

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
BICENTENNIAL JEFFERSON-JACKSON DAY CELEBRATION

Manchester, New Hampshire

May 12, 1976

This year we celebrate our nation's Bicentennial.

We honor the daring, pioneering spirit of those early Americans who launched our bold experiment in democracy.

We praise and admire those who defied the established limits of their time, cast aside the comfortable rhetoric of the period and risked the creation of a new political order.

And today, as a nation, we can be justly proud of our accomplishments; among them, the great contributions we have made in the struggle for social justice and human dignity.

At the same time, we must be mindful that the future provides tremendous challenges and opportunities for fulfilling the dreams of our founders.

As we look back on the past seven sad years of Republican control of the White House, it is time to demand an accounting.

All we are getting now is empty rhetoric -- another "cover-up" for disastrous Republican performance.

Let's take a quick look at what it has meant to have Republicans in charge of the White House:

-- 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, with an inflation rate averaging under 2.5 percent.

-- In the last three years, the Nixon-Ford team has been able to increase employment by a mere one million jobs.

They have 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.

Only one job for every four persons!

-- In the Democratic Sixties, with Presidents Kennedy and Johnson in the White House, the weekly take-home pay of the 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.

Yes, it's a fact: Republican economic mismanagement has pushed the working families of America back ten years to their 1965 income level.

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.

A shift of about \$20 billion from the pockets of working families to the coffers of the super-rich has occurred as a result of Republican economics.

The Republican record of recession and retreat from the problems of America has forced the party of Grant, Harding and Hoover to develop a new strategy in this Presidential election year.

It's a strategy which runs away from the issues rather than running on a record.

Now, let me ask you -- if you were a Republican, would you admit the incompetence that has characterized the Nixon-Ford Administration?

Of course not!

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

These Republicans have made a choice.

They will run against the government, against the Congress, against the Courts, against their own past promises.

Let's look at the promises they made:

-- The Republicans once promised balanced budgets.

But they have given us the highest budget deficits in our history.

-- They once promised jobs and sang the glories of the work ethic.

But they have given us the highest levels of unemployment since the Great Depression and have been content to let welfare rolls swell and job rolls dwindle.

-- They once promised a stable dollar.

But they have given us the highest inflation rate in our 200-year history.

-- They once promised free enterprise, but they have given us more rules and more regulations than ever before, and forced over 12,000 businesses to close their doors in 1975 alone.

-- The Republicans once promised us good government. But they are guilty of more mismanagement and outright corruption than any time since Ulysses Grant and Warren Harding.

-- They once promised law and order, yet they preside over the highest crime rate in the history of the country.

Today, we are seeing and hearing another cover-up! A cover-up of Republican failures! A cover-up of mismanagement and broken promises.

But I say tonight, the Democrats will expose that cover-up and justice will be done in November.

There will be no pardons for the Republicans in 1976.

We must challenge the Ford-Reagan-Republican anti-government, anti-politics propaganda and call it what it really is -- the biggest, best organized case of public deception since Watergate!

But there is an even more seamy side to this current Republican campaign.

They are leading a mass retreat from our progress toward social justice and human dignity.

They speak the rhetoric of the comfortable and forget the needs of the concerned.

It's a siren song of the old-fashioned Republican trickle-down economics.

They tell us what not to do, not what we can and should do.

Mr. Nixon and Mr. Ford, Mr. Reagan and Mr. Simon have devised a blue-print for rolling back progressive social policies and laying waste the hopes of those who look for a more just, more equitable America.

They attack the very programs that help people -- education, Medicare, the Job Corps, housing, food stamps, school lunches.

I know that the American people will reject this course.

A new day is dawning.

We are close to being at the end of this long nightmare of dashed hopes.

Our future is in our hands -- yes, in our votes in 1976.

But to defeat the Republicans is not enough -- we must win for the people.

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

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

They asserted the inalienable rights of people to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. They believed in and trusted the people.

They sought to create a new society that would stand for a full measure of human freedom and opportunity.

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

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

Will they grow to adulthood without knowing the value of work, because we have too few jobs for them?

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

Will they live in an America that forgets its poor -- its needy -- its less fortunate? Will they inherit cities that are dying?

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

If we believe in sound administration, we must have a program of long overdue reform to clean up the welfare mess -- yes, and to modernize programs for modern days.

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

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

If we believe in our cities, we must have a housing program that replaces slums with quality housing, and interest rates that make home ownership a reality for working people once again.

