~xx~~ such law. There isn't any doubt that government has grown over the years but the federal government is about the same number of people today that they had in 1950. The main growth has been in state and local gov ernment. And that's not bad. That's good. because state and local government is closest to the people. Zoning laws, the public health laws, the traffic laws, the protection from police and fire. These are local things. Local government. And of course there has been a great growth. Also in the number of teachers we have. The number of people that serve others. The much maligned federal budget. That budget as a percentage of the gross national product is not much larger today. It is one percent larger today than it was 15 years ago. It is one percent larger today than it was 20 years ago. The biggest problem we have today is getting things in perspective. ~~kk~~ Let me give you an example. This year we will have a trillion, 400 billion economy. A trillion-400 billion. One year. Now if I were to stand in front of this audience and say in order to rehabilitate our cities, we ought to be prepared to spend 500 billion dollars in the next ten years, I can see a headline up there that says "Humphrey proposes massive spending program . . ." And yet dear friends that would only be a third of one year's productivity. One third of a years productivity. I am here to

tell you that you can't do anything without it. And we have to get things in proper perspective. Isn't it interesting when the pentagon comes down to Congress, they remind us all the time that the federal budget for defense is smaller percentage of the GNP now than it was 15 years ago - and they're right. But that's the way that the Pentagon budget is sold to the American people. That after all - we're not spending too much. Really it is only about 6% of our GNP. And 15 - 20 years ago it was 9%. What are ~~my~~ you all excited about. But when It comes to helping people, they look at the gross figure. And because ~~s~~ me years ago, they got 10 billion for a program, and this year they get 11, despite the ravages of inflation, they say, "Look at them, spending ourself into bankruptcy. Well now they can fool some of the people some ~~th~~ of the time, and all of the people some of the time, but I am not going to let them fool all of the people all of the time if I can help it. So lets take a look at the real issue and not this so called government issue. Nobody wants big government. Want we want is effective government But I have tried to put into prespective what I think is the relationship between federal state and local government. But there are certain inescapable facts, my fellow Americans. It is a fact that no governor, no state legislature, no matter how good or knowledgable can plan an economic recovery, or provide a national food policy or provide a national energy policy or provide a national health care policy. It can't be done in state and local government. It can help, and it will be neecessary to have the working partnership. It is a fact that only the federal government can establish a social security, veterans benefits, medicare and alike. It is afact that primarily the federal government protects bank deposits. And it is the only instrument that can regulate the stock market to prevent fraud and deception. And help insure consumers that the products meet certain standards of safety and health and administer and equitable tax structure. And it is a fact that a strong and efficient administered national government can protect and conserve our forests - our public lands, our waters and our wilderness areas. Government is needed and it is a fact that only the federal government has the authority and the ability to make civil rights a reality for every man, woman and child in every state and locality and every township across this great land. And I know the people that are out attacking

government. There are two things they are really doing. They want some people not to pay their fair share, because I can tell you that no state legislature can tax a multi-national corporation. None. And I am here to tell you that no one state can be itself alone protect the civil rights of all of the people that come in and out of that state because of the movement of the people in this society. And I am not being duped one bit. It's the same old reactionary voice that we have heard through the years. But dressed up in modern jargon. So the fundamental issue is not the bigness of government, the fundamental issue is whether or not our institutions of government will be used in behalf of all the people. Whether those institutions are responsive, and whether or not we have a government that works. We all know that no program be it public or private or voluntary can be any more effective than the dedication of those that operate it. Institutions do not function as they should if people running them are indifferent to their success, and not committed to their goals. And you and I know that there have been an awful lot of people that have not been committed to the goals of some of these programs they have been running. Now your achievements were not accomplished over night and the achievements of government are not going to be accomplished overnight. I don't know anyone who denies that mistakes have been made or that expectations sometimes outdistant results. But I submit to you that improvements are not going to be made merely by slashing budgets and engaging in a constant propoganda program. I have never been one to spend too much time bemoaning all the mistakes of the past. I think our job now is to begin devising a ~~xxxxxx~~ national government that works, one that acknowledges that there is a positive role that it can play in helping ~~ix~~ us solve our human problems. How do we get that kind of government. First we need leadership. And leadership means persuasion - not command. Leadership that will rally the Congress, the Executive Branch, state and local governments and most of all the people. And secondly we need imagination to design new relationships among the public, private and voluntary institutions to take account of the American peoples common sense, their ingenuity add their basic sense of fairness. We all have a stake in this effort. And we have it in our

