

BASIC SPEECH  
ROUGH DRAFT

When the Republicans first ran for office in 1968, you will recall that they had a program that was positive in the great tradition of the GOP. That is, they complained. And now I think it is only fair to judge those complaints against their achievements.

They denounced welfare without work -- yet they have pushed unemployment to the highest levels in 40 years.

They denounced budget deficits -- and last year they have us a deficit equal to the total of all deficits under Kennedy and Johnson combined.

They railed about inflation -- but after two terms the rate of inflation postinflationary stands at three times the average of the 1960's.

They declared war on crime -- and they have given us more illegality than we have seen by any other Administration in American history.

They pledged to end red tape and waste -- yet they spend more today and provide less in return than the government they inherited in 1968.

Casey Stengel could have been summing up the record of the Republican Administration, when he said, "Sometimes it don't always work."

Jimmy Carter and I are not asking to be elected in order to rail and complain and denounce.

We're running for office because we believe in the greatness of American democracy. We want to give our country

a government that is competent. More than that we want to give America a government that is as good as the people.

If we are given a mandate in this election, we know it will not be a license to do what we please. If elected, we pledge to govern only as the people please, honestly, openly and under the law.

It may seem like a slender pledge, to tell the truth and obey the law.

But most of the trouble we've run into leading up to this election has happened because government has not told the truth and it has not obeyed the law.

Our legal system is based on equal justice for all. The Constitution makes no exceptions for judges, Cabinet officers or even the President and Vice President of the United States.

One of the most tragic scars in the aftermath of Watergate is the perception today of a double standard in our system of justice.

It's not only what they've done. It's what they haven't done as well.

It's an Administration that has stood by despite the flood of disclosures about crimes committed by FBI and CIA officials acting in the name of the American people.

It's Administration that for seven years ignored repeated warnings of massive fraud in our grain inspection system.

It's a President who has silently watched our national reputation smeared with evidence of corporate bribery in Japan, Belgium and other parts of the world.

And nothing is ever done by this Administration to bring those responsible to account unless forced by a public that is sickened and outraged.

How does a parent in America today answer the child who asks whether a burglary is permitted if its done by the FBI. Is bribery condoned if its done to people overseas?

My father taught us that there is never a justification for corruption of any kind. That's what we should be hearing from our government.

When the next Administration takes office we're not going to tolerate lawlessness by anyone in government or out. We will prosecute any federal official who breaks the law.

We pledge an Administration that will clean up the FBI and restore respect for the Bureau as an agency that enforces -- not tramples -- the law.

We pledge to make the CIA an agency that is efficient and effective in providing America with the best intelligence we can collect.

I've spent over a year on the Senate Committee investigating abuses in the CIA and our other intelligence-gathering agencies. And the record shows that despite the expense and the damage to America's name in the world, the black bag jobs, the mail opennings and the attempts to intervene in other countries have yielded almost nothing of any concrete value to America's intelligence or our diplomacy.

We can have an FBI that enforces the law and a CIA that provides quality intelligence without more secrecy and illegality than democracy can permit and without more deceit and barbarity than our beliefs will allow.

Our strength has never been in our ability to out-lie, out-cheat, or out-brutalize our rivals. America has never been any good at those things.

Our success lies in our principles, our honesty, our hard work, our freedom, our efficiency and our compassion. We can produce more, with greater genius and provide more of what this world needs than any one else on earth.

And in 1976 we will give America a government that returns to the things we do best.

Our economy is still the most productive in the world. But we have lost over \$150 billion this year alone in industrial production that can never be recovered. And there is no measure for the suffering of parents without work and income to support their families.

Let's look at what the Republicans have done to our economy.

At the beginning of 1969 when the Johnson Administration ended, we had enjoyed eight years of steady growth and rising employment. Inflation averaged less than three percent. Then the Republicans took over. They gave us inflation at 19 year highs and they doubled the rate of unemployment.

But a strange thing happened as 1972 approached. It might be because that year was a leap year when the tables are sometimes turned.

We saw a conservative Republican President clamp on rigid and often unfair wage and price controls. We saw a conservative Aruther Burns suddenly turn around and pump up the money supply. We saw a rush of election-eve spending. And Mr. Nixon pointed with pride to the sudden upturn in the economy.

But at one minute past midnight the controls disappered. The Administration slammed on the brakes and Arthur Burns cranked up interest rates, adding to inflation, choking off economic expansion and crippling the housing industry.

We had double didget inflation and the recession had become a depression. And the only one who might be proud was Herbert Hoover, because for the first time in fifty years another President had made him look good.

Now 1972 was a leap year. And in 1976 it's leap year again. And Mr. Ford, like Mr. Nixon before, points with pride to improvements in the economy.

Well where are we? Unemployment is nearly 8 percent. Ten million Americans are out of work. Inflation this year will still average about 6 percent. And one quarter of our industrial capacity lies idle.

Mr. Ford may be proud. Mr. Simon and Mr. Burns may be proud. But Jimmy Carter is not proud. And I am not proud. And most Americans are not proud.

