REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

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## ACTIVE BALLOT CLUB

## RETAIL CLERKS INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION

### Washington, D. C.

### September 9, 1976

It is a pleasure to be here with my friends from the Retail Clerks International Association.

In just two months, the American people will elect a President and a new Congress. And, I have some good news -- the Democratic Party will recapture the White House for the American people. Governor Carter and Senator Mondale will restore majority rule to our nation once again.

As we look back on the eight long, lean years of the Nixon-Ford Administration, it is time to demand an accounting.

But, all we have been getting from them so far this election year 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. From 1961 to 1969, when John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson were in the White House, we created 13 million new jobs and brought unemployment down to 3.6 percent.

In the past three years, the Nixon-Ford Administration has pushed the "official" unemployment rate up to an annual average of 8 1/2 percent in 1975 and to double digit levels in state after state, city after city. Today's unemployment rate is an astounding 7.9 percent, and it has risen in each of the last three months.

The income, production and employment loss to America as a result of Republican economic mismanagement since 1969 is staggering:

-- Their two recessions have thrown a total of 57 million Americans out of work.

-- Their two recessions have already cut more than \$500 billion from the paychecks of American workers.

-- Their two recessions have wiped out the income gains made by working families during the 1960's.

The last eight years are an indictment of "go slow" --"trickle down" economics. These policies didn't work for Hoover, they failed Eisenhower, they never worked for Nixon, yet Gerald Ford still believes in this 19th century witchcraft.

In the 60's when Democratic leaders were doing their best to promote social and economic progress in our nation, the rate of inflation was a mere 2.2 percent. In the last five years, the inflation rate has averaged 6.8 percent and we have experienced the highest levels of inflation since World War II.

Despite all their talk about controlling inflation, after eight years of the Nixon-Ford Administrations, it now costs \$1.55 to buy the same consumer items which cost only \$1.00 in 1968. It's no wonder they had to bring back the \$2 bill.

This record Republican inflation has eroded paychecks as never before. In fact, workers' paychecks are now actually worth 1 percent less than in 1968 because of inflation.

But not everyone has lost since 1968 under the economic game plan of the Nixon-Ford team.

The richest 20 percent of our population actually increased its share of our nation's total income since the late 60's. Soaring profits and unemployment produced a shift of about \$20 billion from working Americans to the most privileged in our society.

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Like his predecessor -- Richard Nixon -- Gerald Ford believes that inflation is best controlled by unemployment.

Higher unemployment means lower inflation, in his view.

The more laid-off workers there are walking the streets seeking work, but not finding it, the lower inflation will be.

The more workers forced out of jobs and onto welfare rolls, the lower inflation will be.

And the more workers gainfully employed, earning and saving for themselves and their families, the higher inflation will be.

To successfully fight inflation he believes, you must put more working men and women on welfare.

It's a tragic, irresponsible policy built now by the Republicans into an all too popular myth. And, it threatens the security of every working man and women in America. Who will be the next victim of this senseless economic bloodletting?

This myth was started in the 1930's by Herbert Hoover.

This myth stands as a major cause of our Great Depression.

This myth ignores the waste of resources and human beings squandered by unemployment.

This myth ignores the enormous human suffering and anxiety caused by unemployment.

And perhaps most importantly, this myth ignores the reality that prices can be stabilized without bloating welfare and jobless rolls.

Yet, despite the record of undeniable Republican economic mismanagement and colossal waste, the President is now traveling around the country claiming that he has found the miracle cure. "Economic recovery is underway and prosperity is just around the corner," he claims.

The stalled recovery, his advisers say, is just a "pause" -- some pause! Unemployment is higher today than at any time this year. That's no recovery!

Telling us to have no fear -- recovery is underway -- with 9 million Americans unemployed is a lot like telling someone who comes down with pneumonia, heart disease and paralysis, all at the same time, that if he can wiggle his toe, he's in great shape.

The dismal record of Republican economic mismanagement stands in stark contrast to the record of stable prosperity for all segments of our society achieved under Democratic leadership in the 1960's.