If we believe in fair play, then we must have a tax program that eliminates the glaring tax loopholes that make it possible for the super-rich and the giant corporations to pay little or nothing while the middle-income taxpayer bears the major burden of government expenditures.

If we want to improve the quality of life for all Americans, then we must protect our environment and conserve our resources.

If we believe in an expanding economy, then we must have an energy program that assures America of energy resources for decades to come.

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

The real issue in 1976 is, who does government serve?

Democrats will win because we care, we dare, we share.

A favorite quotation of mine summarizes the kind of vision we must offer to the American people.

It comes from the great American poet of the Midwest who seemed to understand the heartbeat and the spirit of this nation.

These are the words of Carl Sandburg. He speaks for me, as I know he speaks for you:

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

Yes, as we will it, so shall it be! A nation without a vision shall perish. But a people with hope shall triumph!

Now is not the time to retreat.

It remains only for us to reach out, to risk and to dare greatly.

High hopes -- great dreams. Build, grow, strive -- create!

Whether or not we are fully successful, at least we owe it to ourselves to try!

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REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

BICENTENNIAL JEFFERSON-JACKSON DAY CELEBRATION

MANCHESTER, NEW HAMPSHIRE

MAY 12, 1976

THIS YEAR WE CELEBRATE OUR NATION'S BICENTENNIAL.

WE HONOR THE DARING, PIONEERING SPIRIT OF THOSE EARLY
AMERICANS WHO LAUNCHED OUR BOLD EXPERIMENT IN DEMOCRACY.

WE PRAISE AND ADMIRE THOSE WHO DEFIED THE ESTABLISHED
LIMITS OF THEIR TIME, CAST ASIDE THE COMFORTABLE RHETORIC OF
THE PERIOD AND RISKED THE CREATION OF A NEW POLITICAL ORDER.

AND TODAY, AS A NATION, WE CAN BE JUSTLY PROUD OF OUR
ACCOMPLISHMENTS; AMONG THEM, THE GREAT CONTRIBUTIONS WE HAVE
MADE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DIGNITY.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE MUST BE MINDFUL THAT THE FUTURE
PROVIDES TREMENDOUS CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR FULFILLING
THE DREAMS OF OUR FOUNDERS.

AS WE LOOK BACK ON THE PAST SEVEN SAD YEARS OF REPUBLICAN
CONTROL OF THE WHITE HOUSE, IT IS TIME TO DEMAND AN ACCOUNTING.

ALL WE ARE GETTING NOW IS EMPTY RHETORIC -- ANOTHER "COVER-UP" FOR DISASTROUS REPUBLICAN PERFORMANCE.

LET'S TAKE A QUICK LOOK AT WHAT IT HAS MEANT TO HAVE
REPUBLICANS IN CHARGE OF THE WHITE HOUSE:

-- 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, WITH AN
INFLATION RATE AVERAGING UNDER 2.5 PERCENT.

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

THEY HAVE MANAGED TO PUSH THE OFFICAL 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,

ONLY ONE JOB FOR EVERY FOUR PERSONS!

-- IN THE DEMOCRATIC SIXTIES, WITH PRESIDENTS KENNEDY AND
JOHNSON IN THE WHITE HOUSE, THE WEEKLY TAKE-HOME PAY OF THE
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.

YES, IT'S A FACT: REPUBLICAN ECONOMIC MISMANAGEMENT
HAS PUSHED THE WORKING FAMILIES OF AMERICA BACK TEN YEARS TO
THEIR 1965 INCOME LEVEL.

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.

A SHIFT OF ABOUT \$20 BILLION FROM THE POCKETS OF WORKING FAMILIES TO THE COFFERS OF THE SUPER-RICH HAS OCCURRED AS A RESULT OF REPUBLICAN ECONOMICS.

THE REPUBLICAN RECORD OF RECESSION AND RETREAT FROM THE PROBLEMS OF AMERICA HAS FORCED THE PARTY OF GRANT, HARDING AND HOOVER TO DEVELOP A NEW STRATEGY IN THIS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION YEAR.

IT'S A STRATEGY WHICH RUNS AWAY FROM THE ISSUES RATHER THAN RUNNING ON A RECORD.

NOW, LET ME ASK YOU -- IF YOU WERE A REPUBLICAN, WOULD YOU ADMIT THE INCOMPETENCE THAT HAS CHARACTERIZED THE NIXON-FORD ADMINISTRATION?