There is a simple calendar for Republican economics. In any election year we know where we stand. November is always the key month and it signals the end of the beginning of the upturn from the downturn. That is one way of saying they will

send us right back down that chute again.

This country cannot stand another four years on an economic roller coaster, with the drops deeper, the climbs shorter and the price higher every time.

We pledge to you a government that puts the American people first, not the timing of the next election.

We will fight inflation with tools other than massive and deliberate unemployment, a strategy that has not worked and cannot work.

Instead we will use fiscal policy to put America on the road of steady growth toward full employment by 1980. As the economy recovers we will adopt employment and anti-inflation policies that work hand-in-hand, by targeting job creation and worker training programs toward areas in our economy that are below full capacity.

We will strengthen the Council on Wage and Price Stability and we will have a President with the credibility to lead both business and working people in the fight for real, stable and sustained economic growth.

We should make no mistake about what is at stake in this election. The Republicans have asked us to accept high unemployment, cruel inflation, high interest rates, a housing depression and a massive increase in welfare. But above all they have tried to paralyze the momentum for human justice in America.



Their entire tax strategy is based on giving more to those who have. They have asked for a blank check for the oil companies, and \$500 more from each family just to keep our homes warm. They even tried the McGovern plan in reverse, \$1,000 in tax breaks if you're rich enough, and barely \$200 in tax relief for the working poor.

Roosevelt once said that the test of progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much, it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little.

This Administration has asked that Social Security payments be kept below the cost of living, even though millions of older Americans cannot survive on the checks they get now.

They asked for \$1.6 billion in added payments by the old and disabled to obtain the same medical and hospital care they receive today.

Their answer to food stamp abuses was to make everyone needy and non-needy alike pay more or go hungry.

The Republicans, not the Democrats are calling for a different America and we cannot let them succeed. America means human justice and understanding. It means love and helpfulness. America is a country where everyone is promised an equal chance. Cars is a country where government should not only work, but care.

We pledge an Administration that treats the American people not as statistics and paperwork but as families that are entitled to a decent and responsive government.

And in 1976, we will end the deadlock of American democracy, a deadlock that has paralyzed progress in this nation for the last eight years.

A progressive Democratic Congress has been able to prevent the worst, but a negative veto-prone Administration has prevented the best.

In fact we haven't had real government, we've just had impass. And we can't go on like this. We've got to get America moving again. And we pledge an Administration that does its job with efficiency, with courtesy and without waste.

For eight years the Republicans have tried to prove that government can't work. They've proved one thing: that they can't make it work.

In welfare and medicaid they have permitted massive fraud that is costing HEW millions each year.

In the Justice Department they have spent nearly \$5 billion police for/helicopters, fixed wing aircraft and uniforms under the LEAA program. They have even researched how to design more comfortable patrol shoes for policemen. In the meantime, crime is not only soaring in the urban core where it was centered, it is now spreading and growing most rapidly in rural areas and suburbs.

They have not monitored, they have not audited and they have not even produced a coherent crime prevention plan. And today, with millions invested, they have no better idea than we had in 1963 of what works and what doesn't against crime.



Programatic reforms can help. We will simplify the maze of existing agencies and grant programs. We will enforce laws against fraud and abuse of government funds. We will implement "zero base" budget review of government spending, with careful evaluation and hard nosed decisions on which programs are no longer needed.

But the light of full public knowledge is the best way to make sure government works. And we will open up all of those closed doors in those Departments; we'll open up the windows and we'll let the sun shine in.

We don't pretend that every problem in America can be easily or immediately solved. We do not ask to govern because we are sure of all the answers. But we ask to govern because we are able to look at our problems with fresh eyes. We are a new generation of leadership. We are strong. We are experienced and we're ready.

And we will give America leadership that is united in spirit and in purpose.

Someone once said that the Republican Party is the only party on earth where everyone feels like a minority member. They love to divide, because that's how they get elected. They have called for a Southern strategy, a Northern strategy, and every every form of division invented, except the one thing we need: a strategy for a United States of America.

They have thrown up a wall between Capitol Hill and the White House. They have built barriers between our cities, our suburbs and our farms. They have tried to isolate us by geography, by age, by race and by income.

And we will begin the next Administration by pulling down all of the walls they have built to fragment our country.

We pledge a government that respects working people, farmers and business alike.

We pledge a government that knows America needs the experience and wisdom of people long after they reach 65.

We pledge a government that puts no child before another but gives each a chance to share in the best of American life.

We pledge a government committed to healing the wounds that have kept our nation so sorely and tragically divided.

The union of the 13 colonies, from Georgia to Massachusetts was based not on jealousy, fear or convenience. America was founded by a people who pledged their lives and sacred honor for a united purpose.

That purpose is we the people today, <sup>that we might</sup> ~~who~~ live in freedom, in decency and justice.

In 1976 we pledge to you a government that reaffirms the strength and spirit of our great country, by providing simple justice to the American people.



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