But this Republican performance should come as no great surprise. As a minority party, all of their experience has been in thwarting the will of the majority. They are experts at delay and division, not at imagination and initiative. Republicans have always enjoyed saying "No," and found it very difficult to say "Yes."

The motto of the Republican Party since the days of Coolidge has been "No! No! Go Slow! Not Now! Veto!"

Gerald Ford has used the veto 55 times in two years. He has said no to the aspirations of millions of Americans for decent jobs; no to a decent school lunch program for our children, no to daycare centers that would make it possible for many additional women to go to work, no to vitally needed funds to educate our young people, and no to the health care needs of our citizens.

But, this callous chorus of No! No! No! is completely consistent with Gerald Ford's political philosophy. After all, Gerald Ford spent twenty-five years saying no to progress in the Congress; nine years as the chief Republican naysayer in the House of Representatives.

Of course, because he has never before run for national political office, his voting record is virtually unknown to most Americans. I think it is time that the American people took a look at it.

In 1963, Gerald Ford voted against the Tax Reduction Act -to reduce the tax burden of families and restore prosperity.

In 1955, 1958 and 1973, Gerald Ford voted against crucial farm legislation.

In 1960, 1966, and 1973, Gerald Ford voted against the minimum wage.

In 1966, 1967, 1969 and 1973, Gerald Ford voted against the anti-poverty program.

In 1965, Gerald Ford voted against Medicare.

In 1973, Gerald Ford voted against Mass Transit legislation.

In 1961, 1965 and 1970, Gerald Ford voted against Federal aid to education.

This is just a small part of the incredible voting record of the Republican candidate for the Presidency. It is a voting record that does not conform to the values and aspirations of the vast majority of Americans.

We will confront the "bankrupt policies" of this tired Republican Administration with a new vision of America from a new and energetic Democratic Administration -- under the banner of Governor Carter and Senator Mondale.

The real issue today is, what priorities should be established to serve the best interests of the American people -all the people -- and who is willing and able to carry out those priorities?

We Democrats believe in jobs and we will commit government to policies which assure every person willing and able to work with an opportunity to work!

We believe in our young people! And, we will champion the cause of education and a prosperous American future.

We respect our senior citizens and we will assure them generous and decent care.

We believe in the right of every American to a full life and we will establish a national health care system that provides quality health care to all.

We believe that our cities must be saved and we will present a program that replaces slums with decent homes and neighborhoods -a Marshall Plan for America's cities.

We believe that the quality of life for all our people must be assured! And we are committed to protecting our environment and conserving our natural resources.

We believe in ending prejudice! And we shall see that equal opportunity reaches into every aspect of American life. These are our priorities -- our goals -- our promises to America.

Progressives in the labor movement and in the Democratic Party always have believed that no challenge is too great for the American nation.

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Therefore, we must muster our strength, our courage, our imagination, our great energy. We can become whatever we want to be.

America is a young country with its future before it. The American people are builders. They are restless. They are energetic. They are idealists who want to put their ideals to the test.

America looks to new leaders who can make our country both dynamic and just; who have a sense of compassion, but also a dedication to individual initiative -- leaders who can inspire and are inspired by our history, but who sense that our greatness is in the future.

With hard work and your help, America's best days -- America's great days -- have only just begun.

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IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE HERE WITH MY FRIENDS FROM THE RETAIL CLERKS INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

IN JUST TWO MONTHS, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL ELECT A PRESIDENT AND A NEW CONGRESS. AND, I HAVE SOME GOOD NEWS -- THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY WILL RECAPTURE THE WHITE HOUSE FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. GOVERNOR CARTER AND SENATOR MONDALE WILL RESTORE MAJORITY RULE TO OUR NATION ONCE AGAIN.

As we look back on the eight long, lean years of the Nixon-Ford Administration, it is time to demand an accounting.

BUT, ALL WE HAVE BEEN GETTING FROM THEM SO FAR THIS ELECTION YEAR 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. FROM 1961 TO 1969, WHEN JOHN KENNEDY AND LYNDON JOHNSON WERE IN THE WHITE HOUSE, WE CREATED 13 MILLION NEW JOBS AND BROUGHT UNEMPLOYMENT DOWN TO 3.6 PERCENT.