OF COURSE NOT!

So, WHY DO YOU THINK RONALD REAGAN IS RUNNING AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT? AND WHY DO YOU THINK THE PRESIDENT ACTS AS IF HE IS FRESH OFF THE BOAT AND UNFAMILIAR WITH THE REPUBLICAN RECORD?

THESE REPUBLICANS HAVE MADE A CHOICE.

THEY WILL RUN AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT, AGAINST THE CONGRESS, AGAINST THE COURTS, AGAINST THEIR OWN PAST PROMISES.

LET'S LOOK AT THE PROMISES THEY MADE:

-- THE REPUBLICANS ONCE PROMISED BALANCED BUDGETS.

BUT THEY HAVE GIVEN US THE HIGHEST BUDGET DEFICITS IN OUR HISTORY.

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

BUT THEY HAVE GIVEN US THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF UNEMPLOYMENT
SINCE THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND HAVE BEEN CONTENT TO LET WELFARE
ROLLS SWELL AND JOB ROLLS DWINDLE,

-- THEY ONCE PROMISED A STABLE DOLLAR,

BUT THEY HAVE GIVEN US THE HIGHEST INFLATION RATE IN OUR
200-YEAR HISTORY,

-- THEY ONCE PROMISED FREE ENTERPRISE, BUT THEY HAVE GIVEN
US MORE RULES AND MORE REGULATIONS THAN EVER BEFORE, AND FORCED
OVER 12,000 BUSINESSES TO CLOSE THEIR DOORS IN 1975 ALONE,

-- THE REPUBLICANS ONCE PROMISED US GOOD GOVERNMENT, BUT
THEY ARE GUILTY OF MORE MISMANAGEMENT AND OUTRIGHT CORRUPTION
THAN ANY TIME SINCE ULYSSES GRANT AND WARREN HARDING,

-- THEY ONCE PROMISED LAW AND ORDER, YET THEY PRESIDE OVER
THE HIGHEST CRIME RATE IN THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY.

TODAY, WE ARE SEEING AND HEARING ANOTHER COVER-UP! A COVER-UP
OF REPUBLICAN FAILURES! A COVER-UP OF MISMANAGEMENT AND BROKEN
PROMISES.

BUT I SAY TONIGHT, THE DEMOCRATS WILL EXPOSE THAT COVER-UP
AND JUSTICE WILL BE DONE IN NOVEMBER.

THERE WILL BE NO PARDONS FOR THE REPUBLICANS IN 1976.

WE MUST CHALLENGE THE FORD-REAGAN-REPUBLICAN ANTI-GOVERNMENT,
ANTI-POLITICS PROPAGANDA AND CALL IT WHAT IT REALLY IS -- THE
BIGGEST, BEST ORGANIZED CASE OF PUBLIC DECEPTION SINCE WATERGATE!

BUT THERE IS AN EVEN MORE SEAMY SIDE TO THIS CURRENT REPUBLICAN
CAMPAIGN.

THEY ARE LEADING A MASS RETREAT FROM OUR PROGRESS TOWARD
SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DIGNITY,

THEY SPEAK THE RHETORIC OF THE COMFORTABLE AND FORGET THE
NEEDS OF THE CONCERNED.

IT'S A SIREN SONG OF THE OLD-FASHIONED REPUBLICAN TRICKLE-DOWN
ECONOMICS.

THEY TELL US WHAT NOT TO DO, NOT WHAT WE CAN AND SHOULD DO.

MR. NIXON AND MR. FORD, MR. REAGAN AND MR. SIMON HAVE DEVISED
A BLUE-PRINT FOR ROLLING BACK PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL POLICIES AND
LAYING WASTE THE HOPES OF THOSE WHO LOOK FOR A MORE JUST, MORE
EQUITABLE AMERICA.

THEY ATTACK THE VERY PROGRAMS THAT HELP PEOPLE -- EDUCATION,
MEDICARE, THE JOB CORPS, HOUSING, FOOD STAMPS, SCHOOL LUNCHES.

I KNOW THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL REJECT THIS COURSE.

A NEW DAY IS DAWNING.

WE ARE CLOSE TO BEING AT THE END OF THIS LONG NIGHTMARE OF
DASHED HOPES.

OUR FUTURE IS IN OUR HANDS -- YES, IN OUR VOTES IN 1976.

BUT TO DEFEAT THE REPUBLICANS IS NOT ENOUGH -- WE MUST WIN
FOR THE PEOPLE.