power to accomplish this goal. There is no greater obstacle before us than the thought that things can't be done. And we are being told every day what can't be done. And my fellow Americans this country was not made for people that tell you what can't be done. We would have never gotten any place. We would have still been thirteen colonies because alot of people say you can't get freedom. Only one-third were for George the Third and one third was waiting to see which side was going to win. That is the history of this country. And today I hear voices all accross the land telling us " Don't do this and don't do that." And I tell you that there is a desire on the part of the American people to at least share in the dialogue where they can say what they like to see done in this country. Most of the people in America are fair. They believe in fair play. And most of them believe in certain things that we can accomplish. For example, they really believe that if a person is able to work and wants to ~~xxx~~ work, wishes to share in the productivity of this country, they believe that the government of the U.S. ought to have a policy that will assure full employment for productive work. So do I. You can talk all you want to about the work effort but the talk has got to be translated into some kind of action. I don't have the time this morning to display to you and to demonstrate to you the incredible waste of current policies. Not only the waste of money, but the waste of human resources. It is an outright shame and let me say to this audience that unless we come to grips with the problem with youth unemployment in this country particularly as it relates to our minorities, but not only to the minorities because it isn't black or brown alone or the Indian in our cities, it is also young white boys and girls. Unless we come to grips with this problem and find ways to involve young people in America. There will be no stemming the tide of crime and corruption. You will be afflicted with alcoholism and drug abuse until it is epidemic in proportion. And you will have a cancer in ~~h~~ growing in the body of politics. If there is one issue we have got to get at - it is this. And yet I see no effort being made - absolutely no effort to really deal with this problem. Letting our cities rot from within - escaping and running to suburbs as if ~~xxxx~~ this were the answer. And one ~~xxx~~ of the shames of America is ~~xxxxxxx~~ what we call suburban sprawl.

It is only made worse by the erosion and corrosion and corruption of the center city. When ~~we~~ are we going to come to grips about it. And to do something about it. That's what we ought to be talking about. That's what a campaign ought be about. But we hear very little about it except today that "Don't rock the boat, everything is fine. Let the market forces work their will." Well I believe in market forces up to a point. But I also believe that the purpose of government is to establish justice. All you are going to do is rely on the market forces then the strong will devour the weak. And you know it and I know it. You know there are market forces in health. If you just believe in market forces, then you don't believe in trying to help those who have less immunity to disease than some others. You don't believe in trying to build the strength in somebody who might not quite make. You let the premature children die. You let those who are lame and crippled in early die. We don't believe in that friends. We believe that they ought be helped. I would not be here this morning if I didn't feel as strongly about it, because I have seen so many of you so many times that you ought be tired of me. But let me tell you something. There are things to do in this country. And we are not getting at it. Not at all. For goodness sakes if all we can talk about is the Panama Canal - we are in a hell of a fix. And you and I know that we have got things to do. How are we going take care of the needy in this country, clean up the mess and welfare is a mess in America - lets face it. But when are we going to come to grips with it. So those that need it will get enough so they live in dignity and those that don't need it won't get it. How are we going to deal with the health problem of this country. Health costs in America are sky rocketing and forty million Americans today have no health coverage at all. Now that is a fact. Is that what you mean by God given rights of life, liberty and the pursuits of happiness. Can't we design a health care system in our unique way. We don't have to do it in England or somebody else. We can do it our way. But we have got to have leadership to do it. We have got to be able to find a way for housing in America. And I know this gentleman here tried to help us. Governor Romney.

But today I read a headline here from the Boston Globe. And what do I see in Boston. Only one out of 10 families in Boston can afford to build a home today. I read another one out of eight. We have got ~~xxxxxx~~ to find a way for home construction in this country on prices that people can afford financing of it and we can find a way to do it. Thomas Wolfe said it for me, you have heard Linden Johnson - To every man his chance, to every man regardless of his birth his shining golden opportunity to every man the right to live, to work, to be himself and to become whatever thing his manhood and his wisdom can combine to make him. This is the promise of America. And YOU and I know government can't do it all neither can the voluntary agencies, or private industries nor unions but together we can do a lot. What we need to do is to build a new partnership and a new leadership and a new commitment to get things done. Get ~~Axxxxxx~~ America moving. Get away from the ~~xxxxxxx~~ negative attitudes. We are a generous and compassionate people. Those are characteristics of America. We are strong of spirit and body and we are young. People that are talk to us act as if we are over the hill - this is a vital country. This nation: was founded on a promise and everyday I hear people say don't promise too much. Ladies and gentlemen - without the promise - there is no reality. Without the vision - there no achievement. The promise is the only way by which you can measure performance. I have been scolded many times because they say you promise too much. Well let me tell you dear friends, the constitution is a promise yet to be fulfilled. I don't know if anybody here repeated the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag but it is a promise - one nation under God , indivisible with liberty and justice for all. That is still a promise it is not a reality. The Declaration of Independence gave us a promise, the old testament and the new testament is a promise of heaven on earth - the promise of a hereafter You want to abolish it. We are being told today that we shouldn't have these promises. People live by hope. They are inspired by hope. They are motivated by ~~xxxx~~ promise. It is the only way we make any progress. To permit standards to be so fluid and so absolutely unrelated to achievement that there is no ~~xxxxx~~ weight of measurement - is the sure way to defeat. I think it is time to turn around - stop the retreat - face the problems -

understand that we have faced even more difficult times than these. Quit indulging in self-pity, and saying that it can't be done and let's get on with the job of at least trying to form a more perfect union. Trying to do better. Thank you very much.....



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