IN THE PAST THREE YEARS, THE NIXON-FORD ADMINISTRATION HAS PUSHED THE "OFFICIAL" UNEMPLOYMENT RATE UP TO AN ANNUAL AVERAGE OF 8 1/2 PERCENT IN 1975 AND TO DOUBLE DIGIT LEVELS IN STATE AFTER STATE, CITY AFTER CITY. TODAY'S UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IS AN ASTOUNDING 7.9 PERCENT, AND IT HAS RISEN IN EACH OF THE LAST THREE MONTHS.

THE INCOME, PRODUCTION AND EMPLOYMENT LOSS TO AMERICA AS A RESULT OF REPUBLICAN ECONOMIC MISMANAGEMENT SINCE 1969 IS -- THEIR TWO RECESSIONS HAVE THROWN A TOTAL OF 57 MILLION AMERICANS OUT OF WORK.

-- THEIR TWO RECESSIONS HAVE ALREADY CUT MORE THAN \$500 BILLION FROM THE PAYCHECKS OF AMERICAN WORKERS.

-- THEIR TWO RECESSIONS HAVE WIPED OUT THE INCOME GAINS MADE BY WORKING FAMILIES DURING THE 1960'S.

THE LAST EIGHT YEARS ARE AN INDICTMENT OF "GO SLOW" -- "TRICKLE DOWN" ECONOMICS. THESE POLICIES DIDN'T WORK FOR HOOVER, THEY FAILED EISENHOWER, THEY NEVER WORKED FOR NIXON, YET GERALD FORD STILL BELIEVES IN THIS 19TH CENTURY WITCHCRAFT.

IN THE 60'S WHEN DEMOCRATIC LEADERS WERE DOING THEIR BEST TO PROMOTE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN OUR NATION, THE RATE OF INFLATION WAS A MERE 2.2 PERCENT. IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS, THE INFLATION RATE HAS AVERAGED 6.8 PERCENT AND WE HAVE EXPERIENCED THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF INFLATION

SINCE WORLD WAR II.

DESPITE ALL THEIR TALK ABOUT CONTROLLING INFLATION, AFTER EIGHT YEARS OF THE NIXON-FORD ADMINISTRATIONS, IT NOW COSTS \$1.55 TO BUY THE SAME CONSUMER ITEMS WHICH COST ONLY \$1.00 IN 1968 IT'S NO WONDER THEY HAD TO BRING BACK THE \$2 BILL. THIS RECORD REPUBLICAN INFLATION HAS ERODED PAYCHECKS AS NEVER BEFORE. IN FACT, WORKERS' PAYCHECKS ARE NOW ACTUALLY

WORTH 1 PERCENT LESS THAN IN 1968 BECAUSE OF INFLATION.

BUT NOT EVERYONE HAS LOST SINCE 1968 UNDER THE ECONOMIC GAME PLAN OF THE NIXON-FORD TEAM.

THE RICHEST 20 PERCENT OF OUR POPULATION ACTUALLY INCREASED ITS SHARE OF OUR NATION'S TOTAL INCOME SINCE THE LATE 60'S.

SOARING PROFITS AND UNEMPLOYMENT PRODUCED A SHIFT OF ABOUT \$20

BILLION FROM WORKING AMERICANS TO THE MOST PRIVILEGED IN OUR

SOCIETY.

LIKE HIS PREDECESSOR -- RICHARD NIXON -- GERALD FORD BELIEVES THAT INFLATION IS BEST CONTROLLED BY UNEMPLOYMENT.

HIGHER UNEMPLOYMENT MEANS LOWER INFLATION, IN HIS VIEW.

THE MORE LAID-OFF WORKERS THERE ARE WALKING THE STREETS

SEEKING WORK, BUT NOT FINDING IT, THE LOWER INFLATION WILL BE.

THE MORE WORKERS FORCED OUT OF JOBS AND ONTO WELFARE ROLLS,

THE LOWER INFLATION WILL BE.