AND MANY OF OUR PEOPLE IN THIS BICENTENNIAL YEAR ARE ASKING
WHAT LEGACY WE WILL LEAVE TO FUTURE GENERATIONS.

LET US PAUSE AND REFLECT ON THE KIND OF GOALS THAT WERE
IMPORTANT TO THE FIRST AMERICANS.

THEY ASSERTED THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF PEOPLE TO LIFE,
LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS. THEY BELIEVED IN AND TRUSTED
THE PEOPLE.

THEY SOUGHT TO CREATE A NEW SOCIETY THAT WOULD STAND FOR A
FULL MEASURE OF HUMAN FREEDOM AND OPPORTUNITY.

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

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

WILL THEY GROW TO ADULTHOOD WITHOUT KNOWING THE VALUE OF
WORK, BECAUSE WE HAVE TOO FEW JOBS FOR THEM?

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

WILL THEY LIVE IN AN AMERICA THAT FORGETS ITS POOR -- ITS
NEEDY -- ITS LESS FORTUNATE? WILL THEY INHERIT CITIES THAT ARE
DYING?

IF WE BELIEVE IN WORK, WE MUST HAVE A GOVERNMENT THAT OFFERS AMERICA A FULL EMPLOYMENT POLICY THAT ASSURES DECENT JOBS AT DECENT WAGES FOR ALL AMERICANS.

IF WE BELIEVE IN SOUND ADMINISTRATION, WE MUST HAVE A PROGRAM OF LONG OVERDUE REFORM TO CLEAN UP THE WELFARE MESS -- YES, AND TO MODERNIZE PROGRAMS FOR MODERN DAYS.

IF WE BELIEVE IN THE RIGHT OF EVERY AMERICAN TO A FULL LIFE, THEN WE NEED A NATIONAL HEALTH CARE SYSTEM THAT PROVIDES QUALITY HEALTH SERVICES FOR ALL AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE COST.

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

IF WE BELIEVE IN OUR CITIES, WE MUST HAVE A HOUSING PROGRAM
THAT REPLACES SLUMS WITH QUALITY HOUSING, AND INTEREST RATES
THAT MAKE HOME OWNERSHIP A REALITY FOR WORKING PEOPLE ONCE AGAIN.

IF WE BELIEVE IN FAIR PLAY, THEN WE MUST HAVE A TAX PROGRAM
THAT ELIMINATES THE GLARING TAX LOOPHOLES THAT MAKE IT POSSIBLE
FOR THE SUPER-RICH AND THE GIANT CORPORATIONS TO PAY LITTLE OR
NOTHING WHILE THE MIDDLE-INCOME TAXPAYER BEARS THE MAJOR BURDEN
OF GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES.

IF WE WANT TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR ALL AMERICANS,
THEN WE MUST PROTECT OUR ENVIRONMENT AND CONSERVE OUR RESOURCES.

IF WE BELIEVE IN AN EXPANDING ECONOMY, THEN WE MUST HAVE
AN ENERGY PROGRAM THAT ASSURES AMERICA OF ENERGY RESOURCES FOR
DECADES TO COME.

AND, MOST IMPORTANT, WE MUST HAVE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP THAT WORKS WITH COMPASSION AND UNDERSTANDING AND IS CLEARLY "OF, BY AND FOR THE PEOPLE."

THE REAL ISSUE IN 1976 IS, WHO DOES GOVERNMENT SERVE?

DEMOCRATS WILL WIN BECAUSE WE CARE, WE DARE, WE SHARE.

A FAVORITE QUOTATION OF MINE SUMMARIZES THE KIND OF VISION WE MUST OFFER TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE,

IT COMES FROM THE GREAT AMERICAN POET OF THE MIDWEST WHO SEEMED TO UNDERSTAND THE HEARTBEAT AND THE SPIRIT OF THIS NATION.

THESE ARE THE WORDS OF CARL SANDBURG. HE SPEAKS FOR ME, AS I KNOW HE SPEAKS FOR YOU:

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

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

NOW IS NOT THE TIME TO RETREAT.

IT REMAINS ONLY FOR US TO REACH OUT, TO RISK AND TO DARE
GREATLY.

HIGH HOPES -- GREAT DREAMS. BUILD, GROW, STRIVE -- CREATE!

WHETHER OR NOT WE ARE FULLY SUCCESSFUL, AT LEAST WE OWE IT
TO OURSELVES TO TRY!



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