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AND THE MORE WORKERS GAINFULLY EMPLOYED, EARNING AND SAVING FOR THEMSELVES AND THEIR FAMILIES, THE HIGHER INFLATION WILL BE. TO SUCCESSFULLY FIGHT INFLATION HE BELIEVES, YOU MUST PUT MORE WORKING MEN AND WOMEN ON WELFARE. IT'S A TRAGIC, IRRESPONSIBLE POLICY BUILT NOW BY THE REPUBLICANS INTO AN ALL TOO POPULAR MYTH. AND, IT THREATENS THE SECURITY OF EVERY WORKING MAN AND WOMEN IN AMERICA. WHO WILL BE THE NEXT VICTIM OF THIS SENSELESS ECONOMIC BLOODLETTING? THIS MYTH WAS STARTED IN THE 1930'S BY HERBERT HOOVER. THIS MYTH STANDS AS A MAJOR CAUSE OF OUR GREAT DEPRESSION. THIS MYTH IGNORES THE WASTE OF RESOURCES AND HUMAN BEINGS

SQUANDERED BY UNEMPLOYMENT.

THIS MYTH IGNORES THE ENORMOUS HUMAN SUFFERING AND ANXIETY CAUSED BY UNEMPLOYMENT.

AND PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANTLY, THIS MYTH IGNORES THE REALITY THAT PRICES CAN BE STABILIZED WITHOUT BLOATING WELFARE AND JOBLESS ROLLS.

Yet, despite the record of undeniable Republican economic mismanagement and colossal waste, the President is now traveling around the country claiming that he has found the Miracle Cure. "Economic recovery is underway and prosperity is Just Around the corner," he claims.

THE STALLED RECOVERY, HIS ADVISERS SAY, IS JUST A "PAUSE" -- SOME PAUSE! UNEMPLOYMENT IS HIGHER TODAY THAN AT ANY TIME THIS YEAR. THAT'S NO RECOVERY! Telling us to have no fear -- recovery is underway -- with 9 million Americans unemployed is a lot like telling someone who comes down with pneumonia, heart disease and paralysis, all at the same time, that if he can wiggle his toe, he's in great shape.

THE DISMAL RECORD OF REPUBLICAN ECONOMIC MISMANAGEMENT STANDS IN STARK CONTRAST TO THE RECORD OF STABLE PROSPERITY FOR ALL SEGMENTS OF OUR SOCIETY ACHIEVED UNDER DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP IN THE 1960'S.

BUT THIS REPUBLICAN PERFORMANCE SHOULD COME AS NO GREAT SURPRISE. As a minority party, all of their experience has been in thwarting the will of the majority. They are experts at delay and division, not at imagination and initiative. Republicans have always enjoyed saying "No," and found it very difficult to say "Yes." THE MOTTO OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY SINCE THE DAYS OF COOLIDGE HAS BEEN "NO! NO! GO SLOW! NOT NOW! VETO!"

GERALD FORD HAS USED THE VETO 55 TIMES IN TWO YEARS. HE HAS SAID NO TO THE ASPIRATIONS OF MILLIONS OF AMERICANS FOR DECENT JOBS; NO TO A DECENT SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM FOR OUR CHILDREN, NO TO DAYCARE CENTERS THAT WOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR MANY ADDITIONAL WOMEN TO GO TO WORK, NO TO VITALLY NEEDED FUNDS TO EDUCATE OUR YOUNG PEOPLE, AND NO TO THE HEALTH CARE NEEDS OF OUR CITIZENS. BUT, THIS CALLOUS CHORUS OF NO! NO! NO! IS COMPLETELY CONSISTENT WITH GERALD FORD'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY, AFTER ALL, GERALD FORD SPENT TWENTY-FIVE YEARS SAYING NO TO PROGRESS IN THE CONGRESS; NINE YEARS AS THE CHIEF REPUBLICAN NAYSAYER IN THE HOUSE

OF REPRESENTATIVES.

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OF COURSE, BECAUSE HE HAS NEVER BEFORE RUN FOR NATIONAL POLITICAL OFFICE, HIS VOTING RECORD IS VIRTUALLY UNKNOWN TO MOST AMERICANS. I THINK IT IS TIME THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TOOK A LOOK AT IT.

IN 1963, GERALD FORD VOTED AGAINST THE TAX REDUCTION ACT --TO REDUCE THE TAX BURDEN OF FAMILIES AND RESTORE PROSPERITY. IN 1955, 1958 AND 1973, GERALD FORD VOTED AGAINST CRUCIAL FARM LEGISLATION.

IN 1960, 1966, AND 1973, GERALD FORD VOTED AGAINST THE

MINIMUM WAGE.

LIN 1966, 1967, 1969 AND 1973, GERALD FORD VOTED AGAINST THE ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM. LIN 1965, GERALD FORD VOTED AGAINST MEDICARE. IN 1973, GERALD FORD VOTED AGAINST MASS TRANSIT LEGISLATION. IN 1961, 1965 AND 1970, GERALD FORD VOTED AGAINST FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION.

THIS IS JUST A SMALL PART OF THE INCREDIBLE VOTING RECORD OF THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY. / IT IS A VOTING RECORD THAT DOES NOT CONFORM TO THE VALUES AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE VAST MAJORITY OF AMERICANS. WE WILL CONFRONT THE "BANKRUPT POLICIES" OF THIS TIRED REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION WITH A NEW VISION OF AMERICA FROM A NEW AND ENERGETIC DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION -- UNDER THE BANNER OF GOVERNOR CARTER AND SENATOR MONDALE.

THE REAL ISSUE TODAY IS, WHAT PRIORITIES SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED TO SERVE THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- ALL THE PEOPLE -- AND WHO IS WILLING AND ABLE TO CARRY OUT THOSE PRIORITIES? WE DEMOCRATS BELIEVE IN JOBS AND WE WILL COMMIT GOVERNMENT TO POLICIES WHICH ASSURE EVERY PERSON WILLING AND ABLE TO WORK WITH AN OPPORTUNITY TO WORK! We believe in our young people! And, we will champion THE CAUSE OF EDUCATION AND A PROSPEROUS AMERICAN FUTURE. WE RESPECT OUR SENIOR CITIZENS AND WE WILL ASSURE THEM

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GENEROUS AND DECENT CARE,

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WE BELIEVE IN THE RIGHT OF EVERY AMERICAN TO A FULL LIFE AND WE WILL ESTABLISH A NATIONAL HEALTH CARE SYSTEM THAT PROVIDES QUALITY HEALTH CARE TO ALL. WE BELIEVE THAT OUR CITIES MUST BE SAVED AND WE WILL PRESENT A PROGRAM THAT REPLACES SLUMS WITH DECENT HOMES AND NEIGHBORHOODS --A MARSHALL PLAN FOR AMERICA'S CITIES.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE MUST BE ASSURED! AND WE ARE COMMITTED TO PROTECTING OUR ENVIRONMENT AND CONSERVING OUR NATURAL RESOURCES.

WE BELIEVE IN ENDING PREJUDICE! AND WE SHALL SEE THAT EQUAL OPPORTUNITY REACHES INTO EVERY ASPECT OF AMERICAN LIFE. THESE ARE OUR PRIORITIES -- OUR GOALS -- OUR PROMISES TO AMERICA.

PROGRESSIVES IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ALWAYS HAVE BELIEVED THAT NO CHALLENGE IS TOO GREAT FOR THE AMERICAN NATION. -14-

THEREFORE, WE MUST MUSTER OUR STRENGTH, OUR COURAGE, OUR IMAGINATION, OUR GREAT ENERGY. WE CAN BECOME WHATEVER WE WANT TO BE.

America is a young country with its future before it. The American people are builders. They are restless. They are energetic. They are idealists who want to put their ideals to The test.

AMERICA LOOKS TO NEW LEADERS WHO CAN MAKE OUR COUNTRY BOTH DYNAMIC AND JUST; WHO HAVE A SENSE OF COMPASSION, BUT ALSO A DEDICATION TO INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE -- LEADERS WHO CAN INSPIRE AND ARE INSPIRED BY OUR HISTORY, BUT WHO SENSE THAT OUR GREATNESS IS IN THE FUTURE. WITH HARD WORK AND YOUR HELP, AMERICA'S BEST DAYS --

AMERICA'S GREAT DAYS -- HAVE ONLY JUST BEGUN.

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